

**CANADIANISMS  
AND THEIR TREATMENT IN DICTIONARIES**

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# ABSTRACT

Although Canada is a bilingual country, with both French and English as its official languages, Canadians do not have at their disposal, many Canadian-produced general English or French dictionaries. Moreover, they do not have a single general bilingual English-French, French-English dictionary of Canadian origin.<sup>1</sup>

This means that Canadians often use European-produced dictionaries, such as the Nouveau Petit Robert, the Random House Webster, the Robert Collins Super Senior and the Oxford Hachette. Since these dictionaries are not produced for the Canadian market, there are many elements of English and French as used in Canada (i.e. Canadianisms) that are not contained in them. In addition, for the limited number of Canadianisms that are covered, the coverage given by these dictionaries is often unsatisfactory.

This thesis studies Canadian English and French to obtain a clearer picture of their nature, and more specifically, of Canadianisms. It then examines current unilingual and bilingual dictionaries produced both in Canada and in Europe, with the objective of determining their coverage and treatment of Canadianisms. From this examination springs a discussion of the problems identified, along with proposed solutions. Finally, the methodology of the Bilingual Canadian Dictionary Project is analyzed in order to see how it deals with Canadianisms, and an actual entry is produced following its methodology to see if this Canadian lexicographic project is meeting its objective of presenting a true account of English and French as they are used in Canada.

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<sup>1</sup> The only Canadian bilingual dictionary ever produced was Vinay et al.'s Canadian Dictionary published in 1962. This dictionary, however, was only an abridged edition and has long been out of print.

# RÉSUMÉ

Bien que le Canada soit un pays bilingue dont les langues officielles sont le français et l'anglais, les Canadiens ne disposent que d'un nombre limité de dictionnaires généraux anglais ou français conçus ici au Canada. Qui plus est, ils n'ont à leur disposition aucun dictionnaire général bilingue anglais - français, français - anglais d'origine canadienne.<sup>2</sup>

Par conséquent, les Canadiens utilisent souvent les dictionnaires élaborés en Europe, tels que le Nouveau Petit Robert, le Random House Webster, le Robert Collins Super Senior et le Oxford Hachette. Étant donné que ces dictionnaires ne sont pas destinés au marché canadien, de nombreux éléments propres au français et à l'anglais du Canada (c'est-à-dire les canadianismes) n'y figurent pas ou leur traitement y est limité et souvent insatisfaisant.

Cette thèse a tout d'abord pour but d'étudier l'anglais et le français en usage au Canada afin d'en préciser leur nature et plus spécifiquement celle des canadianismes. Nous nous proposons ensuite d'examiner le traitement des canadianismes dans les dictionnaires unilingues et bilingues élaborés récemment au Canada et en Europe. Cet examen nous permettra d'analyser les problèmes que nous aurons identifiés et de proposer des solutions. En outre, nous étudierons la méthodologie utilisée par l'équipe du Dictionnaire bilingue canadien afin de voir comment elle traite les canadianismes.

En dernier lieu, nous avons préparé une entrée en suivant cette méthodologie afin de vérifier si cette entreprise lexicographique canadienne atteint son objectif, à savoir rendre compte de l'usage du français et de l'anglais au Canada.

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<sup>2</sup> Le Dictionnaire canadien de Vinay et al. est le seul dictionnaire bilingue canadien. Publié en 1962, cet ouvrage n'était qu'une édition abrégée et est depuis longtemps épuisé.

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# INTRODUCTION

## Canadian English and Canadian French

The English and French languages have been present in Canada for well over two hundred years. During this time, these languages have evolved independently of their parent languages. Thus, new language varieties have been created: Canadian English and Canadian French.

Although these language varieties have existed in Canada for quite some time, the fact that they are distinct varieties has only been acknowledged relatively recently. The reasons for this are somewhat different for the two language varieties: in the case of Canadian French, it was felt for a long time that anything not resembling Parisian French was inferior and incorrect; Canadian English, on the other hand, was commonly regarded as merely a sub-variety of either British English or American English.

Consequently, until recently, lexicographic activity in French Canada concentrated on pointing out the “errors” of Canadian French in reference to Parisian French, while lexicographic activity in English Canada was virtually non-existent.

It is only within roughly the last thirty years that more serious lexicographic work involving Canadian English and French has taken place: lexicography, and particularly bilingual lexicography, is still a relatively young activity in Canada. Therefore, there is a need for research in this subject area. This explains my choosing the lexicographic treatment of particularities of Canadian English (CE) and Canadian French (CF) as a thesis topic.

## **Objectives of Thesis**

The primary objectives of this thesis are, first, to indicate the problems involved in the lexicographic treatment of Canadian English and French, especially in bilingual lexicography, and second, to propose ways of addressing these problems.

These primary objectives imply two secondary objectives: first, to study the nature of these Canadian language varieties, i.e., how they came to be, of what they consist, and then to examine how they have been treated in dictionaries to date.

## **Methodology**

I began my research with general readings pertaining to the history of English and French settlement in Canada, the development of these languages in Canada, and the description of their specific features (often called Canadianisms). This was essential preparatory work in order to further my understanding of Canadian English and French.

Following this, I turned to literature relating to the history of lexicographic activity in both languages in Canada. I then examined critical reviews, taken from both newspapers and scholarly journals, of some of the more recent Canadian dictionaries.

The next step involved my own analysis of various dictionaries, both unilingual and bilingual, Canadian and non-Canadian, for the purpose of examining their treatment of Canadianisms. This analysis, coupled with my study of the dictionary reviews, revealed certain problems in the lexicographic coverage of Canadianisms. These problems were then further analyzed and potential solutions to them were identified.

At practically every stage in my analysis of specific Canadianisms, I used different corpora as a guide. These corpora, which have been established by the Bilingual Canadian Dictionary Project (BCD) for lexicographic purposes will be briefly presented below.

## **Corpus**

The BCD has two main corpora contained in two separate databases called Textum and TransBase.

Textum contains unilingual texts in English and French. The majority of the texts are Canadian: the most important Canadian sub-corpora are the *English Canadian Press* (ECP), which consists of English newspaper articles; the *Queen's* sub-corpus, which includes newspapers, magazine and journal articles as well as fiction; the *Presse canadienne française* (PCF), which covers French newspaper and magazine articles; and *Leméac* (LEM), which includes French fiction. However, Textum also contains texts from France - *Le Monde* (MOND) and *Ouest France* (OF), and the United States - *The Wall Street Journal* (WSJ), which are necessary for the purpose of comparison between language varieties. The material within Textum thus covers a number of language varieties and a number of genres. In August 1996, Textum contained about 315 million words.

TransBase contains translated bilingual texts which are aligned segment by segment. The content consists of three years worth of the House of Commons' journal of debates, the *Hansard*. English is the primary source language of these texts; however, some of the *Hansard* material was written originally in French. Transbase contains over 47 million words in English and French.

In addition to these two textual databases containing different corpora, the project has at its disposal a separate corpus of British texts which provide a point of comparison between CE, American English (AE) and British English (BE). The total number of words in this corpus is approximately two million, the content of which comes from a variety of sources, including the British newspaper *The Independent*, and a number of academic texts on different subjects published by the Oxford University Press.

For this thesis, I have used various sub-corpora of CE, CF, AE and French from France (FF) found in Textum as well as the separate corpus of British texts.

## **Thesis Outline**

The content of this thesis, which was determined by the methodology described above, is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter 1, The Development of Canadian English and French and Canadianisms, outlines the development of Canadian English and Canadian French along with a brief, historical overview of the settlement of English and French Canada. It concludes with a definition of the term Canadianism.

In Chapter 2, Types of Canadianisms, the notion of Canadianism is expanded and the various types of Canadianisms are presented with examples of each.

Chapter 3, Canadian Lexicography, examines lexicographic activity in Canada, in terms of both unilingual and bilingual dictionaries produced. It then presents various positive and negative reviews of the more recent and important lexicographic works.

Chapter 4, Analysis of the Treatment of Canadianisms in Various Dictionaries, involves the analysis of actual dictionary material. First, various unilingual and bilingual dictionaries (of Canadian and non-Canadian origins) are examined to see whether a certain number of Canadianisms have been covered and, if so, if their treatment is adequate overall. Second, a more in-depth analysis of the treatment of certain Canadianisms is undertaken in existing unilingual and bilingual dictionaries. The point of this exercise is to reveal the most common problems related to the treatment of Canadianisms.

Chapter 5, Problems Affecting Canadian Lexicography, consists of a discussion of a number of the problems identified in the dictionary reviews of chapter 3 and the analyses of chapter 4. Suggestions for improved lexicographic treatment of Canadianisms intersperse the discussion.

Chapter 6, The BCD's Approach to Canadianisms, examines how the problems brought out in the preceding chapters are being addressed by the Bilingual Canadian Dictionary Project (BCD), whose primary objective is to produce a lexicographic work that reflects Canadian French and English usage.

Finally, Chapter 7, A Case Study, presents the step-by-step preparation of a BCD entry for a French Canadianism, which involves a number of the problems previously discussed. This exercise allows us to evaluate the practical approaches to Canadianisms taken by the BCD.

In addition, there are two appendices listing the dictionaries, corpora and institutions referred to in the thesis, as well their abbreviations.

## **Writing Conventions**

The first time a dictionary, corpus or institution is referred to, the full name is given, followed by its abbreviation in parentheses. In subsequent references, generally only the abbreviation is used.

Since this thesis examines not only words that are Canadian, but also Canadian senses, and equivalents of Canadian words and senses, the following conventions have been established to distinguish between headwords, senses and equivalents: headwords are in italics; senses are in quotation marks; and equivalents are in bold.

Where a dictionary entry or a part of it is cited, the original typography has generally been maintained. There are two exceptions: the phonetic transcription, which varies from one dictionary to another, has been converted to the International Phonetic Alphabet symbols to allow for easier comparison; for the same reason, various graphic symbols that mark Canadianisms have been changed to the label *CD*.

## **Conclusion**

It is hoped that this study of the lexicographic treatment of the particularities of Canadian English and French will be of use not only to the BCD project, but to other Canadian lexicographic projects as well, and will lead to better coverage of Canadianisms in future dictionaries.

# **1. DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN ENGLISH AND FRENCH AND CANADIANISMS**

Despite the fact that the English and French-speaking settlers of Canada came originally from Britain and France, the English and French spoken in Canada today are not identical to the contemporary varieties of these languages in Britain and France. The reason for this is quite simple. Languages constantly evolve to meet the new needs of a linguistic group. Indeed, the English and French of 20th century Britain and France are not the same as the English and French transported to Canada in the 17th century by the early settlers. And, while the languages in the old world were undergoing their own developments, the Canadian settlers encountered many new peoples and realities that influenced the development of their transported languages. Although changes have taken place on both sides of the ocean, these transformations have not been so great that the languages are now mutually unintelligible. However, they have been great enough that we can clearly assert that the language varieties CE and CF do exist. In this chapter, the factors that have contributed to the evolution of these distinct language varieties will be examined and the concept of Canadianism will be introduced.

## **1.1 Historical Overview of Canadian English**

The first permanent English settlement in North America was established in St. John's Newfoundland in 1583 by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The majority of colonists that settled in Newfoundland came from Ireland and the southwest counties of England. However,

Newfoundland did not become a part of Canada until 1949, so consequently the English spoken there and the English spoken in the rest of Canada were relatively unaffected by each other.

The 17th century marked the first major influx of English-speaking peoples to North America. Their settlements were concentrated along the Atlantic seaboard in what is now the New England area of the United States. The first major arrival of English-speaking people in Canada came in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht which gave Britain possession of the French region Acadia, part of present-day Nova Scotia. Between 1713 and 1763, settlers from England and America moved into Nova Scotia, and Halifax was founded in 1749. With the founding of this city, volunteers from England and other European countries were encouraged to move to the area: approximately 1,500 Germans and Swiss settled in Lunenburg; many more from Britain and about another 1,000 from the American colonies emigrated to this region. (Orkin 1970:51) However, the colonization of this region was rather slow. The American colonies seemed to be more appealing. The French-speaking Acadians were deported "en masse" in 1755 when the British realized that their presence hindered British expansion. (Orkin 1970:51)

In 1763, at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, New France was ceded to Britain and renamed the Province of Quebec, although its territory included parts of present day Ontario. At that point in time, the number of francophones outnumbered the number of anglophones in the then occupied parts of Canada. This was soon to change.

Colonists from New England moved up to Nova Scotia to take the place of the expelled Acadians. In 1783, with the end of the American Revolutionary War, there was a mass migration of Americans who fled the United States, wishing to maintain their ties to Britain; they came to be known as the United Empire Loyalists. The Loyalists came primarily from the New England

and New York seaport areas and settled in Nova Scotia and Quebec. Between the years of 1783 and 1784, it is estimated that the population of Nova Scotia doubled. (Orkin 1970:53) A few years after 1783, at least 10,000 more settlers moved into present-day Ontario, mostly from the regions of New England, New York and Pennsylvania. Within twenty years after 1783, the population of this area grew to over 90,000 and, by 1813, 80% of the people in this region were American in origin. (McConnell 1979:9) In other words, the English spoken by the American settlers became firmly entrenched in what was to become CE.

Some Canadians feared this American “invasion,” and after the War of 1812, the British Government set out to remedy the situation by actively promoting immigration from England, Scotland and Ireland in the 1830s and 1840s. This migration was so great that by the time of Confederation in 1867, half of Canada's population was of British descent. (Orkin 1970:55)

Western Canada was opened up for settlement only during the 1870s. Here again, the influence of Americans is apparent, since much of the West was settled almost entirely by Americans and Eastern Canadians already influenced by Americans. Manitoba was settled by farmers from Upper Canada, land-hungry Americans and Lord Selkirk's Red River Scots. Ontarians played a role in the colonization of Saskatchewan and Alberta, but the majority of the English-speaking settlers came from the American West. (Orkin 1970:58)

This was not the case, however, in British Columbia. Americans were not drawn to this area in the same numbers because, according to Mark M. Orkin (1970:58), the type of farmland there was different from what they were accustomed to. As a result, it was settled mainly by British immigrants; hence the British influence in this province is much stronger.

This brief survey of immigration patterns in Canada outside of Quebec makes it clear that both Britain and the United States have played decisive roles in the development of CE. The loyalty to the homeland and the prestige of British English have maintained the importance of British English, while the importance of the early settlers that came to Canada from New England in the 1780s and 1790s is apparent as they formed the base of the English first spoken in Canada. (McConnell 1978:9) In addition to these two different influences, it must not be forgotten that there were many factors of the Canadian experience itself that allowed CE to develop into its own distinct variety of English: these included the new physical environment, the way of life in this environment and contact with new peoples, more particularly, the Amerindians and the French. The influence of their languages on CE will be discussed later on in chapter 2, section 2.1.4 when borrowings from other languages are dealt with.

## **1.2 Historical Overview of Canadian French**

Unlike CE, the origins of CF are well-documented. The French settled in Canada during the 17th century. There were two distinct migrations from France. One group settled in Eastern Canada, founding the region known as Acadia, the other settled around present day Quebec City and along the St. Lawrence River, in the region known then as New France. The settlers of Acadia came primarily from the western regions of France where the Poitevin and Saintongeais dialects were spoken, while the settlers of New France came from a wider variety of regions, extending from the Poitevin area to Ile-de-France and including a significant proportion of immigrants from Normandy. Since at the time of these two migrations, the concept of “standard

French” did not exist in France, the French that was imported to Canada consisted of many different dialects.<sup>1</sup>

The first French settlement was established in Acadia in 1604. A French nobleman named Pierre du Gua de Monts was given the right to establish a settlement for trading and fishing purposes. He founded it at the mouth of the St. Croix River in the present day province of New Brunswick. (Lotz 1991:21-22) After an extremely harsh first winter, the settlement was moved to a more sheltered spot on the Annapolis Basin called Port Royal. In the year 1650, there were about 300 Acadians settled around the area of the Annapolis Basin and, by 1687, their numbers had grown to 2,000. (Lotz 1991:24) War broke out several times between the French and the English, and in 1713, all of Acadia except for Cape Breton Island became a British possession. Life became increasingly difficult for the Acadians living alongside the English, and in 1755 they were finally ordered deported to make way for British expansion.

Nevertheless, the French language continued to thrive in New France, which was settled as of 1608, although the geographical distance that separated the Acadians from the French-speakers of New France maintained the original differences in the French spoken in each area.

The original settlers of New France who came to Canada between 1608 and 1700 did not amount to more than 10,000 people. (Orkin 1971:3) We know the exact breakdown of the percentage of people that came from each region of France: the greatest number of immigrants (19.4 percent) came from Normandy, while the region with the second highest number of immigrants (12.7 percent) was the Ile-de-France. (Orkin 1971:3)

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<sup>1</sup> It is a common misconception that the French language brought to New France was a “français pur...qui se serait détérioré peu à peu sous l'influence de l'envahisseur anglais.” (Claude Poirier, “Le lexique québécois : son évolution, ses composantes,” Standard French Review IV, 1-2, Spring-Fall 1980:45).

The Ile-de-France dialect is the dialect that gave way to the language which we refer to today as French. But when settlers from this region left France to come to New France, their dialect had not yet become predominant in France. Every region in France had its own dialect. According to Orkin (1971:4), it is possible that some of the settlers from other regions, especially the ones from towns, were bilingual in that they were able to speak the Ile-de-France dialect as well as their own dialect.

It did not take long for the French in New France to blend into a unified speech. There was an obvious need for a common language and definite advantages to having one. Adjutor Rivard states that “dès le 18e siècle, l'évolution était en grande partie accomplie, notre parler avait acquis déjà son uniformité.” (Poirier 1980:47) In fact, it is believed that the French language in North America became standardized faster than the French in Europe. As early as 1753, De Bacqueville de la Pothérie, an annalist from France, wrote: “Although there is here a mixture from almost all the provinces of France, one cannot distinguish the speech of any one of them in particular among the Canadians.” (Orkin 1971:9)

Despite the fact that, for a long time, the French spoken in New France was thought to be a “patois” or a corrupted version of standard French, many accounts from visitors during the eighteenth century praise the French spoken in New France for its purity. Father Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix noted that “nowhere else do they speak our language more purely: one cannot note here the least accent.” (Orkin 1971:8)

The year 1763 had a decisively negative impact on the expansion and development of the French language in this country. In that year, the Treaty of Paris was passed, giving Britain possession of New France. The result was that “French immigration and direct French influence

came to an end” in Canada. (Orkin 1971:10) Henceforth, linguistic developments in France had little influence on the French language in North America.

Furthermore, the French-speaking people in Canada suddenly found themselves surrounded by more and more English-speaking settlers as the Loyalists made their way to Canada following the American Revolution. At the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the Province of Quebec had a French population of close to 60,000 with only a few hundred English-speaking people. By 1766, the number of English speakers (mostly fur traders and merchants) had grown to more than 600; by 1774, there were between 2,000 and 3,000 English speakers. (Orkin 1970:52) The impact of these new neighbours was felt in many ways by the French. The increasing numbers of English-speakers made the French apprehensive and ignited in them a strong sense of national pride. Their language served not only as a means of communication but also as a powerful symbol of their identity.

However, when people of different linguistic backgrounds share the same community, they inevitably end up sharing some aspects of language as well. In Canada, there has been mutual linguistic borrowing between the English and French languages, although the English penetration into French has been much greater than the French penetration into English primarily because of the dominance of English speakers in North America. The introduction of anglicisms in the French of New France soon led to criticism. John Lambert, an Englishman travelling through Canada in the 19th century said, “Previous to the conquest of the country by the English, the inhabitants are said to have spoken as pure and correct French as in old France. Since then they have adopted many anglicisms in their language, and have also several antiquated phrases, which may probably have arisen out of their intercourse with the new settlers.” (Orkin 1971:11)

These “antiquated phrases” in CF had seemingly not been noted before the British conquest. Indeed, the French heard in Canada had always been well received by visitors to New France. It seems strange to assert that these phrases suddenly appeared as a result of contact with new settlers. It is quite probable that these antiquated phrases had always been present in CF and that visitors simply did not take note of them because they were so impressed that French in Canada had already developed into a “uniform speech,” whereas in France in this period, each region was still speaking its own regional dialect. (Orkin 1971:22) Nonetheless, Lambert identified an important characteristic of CF when he spoke of “antiquated phrases.” Words brought to Canada by the early French settlers later fell into disuse in the old country, but continued to be used by the isolated French communities in Canada.

The adoption of anglicisms in CF, also noted by Lambert, can be attributed to the fact that CF was not in much of a position to defend itself. The French-speaking people were cut off from France, they did not have a well-organized education system, and they did not play a prominent role in the economic development of the province. (Poirier 1980:49) Anglophones predominated in business and consequently numerous English words from this sector, for which there were no French equivalents, were adopted by the French. Furthermore, the ability to speak English was highly regarded and, for many shopkeepers, having a sign in English was an indication of success. (Poirier 1980:49)

Although English is the language that has had the most impact on CF, like CE, it has also been influenced by other languages it has come into contact with, namely the Amerindian language. The influences of these languages on CF will be looked at in more depth in chapter 2, section 2.1.4 in the discussion on borrowings from other languages.

The criticisms of CF and its labelling by linguists as a “patois” have resulted in a feeling of resentment among French Canadians. The idea that their French does not measure up to the “standard” French of France led many to believe that their French was inferior. However, it is finally being recognized that the French from France is not the only “respectable” variety of French that exists, that the French spoken in Canada is a longstanding, worthy variety unto its own, whose basis, in fact, was formed well before the standardized version of France.

### **1.3 Distinctive Features of CE and CF**

While the English and French languages used in Canada today are very similar to these same languages as they are used in other parts of the world, they contain features which are particularly Canadian because of the influences noted above.

These features, often called Canadianisms, can be classified into four main categories. First, some older elements from BE and FF have been retained in Canada. Second, new meanings have been added to existing words to reflect Canadian realities. Third, new words have been created from the existing language. And fourth, other languages have influenced English and French in Canada.

The combination of the typically Canadian features described above with the features common to English and French as spoken elsewhere is what distinguishes CE and CF from other varieties of English and French.

### **1.4 Defining and Determining Canadianisms**

Walter S. Avis (1967:xii) has defined the term Canadianism as follows, “a word, expression, or meaning which is native to Canada or which is distinctively characteristic of

Canadian usage though not necessarily exclusive to Canada.” In CE, typical examples of Canadianisms are the word *mukluk*, the expression *by acclamation* and the sense of *band* referring to “a group of Indians.” (McConnell 1979:56) *Chesterfield* is an example of a word which is characteristic of Canadian usage in English, and such expressions as *I want off* or *the cat wants out*, which omit the verbs *to get* or *to go*, are characteristic of the speech of many Canadians, but these phenomena, while considered typical of Canadian usage, are also found to some extent in other varieties of English. (McConnell 1979:11)

Avis's definition of Canadianism applies equally to CF. French examples of Avis's categories of Canadianisms include the following: *débarbouillette*, a word native to Canada, *avoir de l'allure*, a Canadian expression in the sense of “to make sense”, the Canadian meaning of *gratte* in the sense of “snowplough,” and *additionnel*, a word whose use is much more common in Canada than in France.<sup>2</sup>

Although the definition of Canadianism may appear to be almost self-evident, it is not always a simple matter to determine whether a given linguistic element is actually a Canadianism. In fact, the term Canadianism has posed a number of problems to lexicographers and other language scholars over the years.

First, for English-speakers, one problem has been distinguishing between what constitutes an Americanism and what constitutes a Canadianism. In Mitford M. Mathews' Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles (DA), published in 1944, the definition of Americanism is limited to words or expressions that originated in the United States. This definition presents a problem since it is often impossible to pinpoint with any degree of certainty

where certain terms originated. (Avis 1967:xiii) Americans and Canadians have been moving back and forth across the border since the late seventeenth century, and furthermore, the present day American-Canadian border was not established until well into the nineteenth century. Therefore, Americanisms and Canadianisms are not always easy to distinguish in terms of origin. Indeed, Charles Lovell, who was the editor of the Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles (DCHP) until his death in 1960 and had worked on the DA, noted that some of the sources used to prove Americanisms in the DA project were actually Canadian in origin. This problem led Avis to make the suggestion that the label *North Americanism* be used when dealing with the English used in North America, and to expand his definition of Canadianisms to include, as mentioned above, not only words which originated in Canada, but also words which are significant in Canadian usage.

A second problem involved in determining what constitutes a Canadianism - a problem shared by CE and CF - is related to the historical development of the language. It can be difficult to determine whether a certain word is actually an archaism or whether it originated in Canada. (Vinay 1981:153) The settlers brought with them vocabulary that has since fallen out of usage in the old countries, but has nevertheless been retained in Canada. Archaisms whose use is limited to Canada are generally considered Canadianisms, specifically, lexical Canadianisms.<sup>3</sup> A few examples in CE are *fall*, in the sense of “autumn,” and *mad* in the sense of “angry” (McConnell 1979:12), and in CF, *abrier* meaning “mettre à l’abri” and *à cette heure* in the sense of “maintenant.” (Poirier 1980:59) The problem is further complicated in CF, as some of these

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<sup>2</sup>This is revealed by the BCD textual database Textum: the sub-corpus of Canadian newspaper texts contains 2109 occurrences of this word, compared to 45 occurrences in *Le Monde*.

<sup>3</sup> Many archaisms in CE are actually North Americanisms since, as explained above, there has been much cross-border movement between the two countries.

archaisms have been labelled as anglicisms when they are actually relics of old French. A couple of such examples are *appartement* in the sense of “pièce” (Poirier 1978:55), and *en temps* in the sense of “à temps.” (Poirier 1978:64)

In most definitions of the term Canadianism, the emphasis is on aspects of vocabulary. However, although it is the vocabulary of CE and CF which distinguishes them most from the other language varieties, there are other areas of the language where Canadian particularities are present. These other areas are pointed out by Avis himself, not in his introduction to the DCHP, but in the entry for Canadianism in this same dictionary.<sup>4</sup> If we look at the second sense division for the word Canadianism in the DCHP (Avis 1967), it states that a Canadianism is “any linguistic feature, as of pronunciation, morphology, syntax, orthography, that is characteristic of Canadian English.”<sup>5</sup> This extension of the meaning of Canadianism to other linguistic levels is reflected in the Penguin Canadian Dictionary (PEN), where Canadianism is defined as “a word, pronunciation, usage, or custom distinctive of Canada,” and in the Dictionnaire du français plus (PLUS), where it is defined as a “fait de langue (prononc., mot, tournure, etc.) caractéristique du français au Canada.”

It is this broader definition of Canadianism that will be used in this thesis, although the focus will be primarily on lexical Canadianisms.

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<sup>4</sup> One possible explanation for the discrepancy between Avis’s two definitions for Canadianism is that, although he recognizes in the dictionary definition that the term Canadianism does indeed incorporate all the various linguistic features of the language, in the introduction to the dictionary, he has chosen to concentrate primarily on the lexical features, since these constitute the content of the dictionary.

<sup>5</sup> Once again, the same applies for Canadian French.

## **2. TYPES OF CANADIANISMS**

The definition of Canadianism provided in the previous chapter outlines a number of types of Canadianisms: lexical, grammatical, orthographic and phonetic Canadianisms. This chapter will examine each of these types. However, it does not purport to be an exhaustive account of Canadian particularities. Rather, it provides a simplified overview of the key features.

### **2.1 Lexical Canadianisms**

The vocabulary of the English and French languages spoken in Canada does not differ enormously from the vocabulary used in other parts of the world where these languages are spoken. In fact, the bulk of the words used are common to all speakers of these languages. There are, however, a number of words that are peculiar in usage in Canada, enough to warrant the appellation of two distinct varieties of these languages: CE and CF.

Lexical Canadianisms can be classified into several different categories. There are basically four main categories. First, there are archaisms, in other words, old words that have fallen out of usage elsewhere but have been maintained in Canada. Second, there are existing words which have had their meaning extended in Canada. Third, there are new words that have been created from the existing language. Finally, there are words that have been borrowed from other languages.

Each of these four categories will now be discussed.

### **2.1.1 Archaisms**

As previously mentioned, both CE and CF have maintained several words that have fallen out of use in BE and FF. Further examples are the expression *I guess* in CE meaning “I suppose,” and the word *trash* meaning “rubbish.” (McConnell 1979:12) In CF, we also have *enfarger* and *grafigner* (Cormier 1993:117) in the sense of “entraver” and “égratigner” respectively. It is not surprising that these words did not come to the same end in Canada as they did in Britain and France, since once they were transported to the New World, they were geographically cut off from the linguistic developments in the Old world and subsequently followed their own path of evolution.

### **2.1.2 Meaning Extensions**

The retaining of archaisms illustrates what might be seen as the “preservative” nature of CE and CF. The next class of lexical Canadianisms also indicates a desire to preserve what already exists, although, in a slightly different way. Existing words have often had their meanings extended to cover new, often similar, realities in the New World. For example, the word *band*, which was mentioned previously in Chapter 1, section 1.4, can simply mean “a group of people.” However, its meaning has been extended in Canada to designate a group of Indians in a given area and recognized by the government as a group. (McConnell 1979:56) *Band*, therefore, in CE has acquired a precision that is not known in other varieties of English. Another well-known example of this kind is the afore-mentioned English Canadian expression *by acclamation*. In T.K. Pratt’s study of the treatment of this Canadian expression in various dictionaries, he notes (1986:60) that the British dictionary, the Concise Oxford Dictionary

(1982), defines it as “a loud and eager assent to a proposal,” while the American dictionary, the Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1983), defines it as “an overwhelming affirmative vote by cheers, shouts or applause rather than by ballot.” However in Canada, the phrase contains an additional element; it must include the idea of assent without any opposition. The Gage Canadian Dictionary (GAGE) defines *by acclamation* as “the act or an instance of electing without opposition.” The words *reeve*, *county*, *concession* and *confederation* have undergone similar semantic extensions in Canada.

In CF, the word *poudrerie* refers to snow which is “fine et sèche.” (Poirier 1980:75) This is an extension of the meaning “une étendue de terre couverte de poussière,” which it had in old French. (Poirier 1980:75) Another example is the word *frasil*, which comes from the French word *fraisil* meaning “cendre de charbon de terre incomplètement brûlée.” (Nouveau Petit Robert, 1993) In CF, the meaning does not refer to carbon, but to ice: “petits cristaux de glace ou fragments de glace flottant à la surface de l’eau.” (Poirier 1980:75) Some other examples of words whose meaning has been extended in CF are *annonceur*, *babillard* and *camelot*.

### **2.1.3 Creation of New Words**

Yet another category of lexical Canadianisms demonstrates the tendency to preserve what already exists in the language. This third category of lexical Canadianisms consists of new words that have been created from existing words. When faced with new realities for which they had no names, the new settlers would often turn to existing words to help them out. New words can be created from existing words in several ways.

First, there is compounding, which consists of joining two or more existing words together to designate a new object. In CE, we have the examples of *prairie crocus* and *beverage room*. *Casse-crouûte* and *lave-auto* are examples of compounding in CF. According to R. E. McConnell (1979:61), this is the most frequent way that lexical Canadianisms have been created.

Compounding is, however, not the only method of creating new terms. They can also be created by blending parts of two or more words together. In CE, there are examples of blends that stem from Canadian innovations; for example, a Canadian biologist who crossed speckled trout and lake trout created the new term *splake*. Similarly, the crossing of muskellunge and pike yielded the new term *muspikie*. (McConnell 1979:63) Examples of blending are also seen in the vocabulary of our health organizations, (e.g. *medicare* in CE), our political organizations, (e.g. *Socred* in CE), and our forms of entertainment, (e.g. *téléroman* in CF and the sport *lacrosse* in both CE and CF).

New words can also be created by compression. This is done to simplify the language. For example, the Canadian term *Mountie* is actually an abbreviation of North West Mounted Police. *Hydro*, according to McConnell (1979:66), is a short form of Hydro-Electric Commission of Ontario, which has spread to other areas of Canada as well. (McConnell 1979:66) In CF, câblodistribution is shortened to *câble*.

Not all new words are created from existing words, however. Onomatopoeia, which also plays a part in forming new words, is an exception to the norm. Occasionally, Canadianisms have derived their designation from the sound that the object they refer to make. In CE, some birds are named after the sound of the call they make, for example the *chewee*. (McConnell 1979:64)

### **2.1.4 Borrowings from Other Languages**

The fourth major category of lexical Canadianisms comprises words that have been borrowed from other languages. This comes as no surprise since languages are always influenced by other neighbouring languages. When the first European explorers arrived in Canada, they met the aboriginal peoples of Canada. The Europeans relied heavily on the Amerindians to help show them how to survive in their new surroundings. A means of communication was essential for mutual comprehension and consequently there was a mutual exchange of vocabulary. According to Orkin (1970:88), the Amerindian language most commonly borrowed from was Algonquin. The words borrowed are, for the most part, those referring to features in our flora, fauna, geography and topography. Examples are *muskeg*, *saskatoon* and *wapiti* in CE, and *abénaquis*, *rabaska* and *ouache* in CF. Many place names all over Canada are borrowings from Amerindian languages, including the very name of the country which comes from the Iroquoian word *Kanata* meaning “community.” Frequently, Amerindian words entered CF first before entering CE. (McConnell 1979:81)

When English and French speakers became neighbours, both languages began influencing each other, although the influence of English on French has been much greater than the influence of French on English. *Portage*, *prairie* and *rapids* are examples of English borrowing from French, while examples of French borrowing from English are *cheddar*, *application* and *grocerie*. Borrowed words have either maintained the original form, or have been altered to fit better into the system of the target language. For example, *tarte rappée* became *rawpie*, *rappee* or *rappie pie* in English, and *bête de la mer*, (the name for a young harp seal in

Newfoundland) became *bedlamer*. (McConnell 1979:68) Similarly in CF, *backhouse* became *bécosse*.

### **2.1.5 Conclusion on Lexical Canadianisms**

Evidently, as languages are transported to new surroundings, the need for new words to describe new situations arises. Furthermore, given that languages constantly evolve, the transported languages will develop differently from the languages spoken in their place of origin. Canada is no exception. The English and French languages in Canada have been supplemented by the creation of lexical Canadianisms to reflect Canadians' history, culture and general way of life.

## **2.2 Grammatical Canadianisms**

Grammatical Canadianisms are not nearly as numerous as lexical Canadianisms. In this section, I will discuss the few differences that do exist between CE and CF and the English and French used in other countries. CE and CF will be treated in separate sections, since obviously the grammatical differences within each language are not the same.

The following few points, which were raised by scholars of CE and CF, will be checked against the textual database of the BCD Project to see whether current usage supports or disproves them. For the English-language corpora, the Canadian sub-corpus used will be the *English Canadian Press* (ECP), the American will be the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ), and the British will be the British corpus collections (BRCOR), which incorporate a number of scholarly and journalistic texts. For the French-language corpora, the Canadian sub-corpus used will be the *Presse canadienne française* (PCF) and the French sub-corpus will be *Le Monde* (MOND).

Given that the size of these five corpora vary greatly, we will not compare the total number of occurrences in each, but rather the percentage of occurrences of each practice.

### **2.2.1 Grammatical Canadianisms in CE**

Generally speaking, in English there are no grammatical features that are distinctly Canadian. However, there are a few slight differences between AE and BE, and since Canadians are influenced by both varieties, usage here is somewhat mixed between the two. It is this mixture of American and British features which makes CE distinct.

#### **2.2.1.1 Use of Definite Article**

In BE, there is a tendency to drop the definite article with certain institutions, such as *hospital*. In BE, one would say “he went to hospital” or “he is in hospital” whereas in AE, one would say “to the hospital” and “in the hospital.” The tendency to drop the article, which appears to be a growing tendency in Britain, may, according to McConnell (1979:35), be spreading to North America. Corpus analysis confirms that this phenomenon is indeed widespread in BE and CE, but not in AE as yet.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
to hospital	70%	2%	95%
to the hospital	30%	98%	5%
in hospital	80%	0	97%
in the hospital	20%	100%	3%

#### **2.2.1.2 Use of Possessive Form**

Another grammatical difference that has been noted (McConnell 1979:35) is that where BE tends to retain the possessive form, as in “barber’s shop,” AE simply juxtaposes the two nouns - “barber shop.” Results from the BCD's corpus indicate that this is certainly still the case

amongst the British and the American speakers, as there are no occurrences of “barber shop” in BRCOR, nor are there any of “barber’s shop” in the WSJ. The Canadian sub-corpus, the ECP, reveals an overwhelming, yet not complete, preference for the American practice in this respect. A possible explanation for this phenomenon may be a desire on the part of the New World settlers to simplify their language. “Barber shop” is certainly easier to pronounce and is clearer sounding than “barber’s shop.”

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
barber shop	95%	100%	0
barber’s shop	5%	0	100%

### 2.2.1.3 Use of Prepositions

There are a few minor differences between BE and AE in their use of prepositions. According to McConnell (1979:35), the tendency in AE is to say “he lives *on* Osgoode Street,” whereas speakers of BE would say “he lives *in* Osgoode Street.” Another such example is “all *of* the dishes” in AE, compared to “all the dishes” in BE. (McConnell 1979:35)

Since there were no occurrences of either the “lives *on*” or “lives *in*” pattern in BRCOR, it is impossible to draw any conclusions considering British usage; however, we can see that the preposition *on* in the structure “lives + prep. + street name” is clearly predominant in the ECP and in the WSJ, although the number of occurrences in the WSJ was very limited.<sup>1</sup>

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
lives on + Street	98%	100%	0
lives in + Street	2% <sup>2</sup>	0	0

<sup>1</sup> There were only 2 occurrences of “lives on.”

<sup>2</sup> The one occurrence found is peculiar in its use of the definite article before the street name: “lives in the Rav Ashi Street....”

As for “all the dishes” compared to “all of the dishes,” we can only pass judgement on the ECP since no occurrences were found in the other two corpora. The ECP prefers the British practice of omitting the preposition.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
all of the dishes	9.5%	0	0
all the dishes	90.5%	0	0

#### 2.2.1.4 Use of Alternative Verb Forms

Another area in which Canadian usage seems to be mixed is in its use of certain verbs in the past tense. The differences between BE and AE in this regard can be illustrated by the following examples: BE *knelt*/AE *kneeled*, BE *dived*/AE *dove* and BE *sneaked*/AE *snuck*. (McConnell 1979:37)

Of the first pair, *knelt*/*kneeled*, there were no occurrences of either form in the BRCOR and only a limited number in the WSJ, with the latter showing, surprisingly, that the BE *knelt* is the preferred form. Either the *kneeled* form is not as ingrained in AE as one is led to believe, or else it is falling out of usage. The former explanation is probably more likely, since current American dictionaries such as the Random House Webster's College Dictionary (RHWEB) and the American Heritage Dictionary (AHD) list both *knelt* and *kneeled* for the past tense with no indication of one form being preferred over the other. *Knelt* is also the preferred form in the ECP.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
knelt	91%	100%	0
kneeled	9%	0	0

Linguistic surveys conducted in the 1970s<sup>3</sup> showed that the Canadian population was split on the use of *dived/dove*, roughly 50% favouring each. Interestingly, younger Canadians seemed to be more inclined to use *dove*. (Chambers 1993:17) Analysis of the ECP corpus confirms the results of the surveys from the 1970s. The usage of *dived/dove* is still split almost 50-50 amongst Canadians, as can be seen in the following table.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
dived	42%	79%	100%
dove	58%	21%	0

The BRCOR reveals that *dived* still remains the preferred form in BE without question. However, the WSJ reveals, once again, some curious figures, showing the British form preferred at an outstanding 79%. These results indicate, as with *kneeled*, that *dove* is not as widely accepted as one would believe. Indeed, the American Heritage Dictionary (1982:411) states that “*dove* is widely used in speech and is acceptable in writing to about half of the Usage Panel.”<sup>4</sup> Perhaps since the WSJ is a more conservative, formal newspaper, it would be more likely to use the more traditional verb form.

Surprisingly, results for the *sneaked/snuck* pair mirror almost exactly the results for *dived/dove*. *Sneaked* is unquestionably the preferred form in BE. It is the preferred form over 75% of the time in the WSJ, and roughly half of the time in the ECP.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
sneaked	59%	78%	100%
snuck	41%	22%	0

<sup>3</sup> The surveys being referred to are the Survey of Canadian English by M.H. Scargill and H.J. Warkentyne in 1972 and a regional survey of usage in Toronto by J.K. Chambers in 1979.

<sup>4</sup> This Usage Panel consists of writers, editors, professors, journalists, news reporters, etc.

### 2.2.1.5 Use of Alternative Question Forms

The way in which verbs are used in forming questions may also vary, depending on the variety of English spoken. According to McConnell (1979:37), in AE, for example, there is a tendency to use the auxiliary *do* with *have* for questions, as in “Do you have a pen?,” while many speakers of BE would merely say “Have you a pen?.” Canadians use both of these forms, but they may also use a third form, which is similar to the BE form, with the addition of the word *got*, as in “Have you got a pen?” (McConnell 1979:37) This form is not, however, exclusive to Canadian usage.

Corpus analysis does not bear out all of McConnell's conclusions.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
Do you have?	97%	79%	86%
Have you?	1%	0	0
Have you got?	2%	21%	14%

Strangely enough, there were no occurrences of the BE form “have you?” in the BRCOR. The “do you have?” form appears to be the most commonly used form in this sub-corpus. The results from the WSJ, however, confirm the generally accepted view that “do you have?” is the typical AE form, while “have you got?” is also used to some extent. The figures from the ECP show that, even though CE overwhelmingly prefers the “do you have?” form, all three forms are present.

### 2.2.1.6 Conclusion on Grammatical Canadianisms in CE

It is not terribly surprising that there are not a large number of grammatical differences between CE and other varieties of English since grammar, unlike vocabulary, is a relatively stable element of language. When the settlers came to Canada, they encountered new things for

which they had no designations, and were therefore forced to create designations. But, although they were forced to create new words to express themselves, the grammatical structures they needed to express themselves were already firmly established. The changes that have taken place in the grammar system are, most likely, changes that are due to the natural evolution of a language.

## **2.2.2 Grammatical Canadianisms in CF**

Similarly, there are not many differences between the grammar of CF and the grammar of FF. Furthermore, it would appear that most of the differences that do exist are more likely to occur in the spoken language than the written language.

### **2.2.2.1 Use of Gender**

First of all, there is a small number of words which are given a different gender in CF compared to FF. Two such examples are *job* and *radio* in the sense of “poste.” (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand, 1988:217) The Nouveau Petit Robert (NPR) lists *job* as masculine, while Canadian dictionaries such as the Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui (RQ and RQ2),<sup>5</sup> the Dictionnaire du français plus (PLUS) and the Dictionnaire des canadianismes (LC) list it as feminine. While *radio* is feminine in the NPR, the LC marks it as masculine. While the PLUS says it is “souvent au masc. dans l'usage courant,” the RQ and the RQ2 mark it as both masculine and feminine, but indicates that the masculine form is informal. Since these gender shifts are documented by the dictionaries, and since only one dictionary points out that the masculine for *radio* is informal, this grammatical difference does not seem to be restricted only to the spoken language.

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<sup>5</sup> RQ denotes the first edition, published in 1992 and RQ2 denotes the revised edition published in 1993.

Despite the fact that Canadian unilingual dictionaries clearly mark *job* as feminine, corpus figures show that the masculine/feminine usage of *job* is split almost 50-50 in the PCF. However, the masculine is clearly the only gender used in the MOND.

	PCF	MOND
un job	48%	100%
une job	52%	0

The usage of *radio* in the masculine in CF is even less well-ingrained. It occurs only 12% of the time in the PCF. This seems to confirm the hesitation in Canadian unilingual dictionaries with regard to this gender.

	PCF	MOND
une radio	88%	100%
un radio	12%	0

### 2.2.2.2 Use of Number

Another tendency, although by no means a predominant one, is to make certain nouns which are plural in FF singular in CF. This is the case, for instance, for *vacances* and *fiançailles*, which tend to become singular in CF. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:217)

This tendency is not documented in either editions of the RQ or the PLUS. It is indicated in the LC, but it is obviously not generally accepted, since *une vacance* occurs a mere 0.5% of the time in the PCF and *une fiançaille* only 7%.

	PCF	MOND
des vacances	99.5%	100%
une vacance	0.5%	0
des fiançailles	93%	100%
une fiançaille	7%	0

### 2.2.2.3 Use of Personal Pronouns

Certainly in the spoken language, but also to some extent in the written language, CF often replaces the personal pronouns *nous*, *vous* and *eux* with *nous autres*, *vous autres* and *eux autres*. The addition of *autres* is for reinforcement. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:217).

In this case, we can look directly at the number of occurrences of each form in the PCF and the MOND. Of the three, *nous autres* occurs the most frequently in both corpora.

	PCF	MOND
<i>nous autres</i>	377	22
<i>vous autres</i>	55	3
<i>eux autres</i>	66	1

Since there are occurrences of all three forms in the MOND, and especially of *nous autres* in this corpus, we cannot really conclude that the phenomenon of adding *autres* to personal pronouns is limited to CF. However, it certainly seems to be more prevalent in CF.

### 2.2.2.4 Use of Relative Pronouns

There is a tendency in CF, primarily in the “langue populaire,” to use a different syntax than FF in sentences involving relative pronouns. (Guilbert 1976:46) For example, one might hear “la fille que je sors avec” rather than “la fille avec qui je sors,” or “l’homme que je travaille pour” rather than “l’homme pour qui je travaille.” (Guilbert 1976:46) It seems reasonable to attribute this phenomenon to the influence of the English language on CF since the CF syntax of the above examples is very close to the English.

In this case, two literary corpora were searched, on the basis that literature would be more likely to present the “langue populaire” than newspapers. These two corpora were: Lemeac (LEM) for CF, and Discotext for FF. Neither corpus revealed any occurrences of this

phenomenon. The fact that there were no occurrences in the LEM may suggest that this is not a very commonplace tendency in written CF.

### **2.2.2.5 Conclusion on Grammatical Canadianisms in CF**

In general, the grammar system of CF remains quite similar to that of FF. The reason for this is the same as that given for CE, i.e., the grammar of a language is very stable and is altered only very gradually and slightly.

## **2.3 Orthographic Canadianisms**

There are relatively few spelling differences between CF and FF; therefore, this category of Canadianisms will be discussed only from the point of view of CE.<sup>6</sup>

As with grammar, there are no spelling practices which are specifically Canadian. Here once again we see that Canadians are influenced by both AE and BE, and consequently, what constitutes the Canadianness of spelling in CE is its divided usage between AE and BE practices.<sup>7</sup> The example which best illustrates this divided usage is the term *tire centre*, which uses the American spelling of *tire* and the British spelling of *centre*. (Bailey 1991:20)

What follows now is a summary of the major spelling differences that exist between AE and BE and a suggestion of where Canadian practice lies within each difference.

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<sup>6</sup> Two examples of spelling differences in CF will be examined in section 4.2.2.

<sup>7</sup> The reason for many of the spelling differences between AE and BE are the reforms that the American Noah Webster proposed in the early part of the 19th century. Many of his suggested changes have become firmly ingrained in AE, while others never caught on. Others have been adopted, not only by Americans, but by Britons and Canadians alike, for example, dropping the “k” from “musick,” “traffick” and “publick.” (McConnell 1979:41)

### **2.3.1 Past Tense Forms Ending in -t/-ed**

The first difference pertains to the spelling of a couple of verb forms in the past tense: BE *spelt*/AE *spelled* and BE *dreamt*/ AE *dreamed*. (McConnell 1979:37) Unlike the alternative verb forms mentioned in section 2.2.1.4 (e.g. *dove/dived*), here the difference is simply in the spelling.

While McConnell indicates that Canadians use both forms (1979:37), results from a study of *Maclean's* magazine (chosen because it “reasonably represents the mainstream of current written English”) show that the American practice of *-ed* endings is preferred. (Peters and Fee 1989:141) This view is confirmed by the BCD corpus in terms of both pairs.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
<i>spelt</i>	4%	0	69%
<i>spelled</i>	96%	100%	31%
<i>dreamt</i>	6%	4%	33%
<i>dreamed</i>	94%	96%	67%

Although both forms figure in the ECP sub-corpus, *spelt* occurs only 4% of the time and *dreamt* only 6%, while *spelled* is the preferred spelling 96% of the time and *dreamed* 94%.<sup>8</sup> The WSJ confirms that the BE form *spelt* is not in use in AE and *dreamt* is only marginally so. Surprisingly, the BRCOR indicates that both *spelt* and *spelled* are in use in BE, *spelt* being more predominant, as are also *dreamt* and *dreamed*, with *dreamed* actually occurring 67% of the time.

### **2.3.2 Words Ending in -se/-ce**

This is one instance where neither of the two spelling forms seems to be attached to a particular language variety. There do not appear to be any simple guidelines ruling which form is used by each group. Often, the form that is used varies arbitrarily from word to word.

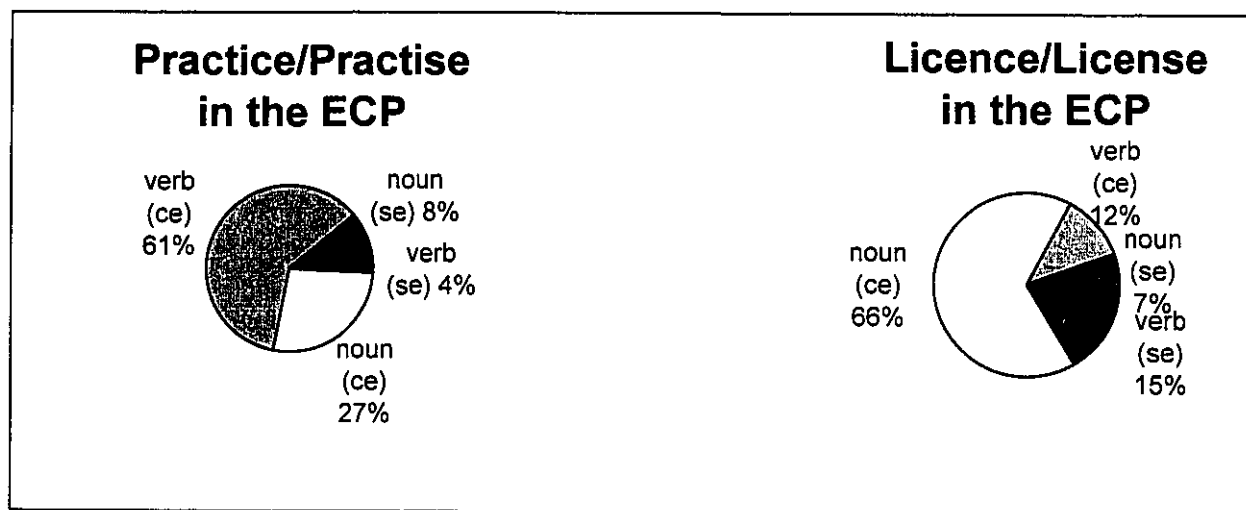
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<sup>8</sup> The Canadian Press Stylebook (1992:248) indicates either form can be used and expresses no preference for one form or the other.

McConnell (1979:48) states, however, that for most Canadians and some Americans, the spelling practice depends on the part of speech of the word, i.e., when the part of speech is a noun, the tendency is to use *-ce*, as in *practice* and *licence*, while the corresponding verbs would use *-se*, i.e., *practise* and *license*. While this appears to be generally the case in the BRCOR,<sup>9</sup> corpus figures reveal something very different in the ECP and the WSJ.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
practice	88% <sup>10</sup> nouns = 31% verbs = 69%	100%	93% nouns = 99% verbs = 1%
practise	12% nouns = 70% verbs = 30%	0	7% all verbs
licence	78% nouns = 31% verbs = 69%	0	96% nouns = 98% verbs = 2%
license	22% nouns = 85% verbs = 15%	100%	4% nouns = 50% verbs = 50%

The results of the ECP search are also shown in the pie charts below.



<sup>9</sup> The only exception is the "license" form.

<sup>10</sup> There are over 11,000 occurrences of this form in the ECP. Since the concordance generating system used with the BCD corpora does not permit differentiation between grammatical categories, the breakdown between noun and verb forms was achieved by eliminating all possible verbal combinations, e.g., "to practice" or "will practice." Therefore, it is possible that these figures may not be completely accurate.

The corpus reveals that the ECP does not follow the guidelines which McConnell suggested are in use. In fact, usage appears to be arbitrary in most cases. One pattern that is revealed is that the *-ce* form is more prevalent than the *-se* form; however, *-ce* is typically used as a verb rather than a noun, which is contrary to McConnell's findings.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, of the few occurrences with the *-se* ending, the majority are nouns, which again is the exact opposite of what McConnell has said.

Another surprising revelation from the corpus analysis is that the WSJ uses only one form in each case. However, its choice of form is not consistent: it uses *practice* rather than *practise*, and *license* rather than *licence*.

### **2.3.3 Words Ending in -ction/-xion**

The *-xion* forms, as in *connexion* and *reflexion*, appear foreign to most North Americans. What's more, usage of these forms in Britain is becoming rare in certain cases. In the second edition of the British learner's dictionary *Collin's Cobuild English Dictionary (COCO2)*, both the *-tion* and the *-xion* forms are given for *connection*, but only the *-tion* form is given for *reflection*. According to McConnell (1979:43), in BE the use of the ending *-xion* or *-ction* now depends on the form of the word from which the noun is derived; for example, *connect* yields *connection*, while *complex* still yields *complexion*.

Corpus verification shows that Canadians, like Americans, favour the *-ction* form.

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<sup>11</sup> The *-ce* form is preferred by the *Canadian Style* (1985:55) and the *Globe and Mail Style Book* (1981:121), regardless of grammatical category.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
connection	100%	100%	100%
connexion	0 <sup>12</sup>	0	0
reflection	99.9%	100%	100%
reflexion	0.1% <sup>13</sup>	0	0

According to the corpora, the supposedly British spelling *-xion* occurs extremely infrequently in the ECP and not at all in the WSJ. Even more surprising is the fact that the BRCOR itself provides no occurrences of the *-xion* ending, which could be an indication of the extent to which the *-xion* forms are falling out of usage.

### **2.3.4 Words Ending in -ize/-ise/-yze/-yse**

Words ending in *-ize/-ise/-yze/-yse* indicate, once again, that spelling practices are not always uniform within a language variety. For instance, according to Pam Peters and Margery Fee (1989:137), British usage is divided between the *-ise* form, which is traditionally characteristic of BE, and the American form *-ize*, while the Americans use *-ize* as the standard spelling.<sup>14</sup> However, the reverse is true for the traditional BE *-yse* and AE *-yze* forms: in BE, *-yse* is still the standard usage for *paralyse* and *analyse*, while usage in AE is divided. (Peters and Fee 1989:137) The study of data from *Maclean's* (Peters and Fee 1989:144), reveals that CE consistently uses the AE *-ize* spelling; however it prefers the *-yse* spelling in *analyse*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Note that there were actually nine occurrences of “connexion,” but each of these occurrences was the proper name of an organization.

<sup>13</sup> In addition to this very small percentage, there were 10 other occurrences, but these were of a French group called *Réflexion Québec*.

<sup>14</sup> Although the *-ize* form seems to be winning favour among many English speakers, McConnell (1979:44) offers an explanation as to why some *-ise* forms remain. She suggests they are helped along by the existence of words in English that have endings in *-ise*, though not as a suffix, such as “surprise,” “advise,” “exercise” and “disguise.”

<sup>15</sup> The *Canadian Style* indicates a preference for *-ize* (1985:55), but the *Globe and Mail Style Book* indicates no preference (1981:123).

The BCD corpus confirms that for both CE and AE, the *-ize* form is definitely the preferred form, while usage is still split in BE, almost 50-50.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
recognize	99.8%	100%	43%
recognise	.2%	0	57%

As for the *-yse/-yze* forms, while AE still clearly prefers *-yze* and BE still prefers *-yse*, CE uses both forms. But *-yze* is more prevalent, contrary to what Peters and Fee noted in *Maclean's*.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
paralyze	70%	100%	0
paralyse	30%	0	100%
analyze	59%	100%	4%
analyse	41%	0	96%

### **2.3.5 Words Ending in -our/-or**

Perhaps the best known spelling marker distinguishing AE from BE is the *-or* form. However, while *-our* is the preferred spelling of BE in such words as *favour*, *honour*, *armour*, and *labour*, *-or* forms are firmly ingrained in such words as *horror*, *pallor* and *tremor*. (McConnell 1979:46) Furthermore, when a suffix is added to *-our* words in BE, generally, the *-our* changes to *-or*, as in *coloration* and *humorous*. (McConnell 1979:47)

In CE, usage in this case is very much divided. *Maclean's* uses the AE *-or* (Peters and Fee 1989:142) and, according to J.K. Chambers (1986:6), this spelling has been the common practice of newspapers in Canada since 1887. Conversely, the BE *-our* spelling is more often used in academic and professional journals. (Pringle 1985:189)

Bailey (1991:20) indicates that use of *-our* predominates among Ontario high school students (80%), while *-or* is more common among Alberta high school students (60%). He attributes this discrepancy to the fact that, education being a provincial jurisdiction, favoured

spelling practices vary from one province to another. Because of such divided usage, it is virtually impossible to designate one form over the other as the preferred national standard.

However, the ECP indicates a definite tendency in Canadian journalism to use *-or* rather than *-our*.<sup>16</sup>

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
color	98.5%	99.5%	12%
colour	1.5%	0.5%	88%
honor	99%	99.5%	0
honour	1%	0.5%	100%
armor	76%	100%	0
armour	24%	0 <sup>17</sup>	100%
labor	98%	99.9%	.4%
labour	2%	.1%	99.6%

While both *-or* and *-our* forms were found in all three sub-corpora, each shows a distinct preference for one form: the ECP and the WSJ favour *-or* and the BRCOR favours *-our*.

### **2.3.6 Words Ending in -re/-er**

While the *-er* ending is the predominant form in AE, there are some exceptions. In order to retain the *k* sound, *-re* is used after the letter *c*, as in *acre*, *massacre* and *mediocre*. (McConnell 1979:47)

In BE, according to McConnell (1979:47), use of the *-re* and *-er* spellings may vary according to sense. For instance, while *meter* is the spelling normally used in AE to designate all three senses of the word, i.e., the musical sense, the unit of measurement and the instrument for measurement, in BE, *metre* is used for the musical sense and the unit of measurement, while *meter* is used in the sense of an instrument for measurement.

<sup>16</sup> Both the Globe and Mail Style Book (1981:121) and the Canadian Press Stylebook (1992:248) choose the *-or* form. Only the Canadian Style (1985:55), the style guide of the federal public service, favours the *-our* ending.

<sup>17</sup> There were actually 88 occurrences of *armour*, but these were all proper names.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
meter	7%	100%	13%
metre	93%	0	87%

The corpus findings confirm that *meter* is the only spelling found in the WSJ, and that both forms are found in the ECP and the BRCOR although *metre* is predominant. The sense of the word does appear to affect the spelling in the ECP and the BRCOR as mentioned above. Of the occurrences of *meter* in the ECP and the BRCOR, the majority of these are in the sense of an instrument for measurement. Therefore, Canadian usage appears to follow the BE practice in this case.

The *-re* form has the added benefit of usually matching the French spelling, which is very useful in Canada since it simplifies the Government's task of making bilingual signs, titles, etc.; for example: *interpretive centre d'interpretation*. (McConnell 1979:47)

### **2.3.7 Doubling Final Consonants**

Another area where usage is not consistent in English is in the doubling of final consonants. BE tends to double the final consonant in words like *travelled* and *worshipped*, whereas AE typically does not. However, in verbs where the accent is on the second syllable, BE will often drop the second *l*, for example, *enrol*, *enthral* and *fulfil*, while AE tends to retain it. (McConnell 1979:49)

CE also reveals some inconsistencies in its practice. The study of data from Maclean's reveals *travelled* and *worshipped* alongside *libelous* and *gossiping* within the same text. (Peters and Fee 1989:144) BCD corpus data presents a slightly different picture.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
traveled	4%	99.4%	3%
travelled	96%	0.6%	97%
worshiped	16%	55%	0
worshipped	84%	45%	100%

The BCD corpus shows that the double consonant forms are more prevalent in the ECP and the BRCOR.<sup>18</sup> But the results are not as clear for the WSJ. The single consonant form is favoured without question in the case of *traveled*; however, in the case of *worshiped* and *worshipped*, the figures present no clearly favoured form.

As for the spelling of verbs accentuated on the second syllable, such as *fulfil/fulfill*, results from the corpora substantiate McConnell's statement that BE prefers the single consonant, while AE prefers the double. They also show that CE appears to follow the British practice in this respect.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
fulfil	73%	.7%	91%
fulfill	27%	99.3%	9%

### **2.3.8 Other Variant Forms**

There are a number of miscellaneous words with variant spellings in AE and BE which do not fit into any of the above categories. In most of these cases, according to McConnell (1979:45), CE tends to follow the British practice, for example, *axe* instead of *ax*, *cheque* instead of *check*, *catalogue* instead of *catalog*, *plough* instead of *plow* and *programme* instead of *program*. The ECP confirms McConnell's statements about these words with two exceptions:

<sup>18</sup> The Canadian Style indicates a preference for a single *l* in words such as *instil* and *enrolment*, but a double *ll* in *travelled* (1985:55).

*plough* and *program*. The American spellings of these two words appear to have taken precedence in Canada over the British forms.

	ECP	WSJ	BRCOR
ax	7%	89%	0
axe	93%	11%	100%
check	1%	99.9%	5% <sup>19</sup>
cheque	99%	0.1%	95%
catalog	8%	97%	0
catalogue	92%	3%	100%
plow	84%	90%	0
plough	16%	10%	100%
program	99.8%	100%	9%
programme	0.2%	0	91%

### **2.3.9 Conclusion on Orthographic Canadianisms**

As suspected, the BCD sub-corpus has attested to the fact that spelling practices in CE include a mixture of BE and AE practices. One might wonder why Canada's close geographical proximity to the United States has not led it to abandon British spellings in favour of American ones. There are several possible explanations for why this has not occurred. First, Canada has retained its historical political and cultural ties to Britain, and second, the British spellings are a way for Canada to differentiate itself from the Americans and assert a separate identity.

However, spelling usage is not uniform across the country. It is therefore somewhat difficult to precisely determine Canadian spelling practices. It is not as simple as saying that CE follows the spelling practices of Britain or America. Some of the preferred practices are British and others are American. Even within one practice, some people may prefer one form, while others prefer another. Essentially, what gives CE spelling its Canadian identity is the fact that it incorporates a mixture of practices from both BE and AE.

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<sup>19</sup> There was one occurrence of *rain check*, which, according to the Collins Cobuild English Dictionary, is the proper spelling, and is characteristic of informal American usage.

## **2.4 Phonological Canadianisms**

There is much in the pronunciation of CE and CF which greatly resembles other varieties of English and French. This is especially true in the case of CE. Nevertheless, it is also fair to say that there do exist some significant Canadian variations in pronunciation.

Once again, in this section, CE and CF will be treated separately since the pronunciation differences are not comparable in the two languages.

### **2.4.1 Phonological Canadianisms in CE**

Canadian scholars have repeatedly remarked on the homogeneity of CE pronunciation. Chambers (1986:12) notes that “Probably no other country has a standard accent that is so geographically widespread and so socially ubiquitous.” Nevertheless, there are features which distinguish our speech from other varieties. These features may be distinctly Canadian, but here again, as in grammar and orthography, the primary source of these variations is the competing influence of Britain and the United States.

#### **2.4.1.1 Variation in the Vowel System**

The phonological variations in CE lie primarily in the vowel system. The most famous of these variations is what is known as “Canadian Raising.” Briefly, this phenomenon refers to diphthongs with a higher onset in words like “right” [rɔɪt] and “house” [hʌʊs], in contrast to lower onset diphthongs in words such as “ride” [raɪd] and “house” (verb) [hauz]. (Gregg 1993:37-38) Howard B. Woods (1993:159 & 163) considers these diphthongs as major phonological features differentiating CE from AE; however, as Chambers has noted (1975:96), this phenomenon is not exclusive to Canada.

There are several other variants pertaining to the vowel system which differentiate the pronunciation of CE from AE. Contrary to AE, CE shows a preference for the British pronunciations of certain vowels: /i:/ over /aɪ/ as in the word *anti*; /i:/ over /ɪ/ as in the word *been*; /ɔ:/ over /əʊ/ as in the word *shone*; /i:/ over /ɛ/ as in the word *lever*, and /æ/ over /eɪ/ as in the word *ration*. This preference for British pronunciations can be explained in the same way as the preference for certain British spellings: Canadians have retained close ties with the British, and they hang on to ways of differentiating themselves from Americans.

One example of a distinctly Canadian pronunciation is illustrated by the word *khaki*. The Canadian pronunciation [kɑ:ki] is quite different from the typical American pronunciation [kæki] and the British pronunciation [kɑ:ki]. The [kɑ:ki] pronunciation may be falling out of use, however, as research indicates that the majority of CE speakers, especially younger Canadians, use the American variant. (Gregg 1984:71, quoted in Nylvek, 1993:210)

According to Chambers (1993:11), the most structurally significant phonological feature of CE is the merger of the low back vowels /ɑ/ and /ɔ/. In most English-speaking areas, speakers differentiate between these two vowels, as in the /ɑ/ in *cot* versus the /ɔ/ in *caught*. However, as Chambers notes, (1993:11) this distinction has disappeared in CE, and Canadians now have only one vowel, usually the /ɑ/. Therefore, both words, *cot* and *caught* are pronounced the same way. Interestingly, this same phenomenon is encountered in western Pennsylvania, which attests to the Loyalist origins of CE. (Chambers 1993:11)

### **2.4.1.2 Variation in the Consonant System**

One phonological variant which pertains to consonants is the transformation of /t/ into /d/ when it occurs in the middle of a word with a vowel on either side, as in *butter*. In BE, the /d/ pronunciation is regional, whereas in AE it is so prevalent that the Webster's International (3rd edition) gives the ['bʌdər] pronunciation before ['bʌtər]. (Gregg 1993:38) According to R.J. Gregg (1993:38), the American variant is becoming more prevalent in CE, but speakers still revert to the /t/ in more formal communication.

### **2.4.2 Conclusion on Phonological Canadianisms in CE**

It will be interesting to follow the evolution of pronunciation in CE in the future as, according to Sandra Clarke (1993:105), the traditional British pronunciations, which have been regarded as prestigious, now seem to be losing ground to the American pronunciations, at least in terms of certain phonological variables. Clarke states that there is a trend towards Americanization which indicates that many Canadians may be experiencing increasing identification with Americans. If this is the case, the days of AE and BE variants competing against one another in CE may eventually come to an end.

### **2.4.3 Phonological Canadianisms in CF**

There are several phonological variables distinguishing CF from the standard FF. Although we think of them as typically Canadian, some of them actually stem originally from the west of France and are still heard there today. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:214-215)

### 2.4.3.1 Variation in the Vowel System

The majority of variation occurs in the vowel system. One variation is the tendency for the closed vowels /i/, /y/, and /u/ to become more open (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:214), when they occur within a closed stressed syllable (a syllable which finishes with a pronounced consonant, with the exception of /ɾ/, /ʒ/, /v / and /z/), such as in *site* - [slt], *chute* - [ʃYt] and *route* - [RUt].

Another variation is noticed when the vowel /a/ occurs within an open syllable;<sup>20</sup> it then tends to become a posterior /ɑ/, as in *chat* - [ʃɑ], or it can even become a posterior, open /ɔ/, as in *là* - [lɔ]. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:214)

There are three relatively common diphthong variables which occur in the CF vowel system. One is the tendency for the long /ɛ/ within a closed syllable, such as *maître* and *fenêtre*, to be pronounced as [ma<sup>ɪ</sup>tR] or [mɛ<sup>ɪ</sup>tR] and [fɛ<sup>ɪ</sup>tR]. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988: 214) The second is for the long /o/ within a closed syllable, such as *saute* and *ôte*, to be pronounced as [sO<sup>ʊ</sup>t] and [O<sup>ʊ</sup>t]. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:214) The third occurs when *eu* is within a syllable closed by the letter *r*, such as *beurre*; the pronunciation then becomes [bœ<sup>ɪ</sup>R]. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:214)

### 2.4.3.2 Variation in the Consonant System

In contrast with the vowel system, there is relatively little variation in the CF consonant system. The most well-known and probably the most widespread phonological variation in the consonant system of CF is the assibilation of /t/ and /d/. (Léon, Bhatt, Baligand 1988:215) This phenomenon occurs when /t/ or /d/ precedes the anterior vowels /i/ or /y/, their lax variants /I/

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<sup>20</sup> A syllable which finishes with a pronounced vowel.

and /Y/ and corresponding semi vowels /j/ and /y/, for example *petite* or *du*, resulting in the pronunciations [ptsIt] and [dzy].

### **2.4.3.3 Conclusion on Phonological Canadianisms in CF**

Limited though they are, there are a number of differences between the pronunciation of CF and FF. This fact is not surprising, given that CF has existed independently of FF for over three hundred years. CF has developed a sound of its own, combining some features which are peculiar to Canada and others which attest to the heritage of its ancestors.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

In every aspect of language, i.e., the lexicon, the grammar, the orthography and the phonology, there are features which distinguish CE and CF from the English and French varieties spoken in other parts of the world. In some cases, what distinguishes the Canadian variety may be the presence of a feature which is distinctly Canadian; in others, it may be the fact that Canadian usage consists of a mixture of features from other varieties of the language. Both are instances of Canadian usage, for, as Avis's definition of the term Canadianism states, a Canadianism need not necessarily be native or exclusive to Canada, but rather distinctively characteristic of Canadian usage.

### 3. CANADIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

Given the fact that both CE and CF contain a certain number of distinctive features, especially lexical ones, one would expect to see these features highlighted through the production and publication of Canadian dictionaries. However, lexicography in Canada is a relatively young activity. Although there is no doubt that with the arrival of the English and French-speaking settlers began the emergence of CE and CF, “recognition of a language,” as M.H. Scargill has said (1976:272), “is always long in coming; and strangely enough, the people who are slowest to recognize a distinctive form of a language are often the ones who use it.”

One factor that increases a people's awareness of the distinctness of their language is their sense of nationalism. A healthy national identity seems to be a prerequisite to lexicographic activity. Nationalism leads to a desire to accentuate what differentiates one group from the rest. And where language is one of the differences, a desire to study and document the language arises. This is one possible explanation as to why lexicographic activity began so much earlier amongst the French-speaking Canadians than the English-speaking ones. French Canadians have a much stronger national identity which stems from their struggle to keep their culture alive within a predominantly English-speaking country. Their language has attained symbolic proportions as one of the key elements of their identity. Conversely, English Canada, for reasons including its multicultural rather than melting-pot policy with regard to its multi-ethnic immigrants, and the incredible span of land it covers, has had difficulty in defining a national identity for itself. (Avis 1986:214) Nevertheless, English Canada has also produced a few dictionaries which claim to reflect Canadian usage in English.

This chapter will examine the work that has been done to date in lexicography in Canada and the reactions of scholars and the public to recent Canadian dictionaries.

## **3.1 Canadian French Lexicography**

Lexicographic activity has a longer and more active history in French Canada than in English Canada. CF lexicography will therefore constitute the starting point of this discussion.

### **3.1.1 History of Canadian French Lexicography**

In French Canada, the history of lexicographic activity begins in the mid 18th century with the Façons de parler, written by the Belgian Jesuit Pierre-Philippe Potier between 1743 and 1758, a few years before the British Conquest of 1763. This work consists of notes on words that Potier made while in New France as a missionary. The following is a typical excerpt:

Nappe d'eau...Le Sault de Lorrette est une belle nappe d'eau

His observations present interesting facts about the French spoken in Canada during this period, such as borrowings from the Amerindians and certain neologisms. Potier's presentation is completely objective. He “consigne sans les commenter les phénomènes lexicaux, syntaxiques et autres qu'il constate, de manière neutre, sans aucun appareil critique.” (Dugas 1988:11) This pioneer effort was, however, not a dictionary in the true sense of the word.

The first real language dictionary per se was written by Montreal's first mayor, Jacques Viger, in 1810, a good 50 years after the Conquest. It was entitled Néologie canadienne ou Dictionnaire des mots créés au Canada. In this dictionary, Viger lists three types of words: words created in Canada, words that are spelt or pronounced differently in Canada than in France, and foreign words. Unlike Potier, Viger adopts a purist ideology, typical of the Post-

Conquest period, and does not hesitate to make such judgements as “Il n'est pas français.” “C'est un mot bas” and “Ces phrases sont de purs anglicismes.” (Dugas 1988:11) This purist attitude continued to be manifested in French Canadian dictionaries for the next century.

Most of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century were characterized by lexicographic works that adopted a prescriptive rather than descriptive approach, such as Thomas Maguire's Manuel des difficultés les plus communes de la langue française, adapté au jeune âge et suivi d'un recueil de locutions vicieuses (1841) and Jules Fabien Gingras' Manuel des expressions vicieuses les plus fréquentes (1867). Rather than merely documenting usage in an objective manner, such works made a judgement on whether a certain usage was “proper” or “improper.” Not surprisingly, it was typically the developments that French underwent in Canada that were condemned. Since the Conquest, the English language had infiltrated virtually every facet of the Québécois' life. In many fields, such as business and economics, the English terminology was adopted by the French. Consequently, the number of anglicisms in CF became a growing concern. The aim of the dictionaries of this period was to correct CF and make it more like FF.

Although Oscar Dunn's Glossaire franco-canadien du français au Canada (1880) also belonged to this prescriptive period, it nevertheless marked a departure, albeit a slight one, from the others in that it welcomed “favorablement quelques innovations québécoises que d'autres avaient rejetées auparavant.” (Lapierre 1995:235) However, two more dictionaries produced after this one, Napoléon Caron's Petit vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadiens-français (1880) and Joseph-Amable Manseau's Dictionnaire des locutions vicieuses du Canada avec leur correction suivi d'un dictionnaire canadien (1881), perpetuated the prescriptive ideology by warning users of the

dangers of anglicisms and “locutions vicieuses” and by pointing to Parisian French as the ideal model. (Lapierre 1995:235)

Sylva Clapin's Dictionnaire canadien-français (1894) marks a definitive change in attitude towards CF. As André Lapierre (1995:236) says, it constitutes “le premier pas lexicographique vers l'affranchissement de l'obéissance stricte à la norme française.” Fifteen years later, Narcisse-Eutrope Dionne published his Le parler populaire des canadiens français (1909), which is a sizeable work documenting the vocabulary of CF in, again, a much more objective manner than its predecessors.

This new attitude was evident in the Société du parler français' Glossaire du parler français au Canada (1930), a collection of particularities of CF, devoid of any pejorative labelling. Its objective was “de relever ou de faire recueillir ainsi que de commenter les faits lexicaux caractéristiques du Québec.” (Dugas 1988:20) Each entry lists the common pronunciation of the word and its grammatical category, the various meanings of the word, any fixed expressions that it is used in, as well as several examples in a CF context, which are translated, when necessary, into “standard French.” In addition, there are notes explaining the use or the etymology of the word. Presented below as an example is the entry for **beans**:

**Beans** (bin) s.f.pl. Haricots ou fèves au lard. Ex.: Manger des beans = des fèves au lard. **Can.** - Dans certaines parties du pays, on désigne spécialement par beans les haricots blancs qu'on emploie de préférence pour apprêter les fèves au lard. Ex.: Avez-vous des fèves à vendre? - Non je n'ai que des beans = je n'ai que des haricots blancs. - Beans s'emploie quelquefois au singulier, surtout par plaisanterie. Ex.: Viens-tu manger une bean? = des fèves au lard? **Étym.** - Ang. beans = m.s. (même signification)

This significant work in CF lexicography was followed by a lull of almost thirty years. The next dictionary to appear was the Dictionnaire général de la langue française au Canada (BELN), written by Louis-Alexandre Bélisle in 1957. This dictionary was a great achievement in Québécois lexicography because it was the first general dictionary of CF, documenting not only the particularities of CF, but the French language as used in Canada as a whole. However, there was one major criticism made against it. Belisle seemed to be torn between “son devoir de lexicographe, qui est de consigner l’usage, et son hésitation à trop propager l’usage des canadianismes.” (Roberts 1991:7) His approach was therefore somewhat prescriptive in that he distinguished between “les canadianismes de bon aloi, les canadianismes folkloriques ou populaires et les canadianismes à proscrire.” (Roberts 1991:7) Nevertheless, his dictionary was awarded such distinctions as the *Prix de la langue française de l’Académie française* in 1958 and the *Médaille d’or du Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique* in 1971.<sup>1</sup>

From the 1960s onward, the need for Canadian dictionaries to document Canadian usage has been clearly recognized and has resulted in the publication of a number of new dictionaries reflecting CF. The majority of these focus solely on Canadian particularities, such as Le français du Canada, by Victor Barbeau (1970); Richesses et particularités de la langue écrite au Québec, by Émile Seutin and André Clas (1979-1982); Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise (BER), by Léandre Bergeron (1980); Dictionnaire du français québécois (volume de présentation) by the *Trésor de la langue française au Québec* (TLFQ) (1985); and the Dictionnaire des canadianismes by Gaston Deslong (1989). However, three of the most recent ones are general

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<sup>1</sup> Re-editions of this dictionary appeared in 1971, 1974 and 1979, the last time under the name Dictionnaire nord-américain de la langue française.

language dictionaries, the Dictionnaire CEC jeunesse by the Centre éducatif et culturel (first edition 1980, revised edition 1986); the Dictionnaire du français Plus (PLUS), published by Hachette (1988); and the Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui (RQ and RQ2), published by Robert (first edition 1992, revised edition 1993).

There has been considerable evolution in lexicographic principles applied to CF dictionaries over the years. First, it is no longer considered acceptable for a dictionary documenting Canadian usage to use FF as the norm. “Cette façon de ne décrire sa langue que différentiellement témoigne de l'état d'esprit d'une communauté linguistique qui refuse d'accorder à ses mots caractéristiques le statut qu'elle reconnaît aux mots de la langue dominante.” (Cossette 1988:79) Instead of always marking how CF differs from FF, CF should be looked at as having its own norm, not as a departure from the norm. As Bergeron (1980:7) notes in his Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise, “nous avons...défini nos mots en nos termes, pour nous, en ayant bien dans la tête le lecteur québécois d'abord et avant tout.” All of the general dictionaries produced since the 1960s seem to have chosen to use CF as the language of reference. However, as late as 1967, Gérard Dagenais, in his special-purpose dictionary, Dictionnaire des difficultés de la langue française au Canada, still criticizes and corrects many long-standing, valid Canadianisms, giving the equivalent in FF.

Another element of CF dictionaries that has undergone considerable evolution is geographic labelling. Although the features of CF were finally being documented in the dictionaries of the 60s and 70s, it was typically Canadianisms that were being singled out and labelled geographically. It has since been argued that if these dictionaries are intended to reflect Canadian usage, then logically, it should not be the distinctly Canadian features that are marked,

but rather the features that are not part of Canadian usage. Marking the Canadian features seems to perpetuate the relationship of dependence between FF and CF and deny the existence of CF as an independent language variety. The new trend is therefore to leave Canadianisms unmarked and to mark the features that are particular to FF. This is the practice, for example, in the PLUS and both editions of the RQ, which have both treated this subject explicitly in the front matter of their dictionaries.

While the consensus is that we have still not achieved the definitive French language dictionary in Canada, there is no denying that these newer dictionaries have given CF a status that their predecessors did not.

### **3.1.2 Reactions to Recent French Canadian Dictionaries**

Although recent CF dictionaries have generated much interest and curiosity on the part of scholars and the general public, reactions to them have been mixed. Analysed below from several points of view, are reviews on the PLUS and the RQ.<sup>2</sup>

#### **3.1.2.1 Dictionnaire du français plus (PLUS)**

##### **3.1.2.1.1 General Comments**

The PLUS, which T.R. Wooldridge (1987:177) sees as “revolutionary,” attempts to fill “le besoin d'une reconnaissance linguistique de la nouvelle autonomie culturelle.” While dictionaries such as the Nouveau Petit Robert (NPR) use as the language of reference FF, the PLUS uses the French from Canada. In other words, CF is considered the unmarked form, and particularities of FF are labelled.

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<sup>2</sup> Reviews of the first edition of the RQ are examined in this section.

Another way in which the PLUS attempts to fill the gap left by traditional European dictionaries like the NPR is by including illustrative examples which reflect French Canadian life and quotations by Québécois authors, as well as by adding etymological and encyclopedic information for Canadianisms. (Faribault 1993:548)

### **3.1.2.1.2 Nomenclature**

Wooldridge, remarking on the team's high degree of lexicographical competence, mentions that, although it is possible to “relever des insuffisances dans le vocabulaire consigné et la description qui en est donnée,” we must appreciate that this is a first edition and subsequent editions will correct these imperfections. (1989:177-178)

This author then goes on to make two criticisms about the nomenclature. First, FF sexual terms such as *cul*, *nichon* and *foutre* are included, while CF sexual terms such as *guidoune*, *pissette* and *bizoune* are not. (1989:178) Second, since the PLUS is based on a dictionary by Hachette, its French origins are occasionally sensed: this is noted, for instance, in the entry for the word *gosse*, which is defined as “enfant,” but not in the CF sense “testicule,” and in the entry for *catin*, which is defined first as “prostituée,” and only later in the CF senses “poupée” and “pansement.” (1989:178)

### **3.1.2.2 Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui (RQ)**

#### **3.1.2.2.1 General Comments**

Despite the criticism that the PLUS has received, in many ways it deserves credit for paving the way for the RQ. For example, the RQ follows the PLUS practice of making CF the language of reference. (Le 1993:58, Bélanger 1993:6, Wooldridge 1993:247) Also like the

PLUS, the RQ canadianizes illustrative examples. (Wooldridge 1993:248) Wooldridge also notes that in the appendices, the RQ puts Canada first in the atlas, and, like the PLUS, it canadianizes the sections on proper names and place names.<sup>3</sup> (Wooldridge 1993:248-9)

As with the PLUS, reaction to the RQ has been very mixed. Some complain that it has gone too far, others regret that it has not gone far enough. Still, there are those who view it favourably: Marthe Faribault (1993:552) calls it “un outil de travail extrêmement précieux, parce qu’il est le seul à être véritablement descriptif de l’usage français nord-américain,” and Pierre Martel (1994:197) states that, in comparison to its predecessors, it is “celui qui décrit avec le plus de précision et le plus systématiquement le français du Québec.”

### 3.1.2.2.2 Nomenclature

#### 3.1.2.2.2.1 Canadianisms<sup>4</sup>

The most positive thing about the RQ nomenclature, according to many critics, is its inclusion of many Canadianisms that are not found in any other dictionary. Faribault (1993:549) states that although the number of Canadianisms covered in the RQ is comparable to that found in the PLUS, the RQ includes many more words of informal usage and anglicisms than the PLUS does.

Martel (1994:198) notes, however, that many critics are up in arms over the number of “mots québécois grossiers ou vulgaires” that are included, such as *hostie*, *tabernacle* and *viarge*. He also finds that in the RQ “la description du français standard (le niveau soutenu) du français québécois ne ressort pas avec assez d’évidence. Il me semble que les Québécois veulent la

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<sup>3</sup> The PLUS has, in the back matter, a section on Canadian place names and the names of their inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> Although in CF, the term *Quebecism* is often used to refer to particularities of CF, in this thesis, Canadianism will be used to refer to both CE and CF.

description de leurs usages, y compris celui qui fait la norme, norme qui ne peut être identique à celle de Paris mais qui s'aligne toutefois sur un français correct ou de *bon aloi* du Québec.”

(Martel 1994:199)

Martel (1994:197-198) also feels that “les faiblesses de l'ouvrage tiennent essentiellement à l'absence d'une banque des «discours» québécois.” He believes that, had there been access to a textual database, the resulting nomenclature would have been quite different. Both Martel (1994:198) and Élisabeth Le (1993:59) note that, as it is, there are some words included in the RQ that are uncommon in CF, while others that are more common are overlooked. Le (1993:59) cites the conjugated verb *chaut* and the term *buraliste* as examples of the uncommon words included, and the anglicism *jumper* as an example of a common word excluded.

#### 3.1.2.2.2.2 Gender Issues

Also pertaining, at least partly, to the nomenclature is the treatment of gender issues. The question of equality between the sexes is a much bigger issue in Canada than in Europe, and as Wooldridge notes (1993:248), the RQ gives both *-eur* and *-eure* suffixes for words such as *auteur/auteure*, and makes an effort to use male and female pronouns equally in illustrative examples.

#### 3.1.2.2.2.3 Anglicisms

While the number of anglicisms included in the RQ has been subject to criticism, one aspect of the treatment of anglicisms which seems to be generally well-received is the practice of cross-referencing anglicisms that are not generally accepted in standard CF to an accepted replacement recommended by the *Office de la langue française* (OLF). As an example, Le

(1993:59) mentions that under the entry for the anglicism *bulldozer*, there is a note indicating that “L’OLF propose *bouteur* pour remplacer ce terme.” In addition, *bulldozer* is cross-referenced to *bélier mécanique* and vice versa.

However, there is an inconsistency concerning the treatment of anglicisms which several critics have brought up. Wooldridge (1993:249) notes the discrepancy between what is said about anglicisms in the introduction of the dictionary and what is said about them on the page listing abbreviations. In the introduction, it is noted that anglicisms that are accepted in French are marked as such without any other judgements. When they are not generally accepted, the criticism is indicated in a “remarque.” However, on the page listing the abbreviations, an “anglicisme” is said to be a “mot anglais employé en français et critiqué comme emprunt abusif ou inutile.” Martel (1994:198) also adds that a user, reading the latter definition of an anglicism, “ne peut être d’accord avec l’ajout de cette marque à certains mots alors qu’elle est absente à d’autres mots qui sont visiblement des anglicismes.” He gives as examples the words *carré*, *dézipper*, *se shouter* and *stop*, which are not marked as anglicisms, while *bloke*, *hamburger*, *shopping* and *week-end* are. It should be noted here that the RQ’s practice of labelling anglicisms has since been rethought in its revised edition (the RQ2), published in 1993:

les mots anglais passés en français sans grandes modifications orthographiques et sentis comme très usuels sont consignés sans autre notation que leur origine anglaise (ex. : mot angl. *football, jazz, whisky*), tandis que les anglicismes adaptés ou calqués sont répertoriés avec une marque particulière (anglic. *balance, contracteur, van*) et sont marqués du registre familier (fam.) quand ils ne relèvent pas du niveau neutre ou courant (ex. anglic. fam. *fun, chum*). Lorsque l’anglicisme ou le calque qui en résulte sont critiqués, on a signalé ces réserves intégrées dans la rubrique REMARQUE (ex. : *1 partir (III), surtemps*). (RQ2 1993:xi)

### 3.1.2.2.3 Labels

#### 3.1.2.2.3.1 Geographical Labels

Since, as indicated in 3.1.2.2.1 above, CF is used as the language of reference for the RQ, Canadianisms are not labelled. This is one area of concern to some. On the other hand, terms that are peculiar to FF are marked as such, in principle. Le (1993:59), however, notes that the labelling of some “francismes” such as *feuilleton* and *autocar* has been overlooked.

#### 3.1.2.2.3.2 Register Labels

As Martel remarks (1994:198), many critics have pointed out the “faiblesse du DQA [RQ] dans la description des registres de langue (familier, populaire, etc.), l'absence de telle ou telle marque ou son inadéquation avec le français québécois.” Le (1993:59), for example, finds it difficult to understand how the same label “familier” can be used for *bienvenue* in the sense of “je vous en prie,” *blonde* meaning “girlfriend” and the very informal word *chiasse*.

Faribault, while agreeing with the general use of register labels in the RQ, finds fault with their application to what she terms “calques.”<sup>5</sup> She notes (1993:552) that they are not presented as anglicisms, but they are, nevertheless, marked “familier.” Therefore, the dictionary gives *balance* in the sense of “ce qui reste” and *matériel* in the sense of “tissu” with no label other than “familier.” As mentioned in section 3.1.2.2.2.3, the RQ2 has altered its policy on the labelling of anglicisms so that *balance* and *matériel* are now marked as anglicisms.

There has also been some criticism of the lack of register labels for Canadianisms, which, as previously mentioned, are not geographically labelled in the RQ. Some people, according to Faribault (1993:552), believe that anything which strays from the “français commun” should be

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<sup>5</sup> By “calque,” she appears to be referring to semantic anglicisms.

marked “familier,” and they would like to see all the Canadianisms marked with at least the register label “familier.”

#### **3.1.2.2.4 Phonetic Transcription**

The RQ receives praise for the fact that it gives the phonetic transcription of words following the phonological system of CF, and this is true not only for Canadianisms, but also for words common to CF and FF. (Faribault 1993:549) However, Faribault goes on to say (1993:550) that the transcriptions do not take into account all the phonological distinctions, such as the distinction made in CF between /ɛ/, as in /mɛtr/ (mettre), and /ɛ:/, as in /mɛ:tR/ (maître).

#### **3.1.2.2.5 Revision**

A dictionary of the size of the RQ represents an enormous collection of material and, therefore, it is not terribly surprising that some errors get overlooked in the first edition. A few examples of these oversights are noted by Faribault (1993:550), who goes as far as to attribute spelling errors, such as *campivaleusien* instead of *campivallensien* and *bagasse* instead of *bagosse* to “une méconnaissance totale du parler québécois,” which could have been avoided by having the revision done by a Québécois. Other errors she points out (1993:551) include grammatical errors, such as in the “remarque” (REM.) for *ouananiche* and *ouaouaron* where it says “dans ce mot...l’élision est rare,” while what should be said is “devant ce mot....” Wooldridge (1993:249) notes that the RQ must go beyond the “stade artisanal” and take advantage of the new computer technology to ensure coherence throughout the work. Computer use would certainly have picked up at least some of these revision errors, for example, spelling errors.

### 3.1.2.3 Conclusion on Reviews of Recent CF Dictionaries

Judging from these reviews, it can be seen that there is general agreement among the critics that progress has been made in CF lexicography with the publication of the PLUS and the RQ, especially in terms of the recognition of CF as the language of reference; however, both have been subjected to a fair amount of criticism, especially regarding certain details. The criticism is more ferocious on the part of other French Canadians, especially lexicographers. This may be explained by the fact that there is much rivalry between CF lexicographers.<sup>6</sup> This rivalry itself serves as a stimulus to other and possibly better dictionaries, some of which are already in the planning stages.<sup>7</sup>

## 3.2 English Canadian Lexicography

By contrast with CF lexicography, CE lexicography has been far less vibrant. In fact, although English-speaking people have been living in this country for well over two hundred years, and although CE, as Avis has said, (1978:35), has existed for well over a century, lexicographic activity in English Canada was almost non-existent until the second half of the 20th century.

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<sup>6</sup> This rivalry is evidenced in a recent article published in *La Presse* (Aug. 3 1996:B1), entitled "Guerre de mots," which highlights the tension between the TLFQ project, headed by Claude Poirier, and the University of Sherbrooke team of Pierre Martel and H  l  ne Cajolet-Lagani  re. The objective of both sides is to produce a dictionary of CF, but as Poirier himself admits, "il y a une comp  tition."

<sup>7</sup> A group of lexicographers (including Pierre Martel and H  l  ne Cajolet-Lagani  re) at the University of Sherbrooke, have started a linguistic database consisting of a number of pre-dictionary records, "fiches dictionnairiques" (Martel and Cajolet-Lagani  re 1996:8), combing all the information necessary for a lexicographic description of the units covered. This group is now studying the feasibility of producing a general and prescriptive dictionary of CF.

### **3.2.1 History of English Canadian Lexicography**

The earliest lexicographic endeavour was the Western Canadian Dictionary and Phrase Book by John Sandilands in 1913. This work contains the words and expressions that either do not exist in BE or that have acquired a different sense in Canada. Sandilands purports that his book has all the information needed for new immigrants from Britain to understand the English spoken in Canada, especially the English spoken in the West. (Gregg 1993:27) Each entry consists of a definition and often an illustrative example or quotation. For example:

Square deal, term often used in reference to a straight transaction. When men go out on strike in Canada their cry is that they want a **square deal**; or in any dispute both parties will protest that they are open for a **square deal**.

One criticism of this work is that, of the 1,500 headwords in this book, many are slang expressions and no indication is given as to their usage. (Gregg 1993:27) Nevertheless, this book deserves credit as it gives us an indication of what lexical Canadianisms flourished in the early 1900s.

After Sandiland's dictionary, it was almost fifty years before the next dictionary of CE was produced. However, there was some lexicographic activity, although of a different kind. During the 1950s and 1960s there was much research of regional dialects, some of which led much later to the production of regional dictionaries of CE.<sup>8</sup> The dialect research was preliminary work, which helped to determine the special characteristics of CE in different regions of Canada, and was considered necessary groundwork before any national work on lexicography could begin. (Gregg 1993:32)

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<sup>8</sup> These include the Dictionary of Newfoundland English by Story et al. (1982) and the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English by Pratt (1988).

However, a national dictionary of English was one of the long-range plans of the Canadian Linguistics Association, founded in 1954. One of its members, Lovell, was the first to raise the idea. He had worked on the Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles (DA) and had observed that many of the words listed in the DA as American were actually Canadian in origin according to the earliest recorded date of usage. He suggested that a Canadian version of the DA be produced. Thus, work began on the Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles (DCHP), which was modelled after the DA produced in 1944. The task of the dictionary, completed in 1967, was explained as follows in the introduction to the dictionary written by Avis, who became editor-in-chief after Lovell's death in 1960: "The purpose of A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles is to provide a historical record of words and expressions characteristic of the various spheres of Canadian life during the almost four centuries that English has been used in Canada." (1967:xii) An abridged version, A Concise Dictionary of Canadianisms, was produced in 1972 for classroom use as a teaching dictionary.

At the same time as work was being done on the DCHP, another dictionary project began in 1959. The goal of this project, headed by Avis, Gregg, Scargill and Lovell, was to complete a series of three dictionaries called *The Dictionary of Canadian English Series* to be published by W.J. Gage. These dictionaries, unlike those mentioned in the previous paragraphs, were intended to present not only Canadianisms, but CE as a whole. In addition, they were designed to cover the needs of students at every level of study. The first of the series, The Beginning Dictionary (1962), was prepared for students in grades 4 to 5. The next volume, The Intermediate Dictionary (1963) was intended for students in grades 6 to 9, and the third volume, The Senior Dictionary (1967) was intended for students in the senior grades, the university level as well as for the

general public. The basis for this series was the Thorndike-Barnhart American dictionaries. The Thorndike-Barnhart dictionaries were Canadianized for pronunciation and spelling and a selection of lexical Canadianisms. were added The latest dictionary to be published in this series, The Gage Canadian Dictionary (1983), is a major revision of The Senior Dictionary . It includes “almost 3,000 new entries, as well as the thorough revision of much of the content of the previous edition.” (1983:ix)

Several other dictionaries of CE have been produced since the 1960s. These include The Winston Dictionary of Canadian English (WIN) (1960) and its abridged edition The Compact Dictionary of Canadian English (1970); The Canadian Dictionary for Schools published by Collier Macmillan in 1981; Funk & Wagnall's Canadian College Dictionary (FUN) (1978) and The Penguin Canadian Dictionary (PEN) (1990). Many of these dictionaries are, in fact, American dictionaries merely padded with Canadian material;<sup>9</sup> the only dictionaries produced entirely in Canada are the PEN and the WIN,<sup>10</sup> although neither of these are quite as thorough as the GAGE.<sup>11</sup>

For the present, the general consensus seems to place the GAGE at the top of the list as the most comprehensive, authoritative dictionary of CE produced to date, although it does date back to 1983. In fact, the Gage Dictionaries, despite their age, are still the best known. That is why reviews of three Gage dictionaries The Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles

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<sup>9</sup> The Canadian Dictionary for Schools is adapted from The MacMillan Dictionary for Children, and Funk & Wagnall's Canadian College Dictionary is adapted from Funk & Wagnall's Standard College Dictionary.

<sup>10</sup> The WIN is not one of the dictionaries examined in the analyses of Chapter 4 since it is not as recent as the others.

<sup>11</sup> A quick look at the WIN, in terms of seven lexical Canadianisms (*Confederation*, *McIntosh Red*, *bombardier*, *screech*, *rink rat*, *chinook* and *muskeg*) showed that three were not treated in the WIN: *Confederation*, *McIntosh Red* and *Bombardier*. In terms of spelling, *colour* is the preferred form over *color*, and *centre* is the preferred form over *center*.

(DCHP), The Senior Dictionary (SD), and The Gage Canadian Dictionary (GAGE), will be analyzed in the following section to see what the main areas of praise and criticism were.

### **3.2.2 Reaction to Certain English Canadian Dictionaries**

While these CE dictionaries, like the CF ones examined earlier, received mixed reviews, the overall reception seems more positive.

#### **3.2.2.1 Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles (DCHP)**

##### **3.2.2.1.1 General Comments**

In the case of this dictionary, the positive remarks clearly outweigh the negative ones. P.W. Rogers, writing for *Queen's Quarterly* (1970:119) has virtually nothing but glowing remarks for the DCHP, calling it “not only a great dictionary, but an outstanding example of Canadian scholarship” and a reference work which will be “irreplaceable for future research in Canadian history, literature, politics, sociology, and who knows what other fields.”

##### **3.2.2.1.2 Nomenclature**

Remarks concerning the nomenclature comment on the overwhelming number of Canadianisms treated in this dictionary, which leads to the refreshing feeling one gets, as C.M. Johnston (1968:29) remarks tongue-in-cheek, when one discovers “that its first entry is not *aardvark*, but rather *abatteau*.”

Rogers (1970:120) notes the large number of words which include place names, such as *Winnipeg couch*, and reports that there are 108 compounded entry words with either the word *Canada*, as in *Canada balsam*, or *Canadian*, as in *Canadian wood jay*.

Raven McDavid (1967:56) commends the principles established for the selection of entries, which he says are more sophisticated than those of Mathews, the editor of the DA. Mathews insisted that for a word or meaning to be included in the latter dictionary it had to have its origins in the United States although, frequently, origins are impossible to firmly establish. The DCHP, on the other hand, includes words or meanings which are clearly typical of life in Canada, regardless of their origin. (McDavid 1967:56)

McDavid (1967:57) does, however, point out certain important omissions in the nomenclature, such as *chowder*, which likely had its origins in CF, *Lunenburg dory* from Nova Scotia and *skedaddler* from New Brunswick.

#### **3.2.2.1.3 Citations**

According to Rogers (1970:122), the most impressive feature of the DCHP is the thoroughness in the selection and presentation of quotations, many of which either define in themselves the entry word or provide additional semantic information.

#### **3.2.2.1.4 Labelling**

Another detail which impresses Rogers (1970:121) is the practice of geographically labelling words which are regional and would be unintelligible to Canadians in other parts of the country. Examples of this are *correction line*, which is labelled “West,” *draught*, which is said to be peculiar to Newfoundland, and *fan hitch*, which is labelled “North.”

#### **3.2.2.1.5 Etymology and Pronunciation**

While neither pronunciations nor etymologies are given for words which are likely to be found in other dictionaries, where pronunciations are given, the International Phonetic Alphabet

symbols (IPA) have been used rather than confusing diacritical marks, a feature that Rogers (1970:122) supports.

### **3.2.2.2 Senior Dictionary (SD)**

#### **3.2.2.2.1 General Comments**

Unlike the DCHP, the SD has received reviews tending more towards the negative side than the positive. Edward N. Burstynsky (1968:455) finds fault with the introductory essay on CE by Avis, which he calls “casual and almost anecdotal.” While he admits that it is suitable for the average user, he maintains that more advanced users deserve a more scholarly treatment.

(Burstynsky 1968:456)

Burstynsky (1968:45-0458) also criticizes three aspects of the treatment of headwords. First, he feels that some of the definitions are inexact, such as those for *Roman Catholic*, *United Church of Canada* and *cardinal*. Moreover, other definitions are incomplete in that they neglect a regional sense: this is the case with *home brew*, which, according to Burstynsky, is synonymous with *moonshine* in the prairies and does not refer only to beer. Second, while he feels users should be thankful for the many etymologies that are given, he does not sense any consistency in the decision to give a word's etymology or not. Third, in terms of grammatical information, he finds the treatment of plurals not very helpful because either the plural is not given, as is the case for *octopus*, or it is incomplete, as in the entry for *ox*, which gives only *oxen*, omitting *oxes*, the plural of *ox* in the sense of “clumsy person.”

### 3.2.2.2.2 Nomenclature

Both Burstynsky and Rogers give praise to the SD's nomenclature. Burstynsky (1968:457) says that “the editors are to be congratulated for giving such an extensive coverage of Canadianisms.”

Rogers praises the SD's coverage of many types of lexical items. First, he raises the point that the SD has given a fair bit of attention to Canadian slang, including not only general slang words such as *dogan*, *home brew* and *cat power*, but also slang from sports such as *chippy* and *rink rat*. (1970:114)

It is not only in slang where the SD fares well, according to Rogers. He also notes the SD's inclusion of many terms from the technical vocabulary of the atomic and space age such as *pad* in the sense of “launching pad” and *astronaut* and *cosmonaut*. (Rogers 1970:115)

While Rogers praises the SD's inclusion of certain vocabulary, he does, however, note the exclusion of others. He remarks (1970:113) that the selection criteria for the nomenclature are not clear) since, within subject fields, the inclusion or exclusion of words seems arbitrary. For example, in the mining field, *lode* and *ore* are included while *guangue* is not; and in the sports field, *puck* and *scrimmage* are included but *spinner* (a kind of fishing lure) is missing.

### 3.2.2.2.3 Approach

According to Rogers, the SD does a reasonably good job of retaining a descriptive rather than a prescriptive approach, with only a subtle tendency to prescribe. For instance, in the matter of spelling variants, the SD states that, where more than one spelling exists, the one that is listed first is the one that is considered to be most frequently used by “educated writers across Canada.”

(1970:xii) Similarly, for pronunciation, the SD (1970:xv) states that “the first form given is generally the one considered to be most frequent in Canada as a whole.”

However, Rogers (1970:118) notes a certain prescriptive tendency in the SD's usage notes. For example, under the entry for *infer*, the user is directed to the entry for *imply*, where there is a usage note which indicates that *imply* and *infer* should not be treated as synonyms, and offers a note explaining the proper use of both words.

#### **3.2.2.2.4 Pronunciation**

In terms of pronunciation, both Burstynsky (1968:456) and Rogers (1970:117) regret the SD's choice of using diacritical marks, which are typically more confusing than they are helpful, rather than using IPA symbols. Furthermore, although Avis, in his introductory essay on CE, makes reference to the differences in vowel sounds in CE between *lout/loud* and *rice/rise*, Rogers (1970:118) notes that the pronunciation given in the body of the dictionary does not reflect these differences. Burstynsky (1968:457) also points out that, while the entries for *semi-* and *anti-* indicate that the [i] pronunciation is typical of Canada and the [aɪ] is frequent in the US, no such indication is found in the entry for *multi*. He also remarks on the fact that the pronunciation [ɪ], which is found in Southern Ontario, is not given for any of the three words. (1968:457) Burstynsky (1968:458) concludes that the “archaic transcription system” of the SD could be improved by including a section in the introduction which would give IPA transcriptions for various key words in several varieties of CE.

### 3.2.2.3 Gage Canadian Dictionary (GAGE)

#### 3.2.2.3.1 Canadian Features

Richard W. Bailey (1987:14) makes note of the many distinctive Canadian features which differentiate the GAGE from other dictionaries of English. These include pictorial illustrations of Canadianisms such as *Red River cart*; definitions of words such as *mile* using the metric system; many encyclopedic entry terms reflecting Canadian history, such as *Fathers of Confederation* and *Riel Rebellions*; and particularly Canadian senses of words used in general English, such as *bluff* meaning “a clump of trees standing on the flat prairie” and *screech* referring to “a potent dark rum.”

One valid criticism of the dictionary which Bailey makes, however, concerns the title of the dictionary. He reasons that in a country like Canada, which is “sensitive to the politics of language,” it is surprising that the title is not the “Gage Dictionary of Canadian English” to differentiate it from dictionaries of CF. (Bailey 1987:15)

#### 3.2.2.3.2 Approach

Another criticism pertains to the dictionary's approach. Bailey (1987:14) feels that, in some respects, the GAGE is rather prescriptive, especially in that it gives norms for spelling and pronunciation. For example, *centre* is listed as the sole Canadian spelling, although, according to the Survey of Canadian English, *centre* is preferred by only a small minority in Canada outside of Ontario; also GAGE marks the *loot*, [lut], pronunciation for *lieutenant* as “esp. US,” although the Survey found that a “substantial minority” of Canadians use this pronunciation.

### **3.2.3 Conclusion on Reviews of CE Dictionaries**

Overall, the critics applauded the three dictionaries of CE examined above for their extensive coverage of Canadianisms. Furthermore, most feel that the Canadianisms, especially lexical ones, are well-treated. One area which received some criticism was the lexicographic approach, which was felt to be somewhat prescriptive in some of the dictionaries.

## **3.3 Bilingual English/French Lexicography in Canada**

If the lexicography of CE has had a far shorter history than that of CF, bilingual lexicography has attracted even less attention in Canada, despite the fact that English and French have existed side by side in this country since the 1700s. While this lack of attention can be attributed in part to the fact that a bilingual Canadian dictionary requires preliminary work in unilingual lexicography, the very small number of bilingual dictionaries is still surprising.

### **3.3.1 History of Bilingual Lexicography in Canada**

In 1905, Sylva Clapin produced the Nouveau dictionnaire français-anglais et anglais-français, which is an adaptation of an earlier dictionary by Thomas Nugent (1872). Although Clapin's dictionary claims to cover Americanisms rather than Canadianisms per se, it is important, nevertheless, in the history of Canadian lexicography because it acknowledges that North American English is different from British English: "the same word is not used in England as that which is employed in the United States, and vice versa." (Clapin 1905:vi) Therefore, there are many cases where the dictionary provides both British and American words. For example, in railway vocabulary, both *booking-office*, used in Britain, and *ticket-office*, used in the US, are presented in this dictionary.

The first bilingual dictionary to reflect Canadian usage was J.-P. Vinay's Dictionnaire canadien français-anglais, anglais-français (DC) (1962). This was a significant work not only in that it documented French language usage in Canada, but also in that “il a permis la diffusion de nos particularismes lexicaux dans l'ensemble du Canada anglais de l'époque.” (Dugas 1988:23) Therefore, the features of CF were now accessible to all of Canada, and Canadians finally could refer to a bilingual dictionary that reflected their own reality and not the reality of Britain and France. This dictionary was, however, a concise edition, and efforts to enlarge it during the 1970s and early 1980s were unsuccessful. Furthermore, the dictionary has been out of print for many years.

Recently, two other bilingual dictionaries have been produced. One was Bergeron's Québécois Dictionary (QD) (1982). However, unlike the Vinay dictionary, this dictionary, which is actually a condensed English adaptation of his Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise, is restricted to Canadianisms. Moreover, its content and nature is influenced by Bergeron's belief, indicated in the introduction, that the Québécois people and their language have had to endure much repression over the last three hundred years. His dictionary purports to liberate the language. He states that “the people have an absolute right to their words, their way of saying things, and that no elite of any kind, be it academic or political, can dictate speech.” (Bergeron, 1982: viii) His dictionary is, therefore, purely descriptive; the only criterion for listing a word is usage.<sup>12</sup> Here is one example:

**Lay-offer** [lay-off-ay'] *tr.v* (>E) To lay off (from work). *La Noranda a lay-offé dix gars.* Noranda mines laid off ten men.

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<sup>12</sup> Bergeron does not specifically state what type of “usage” he is presenting, although there does appear to be particular emphasis on oral speech as he indicates in his introduction that he collected words and expressions through conversations with various people.

Bergeron (1982:xi) expresses the hope that “this Québécois Dictionary can become a handbook [for English Canadians] to explore Quebec, to understand the Québécois in all their living processes.”

The second more recent bilingual work is Sinclair Robinson and Donald Smith's Dictionary of Canadian French (DCF) (1990),<sup>13</sup> which is actually a revised and expanded version of their Practical Handbook of Quebec and Acadian French (1983). Like Bergeron's dictionary, this one covers only Canadianisms. The information is presented in three columns. The first column contains the CF headword, the middle one gives the equivalent used in general French, and the third one gives the English equivalent. The sources for the nomenclature include CF literature, newspapers, magazines and entertainers. The approach adopted by the editors is non-judgmental and objective.

However, given the limited scope of both of the QD and the DCF, they in no way fill the gap left by the Vinay dictionary. It is this gap that an inter-university project has been trying to fill since 1988. Indeed the collaborative efforts of the University of Ottawa, the University of Montreal and Laval University are directed towards producing a truly Canadian general bilingual dictionary by the year 2003. The BCD, which will include approximately 80,000 entries, is intended for users who have an advanced knowledge of their second language, such as translators and teachers. Lexicographers attached to this project use an electronic corpus of Canadian texts in both English and French to identify and verify Canadianisms and Canadian usage, and to select illustrative source language examples. Although the full dictionary will not be completed before the year 2003, there is a plan to publish a limited dictionary of Canadianisms by 1999.

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<sup>13</sup> It is more of a glossary than a dictionary, since it provides only equivalents.

### **3.3.2 Reaction to the Dictionnaire canadien (DC)**

Given that the DC is the only bilingual Canadian dictionary of stature, it alone will be examined from the point of view of public reaction.

#### **3.3.2.1 General Comments**

Although a few critics such as Léopold Lamontagne (1962:65-66) question the inclusion of some Canadian acceptions, such as those of *fournaise* and *chaudière*, which they consider incorrect in a bilingual dictionary, most of the critics of the DC celebrate its arrival in light of the fact that it fills a major gap: that of a *Canadian* bilingual dictionary. Indeed, the mere fact that the DC fulfills this purpose allows it much praise.

Its praise, however, does not end there. One of the aspects most commented on and most favourably viewed in the DC is the introduction, which, according to all critics, includes helpful information on the spelling of CE and the pronunciation of CE and CF.

In addition, D. Kermodé Parr (1962:88) notes that the material in the body of the DC is “excellent” and that the “content and arrangement of spellings, pronunciation, and meanings illustrated by ample examples are admirable.”

#### **3.3.2.2 Nomenclature**

Lamontagne (1962:65), who has been critical of the DC's nomenclature, acknowledges the difficulty in deciding where to draw the line in terms of the inclusion of Canadianisms. But he notes that the selection of Canadianisms has been made seemingly arbitrarily. For example, under the headword *peint*, the Canadianism *peinturer* is covered; however, even though *niais* is covered, the Canadianism *niaiseux* is overlooked.

### **3.3.2.3 Pronunciation**

Gregg (1962:69) remarks that, within the section on CF pronunciation, the treatment of the diphthongization and lengthening of vowels due to secondary stress includes details which are not sufficiently covered in most dictionaries. Gregg also points out important innovations in the phonetic transcriptions of CF, such as the recognition of the neutralization of /a/ and /ɑ/ and /e/ and /ɛ/.

Conversely, Lamontagne has a much different opinion of the DC's treatment of pronunciation. According to him (1962:66), "ce qui est nettement mauvais, fort peu scientifique et sûrement inutile, c'est d'ajouter à la prononciation française, la variante canadienne." In his view, only the international French pronunciation should be indicated, especially given the impossible task of determining one Canadian pronunciation.

### **3.3.2.4 Spelling**

A positive point brought out by C.H. Moore (1962:267) is the fact that the DC offers a Canadian standard of spelling. According to the DC (1962:ix), this standard is said to be based on the generally accepted spellings used in government publications, publishing houses, and many journals and periodicals.

### **3.3.2.5 Equivalents**

In Gregg's opinion (1962:70), the most striking characteristic of the body of the dictionary is the "thoroughness with which, under entries requiring several equivalents in the other language, the various semantic equivalents have been classified and placed in a rational order." An example is the entry for "titre:"

**titre** [titr] n.m. 1. [livre] title; [chapitre] heading; [Journ.] headline. 2. right, claim : *son principal ~ de gloire*, his chief claim to fame. 3. [pl.] qualifications. 4. [Jur.] deed, title deed. 5. [argent, or] standard. 6. [pl., Fin.] securities. 7. [Loc.] *à ~ de*, as, in the capacity of; *à juste ~*, rightfully; *à ~ gratuit*, free of charge; *à ~ onéreux*, for a price.

### 3.3.2.6 Labelling

Parr gives further praise for the use of geographical labels with equivalents in cases where the headword represents different realities in different cultures. One such case is that of the word *grammar school*, which means **école primaire** in the United States, **école secondaire** in Great Britain and **collège classique** in Canada. (Parr 1962:88)

Lamontagne (1962:65), however, notes inconsistencies in the geographical labelling. While some Canadianisms are labelled, others are not; for example, *peinturer* and *bloquer* (un examen) are labelled, but *brassière* is not.

### 3.3.2.7 Uniformity

One of the major criticisms directed towards the DC appears to be the lack of uniformity between the French to English section and the English to French section. Parr (1962:88) cites one example: under the word *huître* in the French-English section is listed (CD) *partie d'huîtres*, **oyster party; clambake.** However, in the entry for *clam* in the English-French section, there is no mention of **clambake**. What is given are two equivalents for clam - **le clam** in Canada, and **la palourde** in France, although neither of these two equivalents occur in the French-English section.

### **3.3.3 Conclusion on Reviews of the Dictionnaire canadien (DC)**

Given that the DC was the first, and to date, the only general bilingual dictionary of Canadian usage produced, it is recognized by the critics as a significant accomplishment. Its presentation of the features of CE and CF has been highly praised by most, although there are some who have questioned and criticized the inclusion of certain features. Overall, it seems to have been more appreciated by Anglophones than Francophones.

## **3.4 Conclusion**

Over the last century, Canada has emerged as a more confident, mature country. Canadians have entered a period of self-awareness. We recognize the similarities that we share with other peoples of the world, but we have also acknowledged the differences that distinguish us from them. With this acknowledgement comes the desire to document our uniqueness. This desire has had an important effect on the field of lexicography in this country, as interest and awareness of our languages have increased over the last hundred years. Lexicographic activity in French Canada, which began in the mid-18th century, has undergone some significant transformations in recent years. In English Canada, where interest was initially slower to emerge, a considerable amount of work has been accomplished and is on-going. Furthermore, we have seen that lexicographic work today is not restricted to unilingual dictionaries, but has expanded to cover bilingual dictionaries.

However, analysis of the reviews of some of the better known Canadian dictionaries has shown that producing a good Canadian dictionary entails much more than merely including a large number of Canadianisms. There are many other details that require consideration, for

example, the dictionary's approach, the selection criteria for the nomenclature, and the presentation of the material itself. The analysis of the reviews of these dictionaries has allowed us to determine the elements that have been appreciated in Canadian dictionaries and those which which have been the subject of criticism.

## **4. ANALYSIS OF THE TREATMENT OF CANADIANISMS IN VARIOUS DICTIONARIES**

Since Canadianisms are what constitute the distinctive features of CE and CF, their inclusion and treatment in dictionaries warrant further attention. In the previous chapter, we have seen that, although general Canadian dictionaries focussed to a large extent on them, they have received mixed reviews. While praised overall for the number of Canadianisms included, they have often been criticized for having omitted some important ones and for having handled them inadequately.

On the other hand, at the same time as Canadian dictionaries are being developed, European- and American-produced dictionaries are attempting to give more prominence to lexical items of other varieties of English and French, and more particularly Canadianisms.

The objective of this chapter is to examine a selection of English and French Canadianisms in several English and French unilingual and bilingual dictionaries. This chapter consists of two main parts, the first analyzing coverage of Canadianisms, and the second, the lexicographic treatment of Canadianisms.

### **4.1 Lexical Canadianisms in Canadian and Non-Canadian Dictionaries**

In this first part, ten lexical English Canadianisms and ten lexical French Canadianisms will be searched in several unilingual and bilingual dictionaries, both Canadian and non-Canadian, to see if they are included in these dictionaries and whether they are adequately treated

overall. On the English side, the Canadianisms that will be looked at are *beachcomber*, *chippy*, *deadhead*, *frazil*, *muskeg*, *Newfie*, *mickey*, *reeve*, *tourtière* and *whisky-jack*.<sup>1</sup> These English Canadianisms will be searched in six unilingual dictionaries: three Canadian - the Gage Canadian Dictionary (GAGE), the Penguin Canadian Dictionary (PEN) and the Funk and Wagnall's Canadian College Dictionary (FUN),<sup>2</sup> two British - the second edition of the Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (COCO2) and the Collins English Dictionary (COLL), and one American - the Random House Webster's College Dictionary (RHWEB).

On the French side, the Canadianisms studied will be *abénaquis*, *barboteuse*, *bleuet*, *camelot*, *dépanneur*, *muskeg*, *niaiseux*, *péquiste*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*. They will be searched in five unilingual dictionaries: three of Canadian origin - the revised edition of the Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui (RQ2), the Dictionnaire du français plus (PLUS) and the Dictionnaire nord-américain de la langue française (BELN),<sup>3</sup> and two of French origin - the Nouveau Petit Robert (NPR) and the Larousse dictionnaire de la langue française - Lexis (LEX).

The English and French Canadianisms mentioned above will also be searched in five bilingual dictionaries will be consulted: four European - the Robert-Collins Super Senior (RCSS), the Oxford-Hachette (OXHA), the Larousse grand dictionnaire 2 (LAR2) and the Harrap's Standard (HA), and one Canadian - the Dictionnaire canadien (DC).

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<sup>1</sup> In selecting the lexical Canadianisms to be examined, for both CE and CF, an effort was made to include different types: those reflecting the flora and fauna of Canada, the administrative structures of Canada, Canadian slang, Canadian words borrowed from other languages, etc.

<sup>2</sup> FUN is actually a Canadianized version of the American dictionary Funk and Wagnall's Standard College Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup> Both the PLUS and the BELN are Canadianized versions of dictionaries from France: PLUS is based on a dictionary published by Hachette, and BELN, on a dictionary by Littré.

## 4.1.1 English Canadianisms

### 4.1.1.1 Unilingual Dictionaries

The following charts present the ten English Canadianisms studied, along with their definition, and an indication of their presence (denoted with an 'X') or absence in the dictionaries listed above.

#### CANADIAN ENGLISH - UNILINGUAL DICTIONARIES

	DEFINITION (GAGE)	GAGE	PEN	FUN	RHWEB	COCO2	COLL
BEACHCOMBER	<i>Cdn.</i> in B.C., a person who salvages logs broken loose from log booms and returns them to the logging companies for a fee.	X		X			
CHIPPY	<i>Cdn. slang.</i> 1. short-tempered; quarrelsome; aggressive 2. having much rough and short-tempered play.	X	X	X			X
DEADHEAD	<i>Cdn.</i> a log or fallen tree partly or entirely submerged in a lake, etc., usually with one end embedded in the bottom.	X	X		X <sup>4</sup>		
FRAZIL	<i>Cdn.</i> ice crystals or flakes formed in the turbulent waters of rivers, rapids, etc. and often accumulating as icebanks along the shore.	X					X
MICKEY	<i>Cdn. slang.</i> a half bottle of liquor or wine.	X	X	X			
MUSKEG	<i>Cdn.</i> 1. a swamp or marsh. 2. an area of bog composed of decaying plant life.	X	X	X <sup>5</sup>	X <sup>6</sup>		X <sup>7</sup>
NEWFIE (adj)	<i>Cdn. informal.</i> of or having to do with Newfoundland or Newfoundlanders.	X	X <sup>8</sup>	X			X
REEVE	<i>Cdn.</i> in Ontario and some western provinces, the elected head of a rural municipal council; in Ontario, also the elected head of a village or township council.	X	X	X	X		X

<sup>4</sup> This is not marked as Canadian.

<sup>5</sup> This is marked as "U.S. and Canadian."

<sup>6</sup> This is not marked Canadian.

<sup>7</sup> This is marked as "Chiefly Canadian."

<sup>8</sup> This is not marked Canadian.

	DEFINITION (GAGE)	GAGE	PEN	FUN	RHWEB	COCO2	COLL
TOURTIERE	<i>Cdn.</i> a pie made with ground pork, often mixed with some veal or chicken, associated especially with French Canada.	X		X			
WHISKY-JACK	<i>Cdn.</i> Canada jay.	X	X	X	X <sup>9</sup>		

Not surprisingly, the English Canadianisms are best covered by the Canadian unilingual dictionaries. However, the GAGE is the only dictionary which treats all ten words examined. The FUN covers eight, (*beachcomber, chippy, mickey, muskeg, Newfie, reeve, tourtiere* and *whisky-jack*), while the PEN covers seven (*chippy, deadhead, mickey, muskeg, Newfie, reeve* and *whisky-jack*). Only six of the ten words (*chippy, mickey, muskeg, Newfie, reeve* and *whisky-jack*) occur in all three Canadian dictionaries. All the words examined are labelled Canadian when they are listed in the three dictionaries, with the exception of *Newfie* in the PEN and *muskeg* in the FUN, which marks it as both U.S. and Canadian.

Looking at the non-Canadian dictionaries, the COLL covers five of the Canadianisms: *chippy, frazil, muskeg, Newfie* and *reeve*. While the entries for *chippy* and *reeve* present the Canadian senses clearly and also mark the headwords as Canadianisms, *muskeg* is marked “Chiefly Canadian,” and *Newfie* and *frazil* are not labelled Canadian, although it is noted in the etymology that *frazil* has CF origins.

The RHWEB covers four of the Canadianisms: *deadhead, muskeg, reeve* and *whisky-jack*. However, the treatment of the four is not entirely adequate. For instance, the Canadian sense of *deadhead* is not labelled Canadian. Nor are the Canadian terms *muskeg* and *whisky-jack*, although the etymology given for the latter attributes it to a “dialect of Montagnais, Algonquin

<sup>9</sup> *Whisky* is spelt -ey and the definition given is “gray jay” rather than “Canada jay.” It is not marked as a Canadianism, although the etymology shows that it comes from a “dialect of Montagnais, Algonquian language of Quebec.”

language of Quebec.” Moreover, the sense indication given for *whisky-jack* is “gray jay” rather than “Canada jay,” which is what is found in all three Canadian dictionaries.

Finally, the COCO2 does not cover any of the ten Canadianisms selected. This can be explained by the fact that the COCO2 is a learner's dictionary and therefore its nomenclature is not as complete as that of the other dictionaries.

#### 4.1.1.2 Bilingual Dictionaries

In the case of the bilingual dictionaries, surprisingly, it is not the Canadian dictionary which covers the largest number of Canadianisms verified. This can be seen in the chart presented below.

##### **CANADIAN ENGLISH - BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES**

	DC	RCSS	OXHA	LAR2	HA
BEACHCOMBER					
CHIPPY					X <sup>10</sup>
DEADHEAD					
FRAZIL		X			X
MICKEY					
MUSKEG	X	X <sup>11</sup>			X
NEWFIE					X <sup>12</sup>
REEVE	X	X	X	X	X
TOURTIERE					
WHISKY-JACK					X <sup>13</sup>

The DC, the only Canadian dictionary, covers only two of the ten Canadianisms - *reeve* and *muskeg*. One positive aspect of the DC's treatment of the English *muskeg* should be noted, however: it is the only bilingual dictionary which offers *muskeg* not only as a headword but also as an equivalent.

<sup>10</sup> HA marks usage of this in sports as especially Canadian.

<sup>11</sup> This is marked as “US.”

<sup>12</sup> This is not marked Canadian.

<sup>13</sup> HA spells this as *whiskeyjack*.

The dictionary which is the most complete, in terms of its coverage of the selected Canadianisms, is the HA, which covers six (*chippy*, *frazil*, *muskeg*, *newfie*, *reeve* and *whisky-jack*). This is not particularly surprising in view of the fact that the HA is the largest of the bilingual dictionaries and therefore has a more extensive nomenclature. There are, nevertheless, some problems with the HA's treatment of two of the six Canadianisms. Neither the word *Newfie* nor the Canadian sense of *chippy* are labelled as Canadian, although in the latter case, there is an indication that, when used in a sports context, *chippy* is especially Canadian.

The RCSS offers slightly better coverage of Canadianisms than the DC, covering three - *frazil*, *reeve* and *muskeg* - although it labels *muskeg* American rather than Canadian. LAR2 and OXHA both treat only one - *reeve*.

#### **4.1.1.3 Conclusion on English Canadianisms**

The analysis of ten lexical items reveals that, in terms of unilingual dictionaries, the English Canadianisms are best covered by the Canadian dictionaries. However, even among the Canadian dictionaries, there are some that are more thorough than others. The GAGE covers all the Canadianisms examined, the FUN covers the next largest number, followed by the PEN. The non-Canadian dictionaries examined do not cover a large number of Canadianisms, and the ones that they do cover are not always adequately treated.

As for the bilingual dictionaries, the one and only Canadian dictionary fares rather poorly in comparison to the non-Canadian HA, the largest bilingual dictionary produced, although also the oldest. The other non-Canadian dictionaries are, however, very limited in their coverage of Canadianisms.

## 4.1.2 French Canadianisms

### 4.1.2.1 Unilingual Dictionaries

The chart presented below for the ten French Canadianisms examined reveals that the results for the unilingual French dictionaries are similar to the results for the unilingual English dictionaries.

#### CANADIAN FRENCH - UNILINGUAL DICTIONARIES

	DEFINITION (RQ2)	RQ2	PLUS	BELN	NPR	LEX
ABENAQUIS	1. relatif à une nation d'Amérindiens du centre du Québec appartenant à la famille algonquine. 2. langue de la famille linguistique algonquienne parlée par ces Amérindiens.	X	X	X		
BARBOTEUSE	petite piscine fixe ou mobile peu profonde pour les jeunes enfants.	X				
BLEUET	1. petit arbrisseau ligneux à feuilles coriaces qui produit des baies comestibles qui deviennent bleues ou noirâtres en mûrissant. <sup>14</sup> 2. le fruit de cet arbrisseau.	X	X	X	X	X
CAMELOT	personne qui distribue des journaux, des prospectus à domicile.	X		X		
DEPANNEUR	épicerie de quartier dont les heures d'ouverture sont plus étendues que les horaires autorisés pour les autres établissements commerciaux, destinée surtout à des achats rapides.	X	X	X	X	
MUSKEG	terrain humide et marécageux où les arbres poussent difficilement.	X				
NIAISEUX	qui est idiot, imbécile, naïf.	X	X	X	X	
PÉQUISTE	membre ou partisan d'un parti politique provincial ( <i>Le Parti québécois</i> ) qui prône un nationalisme fort et un socialisme modéré.	X	X	X	X	
PIASTRE	Fam. Dollar, billet de un dollar.	X	X	X	X	
POUDRERIE	Neige fine et sèche déjà au sol et que le vent soulève en rafales, en tourbillons.	X	X	X	X	

As in the case of CE, it is the Canadian dictionaries which do the best job of covering the French Canadianisms: the RQ2 is the most complete, covering all ten; the BELN includes eight (*abénaquis, bleuét, camelot, dépanneur, niaiseux, péquiste, piastre* and *poudrerie*); and the

<sup>14</sup> This first sense is not the one being compared in other dictionaries. However, it has been included here because the second sense refers back to the first sense.

PLUS treats seven (*abénaquis*, *bleuet*, *dépanneur*, *niaiseux*, *péquistes*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*). As the practice of the PLUS and the RQ2 is not to label Canadianisms, but rather particularities of FF, none of the Canadianisms are labelled in these dictionaries. However, the BELN does label Canadian usage, and of the eight that it covers, it marks five (*dépanneur*, *niaiseux*, *péquistes*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*) as Canadian.

Of the two European dictionaries, the NPR covers significantly more of the examined Canadianisms (*bleuet*, *dépanneur*, *niaiseux*, *péquistes*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*) than does the LEX (*bleuet*). Both dictionaries generally label the Canadianisms retained as Canadian with the exception of *péquistes* in the NPR. One possible explanation for the fact that *péquistes* is not labelled in the NPR is that its definition, “se dit des membres et de la politique du Parti québécois,” immediately situates it as Canadian.

Not only does the NPR include almost as many Canadianisms as the PLUS, but its treatment of Canadianisms is commendable. Besides identifying the Canadian sense of *piastre*, the NPR also includes a compound involving the headword, *un baise-la-piastre*. The NPR also notes, as do all three Canadian dictionaries, that *piastre* in the Canadian sense is informal. However, *niaiseux*, which is labelled “familier” by all three Canadian dictionaries, is not labelled as such in the NPR.

#### 4.1.2.2 Bilingual Dictionaries

As the following chart reveals, in the case of the bilingual dictionaries, the DC once again performs rather poorly in respect to the ten French Canadianisms examined.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> To be fair, it must be noted that the DC, published in 1962, is the oldest of the five bilingual dictionaries examined. If we were to look at editions of the other four dictionaries from the 1960s, quite certainly, the number of Canadianisms covered would be substantially lower.

## CANADIAN FRENCH - BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES

	DC	RCSS	OXHA	LAR2	HA
ABENAQUIS					
BARBOTEUSE					
BLEUET	X	X	X	X	X
CAMELOT					
DEPANNEUR			X	X	
MUSKEG					
NIAISEUX		X	X	X	
PÉQUISTE		X <sup>16</sup>		X	
PIASTRE	X	X	X	X	X
POUDRERIE	X	X	X	X	X

Surprisingly, the HA, which was the best in the coverage of English Canadianisms is in last place when it comes to French Canadianisms. It covers only three: *bleuet*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*. The DC is tied with the HA for last place, covering *bleuet*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*. The RCSS and the OXHA come next at five each, (*bleuet*, *niaiseux*, *péquiste*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*) and (*bleuet*, *dépanneur*, *niaiseux*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*) respectively. The bilingual dictionary which covers the most number of Canadianisms examined is the LAR2. It covers six, (*bleuet*, *dépanneur*, *niaiseux*, *péquiste*, *piastre* and *poudrerie*).

*Bleuet*, *piastre* and *poudrerie* are the only Canadianisms examined that are found in all five bilingual dictionaries. *Abénaquis*, *barboteuse* and *muskeg* are not found in any of the five.

A look at the treatment of the Canadianisms in the DC reveals two positive features which are not present in any of the European dictionaries. The first relates to its ordering of senses. The DC gives two senses for *bleuet*, one Canadian and one FF. It has placed the Canadian sense before the FF sense, presumably because the DC is a Canadian dictionary. The second positive remark concerning the DC has to do with its treatment of the Canadianism *piastre*.

<sup>16</sup> This has the label (*Québec*) rather than *Canadian*.

Following the English equivalent and an illustrative example is an explanation of the origins of the Canadian sense of *piastre*.

However, as mentioned above, the DC's coverage of Canadianisms is quite limited, although this could be a function of the period in which it was produced. The fact remains nevertheless that two of the non-Canadian unilingual dictionaries cover more Canadianisms than does the DC.

#### **4.1.2.3 Conclusion on French Canadianisms**

As was the case for the English Canadianisms, the unilingual dictionaries that cover the greatest number of French Canadianisms examined are the Canadian ones. All three cover at least seven out of ten. However, the NPR comes close to the Canadian dictionaries by covering six out of ten, which is a surprisingly large number for a non-Canadian dictionary.

As far as bilingual dictionaries are concerned, once again the Canadian dictionary does not perform as well as many non-Canadian ones. However, the best dictionary for French Canadianisms proves to be not the HA, as was the case for the English Canadianisms, but the LAR2. In fact, HA comes last in terms of the number of Canadianisms presented.

## **4.2 Treatment of Various Types of Canadianisms in Canadian Dictionaries**

The purpose of the previous analysis was, first and foremost, to check whether Canadianisms were covered in certain dictionaries. The present analysis will go one step further, in that it will look at the actual treatment of certain Canadianisms in greater detail.

It was determined in the previous section that, while some foreign unilingual dictionaries covered a fair number of Canadianisms, generally the Canadian unilingual dictionaries did the best job of covering Canadianisms. For this reason, in the analysis that follows, we will be using only Canadian unilingual dictionaries: the GAGE, the PEN, and the FUN for CE, and the RQ2, the PLUS and the BELN for CF. On the other hand, as far as bilingual dictionaries are concerned, there is only one Canadian one, the DC, which, as was seen in the first section, proved to be often incomplete in its coverage of Canadianisms. For this reason, the following study of bilingual dictionaries will include not only the DC, but also the RCSS and the OXHA for both CE and CF.<sup>17</sup>

While this second analysis is more limited than the first in the number of dictionaries examined, it is at the same time wider in scope from the point of view of types of Canadianisms examined. The kinds of Canadianisms chosen for this second study include not only lexical Canadianisms, but also orthographic Canadianisms, grammatical Canadianisms and phonological Canadianisms.

The Canadianisms selected for study in CE are the following: the Canadian sense of the words *acclamation* and *confederation*, the Canadian pronunciation of the word *been*, the orthographic variants *colour/color* and *practice/practise*, and the grammatical variants *dived/dove*. For CF, the Canadianisms examined are the Canadian sense of the word *casse-croûte*, the archaism *appartement* in the sense of “pièce” maintained in CF, the Canadian pronunciation of the word *blessé*, the orthographic variants *canot/canoë* and *yaourt/yogourt*, and the grammatical Canadianism *une job*.

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<sup>17</sup> The RCSS and the OXHA were chosen because they are the most recently produced bilingual dictionaries.

Finally, as noted above, the objective of this second analysis is different from that of the first. Instead of merely noting the presence or absence of certain selected Canadianisms in each dictionary, this time a comparison of how the Canadianisms have been treated will be undertaken. Aspects that are of interest include how the dictionary deals with spelling and phonological variants; what kind of approach it takes, i.e. are there any signs of a prescriptive/descriptive approach; how the Canadian senses are ordered in relation to others; what labels (geographical, usage, register, etc.) are attributed to the Canadian words and senses. Only the relevant parts of the entries will be presented in the analysis.

## 4.2.1 Comparison of English Canadianisms in Unilingual Dictionaries

### 4.2.1.1 Acclamation

GAGE	PEN	FUN
1. a shout of welcome or show of approval by a crowd; applause.	1. an act of acclaiming.	1. the act of acclaiming.
2. an oral vote: <i>The club elected him president by acclamation.</i>	2. <i>Cdn.</i> an unopposed election: <i>She won by acclamation; There were no acclamations in last year's election.</i>	2. a shout or other manifestation of applause, approval, or welcome.
3. <i>Cdn.</i> the act or an instance of electing without opposition. <i>There were acclamations in five ridings. By acclamation, Cdn.</i> without opposition in an election: <i>Since no candidate opposed him, Mr. Kress was elected by acclamation.</i>		3. an oral vote; especially, a loud vote of approval, as in public assembly.
		4. <i>Canadian</i> election without opposition. - <b>by acclamation</b> by unanimous consent without balloting.

As can be seen from the above chart, the Canadian sense of this word is covered by all three Canadian dictionaries. In all three cases, the Canadian sense is the last one to be covered, priority being given to senses common to all varieties of English. The definitions given by all

three dictionaries for the Canadian sense are quite similar with one exception: while the PEN and the FUN say “an unopposed election” and “election without opposition” respectively, the GAGE is more specific in saying “the act or an instance of electing without opposition.”

The Canadian collocation *by acclamation* is also presented with a definition within the Canadian sense division by both the GAGE and the FUN. Although it is not treated explicitly by the PEN, it is illustrated in one of the examples. However, the PEN's treatment is not as clear in that the collocation does not stand out, nor as thorough since no definition of the collocation is provided.

In this case then, the GAGE provides the best treatment, in terms of thoroughness and clarity, followed by the FUN and finally the PEN.

#### 4.2.1.2 Confederation

GAGE	PEN	FUN
1 a federation; the act of joining together in a league; state of being united in a league or alliance: <i>The conference devised a scheme for the confederation of the foreign colonies.</i>	1 the act of confederating.	1 the act of confederating, or the state of being confederated.
2 a group of countries, states, etc. joined together for a special purpose; league.	2 an alliance or union, esp. of states or countries: <i>The 13 colonies called their confederation the United States of America; the Articles of Confederation; the Confederation of National Trade Unions.</i>	2 an association of states usually less permanent than a federation.
3 <b>Confederation, Cdn.</b> the name given to the federation of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in 1867. Six other provinces have joined Confederation since 1867.	3 <b>Confederation Cdn.</b> the federal union of the Canadian provinces, starting with Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia in 1867: <i>Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949, as the tenth province.</i>	1 <b>Confederation</b> <sup>18</sup> the federation formed by Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in 1867, now including ten provinces.
4 <b>the Confederation, a. Cdn.</b> The ten provinces of Canada. <b>b.</b> the confederation of the American states from 1781 to 1789.		2 the union of the American colonies, 1781-1789, under the Articles of Confederation.

<sup>18</sup> This is a separate entry.

All three dictionaries give the Canadian sense of *confederation* meaning federal union of Canadian provinces. The GAGE goes one step further by giving two Canadian senses for this noun, one (Confederation) referring to the original four provinces brought together in 1867, and the other (the Confederation) referring to the current day reality. The other two dictionaries do not make this distinction. In terms of the ordering of the senses, the more general senses are listed before the specific Canadian sense(s) in all three dictionaries. Moreover, the FUN has actually divided the general and specific senses by making two separate entries for *confederation* and *Confederation*.

#### 4.2.1.3 Been

For the past tense of the verb *be* there are two variant pronunciations, both of which are used in Canada.

GAGE	PEN	FUN
<p><b>been</b> /bɪn/ or /biːn/  <i>Pronun. Been.</i> The most common British pronunciation is /biːn/, and the normal American pronunciation is /bɪn/. In earlier English, /biːn/ was the stressed form and /bɪn/ the unstressed; many Canadian speakers still employ this distinction. Otherwise, Canadian usage varies between the two forms.</p>	<p><i>pp. been</i> (bɪn)<sup>19</sup></p>	<p><b>been</b> /bɪn/, <i>Brit.</i> /biːn/</p>

As the above chart illustrates, only two of the dictionaries give both pronunciations, the GAGE and the FUN. However, the FUN's information is misleading as it labels the /biːn/ pronunciation as *Brit.* with no mention of its use in Canada.

Surprisingly, the PEN makes no mention of the /biːn/ pronunciation, only giving /bɪn/.

<sup>19</sup> Note that this information is given under the entry for *be* and not *been*.

The GAGE's treatment is, once again, the most informative in terms of Canadian usage because of the note explaining the distinction between the two pronunciations and the fact that Canadian usage varies between the two.

#### 4.2.1.4 Colour/Color

Since the spelling of words ending in *our/-or* is perhaps one of the most debatable questions facing CE, it is of particular interest to see how the spelling variants *colour/color* have been treated by the three dictionaries.

GAGE	PEN	FUN
col•or or col•our	col•our or col•or	col•or...Also <i>Brit., colour.</i>

As the above chart shows, the three dictionaries give three different treatments to this word. The GAGE places the AE spelling first, the PEN places the BE spelling first and the FUN gives the AE spelling at the head of the entry with merely a note at the end acknowledging the BE spelling.

Since both forms are used in Canada (see 2.3.5), one would expect both forms to be included. Although the FUN does give a note recognizing the *-our* spelling, the fact that it is given at the end of the entry and marked as BE with no mention of its use in Canada is quite misleading.

The other issue concerning this word is the decision made by the lexicographers concerning which form to list first. Although the PEN does not indicate how spelling variants are ordered, both the GAGE (1983:xvii) and the FUN (1989:xviii) claim that they place the commoner orthographic form before the other. What is interesting is that, despite this claim, the ordering differs from one dictionary to another.

Although the GAGE does not make any comment concerning the spelling issue at the entry for *colour*, it does give the following note at the entry for the suffix *-or*:

*Spelling. -or, -our.* In Canada usage varies in such words as **color/colour**, **honor/honour**, **labor/labour**. Both spellings are accepted, though **-or** is more common in printed materials. Exceptions are **glamour** (usually), **Honourable** (as a title), and **Saviour** (as a name for Jesus Christ.) In British usage, which prefers **-our** spellings, derivatives ending in **-ation**, **-ary**, **-ific**, and **-ous** are spelled with **-or**. Thus, **honorific**, **honorary**, **humorous**, **odoriferous** are so spelled on both sides of the Atlantic.

No such clarification is given by the PEN or the FUN although they too have an entry for the suffix *-or*. Hence, it is difficult to justify the prominence given to *colour* by the PEN and to *color* by the FUN.

It is interesting to see how one word can receive such different treatment by different lexicographers. The fact that this is so may be indicative of the variation which exists in CE.

#### 4.2.1.5 Practice/Practise

This is another instance of variant spelling forms which both exist in Canada.

GAGE	PEN	FUN
prac•tice <i>n</i> ...Sometimes practise.	prac•tice <sup>20</sup> <i>n</i>	prac•tice <i>v</i> ...Also practise, <i>n</i> ...Also <i>Brit.</i> , practise.
practise or practice <i>v</i>	practise or practice <i>v</i>	

In this case, both forms are given by all three dictionaries, although the GAGE and the FUN present both forms for the noun as well as the verb, whereas the PEN provides only one form, *practice*, for the noun.

It is apparent from the presentation of the spelling variants for the noun that *practice* is clearly preferred over *practise*. In fact, the GAGE adds the following usage note:

<sup>20</sup> The noun and the verb are treated separately in both the GAGE and the PEN, but not in the FUN.

*Usage.* **Practice** is one of a few words that in Canadian English are usually spelled differently as nouns and verbs. The preferred spelling for the noun is **practice** and for the verb **practise**. For this reason the noun and verb are entered separately in this dictionary.

Although the PEN provides the spelling variants for the verb in the same order as the GAGE, unlike the latter, it does not provide any explanation of its treatment.

The FUN does not treat the noun and the verb separately. The spelling form chosen for the headword is *practice* only. While, at the end of the verb section, there is a note saying "Also **practise**," at the end of the noun section, there is another note saying "Also *Brit.* **practise**," which would lead the user to believe that "practise" as a noun is found only in Britain and not in Canada.

#### 4.2.1.6 Dived/Dove

The treatment of the variant forms for the past tense of the verb *dive* will be examined here.

GAGE	PEN	FUN
<p><b>dive v. dived or dove</b>  <i>Usage.</i> <b>Dived, dove.</b> Both forms are used in Canadian English for the past tense, though <b>dived</b> seems to be more widely preferred in writing and in formal English. However, <b>dove</b> is the standard form for many people.</p>	<p><b>dive. pt. dived or dove</b></p>	<p><b>dive v. dived or dove</b></p>

All three dictionaries indicate that both forms (*dived/dove*) are possible, but only the GAGE provides any information as to usage in Canada. The other two dictionaries give no information either in the entry, or anywhere in the front matter of the dictionary. Therefore, while all three dictionaries give both forms, with the *dived* form preceding the *dove* form in each case, it is only the GAGE which gives an explanation for the ordering.

#### **4.2.1.7 Conclusion on English Canadianisms in Unilingual Dictionaries**

While it is very important that dictionaries include as much relevant information concerning a Canadianism as possible, this study has demonstrated that it is just as, if not more, important that dictionaries clearly explain why certain choices have been made. For example, in the case of Canadianisms with variation, the dictionary user should be told why one form is given preference over another. If this information is not provided, then the user is left in the dark and forced to make his/her own presumptions.

This study has revealed that the GAGE is clearly the best unilingual Canadian dictionary in terms of providing the most information and the reasoning behind certain decisions. Of the six Canadianisms studied, the GAGE provides helpful information, such as notes on pronunciation and usage, in four of the six cases. In the remaining two entries, which do not necessitate such clarification, ample information, in terms of definitions and illustrative examples, is provided.

The FUN and the PEN do not give nearly as much information as the GAGE. While the definitions given by these two dictionaries rival those of the GAGE, neither of these two dictionaries give the kind of informative notes that are found in the GAGE. The FUN is somewhat better than the PEN in that it includes more variant forms; however, it has a tendency to mark certain variations which are used in Canada as purely British. The PEN on the other hand has a surprising tendency to overlook certain uses prevalent in Canada.

## 4.2.2 Comparison of French Canadianisms in Unilingual Dictionaries

### 4.2.2.1 Casse-croûte

RQ2	PLUS	BELN
<b>casse-croûte</b> 1 restaurant spécialisé dans la préparation de repas rapides, à consommer sur place ou à emporter, et généralement commandés au comptoir par le client. -> anglic. <i>snack-bar</i> .	<b>casse-croûte</b> 1 petit restaurant qui offre des mets rapides et des rafraîchissements qu'il faut général. Demander au comptoir. Syn.(fam.) <i>snack-bar</i> .	<b>casse-croûte</b> instrument qui sert à broyer la croûte pour ceux qui n'ont pas de dents.
2 repas léger pris rapidement.	2 repas léger pris rapidement.	(CD) se dit pour désigner un restaurant du genre <i>quick-lunch</i> .

The Canadian sense of this word is covered by all three dictionaries, although it is only marked as Canadian by the BELN since the policy of RQ2 and PLUS is not to give geographical labels to Canadianisms. In both the RQ2 and the PLUS it is listed as the first sense before the more widespread sense of a “light snack.” In the BELN, however, the Canadian sense is listed second, although the first sense it provides is not given by the other two dictionaries and the more general sense of a light snack is not found in it at all.

Both the RQ2 and the PLUS relate the Canadian sense to that of the anglicism *snack-bar*, the RQ2 by means of a cross-reference and the PLUS by indicating the anglicism as a synonym in the entry for *casse-croûte*.

### 4.2.2.2 Appartement

RQ2	PLUS	BELN
<b>appartement</b> 1 partie d'une maison composée de plusieurs pièces qui servent d'habitation.	<b>Appartement</b> 1 ensemble de pièces faisant partie d'un immeuble collectif, servant à l'habitation.	<b>Appartement</b> 1 logement composé de plusieurs pièces.
2 pièce d'un logement, d'une maison. REM. Cet emploi est critiqué.	2 chacune des pièces d'un logement, d'un bâtiment. REM. Auj. moins usuel que <i>pièce</i> .	2 (CD) chambre, pièce.

The word *appartement* illustrates how a sense that has fallen out of usage in FF has been maintained in CF. As this chart shows, the sense of *appartement* meaning “pièce” is still covered by all three Canadian dictionaries. In all three cases it is listed second and the more widespread sense, which is also the more common one, is listed first.

Two of the dictionaries also include comments concerning the usage of *appartement* in the sense of “pièce.” The RQ2 indicates that this usage is criticized, and the PLUS indicates that *appartement* in this sense is less commonly used nowadays than *pièce*. The BELN does not make any such remarks.

#### 4.2.2.3 Blesser

In CF pronunciation, there is a tendency for certain vowels to be more open than in France. For example, when the vowel /e/ occurs in an open syllable<sup>21</sup> in CF, it is often pronounced /ɛ/.

RQ2	PLUS	BELN
blesser [blese]	blesser [blese]	no pronunciation given

This chart shows that the RQ2 has opted to give the common Canadian pronunciation in its transcription, without labelling it as such, however, and without giving the other possible pronunciation.

The PLUS, on the other hand, only gives the standard French pronunciation, while the BELN does not give any phonetic transcription at all.

<sup>21</sup> An open syllable is one which ends in a vowel.

#### 4.2.2.4 Canoë/Canot

Different spellings of words between FF and CF are quite rare; however there are a few exceptions.

RQ2	PLUS	BELN
<b>canoé</b> ou <b>canoë</b> (Surtout en France) embarcation légère et portative manoeuvrée à la pagaie. → <b>canot</b> . REM. L'orthographe <i>canoë</i> est vieillie en français québécois.	<b>canoë</b> <i>Rare</i> Syn. de <i>canot</i> (sens 1 et 2). - De l'angl. <i>canoe</i> .	<b>canoë</b> canot léger, à extrémités relevées, que l'on conduit à la pagaie.
<b>canot 1</b> embarcation d'origine amérindienne, non pontée, de forme allongée, relevée aux extrémités, légère et portative, et qui se manoeuvre à la pagaie simple.	<b>canot 1</b> embarcation de forme allongée et à extrémités relevées, légère et portative, mue à la pagaie...REM. En France, <i>canot</i> désigne plutôt une chaloupe.	<b>canot</b> petit bateau non ponté.
<b>2</b> Par Ext. navigation en canot.	<b>2</b> Par. Ext. Action de naviguer en canot; <i>spécial.</i> , le sport qui en est résulté.	petite embarcation à voile et à rames, affectée au service d'un grand bâtiment.
<b>3</b> (France) petit bateau, petite embarcation non pontée (à aviron, rame, moteur, voile).	<b>3</b> Fig., fam. ou plaisant. Syn. de <i>chaloupe</i> (sens 3).	
<b>4</b> n.m.pl. Fam. couvre-chaussures.		

The treatment that this noun receives is quite different from dictionary to dictionary.

First, the RQ2 actually gives three different possible spellings: *canoé*, *canoë* and *canot*, while indicating that the first two spellings are found primarily in France and that the spelling *canoë* is *vieilli* in CF.

The PLUS which, like the BELN, does not provide *canoé* as a variant, indicates that *canoë* is rare (presumably in CF) and that it is a synonym of *canot* (sense 1 and 2). There is no indication in the BELN, in either the entry for *canot* or that of *canoë*, that one spelling is particularly French or particularly Canadian.

However, even if *canoë* seems to be little used in Canada according to the RQ2 and the PLUS, both dictionaries indicate that the preferred Canadian form *canot* is used in France,

although in a different sense (that of *chaloupe*). The distinction between the two spelling variants is further complicated by the BELN, which defines *canoë* as a kind of *canot*, rather than as a synonym. Thus, *canot* and *canoë* cannot be considered merely as spelling variants.

#### 4.2.2.5 Yaourt/Yogourt

*Yaourt/yogourt* on the other hand are simple spelling variants.

RQ2	PLUS	BELN
<b>yaourt → yogourt</b>	<b>yaourt Rare. Yogourt</b>	<b>yaourt Voy. Yogourt</b>
yogourt ou yaourt lait caillé par un ferment spécial. REM. La forme <i>yaourt</i> est plus fréquente en France.	yogourt lait caillé par un ferment lactique, souvent aromatisé ou garni de fruits.	yogourt lait caillé, appelé <i>kéfir</i> en Bulgarie où il constitue l'aliment principal des montagnards.

As can be seen above, none of the three dictionaries provide a complete entry under the spelling *yaourt*. All three cross-reference *yaourt* to the entry for *yogourt*, which is a clear indication that this is the most common form used in Canada.

The RQ2 points out that the form *yaourt* is more common in France. The PLUS does not explicitly indicate a geographical split, merely saying that the *yaourt* form is “rare” (presumably in CF). The BELN does not make any comment regarding which spelling is more common in Canada, although the fact that *yaourt* is cross-referenced to *yogourt* implies that the latter is more common.

#### 4.2.2.6 Job

The gender of the word *job* in France is masculine, but in Canada, it is very often feminine.

RQ2	PLUS	BELN
<i>job</i> <i>nf</i> <i>Anglic. Fam.</i> 1 emploi, travail salarié.	<i>job</i> <i>nf</i> <i>Fam.</i> 1 emploi, travail rémunéré. REM. Sous l'influence du français de France, parfois masc. et alors perçu comme moins familier.	<i>job</i> <i>nf</i> ( <i>CD</i> ) emploi; tâche; travail; <i>travailler à la job</i> ; <i>faire un travail à la job</i> . Dans ce sens, on fait ce mot masculin en France où l'on dit <i>un job!</i> Dans une imprimerie: <i>les jobs</i> , les travaux de ville, les labours. Solde de marchandises, occasion: <i>vendre des jobs</i> .
2 ouvrage, occupation, tâche.	2 ouvrage, besogne tâche.	
3 ( <i>France</i> ) <i>nm</i> travail rémunéré, qu'on ne considère ni comme un métier ni comme une situation permanente.		

This chart shows that all three dictionaries acknowledge that *job* is used in the feminine in Canada.

The RQ2's treatment is somewhat puzzling, however, in that it creates a separate sense division for the masculine gender with the geographical label (France). This sense contains a nuance that the other two do not. The RQ2 therefore seems to indicate that it is not just a simple matter of a gender shift between the two countries, but rather of different senses between the two countries.

The other two dictionaries do not make this distinction. The PLUS indicates that, under the influence of FF, the first sense of *job* can take the masculine gender, in which case it is felt to be less informal. The BELN makes a similar comment: "Dans ce sens, on fait ce mot masculin en France où l'on dit *un job!*"

#### 4.2.2.7 Conclusion on French Canadianisms in Unilingual Dictionaries

The above study of six French Canadianisms reveals that the RQ2 and the PLUS provide a considerable amount of information about them. For example, unlike the BELN, they both include notes indicating whether a certain spelling or usage is common in Canada or not. But the

kind of detailed notes concerning Canadian usage included in the GAGE are not found in any of the three CF dictionaries.

This study also reveals that the CF unilingual dictionaries take quite a different approach from the CE dictionaries. The CE dictionaries indicate how CE differs from other varieties of English. For this reason, when something is Canadian, it is generally labelled as such. The more recent CF dictionaries, however, prefer to use CF as a starting point and therefore they do not label what is distinctively Canadian, but rather what is not Canadian.

Now we will turn to the bilingual dictionaries to examine their treatment of Canadianisms.

### **4.2.3 Comparison of English Canadianisms in Bilingual Dictionaries**

#### **4.2.3.1 Acclamation**

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<i>acclamation</i> n <i>acclamation</i> f	<i>acclamation</i> n <i>acclamation</i> f; by/with ~ par <i>acclamation</i>	<i>acclamation</i> n <i>acclamation</i> f; [oral vote] (CD) <i>to be elected by ~</i> , être élu sans concurrent.

In 4.2.1.1, it was noted that *acclamation* has a Canadian sense: election without opposition. The Canadian sense of this headword is not brought out, however, by any of the bilingual dictionaries. But this is understandable because all senses of the word have the same equivalent and bilingual dictionaries have a tendency to not distinguish between senses that share the same equivalent.

In addition to the Canadian sense of the headword, there is the Canadian collocation *by acclamation*. This collocation is covered by two of the three dictionaries. The OXHA includes the collocations *by acclamation/with acclamation*, along with their suggested French equivalent.

The *by acclamation*, however, is not labelled Canadian. The DC goes further than the OXHA, first, by presenting the collocation in the phrase to *to be elected by acclamation*, thus letting the user know that the collocation is employed in the context of elections, second, by indicating that the collocation is Canadian, and third, by adding a referent<sup>22</sup> to indicate that the collocation is specifically used for an “oral vote.”

#### 4.2.3.2 Confederation

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>confederation</b> n confédération f	<i>confederation</i> n confédération f	<i>confederation</i> n confédération (de pays, &c.); (CD) <i>The Fathers of Confederation</i> , Les Pères de la Confédération

As has been seen in 4.2.1.2, this headword has at least one Canadian sense, if not two. However, the Canadian sense is not noted by the bilingual dictionaries because, as in the case of *acclamation*, the equivalent is the same for all senses.

But, *confederation* used in the Canadian sense takes a capital C, which is not indicated by the bilingual dictionaries since the senses are not divided. However, the DC does include as an example the Canadian expression *The Fathers of Confederation* labelling it as Canadian and capitalizing the C, and its translation seems to indicate that **confédération** in the Canadian sense takes a capital C in French as well.

#### 4.2.3.3 Been

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>been</b> [bin]	<b>been</b> [bin], US [bɪn]	<b>been</b> [bin], [bɪn]

<sup>22</sup> A referent is a word which indicates what object the TL equivalent refers to. It adds more precise information to the sense division and, in fact, can be an extension of it. For example, when the noun *quarter* refers to the moon, the equivalent is **quartier**, and when it refers to a musical note, it is **noire**.

As shown in 4.2.1.3, there are two pronunciations of *been* used in Canada: [bin] and [bɪn]. The OXHA and the DC both provide both pronunciations. However, neither are marked geographically in the DC, although the placement of the British pronunciation before the US pronunciation would seem to indicate that the former is the more frequent one in Canada. The OXHA, while not giving any geographical label to the typically British pronunciation which is placed first, does mark the other as *US*.

The RCSS is the only bilingual dictionary to give only one possible pronunciation for this word, which is the typically British one. This is in keeping with its stated policy on pronunciation: in its section on English pronunciation (xxvii), it is indicated that “la transcription correspond à la *Received Pronunciation (R.P.)*, variété de l’anglais britannique la plus généralement étudiée dans le monde d’aujourd’hui,” and also that “pour des raisons d’économie de place, une seule prononciation est donnée pour chaque mot, à l’exclusion des variantes éventuelles et connues.” (xxvii)

#### 4.2.3.4 Color/Colour

RCSS	OXHA	DC
color ( <i>US</i> ) = colour	color US = colour	color cf. COLOUR
colour, ( <i>US</i> ) color...	colour GB, color US...	colour...

In this case, all three dictionaries give both possible Canadian spellings, *colour* and *color*. Moreover, they provide separate entries for each, although in all three dictionaries, the full entry is provided under the *colour* form, with the entry for *color* merely cross-referencing the user to the *colour* entry.

In the full entry for *colour*, the RCSS and the OXHA remind users of the spelling variant *color* by placing the two forms side by side. This, however, is not done in the DC.

Finally, the three bilingual dictionaries vary in the labelling of the spelling variants. The RCSS does not geographically label *colour*; but does mark *color* as AE. The OXHA labels both variants, *colour* as BE and *color* as AE. The DC does not label either variant.

#### 4.2.3.5 Practice/Practise

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>practice</b> I n...3 vti (US) = <b>practise</b>	<b>practice</b> I n...III vtr, vi US = <b>practise</b>	<b>practice</b> n
<b>practise</b> , (US) <b>practice</b> vt	<b>practise</b> GB, <b>practice</b> US vtr	<b>practise</b> v.tr.

The GAGE and the FUN indicate two forms for both the noun and verb: *practice* and *practise*, although the GAGE indicates a preference for one variant for the noun (*practice*) and the other for the verb (*practise*). None of the bilingual dictionaries provide both variants for the noun, giving only the *-ce* spelling. For the verb, both the RCSS and the OXHA give both forms, both marking *-ce* as AE and the OXHA marking *-se* as BE. The DC which gives only one form for the noun (*-ce*) and for the verb (*-se*), does not label it geographically.

#### 4.2.3.6 Dived/Dove

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>dive</b>	<b>dive</b> II vi ( <i>prét -d</i> GB, <i>dove</i> US)	<b>dive, dived</b> [Fam.] <b>dove</b>

As seen in 4.2.1.6 above, both *dived* and *dove* are used as past tense forms of *dive* in CE, although GAGE implies that *dove* is the familiar form. The DC gives both forms and is the only bilingual dictionary to label *dove* as “Familier.”

The OXHA also gives both past tense forms and labels both. But the labelling is geographic, (*dived* - GB, *dove* - US) rather than register-related as in the DC and the GAGE.

The RCSS does not provide the past tense of *dive* explicitly in the entry; however, some of the examples illustrate the past tense and the only form used is *dived*.

#### 4.2.3.7 Conclusion on English Canadianisms in Bilingual Dictionaries

One of the major findings of this study is that the bilingual dictionaries do not give nearly as much information on Canadianisms as do the unilingual dictionaries. This, however, is not surprising given the different functions that the two kinds of dictionaries perform. Unilingual dictionaries provide all the senses of a certain word in one language, while bilingual dictionaries are primarily concerned with providing the equivalent of a certain word in a different language. While they do not ignore the various senses of a word, they generally separate them only where the equivalents are different. If the equivalent is the same for every sense of the word, then the individual senses are not detailed. For this reason, the Canadian senses of words such as *acclamation* and *confederation* are not identified in the bilingual dictionaries examined.

Apart from this obvious finding, it can also be seen that the bilingual dictionaries, on the whole, tend not to mark what is Canadian or give as many Canadian collocations and pronunciations as the unilingual dictionaries do. However, this is understandable in view of the fact that, while all three of the unilingual dictionaries used in the study are Canadian, only one of the three bilingual dictionaries is Canadian.

But even if we look strictly at how the DC performs compared to the Canadian unilingual dictionaries, it can still be noted that the DC is not quite as thorough as the unilingual dictionaries. For instance, although it does geographically label specifically Canadian items, such as *by acclamation*, it does not offer information on Canadian preferences where variants exist, as in the case of *colour* and *color*.

## 4.2.4 Comparison of French Canadianisms in Bilingual Dictionaries

### 4.2.4.1 Casse-Croûte

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>casse-croûte</b> nm inv snack, lunch (US); (Can) snack bar	<b>casse-croûte</b> nm inv snack	<b>casse-croûte</b> nm inv. Lunch, snack, sandwich; (CD) snack bar.

As seen above in 4.2.2.1, *casse-croûte* has two senses: one which is common to all varieties of French, and one which is particular to CF. Two of the three bilingual dictionaries (the DC and the RCSS) cover the latter and label it as Canadian. The exception is the OXHA.

### 4.2.4.2 Appartement

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>appartement</b> a flat (Brit), apartment (US); [hôtel] suite <b>b</b> (Can) room	<b>apartment</b> flat GB, apartment	<b>appartement</b> flat, apartment; [hôtel] suite of rooms; (CD) room

In 4.2.2.2, it was noted that all three unilingual dictionaries covered the sense of *appartement* meaning “pièce.” Here, only two bilingual dictionaries do: the RCSS and the DC. Both label this sense Canadian, but neither make any comment concerning its usage as did the RQ2 or the PLUS.

### 4.2.4.3 Blesser

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>blesser</b> [blese]	<b>blesser</b> /blese/	<b>blesser</b> [blese]

The two European-produced bilingual dictionaries give only the standard French pronunciation of this word. Only the DC gives the Canadian pronunciation, and, like the unilingual RQ2, this is the only pronunciation it provides.

#### 4.2.4.4 Canoë/Canot

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>canoë</b> ( <i>bateau</i> ) canoe; ( <i>sport</i> ) canoeing.	<b>canoë 1</b> (i. barcation) (Canadian) <b>canoë 2</b> (sp. : ) canoeing	<b>canoë</b> [Fr.] canoe [in Canada use CANOT].
<b>canot</b> ( <i>barque</i> ) (small <i>ou</i> open) boat, dinghy; ( <i>Can</i> ) Canadian canoe.	<b>canot</b> (small) boat, dinghy	<b>canot</b> [Naut.] boat: (CD) canoe.

As was seen in 4.2.2.4 above, the treatment that this noun received in the unilingual dictionaries differed from one to the other. This observation pertains to the bilingual dictionaries as well.

The DC is the only dictionary to note that *canoë* is the standard French spelling and that in Canada the preferred spelling is *canot*. However, one sense of *canot* is labelled as Canadian by both the RCSS and the DC: the sense with the equivalent *Canadian canoe*. What is strange is the treatment that the OXHA provides. It seems to indicate the opposite of the RCSS and the DC. It makes it appear as though *canoë* is the Canadian spelling by giving (*Canadian*) *canoe* as its equivalent, while *Canadian canoe* is the equivalent given by the RCSS for *canot*. Nowhere in the OXHA entry for *canot* is it indicated that this means “canoe” in CF.

#### 4.2.4.5 Yaourt/Yogourt

RCSS	OXHA	DC
<b>yaourt</b> yog(h)urt	<b>yaourt</b> yogurt	NO ENTRY
<b>yoghourt</b> = yaourt	<b>yoghourt</b> = yaourt	NO ENTRY

The first observation is that, this word, regardless of the spelling, is not covered by the DC at all; therefore only the RCSS and the OXHA will be considered here. In both these dictionaries, the full entry is provided under the standard French spelling *yaourt*. Both also provide an entry for the spelling *yoghourt*, cross-referencing users back to *yaourt*. It must be noted that the spelling *yoghourt* is not found in any of the Canadian unilingual dictionaries

examined, while the common Canadian spelling *yogourt* which is given by all three Canadian unilingual dictionaries, is not provided by any of the bilingual dictionaries.

#### 4.2.4.6 Job

RCSS	OXHA	DC
job 1 nm ( <i>travail</i> ) (temporary) job	job nm ( <i>travail</i> ) job; ( <i>petit boulot</i> ) casual job; ( <i>pour les vacances</i> ) summer job	NO ENTRY
2 ( <i>Can</i> ) nf job		NO ENTRY

Again, since the DC has no entry for this word, only the RCSS and the OXHA will be considered.

In 4.2.2.6 above, it was noted that all three unilingual dictionaries acknowledge that the gender for *job* is feminine in CF. Of the two bilingual dictionaries, only the RCSS gives this information. It even creates a separate division for the Canadian usage, even though the equivalent is the same in both divisions.

#### 4.2.4.7 Conclusion on French Canadianisms in Bilingual Dictionaries

As was concluded in 4.2.3.7, the bilingual dictionaries do not give as much information on Canadianisms as do the unilingual ones. Once again, however, this can be explained by the fact that the function of a bilingual dictionary is different from that of a unilingual one, and the fact that only one of the three bilingual dictionaries examined is actually Canadian.

Considering that the RCSS is not a Canadian dictionary, it fares quite well in terms of its inclusion of Canadian usage. In fact, the RCSS covers four of the six French Canadianisms examined in this study, the same number as the DC. Part of the reason the DC does not fare so well is because it does not cover two of the six Canadianisms analyzed, perhaps because it is a

concise edition, smaller in size than both the RCSS and the OXHA. Surprisingly, however, the OXHA does not cover most of these French Canadianisms, and the treatment of the only one it does cover (*canot*) is confusing at best.

### **4.3 Conclusion**

The following conclusions can be drawn from the two studies presented in this chapter.

First, as expected, it is typically the Canadian unilingual dictionaries which cover the greatest number of Canadianisms, despite the efforts of non-Canadian ones to increase their coverage of them. One exception to this statement is the NPR, which covers almost as many Canadianisms as some of the Canadian dictionaries and often provides a very thorough treatment.

In the category of bilingual dictionaries, on the other hand, the Canadian dictionary does not fare as well as some of the non-Canadian ones, both in terms of the numbers of Canadianisms covered and the treatment they receive.

Generally speaking though, the unilingual dictionaries on the whole are able to provide more information on Canadianisms than the bilingual ones, since they tend not only to break down the various senses of a word more, but also to give more usage-related information concerning a word.

## **5. PROBLEMS AFFECTING CANADIAN LEXICOGRAPHY**

The two previous chapters make it apparent that there are a number of problems related to the treatment of Canadianisms, not only in European dictionaries, but in Canadian ones as well. The purpose of this chapter is to focus on some of these problems. The presentation of each problem selected for examination will be followed by its discussion, which will include, where possible, the proposal of a solution.

The problems are divided into two main groups: problems which are common to both unilingual and bilingual dictionaries, and problems which are specific to bilingual dictionaries.

Within the first group, there is a further subdivision. General problems affecting Canadian lexicography will be treated first: the question of determining standard Canadian usage, and the dictionary's approach. Following this, problems of a more specific nature will be treated: determining the nomenclature, dealing with Canadian senses, the question of labelling, the problem of pronunciation, Canadianizing examples, and providing sufficient usage information for Canadianisms.

In the second group, the following problems will be considered: determining equivalents for Canadianisms, introducing redundancy if some Canadian meanings are separated, and ensuring uniformity throughout the dictionary.

## **5.1 Problems Common to Unilingual and Bilingual Dictionaries**

### **5.1.1 General Problems Affecting Canadian Lexicography**

#### **5.1.1.1 Standard Canadian Usage**

The question of what constitutes the “standard” of a given language is a thorny one in lexicography. We will begin by attempting to clarify the meaning of “standard.”

This one word can have several meanings. First, it can refer to the idea of “correctness,” as in a standard which is imposed by some authority to maintain an acceptable level of language. Second, it can simply refer to what is common and conventional in a language. Both these points of view have a common basis.

Within every society, there are rules which guide the linguistic behaviour of individuals. While every individual manipulates language in his or her own personal way, linguistic behaviour is by no means free. There are certain expectations established by society to which everyone must conform. Starting from childhood, a person learns what behaviour is considered acceptable and what is not. The acceptable behaviour, the standard, is determined by society itself. It is important to note that what is seen as the standard is not inherently better than any other form; however, once chosen as the standard, it is judged to be better, and therefore achieves a powerful status. It is the form which is taught in schools, written in newspapers, codified in grammar books, and, traditionally, dictionaries.

However, the standard can be determined and defined in different ways. As indicated above, the standard can be imposed by some organization or group of individuals responsible for

linguistic matters. In such cases, the goal is to achieve “correctness” in language use and the resultant standard is somewhat prescriptive, idealistic and artificial.

On the other hand, many people reject the idea that a standard refers to a prestigious ideal which must be artificially imposed. Their notion of standard corresponds simply to the usage which is most common among a given group of users. Along this line, Peter Strevens (1985:5) defines standard English as “the grammar and the core vocabulary of educated usage in English.” In this sense, standard English is not imposed by any official authority, but rather as Strevens points out (1985:6), it is established “by common consent and acceptance (or rejection) among the educated users of the language.”

The term “standard” in both these senses will now be examined in relation to CE and CF.

#### **5.1.1.1.1 Standard CE**

When we talk of the standard of CE, most often we are using standard in the second sense defined above. That is, the existence of standard CE is not the result of the intervention of an official body as in the case of some languages. In fact, according to Chambers, (1986:3) educators and linguists have traditionally avoided talking about standards in CE because “the notion of standards is alien to - perhaps even repugnant to - our national character.” The implication of an authority governing one’s behaviour, he continues, has a negative connotation for English Canadians. Therefore, standard CE has been established throughout the years simply by the users’ general consensus of what is considered acceptable.

It is no surprise that standard CE has been greatly influenced by AE and BE. As CE in general contains a mixture of features from AE and BE, similarly, standard CE contains a

mixture of the AE and BE standard. This combination of usages from AE and BE is one of the most distinctive markers of standard CE. It also leads to the conclusion that standard CE is not as “fixed” as other national standards. It is more flexible and allows for more variation and co-existence of variables. While, at first sight, this might appear contrary to the concept of a standard, which is often seen as uniform and without variation, in reality, however, variation is a necessary, inescapable part of language, without which language would cease to evolve.

The nature of standard CE can be summed up with the assistance of the comments of two of Canada’s foremost scholars of CE: Avis and Gregg. Avis, in his introduction to the GAGE (1983:x) states that the Canadian standard is more diverse than the standards of BE or AE and consequently the GAGE gives a greater range of alternatives than comparable BE or AE dictionaries do. In some specific cases, where usage can be so equally divided between variables, both variables must be accepted as standard. Furthermore, Gregg has noted (1986:158) “It would thus seem that Canadians will not respect any monolithic, dictatorial standard but rather a range of standards based on objective statistics which show overall preferences (preferred forms) or the preferences of educated Canadians (prestige forms) which may occasionally differ from the former.”

#### **5.1.1.1.2 Standard CF**

The issue of the standard of CF is much more complicated. First of all, as has already been discussed earlier, CF has been plagued since its beginnings by feelings of insecurity and inferiority in comparison to FF. Right up to the middle of this century, the generally accepted opinion was that CF should strive to conform to the standard of FF. It is only very recently that

the concept of a standard particular to CF has received much support. However, this viewpoint has still not completely won the day, especially with linguistic organizations which have a “purist” approach, such as the *Ordre des traducteurs et interprètes agréés du Québec* (OTIAQ),<sup>1</sup> although contemporary CF linguists and lexicographers favour the view that CF has its own standard and it is this standard which should be documented. This practice can be witnessed in the PLUS and both editions of the RQ which have chosen to document the usage of Canada rather than Europe.

Second, even when the concept of a standard particular to CF is accepted, this standard is viewed in two different ways. Some see the CF standard as that recommended by a body such as the *Office de la langue française* (OLF). This is not surprising in light of the fact that the French language has a long history of linguistic intervention, since the French are very concerned with controlling the standard of their language and its evolution. Indeed authoritative bodies have been established with precisely this goal in mind: in France, we have, for example, the *Académie française* and in French Canada we have the OLF. The CF standard, from this viewpoint, would consist of the common core of French shared by Canadians and the French and the limited number of Canadianisms recommended by the OLF. Contemporary Canadian lexicographers, on the other hand, seem to view the CF standard in the second sense outlined above, i.e. not imposed by an official body. In fact, the RQ’s and the RQ2’s presentation of the CF standard is not very different from that of the CE standard presented in CE dictionaries in that it claims to document a standard which is the object “d’un consensus respectueux de la collectivité” (1992:xxii), rather than a standard that is artificially imposed.

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<sup>1</sup> OTIAQ’s purist approach was evident in its condemnation of the RQ’s inclusion of a number of anglicisms and

Overall, today, there is a growing recognition that, while standard CF is not “le joual,”<sup>2</sup> which would isolate CF speakers from the rest of the French-speaking world, it is equally not “le français de Paris.” The standard of CF accepts Canadianisms (to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the point of view), while at the same time acknowledging the importance of maintaining a common core permitting inter-comprehension with other French-speaking countries. (Corbeil 1981:280)

### ***DISCUSSION***

Since the CE standard is “flexible” and since English-speaking Canadians are more accepting of variation in the standard, the CE standard does not pose a major obstacle to Canadian lexicographers. However, they do have to make decisions concerning the precise nature of the CF standard, since, if they define it very broadly, as did the RQ and the RQ2, they are likely to be similarly criticized by bodies such as the OTIAQ for promoting a low standard of CF.

The best method to deal with the problem of determining standard Canadian usage for the purpose of preparing a dictionary seems to be to use Canadian corpora as a basis. A corpus would permit searching for the standard in both senses given here. It would, on the one hand, provide the most frequent usage (one concept of standard). On the other hand, it could also provide the “prestigious” usage (another concept of standard) if the corpora were limited to what are considered prestigious texts. Admittedly, there are certain problems that arise from this solution: the first one is the difficulty in establishing a corpus which represents a complete cross-

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informal words in its nomenclature.

<sup>2</sup> “Joual” is defined in the RQ2 as the “parler québécois des milieux populaires, caractérisé par certains traits (surtout phonétiques et lexicaux) considérés comme s’écarter de l’usage correct ou normatif (comme joual, choual pour cheval), et surtout empruntés à l’anglais.

section of speakers in the community, if one wishes to establish the most frequent usage: the second one is the problem of deciding on prestigious texts, if one wants to establish “prestigious” usage. However, all things considered, recourse to a corpus appears to be the best solution to date.

For example, it is interesting to see what the BCD's Canadian sub-corpora, the PCF and the LEM, yield when five French Canadianisms which are marked “critiqué” in the RQ2 are searched therein. The five Canadianisms in question are: *vente de garage*, *surtemps*, *fournaise*, *brocheuse* and *cartable*. The corpus search reveals the following results:

	PCF	LEM
vente de garage	66	0
surtemps	101	0
fournaise	94	8
brocheuse	4	0
cartable	46	1

The above table indicates that, although all five of these words are deemed “critiqué” in the RQ2, all 5 appear in the PCF sub-corpus (a newspaper sub-corpus), and what's more, 4 of the 5 have a relatively strong showing. However, only two, *fournaise* and *cartable* appear in the LEM (a more literary sub-corpus), and their presence is very limited.<sup>3</sup>

This corpus search reveals two findings. The first one is that the general nature of these five words seems to make them more apt to be found in a newspaper-based corpus rather than a literary-oriented corpus. This illustrates perfectly the problem that one would run into if the corpus were only literary-oriented, i.e. certain segments of the lexicon would yield no results and would hence give the false impression that the words are not used.

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<sup>3</sup> The fact that the LEM is a much smaller sub-corpus than the PCF may account to some extent for the absence of the Canadianisms examined.

Second, even though the usage of these words is criticized, the corpus reveals that they are nevertheless used, and not only are they used in informal or oral contexts, but evidently in written ones as well.

Overall, this exercise in the use of a corpus reveals the major role that the corpus can play in establishing the standard used by educated people, as well as the importance of using a large and varied corpus in determining the standard.

### **5.1.1.2 Lexicographic Approach**

The second problem, one faced by all lexicographers, including Canadian ones, is linked with that of the standard. It concerns the lexicographer's approach in relation to the standard language.

The question arises: is it the responsibility of lexicographers to document only the “prestigious” standard, or at least to indicate what is not considered “proper” or “correct” language? In other words, should the lexicographer take a prescriptive approach? Some answer with a vehement “yes.” According to them, dictionaries are the “arbiters of correctness,” (Algeo 1989:34) whose duty it is to reinforce the “proper” language.

However, there is also a strong argument against this opinion, and in favour of a more descriptive approach which merely tells the dictionary user objectively how language is actually used. Proponents of the descriptive approach have criticized the American Heritage Dictionary's (AHD) Usage Panel, which is intended to guide the user as to the proper use of the language. They feel that the AHD Usage Panel gives preference to one language variety above all the others. In the words of Anthony Wolk (1972:934), “the effect of this linguistic policy is to

declare inferior those whose usages are contrary to the AHD standard.” In Wolk's opinion (1972:935) “the AHD is guilty of linguistic racism in a society which needs rather less of such restrictive attitudes.” This can be said to be true of any dictionary which follows this practice.

### ***DISCUSSION***

The approach to be adopted towards the standard is one of the fundamental decisions to be made prior to undertaking the work of preparing a dictionary. However, the lexicographer must accept the fact that, regardless of the approach he chooses, the decision will spark criticism. For example, in the introduction to the AHD, it is claimed that it is “more precisely descriptive, in terms of current usage levels, than any heretofore published (dictionary)” (1982:7) because the usage notes have been based on the consensus of a usage panel. However, as noted above, the same dictionary has been criticized for being prescriptive since this usage panel was a non-randomly selected, homogeneous group of elderly, white, middle class people, and therefore gave priority to their particular linguistic behaviour. (Wolk 1972:930-931) Furthermore, the editors of the RQ, in their effort to produce a truly non-biased account of CF, have been criticized by people such as Chantal Bouchard who feel that “ils ont choisi, par crainte de perpétuer d'anciennes stigmatisations, d'effacer toute trace qui pourrait donner lieu à des jugements de valeur, comme si les Québécois n'étaient pas assez mûrs pour exercer leur jugement, qu'il faille leur cacher que tel mot n'est en usage qu'ici, que tel autre est populaire, ou que tel emploi est un anglicisme.” (Bélanger and Bouchard 1993:15) In short, there will always be condemners on both sides.

A major challenge which faces lexicographers, then, is in deciding which approach to adopt. This decision will depend upon the purpose of the dictionary: a learner's dictionary will

probably require a more prescriptive approach than a general dictionary intended for the general public. The approach selected will in turn, have an impact on various aspects of the dictionary, starting with its nomenclature. A descriptive dictionary should include every word which has proven to be in widespread usage, whether it be vulgar, taboo or criticized by purists (as is the case with many anglicisms in CF). If the aim is to produce a prescriptive dictionary, then decisions must be made as to what kinds of usage will not be retained. However, since the common approach in recent Canadian lexicography is the descriptive one, we will not go into details in this matter.

A problem which relates specifically to the descriptive approach is the difficulty experienced in separating completely the descriptive and prescriptive approaches. There are dictionaries on the market today which claim for all intents and purposes to be descriptive, but upon closer consideration, it is noted that they are still haunted by some prescriptive tendencies. Examples of such instances have been highlighted already in chapter 3 where, for example, a dictionary will give a spelling norm without indicating how this norm was determined. This results in conflicting information.

As indicated in 3.2.2.3.2, Bailey noted the GAGE's prescriptive treatment of *centre*. Under the spelling *center* in the GAGE, the user is cross-referenced to *centre*, and it is noted that all “compounds and derivatives beginning with **center-** are entered under their **centre-** forms.” (1983:187) This treatment implies that *centre* is the sole possible spelling for this word, although as Bailey pointed out (1987:14), *center* is also used by many Canadians. In order to ensure a less prescriptive treatment of the spelling variants *centre/center*, not only should *center* be cross-

referenced to *centre*, but in the full entry *centre*, both variants should be given side by side, with the more common spelling first, as follows:

**centre or center<sup>4</sup>**

In other words, the lexicographer has to bear in mind the approach of the dictionary at all levels of the dictionary-making. The lexicographer's role, in a descriptive approach, is to present the information with as little judgement as possible. This does not mean that the dictionary cannot provide the user with any guidance, just that the guidance must be carefully worded so as not to impart any bias. For instance, in the case of usage notes, it would be acceptable to indicate whether one form was more commonly used in CE over another form; however, the note should be worded in an objective way and it should be clear how a particular form was judged to be more common, i.e. it was based on frequency of occurrence in a corpus. Clearly, the key to overcoming the tendency to be prescriptive is maintaining an objective viewpoint and backing up any decision with concrete data.

## **5.1.2 Specific Problems Affecting Canadian Lexicography**

### **5.1.2.1 Selection of Canadianisms to be Included as Headwords**

Determining the words to be treated in a dictionary is probably one of the most problematic issues in lexicography. The dictionary is assumed by many to be a complete inventory of every word in a given language, but in reality no such work exists. Language is infinite and ever-evolving; it is impossible to pin it down. And on the more pragmatic side, lexicographers could not afford the time and money which would be required to attempt to cover

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<sup>4</sup> *Centre* is placed first because it occurred more often in the BCD's PCF corpus.

a complete inventory. Therefore, decisions must be made as to the scope of the dictionary, i.e., which items will be selected and which will be rejected. The task of determining the nomenclature of general Canadian dictionaries is an even more delicate one, since it must include both common core words (and senses) and specifically Canadian ones.

Identifying Canadianisms and determining which ones should be included in the nomenclature poses particular problems in both CE and CF. First, existing Canadian dictionaries are not always in agreement that a word, sense or form is Canadian. For example, *muskeg* is marked as a Canadianism by the GAGE and the PEN, but the FUN labels it as “U.S. and Canadian.” (1989:893) Identification of Canadianisms is even more complicated in CF, since the two most recent dictionaries of CF do not label Canadianisms.

Second, there are some types of Canadianisms whose inclusion might be questioned. In CE and CF, there are Canadianisms whose usage is limited to certain regions, such as the word *growler*, which is a small iceberg to Newfoundlanders, and the Nova Scotian word *fungy*, meaning a deep blueberry pie. Since these regionalisms are not recognized by all speakers of the language, should they be included?

Finally, in CF, there is the ever controversial problem of anglicisms. Their presence has been felt since the two languages came together, and some have become so accepted that their English beginnings are hardly known; yet there are those who still cringe at the idea of “condoning” them in a dictionary. As was mentioned earlier in 3.1.2.2.2.3, the RQ, which includes a large number of anglicisms, distinguishes between “mots anglais,” “anglicismes” and “anglicismes familiers.” This treatment is advantageous to the user because the distinctions made

between words originating from English give the user a better idea of how accepted and assimilated each word is in CF.

The starting point for making decisions as to what should be included in the nomenclature would normally be the standard of a language, considered in terms of the purpose of the dictionary, the intended audience, and its size. However, even though we are of the belief that a standard CE and CF exists, the flexibility of the former and the lack of agreement on the latter do not make the task of determining the nomenclature a simple one.

### ***DISCUSSION***

After decisions have been made regarding the size of the proposed dictionary, its purpose and its audience, and the nature of the vocabulary to be included, (i.e. how much space should be devoted to Canadianisms, neologisms, and vocabulary of a more technical nature), there are three steps that can be taken to determine the Canadianisms to be included.

First, despite their inadequacies, existing dictionaries can be used for establishing the basis of the nomenclature; they need to be gone through letter by letter to decide which words and senses form the common core of English or French, and which are probably Canadianisms. This is, however, not only a daunting task, but also problematic when it comes to selecting Canadianisms, because as previously mentioned, CE dictionaries do not always agree upon what is Canadian and recent CF dictionaries do not mark Canadianisms. However, since the CE dictionaries do at least mark what is Canadian, it is possible to extract what they list as Canadianisms. And, although the CF dictionaries do not mark the Canadianisms, they can be compared to non-Canadian dictionaries to identify what is not included in the latter and what is therefore probably a Canadianism. However, any such initial list of prospective Canadianisms in

CF will have to be finalized by other means, such as scholarly studies and consultation with experts on CF.

Second, prospective Canadianisms can then be searched in a corpus of CE or CF texts, and the results can be compared against further searches in British, American or French corpora to determine which are in fact Canadianisms. Those which are deemed to be Canadianisms can be further researched in Canadian corpora to see if their frequency warrants inclusion. Regionalisms, for example, could be retained if the corpus indicates that they are occasionally used in other parts of English or French-speaking Canada. And if the presence of certain anglicisms is significant in the corpus, this can be taken as proof that they have a place in the language, and therefore must be documented.

Finally, Canadian words or senses which might have been overlooked in the first two steps and Canadian neologisms may be picked up during day to day reading of current material plus public consultation. In the experience of the BCD, however, public consultation did not prove to be very useful. Hundreds of letters were sent to organizations and individuals for advice on CE, but less than ten replies were received, and of those, the majority suggested only the most obvious lexical items of CE or else very specialized or regional usage.

#### **5.1.2.2 Ordering of Canadian Senses**

Even when the Canadianisms have been identified, another question concerning Canadian senses needs to be answered. Since the dictionary's primary focus is on Canadian usage, should the senses specific to Canada be placed before the senses common to all varieties?

## **DISCUSSION**

The solution to this problem is essentially a matter of lexicographic policy. Depending on what the lexicographer wants to stress, the point can be argued either way. If highlighting the Canadianisms is the most important goal of the dictionary, then putting Canadian senses first can be justified. However, it can also be argued that if the dictionary's overall goal is to document the current usage of English/French in Canada, then the senses should be ordered according to frequency of usage in Canada, regardless of whether the sense is common to all varieties of the language or particular to Canada.

### **5.1.2.3 Geographic Labelling in the Dictionary**

Another complication which arises in Canadian lexicography is the question of geographic labelling. What should be labelled, Canadianisms, or particularities of other language varieties? It has been reasoned that since other dictionaries do not label the particularities of their own language variety, but rather those which are uncommon to their own language variety, then logically, Canadian dictionaries should follow the same practice.<sup>5</sup> However, this is presuming much linguistic sophistication on the part of users, who must be capable of determining for themselves which elements would be understood only in Canada and which would be understood in other parts of the English and French-speaking worlds. And if the dictionary does not label Canadianisms, users have no means of even verifying their linguistic intuition concerning Canadianisms. This can lead to an argument in favour of labelling Canadianisms.

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<sup>5</sup> This viewpoint is stated in the introduction to the RQ (1992:xx) and the RQ2 (1993:xx): "Les dictionnaires élaborés en France marquent généralement les mots dont l'usage est restreint à une région du territoire français ou à une partie d'un autre territoire de la francophonie. Ils ne marquent jamais les mots d'usage généralisé sur le territoire français. Le *DICTIONNAIRE QUÉBÉCOIS D'AUJOURD'HUI* ne procède pas autrement mais son point

Looking at the existing Canadian dictionaries, we see that both arguments have been espoused by lexicographers, which has led to practical differences in their dictionaries: the unilingual English dictionaries (the GAGE, the PEN and the FUN) and the bilingual DC label the Canadianisms, while the two latest unilingual French dictionaries (the PLUS and both the RQ and the RQ2) label only particularities of language varieties other than Canadian.

### ***DISCUSSION***

The simplest and most diplomatic way of solving this problem is to geographically label any usage which steps outside of the common core of the language, whether it be Canadian, British, French, etc. This is especially important in bilingual lexicography since it deals with two languages. Not only does the user want to be able to identify the background of source language words, but also target language words. Therefore, the practice of labelling everything outside the common core of the language seems to be the best way to avoid any confusion the user might have and to educate the user as to the geographic differences which exist in the language.

#### **5.1.2.4 Phonetic Transcription**

The difficulty involved with phonetic transcription in lexicography relates back to the concept of standard: what pronunciation will be chosen as the standard to be transcribed? This difficulty becomes even greater in Canadian lexicography, where the oral practices of speakers of CE and CF are as varied as, if not more varied than, the written ones.<sup>6</sup> In bilingual Canadian lexicography, the problem doubles, as decisions have to be made for each language.

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de vue est tout naturellement québécois : il ne marque pas les mots qui constituent des particularismes de la langue française au Québec.”

<sup>6</sup> Despite Chambers' (1986:12) statement cited in 2.4.1, that probably no other country has a standard accent that is so geographically widespread, the issue of variations in the standard across the country cannot be ignored.

## ***DISCUSSION***

As with the written standard, the growing tendency in contemporary Canadian lexicography is to transcribe the Canadian standard, and here again, the definition of standard is the idea of the usage generally accepted among Canadians. This is the approach taken by the GAGE, the PLUS and both the RQ and the RQ2, for example. In order to follow this practice, however, the standard pronunciations need to be determined according to phonological studies that have been done.<sup>7</sup>

A second possible approach would be to follow a practice found in the DC. In the front matter of the dictionary are detailed notes about the particularities of the phonology of CE and CF. Specific phenomena are introduced, explained, and compared with other standards of the same language. The information provided in these sections are so detailed, that phonetic transcriptions within the body of the dictionary would not necessarily be required.

Either of these solutions are valid, but as always, the lexicographer must bear in mind the intended function of the dictionary and its intended users when making these decisions. For example, if the dictionary is intended for advanced users of the two languages, as in the case of the BCD, it may be argued that phonetic transcriptions are not necessary at all.

### **5.1.2.5 Canadianizing Examples**

In the past, many CE and CF dictionaries were nothing more than Canadianized versions of American, British or French dictionaries. The effort to Canadianize the dictionaries often consisted of nothing more than simply incorporating a certain number of Canadianisms into the body of the dictionary. Other aspects of the dictionary such as the illustrative examples were not

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<sup>7</sup> This is presumably how the three above-mentioned dictionaries proceeded, although this is not explicitly stated in the dictionaries.

adjusted, and consequently, they did not fully reflect the cultural context of Canada. For instance, in the Compact Dictionary of Canadian English (1976), under the entry for *territory*, the following example is given:

*Tom's territory is outside Boston*

Although most Canadians are familiar with this city, it is nevertheless an American city, and so to make the example have more significance to Canadians, *Boston* could have been replaced with a Canadian city such as *Montreal* or *Toronto*.

Another example from this dictionary contains a reference to George Washington in the entry for *soldier*:

*Washington was a great soldier*

As in the above example, it would mean more to Canadian users to see someone from their history named here, such as General Wolfe or Montcalm.

This same dictionary also has a tendency to use imperial measurements in its examples, while in Canada we use the metric system. In the entries for *level* and *speed*, the following examples are given:

*The water rose to a level of 29 feet*

and

*a speed of five miles an hour.*

This preference for the imperial measurements might be explained by the age of the dictionary. Since the conversion process from imperial to metric, which was begun in 1971, was still relatively new in 1976, the editorial board of this dictionary may not have sensed the need to convert all the examples with measurement to metric.

## ***DISCUSSION***

Illustrative examples in dictionaries are used to show the type of context in which a word may be used. While the primary focus is on the linguistic context, the non-linguistic, or cultural, context of an example is also of importance, since it aids the dictionary user in understanding the customs, institutions and ideologies of the culture in which that word is used. Examples which reveal cultural information about English and French Canada are thus not only preferable in Canadian bilingual lexicography, but necessary.

The problem of finding examples which reflect Canadian culture can quite easily be resolved by choosing them from Canadian corpora which do reflect Canadian realities. In addition, if necessary, existing “foreign” examples can be adapted to give them a Canadian character.

In selecting Canadian examples or Canadianizing other examples, one danger must be kept in mind, however: that of making the example so culturally specific that the user has difficulty understanding the context. Amy Chi Man-Lai (quoted in Toope 1996:100) cites the following example from the entry for *subpoena* in the *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (COCO): **A House committee tried to serve a subpoena on Harry Truman.** Man-Lai points out that the user would require a fair amount of background knowledge to properly understand this example. *Harry Truman* would have to be recognized as being an American President before the user could identify *House* as the American *House of Representatives*.

### 5.1.2.6 Usage For Canadianisms

Usage information, which goes beyond simple usage labelling, is particularly helpful in Canadian lexicography because it can provide the dictionary reader with insight into peculiarities of Canadian usage.

Such information could be presented in the form of usage notes. These notes could be specific to a particular word in which case they would be added to the pertinent entry, or they could be more general in nature and thus be applicable to a number of entries.

Information on spelling, punctuation and various other writing conventions would generally fall into the latter category. For example, in order to deal with the problem of variant spelling forms in CE, such as the *-our/-or* endings, one usage note could be created, discussing these spelling variants and explaining how the dictionary came to the decision that one form was more common than the other. A cross-reference would appear at each relevant entry, referring the user to the page in the dictionary on which the usage note appears.

Entry-specific usage notes could cover a number of different aspects, the most important of which seems to be register. It is not uncommon that a word which is used in both Canada and other Francophone areas has a different register according to the country. For example, usage of the word *patate* in France appears to be much more informal than it is in Canada. This information could supplement simple labelling in the *patate* entry.

### **DISCUSSION**

Typically, such sorts of usage notes have been more frequent in unilingual dictionaries. However, the linguistic and cultural information they provide would be just as beneficial in bilingual dictionaries. In fact, the recently published OXHA bilingual dictionary does include

more general usage notes, discussing topics such as names of countries, dates, time and measurement. Perhaps this kind of practice will catch on in future bilingual dictionaries.

However, descriptive lexicographers have to be careful that the usage notes do not adopt a slightly prescriptive flavour. This can occasionally occur, for instance, if the note does not explicitly say what data was used as a basis for the information provided. Let us take as an example the following usage note from the GAGE's entry for the verb "dive:"

**Dived, dove.** Both forms are used in Canadian English for the past tense, though **dived** seems to be more widely preferred in writing and in formal English. However, **dove** is the standard form for many people.

Although the usage note provides useful information, the source for this information is not revealed, and therefore the user does not know whether this information is based on objective criteria, or whether it simply represents the opinion of the dictionary editors. While the GAGE is to be commended for supplementing its entry with usage information of this kind, the usage note would be taken more seriously, if the dictionary had stated what led it to conclude that *dived* is more widely preferred in writing and formal English.

The question of presenting in the form of a note the different registers in different language varieties is a more delicate issue, both from the point of view of lexicographic policy and from that of information sources. Some Canadian lexicographers feel that it is not their duty to produce a "differential dictionary," i.e. one that distinguishes Canadian usage from non-Canadian usage. Moreover, it is hard to find a consensus on the register of a given word in one language variety, much less two or three.<sup>8</sup> However, if dictionary policy allows register notes, then corpora could be used to verify and justify the material included therein.

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<sup>8</sup> This has been confirmed by Tiphaine Crenn in her thesis focussing specifically on register labelling in dictionaries.

## **5.2 Problems Specific to Bilingual Dictionaries**

All the problems discussed above are faced twice by the Canadian bilingual lexicographers: once in the context of English and again in the context of French. In addition, bilingual lexicographers confront other specific problems deriving from the fact that two languages are being related to each other.

### **5.2.1 Determining Equivalents For Canadianisms**

There are occasions when it is difficult, if not next to impossible, to find an equivalent in the target language for certain Canadianisms.<sup>9</sup> This is often because the precise meaning of the Canadianism is not clearcut. For example, catch-all words such as *bebelle* can have various meanings depending on the context and can cause many a headache since the meanings are not always easily deciphered even in context. Unilingual Canadian dictionaries are often helpful in determining the sense, but they too can sometimes cause confusion either because they are not in total agreement with each other, or because the definitions and illustrative examples that they provide still do not clearly present the meaning. This is the case for the word *ratoureux* which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. Bilingual dictionaries are not always much help either, since, as we have seen, there are not enough Canadianisms in many bilingual dictionaries, and those that are there are often inadequately treated. Therefore, Canadian bilingual lexicographers are often left to their own devices in their search for equivalents for Canadianisms.

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<sup>9</sup> It is important to note here that a Canadianism in the SL is not necessarily rendered by a Canadianism in the TL.

## ***DISCUSSION***

The problem of finding equivalents applies, more often than not, when working from CF to CE. There are two reasons for this: first, there are simply a greater number of Canadianisms in CF; and second, many CF Canadianisms are informal in register, and equivalents in CE of the same register are difficult to find.

If existing unilingual and bilingual dictionaries provide no clarification of the sense, then the next step would be to search the SL word in a Canadian corpus to see if the contexts retrieved there could be of help. Another possible solution, which can and actually should be used in addition to the previous step, is to conduct a survey of a panel of experts on the language variety to see what their consensus on the meaning is.

Once the meaning of the Canadianism is determined, it becomes easier to find an equivalent, even if it does not completely match in register. And if a translational equivalent<sup>10</sup> does not exist, then at least the lexicographer is in a much better position to provide an explanatory equivalent.<sup>11</sup>

### **5.2.2 Problem of Redundancy**

As has been mentioned in 2.1.2, there is a type of lexical Canadianism which consists of a word belonging to the common core of the language, which has acquired a specific sense in the Canadian variety of that language. One such example is *Confederation* in CE. Indicating the Canadian sense of this word in a unilingual CE dictionary does not pose any problem since the purpose of the unilingual dictionary is to define all senses of a word. However, the bilingual

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<sup>10</sup> A lexical item in the TL which corresponds in meaning to an SL word and which can be readily inserted into a TL sentence.

<sup>11</sup> An explanation of the meaning of the SL word because no corresponding lexical item exists in the TL. It cannot always be inserted as such into a TL sentence.

dictionary's primary purpose is to provide the equivalent of a word in another language, and if it has several senses which are relatively close and the equivalent is the same for all senses, then typically the senses will be combined so that repetition of the same equivalent, and thus redundancy, is avoided. *Confederation* and *confederation* have the same equivalent (*confédération*), since they have essentially the same meaning, the Canadianism simply being the Canadian realization of the common meaning. Therefore, in many bilingual dictionaries, this Canadianism would go unmentioned.

### ***DISCUSSION***

It is my belief that if a dictionary claims to represent the usage of a particular language variety, then it should make every effort to provide all legitimate features of that usage. In that case then, the disadvantage of introducing a certain amount of redundancy in Canadian bilingual lexicography is outweighed by the indisputable advantage of providing specific Canadian usage.

### **5.2.3 Uniformity in the Dictionary**

It does not seem unreasonable to expect uniformity between the two sections of a bilingual dictionary. In other words, every source language headword, compound, expression, etc., should be included as target language equivalents in the opposite section. This is particularly important for Canadianisms in a bilingual Canadian dictionary. Thus, for example, if the Canadianism *surtemps* is a headword in the French - English section of the dictionary, with the equivalent *overtime*, then the user should be able to find *surtemps* as an equivalent in the entry for the noun *overtime* in the English - French section. In other words, the goal of a bilingual Canadian dictionary should be not only to give Canadianisms as headwords, but equally to give them as equivalents.

### ***DISCUSSION***

Luckily, the task of ensuring this kind of uniformity between sections has been greatly simplified since the advent of computerized lexicography. No longer do such laborious tasks have to be done painstakingly by hand. Nowadays, given the computer's advanced capabilities for performing searches, it should be possible to cross-check any element of the TL in the corresponding section of the SL in order to ensure that there are no unintended omissions.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was, first, to clearly state some of the problems that are encountered in both unilingual and bilingual Canadian lexicography, and second, to discuss possible ways of dealing with these problems. Since some of the problems are of a more complex nature than others, not all of the solutions discussed are equally effective in all cases. Nonetheless, they are provided here with the intent to help improve Canadian lexicography of the future and provide a solid basis which can be built upon.

## 6. THE BCD'S APPROACH TO CANADIANISMS

The majority of the problems indicated in Chapter 5 have been examined by the Bilingual Canadian Dictionary (BCD) project. The BCD project is an interuniversity, pan-Canadian lexicographic project, whose major objective is to produce a general bilingual dictionary which presents English and French as they are used in Canada. The BCD is intended primarily for professionals using English and French in the course of their work. This chapter will indicate how the project is approaching these problems at this stage of its development.

One key element of the BCD project, which plays a role at virtually every stage of the dictionary's preparation, is its corpora, which have been briefly described in the Introduction.<sup>1</sup> The BCD is a corpus-based dictionary, and as such, the corpora are used as a guide in all of the major decisions involved in preparing the dictionary, from the selection of the nomenclature, especially Canadianisms, to the ordering and clarification of senses, to determining the most common form of a word. Indeed, the corpora described above constitute a basic tool used by the BCD in dealing with most of the problems affecting Canadian lexicography outlined in the preceding chapters. These problems will be rediscussed below from the BCD point of view.

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the BCD corpora consist primarily of written texts. The few elements of the spoken language found therein are those reproduced in quotes or as dialogue in the written texts in *Textum* or retained in the transcribed and revised editions of the *Hansard*. The lack of spoken material is due primarily to the fact that it is very difficult to obtain such material in computerized form. However, given that the BCD's target audience is primarily professionals using English and French during the course of their work, the focus on written language corpora can be justified.

## **6.1 Standard**

Since the BCD is intended to be a descriptive dictionary rather than a normative one,<sup>2</sup> no attempt is made by the editorial board to impose arbitrary language standards on CE and CF. In any case, the editorial board is very aware of the fact that the imposition of an arbitrary standard has historically been strongly rejected by users of CE, and more recently, by users of CF.

Generally speaking, the BCD criteria for determining the existing standard of both CE and CF are very similar: the corpora serve as a basis for determining what each of the standards are.

Since the BCD corpora consist overwhelmingly of texts reflecting the written language for both CE and CF (newspapers, magazines, government texts), elements from the spoken language will not heavily be represented in either of the standards. This will automatically eliminate a good number of usages which may be considered controversial.

The BCD will not, however, simply eliminate all elements that may be considered non-standard by other dictionaries, such as vulgarisms or slang. Although the nature of the BCD corpora will greatly limit the number of such elements, they are nevertheless an integral part of language and therefore must not be entirely neglected. The BCD will retain, for example, *fouerrer* in the sense of “baiser” in CF, and *rink rat* in CE.

A similarly moderate approach has been adopted with regard to gallicisms and especially anglicisms, whose inclusion in dictionaries is very controversial. The BCD has determined special selection criteria for anglicisms and gallicisms. They will be included as headwords primarily if they are polysemous, if they have undergone a different semantic evolution in the

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<sup>2</sup> This part will be further discussed in section 6.2.

language into which they have been imported, or if their numbers in the corpora indicate a strong presence in the language. The anglicism, *surtemps*, for example, appeared 101 times in the PCF and, therefore, has been retained.

In addition to these general criteria for determining the standards of CE and CF, the BCD has also accounted for the particularities of the standard in each of the two languages.

### **6.1.1 CE Standard**

The BCD's policy on standard CE will resemble the suggestion made by Gregg, which has been noted in 5.1.1.1.1. It will embrace a range of standards which have been proven, in an objective way (i.e. using the corpora), to be acceptable to the majority of Canadians.

The BCD will acknowledge the flexible nature of the CE standard by including variants for words which have more than one possible spelling. The corpora are of great assistance in determining the most common form, which will be given preference over the others.

Several spelling conventions have already been established for the BCD. For words ending in *-our/-or*, the BCD will use *-or*, since, as indicated in 2.3.5, the ECP sub-corpus revealed that the *-or* spelling was used over 75% of the time for the words *color*, *honor*, *armor* and *labor*. For words in *-re/-er*, the BCD will use *-re*, because the ECP sub-corpus has shown that the *-re* spelling for the words *metre* and *theatre* occurs over 90% of the time. For other words, spelling is determined on a case-by-case basis, (e.g. *reviser* rather than *revisor*, *program* rather than *programme*, etc.). These spelling conventions will be used not only for the first spelling given for the headword, but everywhere these words appear throughout the dictionary.

### **6.1.2 CF Standard**

The BCD will not promote the out-dated belief that the CF standard should mirror the standard of FF. Rather, like the PLUS, the RQ and the RQ2, it will document the standard French language as it is used in Canada today. This standard is based on the corpora, which consist principally of current newspapers and magazines. Hence, it is unlikely to be too controversial. Nevertheless, the BCD will have to be careful about how it presents the standard of CF, in terms of the headwords selected and the labelling applied to these headwords, since it will be subject to much criticism if it is seen as being too liberal or too conservative.

## **6.2 Lexicographic Approach**

As can be seen from the preceding section, the BCD takes a primarily descriptive approach.

Its descriptive nature is evident first in its nomenclature. Where some dictionaries might omit certain words because their usage is criticized or deemed vulgar, the BCD bases its decision on whether to include or reject a word on actual usage as documented by the corpora. If the corpora reveal that a word or sense has a significant presence in the language, it will be retained. For instance, although *confortable* in the sense of a person “qui est bien installé, à l'aise” is an anglicism and should be avoided according to some dictionaries, the PCF sub-corpus revealed that this usage is quite common, and this led to its inclusion in the BCD. Similarly, the word *babillard* in the sense of “bulletin board” is still criticized by many purists, but since this is the sense which occurs most frequently in the PCF, it has been included.

The BCD's descriptive approach also affects its labelling system. For instance, the BCD will not label a word as an anglicism, since this label implies a value judgement (i.e. anglicisms are generally considered elements to be avoided). But the BCD does provide the user with some guidance as to the more restricted use of such words by using less connotated labels. For example, if the word is an anglicism restricted to Canada, then the geographical label *CD* will be used, as was done for the CF word *surtemps*. And if the anglicism reflects informal or very informal use, then a register label will be added to the geographical label, as in the BCD's entry for the CF word *chum*.

Although the BCD is attempting to be as objective as possible in its nomenclature and its labelling practices, it has nevertheless decided to include some commentary labels providing social reactions to words. Thus far, the BCD has approved the following labels: *iro* (*irony*), *pej* (*pejorative*), *vul* (*vulgar*), *neg* (*negative*) and *pos* (*positive*). The *iro* label has been applied, for example, to the compound *bel âge* meaning "ripe/good old age." *Skunk* has been marked *pej* in the sense of a "despicable person." The *vul* marker has been applied to *cerise* in the sense of "virginité." The labels *pos* and *neg* have both been applied to the verb *taponner* in the sense of "passer beaucoup de temps à perfectionner qch," since it was determined that this word could have a positive or negative connotation depending on the context. These commentary labels are applied to a given word or sense when a significant number of unilingual dictionaries use them and/or when contexts found in the corpora provide clues that call for such labels. In the latter case, the recurrence of a particular connotation in the contexts is considered justification for applying the relevant label.

Although the BCD's intention is to provide a description of CE and CF on the basis primarily of its corpora, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that establishing a corpus in itself implies, inevitably, a certain amount of prescription. While every effort has been made to include as wide a variety of texts as possible in the BCD's textual database, it is impossible to represent every aspect of the language. For example, it has already been noted that the BCD's corpora consist primarily of written texts, rather than spoken texts. And, because the BCD is intended for professional purposes, its fiction sub-corpus is very limited. While no corpus can be fully representative, the choice of texts is itself a form of prescription, which must be acknowledged.

### **6.3 Selection of Canadianisms to be Included as Headwords**

The process of selecting the Canadianisms to be included in the BCD involved several steps for both CE and CF.

English Canadianisms were first selected by examining and comparing existing dictionaries of CE. The resulting list was enhanced by lexical items found in scholarly articles on CE, and in current Canadian writing, as well as by public consultation.<sup>3</sup>

The preliminary list of French Canadianisms was determined by two CF consultants, one of whom was the chief editor of the RQ. This list was established using the RQ as a basis, as well as documentation used by the compilers of the TLFQ.

In the case of both CE and CF, the corpora serve as a resource for verifying that certain words are indeed Canadianisms and for determining if their usage is significant enough to

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<sup>3</sup> It has already been mentioned in the previous chapter that the response from this last step was very disappointing.

warrant inclusion in the BCD. For example, the French noun *brunch*, initially believed to be a Canadianism, was found in the European dictionaries and the FF sub-corpus the MOND, as well as the Canadian ones, and therefore was not labelled as a Canadianism. However, the verb form *bruncher* was found only in the Canadian sub-corpus, the PCF, which would appear to mean that the verb is a Canadianism.<sup>4</sup>

The BCD has decided that Canadianisms whose usage is restricted to certain regions will be retained only if they are recognizable by speakers of the language across the country. This will be determined by their presence in the corpora, and more particularly in the ECP sub-corpus for CE, and the PCF sub-corpus for CF, which include newspapers from different parts of English Canada and French Canada respectively. Well-known examples of CE regionalisms are the Western Canadianism *chinook* and the Newfoundland word *screech*. Since the former appears 43 times times in the ECP, its presence in the BCD is much more assured than that of *screech*, which appears only 15 times in the ECP. The ECP is a better guide to the geographical distribution of words than the PCF, which consists primarily of newspapers from Montreal, Quebec City and the Outaouais region. Since not every French-speaking region of Canada is represented in the PCF, the final decision on what CF regionalisms should be retained will be made by language specialists at Laval University.

The BCD policy on including anglicisms as headwords in CF has already been outlined in 6.1 above. Essentially, if a word is commonly used by speakers of the language, and thus occurs frequently in the corpus, then it has a place in that language and will be documented in the dictionary.

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<sup>4</sup> The question of whether this is a Canadianism has been put to the CF language specialists at Laval University.

While, generally, only modern usage is retained in the BCD, two exceptions have been made to this rule. First, some words or senses which are *vieux* or *vieilli* in FF but are current in CF will thus be retained. The BCD will indicate this duality of archaic and modern in the following way:

**tapon 1** (*CD: courant, FR: vieilli*) (une boule de quelque chose).

Second, the BCD will retain some archaic or historical Canadianisms for the purpose of promoting Canadian culture. These will be indicated with a combination of a geographical label and a historical label (#), for example:

**Brulé** (*CD#*) (*half-breed, Métis*).

## **6.4 Canadian Senses and Sense Ordering**

Despite the BCD's focus on Canadianisms, Canadian senses will not be placed before other senses unless the Canadian sense is the most common one. In other words, the ordering of senses in the BCD is based on frequency of usage.

The following criteria guide the ordering of senses in the BCD: more common usage precedes less common usage; generally and widely used senses precede senses restricted to Canada; Canadian senses precede senses restricted to FF or BE; and modern usage precedes outdated usage. The application of these criteria is illustrated by the following examples.

The word *babillard* has two senses, one of which is Canadian. In the BCD, the first sense given will be the Canadian one, “tableau d'affichage,” since this sense is found far more often in the Canadian corpora than the sense common to all varieties of French, “personne qui parle beaucoup,” which is considered *vieilli* and *littéraire* by many dictionaries.

Similarly, the word *snowbird* has five senses, one of which is Canadian, and another North American. In the second version of the BCD's entry for this word, the senses have been ordered as follows on the basis of corpus analysis:

1 - (NA) (*person who spends the winter in a warmer climate*)

2 (CD) **Snowbirds** (*Canadian Forces aerobatic team*)

3 (*bird: snow bunting*)

4 (*bird: junco*)

5 (*cocaine or heroin addict*)

Since the most frequent sense is the one that is common to both CE and AE, it precedes the distinctly Canadian sense of the word, which came second in terms of frequency.

## **6.5 Geographic Labelling**

The BCD has adopted the approach of labelling particularities of all language varieties involved: *CD*, *US*, *GB* and *FR*. One innovative feature of the BCD is the decision to label certain words *North American (NA)*.<sup>5</sup> Because the histories of Canada and the US are so intertwined, it is frequently impossible to determine whether a word has its origins in the US or Canada. And, given the fact that some lexical items deemed to be Canadian by certain dictionaries are also found in some US texts, the *NA* label allows for broader labelling. The BCD has used this label for the words *cabin fever* and *snowbird*, for example, since corpus searches revealed their presence in both the Canadian and American sub-corpora, but not the British.

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<sup>5</sup> This label has been used by the unilingual and historical DCHP, but never before in a bilingual general language dictionary.

The geographical labels *US*, *GB* and *FR* will be applied only to senses of the headword, since the BCD does not retain equivalents which are exclusively used in France or Great Britain or the US. However, equivalents which are Canadianisms are clearly marked *CD*.

## **6.6 Pronunciation**

The issue of how to determine and present standard CE and CF pronunciation has been shelved by the BCD editors. There is a strong feeling among them that information on pronunciation is not an absolute necessity in a bilingual dictionary targeted for advanced language users. Thus, for the time being, no decision has been made regarding the kind of pronunciation that should be presented, i.e. “general” pronunciation or Canadian pronunciation.

## **6.7 Equivalents**

Obviously, given its Canadian orientation, it is the general policy of the BCD to note Canadian equivalents wherever possible. For example, within the entry for the English headword *snow*, *blowing snow* will be translated by the French Canadianism **poudrerie**.

However, if the Canadian equivalent is considered an anglicism, it will be retained only if it is commonly used (i.e. it has a high frequency and wide distribution in the Canadian sub-corpora). The reasoning behind this decision is that, while the BCD has a duty to record the use of anglicisms in CF, it is not its role to propagate them by suggesting all possible ones as equivalents. In accordance with this policy, the anglicism **surtemps** will definitely be included as an equivalent for *overtime* when the entry for the latter is done, since it occurs 101 times in the PCF, while the general French equivalent **heures supplémentaires**, occurs 286 times, only 1.8 times more often. On the other hand, the CF equivalent for *shopping centre*, **centre d'achats**,

occurs 71 times in the PCF, while the general French equivalent, **centre commercial**, occurs 905 times, i.e. 12 times more often. Therefore, **centre d'achats** may not be retained as an equivalent in the English-French entry for *shopping centre*, although it would nevertheless be included in the French-English section to help users decipher the French.

The corpora also help BCD lexicographers more indirectly to determine equivalents for certain difficult SL Canadianisms. When unilingual dictionaries are not able to provide semantic clarification and/or bilingual dictionaries do not cover the Canadianism, examining a number of contexts from the SL Canadian sub-corpora often proves helpful.<sup>6</sup> If the corpus does permit clarification of the sense, the lexicographer translates the SL contexts and checks his proposed equivalents in the TL Canadian sub-corpora to confirm Canadian usage. In one case at the BCD, a number of contexts, found only in the Canadian sub-corpora, revealed that the word *ainé* had the sense “ancien, sage d'une tribu.” This seemingly Canadian sense was not covered by any of the dictionaries; therefore, it was only through corpus analysis that the sense was determined, and subsequently, that the equivalent **elder** was confirmed.

In some cases, no straight equivalent can be found for the SL Canadianism. This is particularly true for cultural realities particular to Canada. In such instances, the BCD provides an explanatory equivalent, as in the case of *grid road*, for which the following explanatory equivalent is given: **route municipale qui suit un plan orthogonal**.

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<sup>6</sup> If the corpus does not permit clarification of the sense, then ultimately a panel of language specialists will need to be consulted.

## **6.8 Canadianizing Examples**

Illustrative examples for the BCD are taken from the BCD's Canadian sub-corpora, which provide a wealth of contexts reflecting Canadian culture. Furthermore, lexicographers at the BCD understand the importance of selecting examples with a Canadian flavour, and therefore consciously bear this in mind when looking for examples. A good illustration of an example with a Canadian flavour is one provided for the word *backbench*.

### **He left the Tory backbenches to take over the provincial party**

This example reflects political structures in Canada through its reference to *Tory* (i.e. the Progressive Conservative Party), and *provincial party*.

If, for some reason, a suitable Canadian example cannot be found, the BCD permits Canadianizing contexts by, for instance, changing foreign place names to Canadian ones, or changing a reference to cricket, for example, to a reference to hockey.<sup>7</sup> For the noun *traversier*, the following example was found in the corpus:

### **le traversier met une heure de Puntarenas à Paquera**

Since the majority of Canadians are not familiar with these two places in Costa Rica, this example was adapted so that it would have more meaning to a Canadian audience:

### **le traversier met quinze minutes de Québec à Lévis**

The BCD has determined that an illustrative example reflecting Canadian culture can be especially useful in helping to clarify certain entries. The type of entry in question involves Canadianisms for which an explanatory equivalent is given because no direct translational equivalent exists. An example of such an entry in the BCD is the French Canadianism *bleuet*. For

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<sup>7</sup> Of course, these adaptations are only permitted providing that they fit logically with the rest of the context.

the Canadian sense “habitant du Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean” of *bleuet*, the explanatory equivalent given is **inhabitant of the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean region**. The following illustrative example is then provided:

**il s'appelle Tremblay - ça doit être un bleuet** his name's Tremblay - he must be from the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean.

This example provides two important pieces of information. First, it gives the user the cultural knowledge that *Tremblay* must be a common family name among people from the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean region, and second, it shows the user how the explanatory equivalent must be adjusted in context.

## **6.9 Usage for Canadianisms**

When there is a word with more than one possible spelling, as is the case with many English Canadianisms, the first form that is given by the BCD is the form that is found to be the most common in the Canadian sub-corpora. This policy decision will be indicated to the user in the front matter of the dictionary.

At this stage of production, the BCD has no intentions of providing notes containing this or other kinds of usage information within the dictionary text, as has been done by the GAGE and the OXHA.

The BCD does, however, indicate the different registers that a word may have in different language varieties through a combination of register and geographical labels. One such case is that of the word *patate* in the sense of “potato:” in France, this usage seems to be informal, but it is not in Canada. In the BCD entry for *patate*, this information is presented as follows:

**patate** nf 1 (*fam en FR*) (*pomme de terre*)

## **6.10 Redundancy**

In general, if a word has more than one sense, but the equivalent is always the same, the BCD entry will not be broken down into sense divisions. The main exception to this rule is when separate sense divisions are necessary in order to distinguish Canadian senses from commonly shared senses or senses particular to another geographic region. For example, the French word *patio* means “terrasse” in CF and “cour intérieure” in general French. Although the English equivalent for both senses is *patio*, two sense divisions will be retained to distinguish the Canadian sense from the general French sense: sense 1 *CD = terrasse*, sense 2 = *cour intérieure*. Thus, a certain amount of redundancy will be deliberately introduced in the BCD in order to highlight Canadianisms.

## **6.11 Uniformity**

The BCD project plans to utilize a tailor-made computerized system for the compilation of entries, storage of data, and many other tasks. Although this system is still in the conceptual stages, its capacity to resolve the problem of inconsistencies within the dictionary is already obvious.

Once all the dictionary data has been entered into the system, it will be possible to generate a list of all the headwords and equivalents found in both the English-French and the French-English sections of the dictionary. This capability will greatly simplify the task of cross-checking the headword list of one section with the equivalents list of the other and ensuring that Canadianisms which have been retained as headwords in one section of the dictionary are normally presented as equivalents in the other. There will, nevertheless, be a certain amount of

deliberate inconsistency between the list of headwords and the list of equivalents, since it is the general policy of the BCD to provide anglicisms or gallicisms as TL equivalents only if they are found to be very common in Canada.

The computer system should also be invaluable for cross-checking all the headwords and equivalents that have register labels applied to them. Since dictionaries are commonly criticized for their application of register labels, especially where French Canadianisms are concerned (see 3.1.2.2.3.2), generating a list of all the Canadianisms with their register labels will allow the lexicographic team, first, to ensure that the same register label has been applied consistently to the same word in the same sense, and second, to ensure that all the Canadianisms that have been labelled with the same register label are indeed of the same register. This will avoid the sort of criticism levelled at the RQ (see 3.1.2.2.3.2) where words like *bienvenue*, *blonde* and *chiasse* are all listed as belonging to the same register.

## **6.12 Conclusion**

This chapter clearly reveals that the problems related to Canadian lexicography which were detected in the preceding chapters have all, to some extent, been addressed by the BCD. Thus, the BCD, with its use of modern technological tools, such as corpora, shows every indication of presenting the particularities of CE and CF better than any existing dictionary. The use of the corpora, the key element in the dictionary's preparation ensures thoroughness and objectivity at every stage, from determining the nomenclature, to the ordering of senses and equivalents.

## 7. CASE STUDY

The various problems and approaches involved in the treatment of Canadianisms, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, will be actualized in this chapter through the preparation of an entry for a lexical Canadianism following the methodology of the BCD. This chapter will document the procedures and thought processes at every stage of the entry's preparation, and the end result will be the finished draft entry.

The Canadianism selected is the CF word *ratoureux*. This word is both a noun and an adjective. For the purpose of this chapter, the entry prepared will be for the adjective. This word was selected on the basis of the problems it might present. Although, according to the BCD's CF specialists, this word is a Canadianism, it is not found in all Canadian dictionaries. Since the headword only appears in a limited number of dictionaries, the lexicographer cannot count on as much assistance from the dictionary documentation as she normally could, and therefore, the corpora will play an even more prominent role in the preparation of the entry.

### **7.1 SL Dictionary Documentation**

Of the twenty-one unilingual French dictionaries comprising the BCD's dictionary documentation base (see Appendix 2 for complete checklist), *ratoureux* is only given in seven. These seven, not surprisingly, are all Canadian. They include the RQ and the RQ2, the BELN, the *Multidictionnaire des difficultés de la langue française* (MULTI2), the *Dictionnaire des canadianismes* (LC), *Richesses et particularités de la langue écrite du Québec* (RP), and Bergeron's *Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise* (BER).

However, not all Canadian dictionaries cover this term; for example, it is not included in either the PLUS or the *Dictionnaire CEC jeunesse* (CEC). Even among those that do, only two mark it specifically as a Canadianism. Hence the status of this word as a Canadianism needs further confirmation.

Out of the seven dictionaries that cover the adjective *ratoureux*, six list two senses for this headword: (a) “qui est rusé” and (b) “qui est espiègle.” However, one dictionary, the MULTI2 gives only the first sense. Hence, there is no full agreement on what this word means.

Based on the limited information given in these various dictionaries, a skeleton entry was prepared.<sup>1</sup>

**ratoureux** ou **ratoureur** *f*, **ratoureuse** *adj* - (RQ2) (CD) NEEDS MORE CONFIRMATION<sup>2</sup> 1 (*qui est rusé*) (BER+SH)

2 (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (RQ2+SH)<sup>3</sup>

Four additional concerns became immediately apparent and needed further verification.

First, two spelling forms are given for the masculine form in five of the seven dictionaries: *ratoureux* and *ratoureur*. These two spellings would have to be checked in the Canadian sub-corpora to determine which one is the most common, and hence, would be listed first in the entry.

Second, if the two senses presented by most dictionaries were retained, their ordering would have to be decided by seeing which sense occurs more frequently in the corpus. The six dictionaries that give both senses do not all list the senses in the same order. The RQ, RQ2, LC

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<sup>1</sup> The typology of the BCD is outlined in Appendix 3.

<sup>2</sup> This is a lexicographer's note. BCD lexicographers are encouraged to note down hesitations, problems, etc., so that they can be dealt with at the revision stage.

<sup>3</sup> These are source codes. They are given after all definitions, labels, examples, etc. (SH) is this lexicographer's code.

and the BER give “qui est rusé” first and “qui est espiègle” second, while the BELN and the RP list them in the opposite order.

Third, the sense “qui est rusé” was felt to be particularly pejorative by two francophones at the BCD project. This is not, however, indicated in any of the dictionaries.

Fourth, the other sense, “qui est espiègle,” is said to apply only to children by the RQ, the RQ2 and the LC. However, the BELN, the RP and the BER do not make this distinction. And the BCD's CF specialists from Laval, who listed this Canadianism for inclusion in the nomenclature, have specifically indicated that the sense seems equally applicable to adults and children.

In order to resolve these problems, I turned to the corpus.

## **7.2 SL Corpus Consultation**

### **7.2.1 Determining if the Word is a Canadianism**

Since not all Canadian dictionaries include this word, it was first decided to verify its Canadian status. For this purpose, two Canadian sub-corpora (the PCF and the LEM) and one French sub-corpus (the MOND) were consulted. The status of this headword as a Canadianism seems to be confirmed by the fact that no corpus matches are found in the MOND, but there are several matches in both the PCF and LEM. Presented below are the corpus results.

#### **MOND**

ratoureur : no match

ratoureux : no match

ratoureuse : no match

#### **PCF**

ratoureur : 1 match

400928924, .. que le vieux ratoureur a le don de piquer la curiosité. En aper..

### ratoureux : 26 matches

408895208, ..., cinglant et ratoureux. » - Robert Bourassa ? « Après avoir pers..  
429801012, ..st bagarreur, ratoureux, arrogant, réputé le meilleur de la vill..  
442349922, ..connu, est un ratoureux. C'est même ce qui fait son charme. En i..  
177040101, ..den, le vieux ratoureux, cache un autre Teemu Selanne en Europe...  
56324670, ... ou presque; ratoureux, ces collégiens. Réf.: 900223, Sport..  
285921895, ..ns. Même que, ratoureux comme jamais, M. Prud'homme songe à lanc..  
356493389, ..tane, mais le ratoureux député de Rivière-du-Loup, celui qui s'o..  
299517352, .. polichinelle ratoureux et de changer, par une impossible fourbe..  
200025534, .. ombles sont "ratoureux" et ils peuvent voler l'appât sans se fa..  
4288542, ..s : espiègle, ratoureux, frondeur... un drôle de mécène ; la sag..  
286161987, ..tains un peu « ratoureux », il faudra bien s'y faire. On ne peut t..  
429918049, ..l'oeil vif et ratoureux, il n'a rien perdu, semble-t-il, de ses ..  
79625992, ..tation d'être ratoureux. Imaginez les autres. Demain, ce sera P..  
319860337, ..adour? Réélu? Ratoureux? Je n'étais pas allé à Québec pour vous..  
305296722, ..filer. Un peu ratoureux le valeureux chef... Il sait très bien q..  
112418440, ..stre, un brin ratoureux, lui a offert de faire celle de la stati..  
442349709, .. Ferland: un « ratoureux », mais quel charme Blais, Marie-Christin..  
312167825, ..t si on était ratoureux politicien ». Vous y reverrez des images..  
328165798, ..t être un peu ratoureux pour réussir une vente de garage, avoue..  
299519644, ..ble, magicien ratoureux presque parfait, cet après-midi-là, sans..  
66769600, ..n récit assez ratoureux, puisque le présent du voyage en auto es..  
363448636, ..Soleil est le ratoureux qui, à partir des hésitations dans une r..  
409279423, ..., cinglant et ratoureux. » Robert Bourassa? « Après avoir persuadé..  
391776249, ..ogant, ruiné, ratoureux, sans âge, que j'interprète avec une per..  
15843592, ..re Ayot le... ratoureux. Série: Arts plastiques Réf.: 891..  
285158672, ..ertains mâles ratoureux voudront profiter du fait que les bellig..

### ratoureuse: 5 matches

291259645, ..terprétation « ratoureuse » de cette proposition dirait que, de to..  
361156443, ..devant une si ratoureuse offensive de charme. Quel homme brillan..  
389780329, ..eu du renard. Ratoureuse. Pour obtenir ce qu'elle veut: « J'ai le..  
81861885, ..elle louvoie, ratoureuse. Son jeu est extrêmement subtil. Voilà ..

420618940, ..ions les plus ratoureuses, pas même Orion, ne sauraient la dérou..

### LEM

ratoureux : 1 match

2669989, .. mais il est ratoureux comme un politicien. On marche sur le b..

ratoureur : no match

ratoureuse : 1 match

708445, ..tion des plus ratoureuses. Je ne suis nulle part, je flotte dans..

## **7.2.2 Separating the Noun Form from the Adjective Form**

Since I was preparing an entry for the adjective form, the next step involved separating the noun occurrences from the adjective occurrences.<sup>4</sup> Of the 25 PCF corpus matches for *ratoureux*, 20 are adjectives and 5 are nouns. The one occurrence of *ratoureur* in the PCF is a noun. The only occurrence of *ratoureux* in the LEM is an adjective, and the form *ratoureur* yielded no match. Occurrences of the feminine form *ratoureuse* in the PCF consist of three adjectives and two nouns. There is also one match of the feminine form in the LEM which is an adjective. Overall then, the adjectival occurrences outnumber the noun occurrences.

## **7.2.3 Determining the Most Common Spelling for the Adjective**

Looking at the adjective occurrences in the PCF and LEM solved the problem of determining which spelling is the most common. Of the twenty adjective occurrences, none have the form *ratoureur*. Therefore, *ratoureur* is certainly not commonly used as an adjective and in fact, I wonder whether it is used at all as an adjective. The *ratoureux* form thus became the spelling presented for the headword and I added a question for the CF specialists as to whether or not to even include the *ratoureur* spelling. At this stage, the entry then looked like this:

---

<sup>4</sup> Since the BCD corpora are not grammatically tagged, this procedure has to be done manually.

**ratoureux** *f*, **ratoureuse** *adj* - (RQ2) (SHOULD THE "RATOUREUR"  
SPELLING FOUND IN RQ+RQ2+BELN+LC+RP+BER BE GIVEN  
FOR THIS ENTRY? IT IS NOT FOUND IN THE CORPUS-SH (CD)  
(ONLY FOUND IN CD DICOS & CORPORA) 1 (*qui est rusé*)  
(BER+SH)

2 (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (RQ2+SH)

## 7.2.4 Determining and Ordering the Senses of the Adjective

Next, all the corpus examples for the adjective were analyzed to determine the meanings of this word. Since the one-line contexts examined in the previous steps often did not provide enough information to determine whether the meaning was "qui est rusé" or "qui est espiègle," longer contexts were taken from the corpus and analyzed.

### PCF

"ratoureux" (adjective) : 21 matches

4288442, ..\*Uribe, Victor. \*Langevin, Marc. </0><60> </60></99> <99><0> Felteau, Cyrille [Maurice] Duplessis : espiègle, ratoureux, frondeur... un drôle de mecène ; la saga d'une statue. Réf.: 890902, p. B4-B5. Type: anal, b..

56324570, .. Québec: "Vous allez retrouver les vrais Draveurs [de Trois-Rivières]"; les Saguenéens sont vendus... ou presque; ratoureux, ces collégiens. Réf.: 900223, Sports, p. 13. Type: ill, nouv (moyen) Descripteurs: \*Hocke..

66769500, ..chigama.Cette quête du frère amérindien ne devient toutefois limpide qu'à mi-course narrative dans un récit assez ratoureux, puisque le présent du voyage en auto est constamment déporté vers le passé. C'est que Michel retrouv..

79625992, ..t parfois pesant, mais c'est tellement simple et facile de deviner ce qu'il ressent. Et il a la réputation d'être ratoureux. Imaginez les autres. Demain, ce sera Pierre Pagé, après-demain, Mike Keenan. Après Marquis Grissom,..

112418340, ..uge, lui avait commandé sa toute première verrière, comment Daniel Johnson, monsieur le premier ministre, un brin ratoureux, lui a offert de faire celle de la station de métro Champ-de-Mars, comment un patient d'un d'hôpital ..

200025434, ... On y met le ver de terre et tout est paré. (À noter que l'hameçon doit être bien aiguisé, car les ombles sont "ratoureux" et ils peuvent voler l'appât sans se faire prendre.) La présentation du leurre joue aussi un rôle i..

285358572, .. : ils voudront se mesurer au gagnant épuisé, lorsque le perdant aura pris la poudre d'escampette. Certains mâles ratoureux voudront profiter du fait que les belligérants sont trop occupés et tenteront de couvrir les biches o..

285921795, ..dans la circonscription de St-Denis, comté qu'il a représenté à la Chambre des communes pendant 29 ans. Même que, ratoureux comme jamais, M. Prud'homme songe à lancer une petite bombe sur son cher comté. La circonscription m..

286161887, ..ur, plus beau encore. Et même s'il y aura encore quelques marchands, certains un peu pressants, certains un peu « ratoureux », il faudra bien s'y faire. On ne peut tout de même pas toujours s'esbaudir aux frais de la princesse..

299517252, ..serais bientôt plus assez vivant, sur mon quai du port de Naples, pour avoir la force de me lever en polichinelle ratoureux et de changer, par une impossible fourberie, le destin de mes deux amoureux sans dessein. Statufié d..

299519544, ..ailli enterrer son talent, ou quelque chose comme ça. Il paraît que Scapin fut tout à fait irrésistible, magicien ratoureux presque parfait, cet après-midi-là, sans que je me sois aperçu de rien. Le soir, bien sûr, il fut bre..

305296622, ..t : voir la C.-B. surprendre l'Ontario dans les sports collectifs pour permettre au Québec de se faufiler. Un peu ratoureux le valeureux chef... Il sait très bien que l'Ontario part encore favorite et que les supporters de la..

312167725, ..ultiver à son goût: « Brébeuf n'était pas la place pour apprendre. On y devenait médecin ou avocat, et si on était ratoureux politicien ». Vous y reverrez des images du Parc Belmont et des manifestations qui ont rendu les anné..

319860237, .. Kim Campbell comment elle fera disparaître le déficit. J'en étais réduit à spéculer: Rosaire? Rocamadour? Réélu? Ratoureux? Je n'étais pas allé à Québec pour vous parler de Marcel R.. Tout de suite après ma rencontre avec l..

328165698, .. durant tout l'été, sans oublier toutes celles qu'elles visitent pour dégoter des aubaines. « Il faut être un peu ratoureux pour réussir une vente de garage, avoue-t-elle. Moi, en tout cas, je pourrais vendre un réfrigérateur..

356493289, ..sis, en pénible fin de régime. Albert, c'est évidemment l'autre ministre Côté, pas l'ex-« beu » de Matane, mais le ratoureux député de Rivière-du-Loup, celui qui s'occupe bien de son monde. Le mois dernier, à la suite d'une dé..

391776149, .. rôles me permettent d'être un outsider. Le Marquis de Forlipopoli par exemple est un personnage arrogant, ruiné, ratoureux, sans âge, que j'interprète avec une perruque blanche. J'aime la rareté, la composition d'un personna..

408895108, ..ment grognon, une sorte de nabot repoussant, fumeur invétéré aux mains remplies de goudron, crasseux, cinglant et ratoureux. » - Robert Bourassa ? « Après avoir persuadé Trudeau et Jean Lesage de l'aider à escroquer la directi..

409279323, ..ment grognon, une sorte de nabot repoussant, fumeur invétéré aux mains remplies de goudron, crasseux, cinglant et ratoureux. » Robert Bourassa? « Après avoir persuadé Trudeau et Jean Lesage de l'aider à escroquer la direction d..

429800912, ..n CENTRE D'INTÉRÊT: Télé-romans, dramatiques, etc. </0><60> Nom, Bertrand. Profession, avocat. Il est bagarreur, ratoureux, arrogant, réputé le meilleur de la ville, surnommé « le requin ». Plaideur redoutable, mais père att..

429917949, ..plongé dans l'aventure de l'immobilier, il a décidé de jouer à nouveau au limier. Le verbe coloré, l'oeil vif et ratoureux, il n'a rien perdu, semble-t-il, de ses 12 années passées dans la Sûreté du Québec, qu'il a quittée e..

“ratoureuse” : 3 matches

291259545, ..d par le Parti: la décentralisation des pouvoirs au profit de chacune des régions du Québec. Une interprétation « ratoureuse » de cette proposition dirait que, de toute façon, Québec n'a pas le choix: toutes les politiques de ..

361156343, ..isme explicite plutôt que sur l'indépendance. Le coeur anti-anglais de beaucoup d'électeurs craque devant une si ratoureuse offensive de charme. Quel homme brillant et courageux: grâce à lui, et sans courir de risques, quell..

420618840, ..nète. Tante Lou sait ces choses tant et si bien que nulle imposture céleste, pas même les constellations les plus ratoureuses, pas même Orion, ne sauraient la dérouter. Elle en a appris beaucoup sur les continents d'en-haut...

## LEM

“ratoureux”: 1 match

2669889, .. de politique, mais il le fait de façon mesquine et autoritaire. Eddy ne parle jamais de politique, mais il est ratoureux comme un politicien. On marche sur le bord du canal, et le grand blond frisé délaïsse ses arguments..

“ratoureuse”: 1 match

708445, ..théorique. Je me laisse amener vers des questions sincères, les pires ; ma sincérité est une séduction des plus ratoureuses. Je ne suis nulle part, je flotte dans mon infirmité sentimentale, je tourne en rond, cela entret..

The longer contexts, analyzed with the assistance of a number of francophones at the BCD, helped to a certain degree to distinguish the two senses proposed by several dictionaries.

The corpus examples where the senses were relatively clear were grouped according to sense:

a) “qui est rusé:” 20 matches from the PCF and the LEM

66769500, ..chigama. Cette quête du frère amérindien ne devient toutefois limpide qu'à mi-course narrative dans un récit assez ratoureux, puisque le présent du voyage en auto est constamment déporté vers le passé. C'est que Michel retrouv..

79625892, ..t parfois pesant, mais c'est tellement simple et facile de deviner ce qu'il ressent. Et il a la réputation d'être ratoureux. Imaginez les autres. Demain, ce sera Pierre Pagé, après-demain, Mike Keenan. Après Marquis Grissom, ..

112418340, ..uge, lui avait commandé sa toute première carrière, comment Daniel Johnson, monsieur le premier ministre, un brin ratoureux, lui a offert de faire celle de la station de métro Champ-de-Mars, comment un patient d'un d'hôpital ..

200025434, ... On y met le ver de terre et tout est paré. (À noter que l'hameçon doit être bien aiguisé, car les ombles sont “ratoureux” et ils peuvent voler l'appât sans se faire prendre.) La présentation du leurre joue aussi un rôle i..

285358572, .. : ils voudront se mesurer au gagnant épuisé, lorsque le perdant aura pris la poudre d'escampette. Certains mâles ratoureux voudront profiter du fait que les belligérants sont trop occupés et tenteront de couvrir les biches o..

285921795, ..dans la circonscription de St-Denis, comté qu'il a représenté à la Chambre des communes pendant 29 ans. Même que, ratoureux comme jamais, M. Prud'homme songe à lancer une petite bombe sur son cher comté. La circonscription m..

286161887, ..ur, plus beau encore. Et même s'il y aura encore quelques marchands, certains un peu pressants, certains un peu « ratoureux », il faudra bien s'y faire. On ne peut tout de même pas toujours s'esbaudir aux frais de la princesse..

305296622, ..t : voir la C.-B. surprendre l'Ontario dans les sports collectifs pour permettre au Québec de se faufiler. Un peu ratoureux le valeureux chef... Il sait très bien que l'Ontario part encore favorite et que les supporters de la..

312167725, ..ultiver à son goût: « Brébeuf n'était pas la place pour apprendre. On y devenait médecin ou avocat, et si on était ratoureux politicien ». Vous y reverrez des images du Parc Belmont et des manifestations qui ont rendu les anné..

328165698, .. durant tout l'été, sans oublier toutes celles qu'elles visitent pour dégoter des aubaines. « Il faut être un peu ratoureux pour réussir une vente de garage, avoue-t-elle. Moi, en tout cas, je pourrais vendre un réfrigérateur..

356493289, ..sis, en pénible fin de régime. Albert, c'est évidemment l'autre ministre Côté, pas l'ex-« beu » de Matane, mais le ratoureux député de Rivière-du-Loup, celui qui s'occupe bien de son monde. Le mois dernier, à la suite d'une dé..

391776149, .. rôles me permettent d'être un outsider. Le Marquis de Forlipopoli par exemple est un personnage arrogant, ruiné, ratoureux, sans âge, que j'interprète avec une perruque blanche. J'aime la rareté, la composition d'un persona..

408895108, ..ment grognon, une sorte de nabot repoussant, fumeur invétéré aux mains remplies de goudron, crasseux, cinglant et ratoureux. » - Robert Bourassa ? « Après avoir persuadé Trudeau et Jean Lesage de l'aider à escroquer la directi..

409279323, ..ment grognon, une sorte de nabot repoussant, fumeur invétéré aux mains remplies de goudron, crasseux, cinglant et ratoureux. » Robert Bourassa? « Après avoir persuadé Trudeau et Jean Lesage de l'aider à escroquer la direction d..

429800912, ..n CENTRE D'INTÉRÊT: Télé-romans, dramatiques, etc. </0><60> Nom, Bertrand. Profession, avocat. Il est bagarreur, ratoureux, arrogant, réputé le meilleur de la ville, surnommé « le requin ». Plaideur redoutable, mais père att..

429917949, ..plongé dans l'aventure de l'immobilier, il a décidé de jouer à nouveau au limier. Le verbe coloré, l'oeil vif et ratoureux, il n'a rien perdu, semble-t-il, de ses 12 années passées dans la Sûreté du Québec, qu'il a quittée e..

2669989, ..de politique, mais il le fait de façon mesquine et autoritaire. Eddy ne parle jamais de politique, mais il est ratoureux comme un politicien. On marche sur le bord du canal, et le grand blond frisé délaisse ses arguments..

708445, ..théorique. Je me laisse amener vers des questions sincères, les pires ; ma sincérité est une séduction des plus ratoureuses. Je ne suis nulle part, je flotte dans mon infirmité sentimentale, je tourne en rond, cela entret..

291259545, ..d par le Parti: la décentralisation des pouvoirs au profit de chacune des régions du Québec. Une interprétation « ratoureuse » de cette proposition dirait que, de toute façon, Québec n'a pas le choix: toutes les politiques de ..

361156343, ..isme explicite plutôt que sur l'indépendance. Le coeur anti-anglais de beaucoup d'électeurs craque devant une si ratoureuse offensive de charme. Quel homme brillant et courageux: grâce à lui, et sans courir de risques, quell..

b) “qui est espiègle:” 4 matches

56324570, .. Québec: “Vous allez retrouver les vrais Draveurs [de Trois-Rivières]”; les Saguenéens sont vendus... ou presque; ratoureux, ces collégiens. Réf.: 900223, Sports, p. 13. Type: ill, nouv (moyen) Descripteurs: \*Hocke..

299517252, ..serais bientôt plus assez vivant, sur mon quai du port de Naples, pour avoir la force de me lever en polichinelle ratoureux et de changer, par une impossible fourberie, le destin de mes deux amoureux sans dessein. Statufié d..

299519544, ..ailli enterrer son talent, ou quelque chose comme ça. Il paraît que Scapin fut tout à fait irrésistible, magicien ratoureux presque parfait, cet après-midi-là, sans que je me sois aperçu de rien. Le soir, bien sûr, il fut bre..

420618840, ..nête. Tante Lou sait ces choses tant et si bien que nulle imposture céleste, pas même les constellations les plus ratoureuses, pas même Orion, ne sauraient la dérouter. Elle en a appris beaucoup sur les continents d'en-haut..

Nevertheless, there were still a few instances where it was impossible to determine unmistakably which sense was being used since the two senses are very closely related and not enough information was provided in the corpus contexts to distinguish between them.

c) sense undetermined: 2 matches

4288442, ..\*Uribe, Victor. \*Langevin, Marc. </0><60> </60></99> <99><0> Felteau, Cyrille [Maurice] Duplessis : espiègle, ratoureux, frondeur... un drôle de mécène ; la saga d'une statue. Réf.: 890902, p. B4-B5. Type: anal, b..

319860237, .. Kim Campbell comment elle fera disparaître le déficit. J'en étais réduit à spéculer: Rosaire? Rocamadour? Réélu? Ratoureux? Je n'étais pas allé à Québec pour vous parler de Marcel R.. Tout de suite après ma rencontre avec l..

Since only 2 of the 26 contexts were still unclear, I decided to base myself on the remaining 24. Of the 24 examples, 20 match the sense of “qui est rusé” and only 4 that of “qui est espiègle.” Given these figures, the following order was determined for the two senses:

1 (*qui est rusé*)

2 (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*)

The occurrences of the first sense in the corpus were then examined to see if this sense was in fact as pejorative as some BCD francophone lexicographers felt it to be. There is at least one context where *ratoureux* seems to be outright pejorative: *il est bagarreur, ratoureux, arrogant, réputé le meilleur de la ville, surnommé «le requin»*. However, the context *il faut être*

*un peu ratoureux pour réussir une vente de garage* is not pejorative. In fact, the majority of the contexts for the first sense, seem relatively neutral. Nevertheless, given the impression of the francophone lexicographers, a question was added to the entry asking the CF specialists whether, in their opinion, the first sense of *ratoureux* needs a pejorative marker:

**ratoureux** *f*, **ratoureuse** *adj* - (RQ2) SHOULD THE “RATOUREUR” SPELLING FOUND IN RQ+RQ2+BELN+LC+RP+BER BE GIVEN FOR THIS ENTRY? IT IS NOT FOUND IN THE CORPUS-SH. (CD) ONLY FOUND IN CD DICOS & CORPORA-SH 1 (*qui est rusé*) (BER+SH) DOES THIS SENSE NEED A PEJORATIVE LABEL?-SH

**2** (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (RQ2+SH)

The issue of whether the second sense, “*qui est espiègle*,” is used most often in reference to children was readily resolved during this stage, since corpus examination determined that this is not the case. For example, looking at the above corpus matches for this sense, we see that the nouns *ratoureux* qualifies are *collégiens*, *polichinelle*, *magicien* and *constellations*. It thus became obvious that *ratoureux* in this sense is not only or mainly used with children, and therefore “*enfant*” was not added as an actant<sup>5</sup> in the second sense division.

### **7.3 TL Dictionary Documentation**

The next step was to determine the TL equivalents, using bilingual dictionaries and TL unilingual dictionaries.

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<sup>5</sup> An actant is a context word that may appear in the structure immediately surrounding the headword or equivalent, and is structurally dependent on the latter. For example, with verbs, actants frequently consist of a noun that indicates the typical subject or direct object of the verb. For nouns, an actant could be a noun complement.

### **7.3.1 Bilingual Dictionaries**

The headword was found in only three of the twelve bilingual dictionaries used for TL documentation:<sup>6</sup> the Harrap's Shorter French-English, English French Dictionary (HASH), the Québécois Dictionary (QD) and the Dictionnaire canadien français (DCF). The HASH, incidentally, labels the headword as Canadian. This is not the case in the other two dictionaries since their nomenclature is made up entirely of Canadianisms.

These dictionaries provide some suggestions for English equivalents for the adjective *ratoureux*, although they are not the only possible equivalents.

The HASH, which presents only the sense of “qui est rusé” if one judges by the equivalents,<sup>7</sup> suggests the equivalents **wily** and **devious**. These two equivalents were provisionally retained in the entry, despite my impression that *wily* is not commonly heard in contemporary English, and that **devious** has a slightly more pejorative sense than the SL word.

In addition to providing straight equivalents, the HASH presents the following illustrative example of the adjective *ratoureux*, along with a totally different rendering of this word:

**parfois le bonheur est un peu ratoureux** sometimes happiness is not all  
it seems

This example seems questionable for a number of reasons. First, according to the corpus, *ratoureux* is typically used as a qualifier for people rather than things or abstract concepts such as *bonheur*. What's more, *bonheur* is not something that one would automatically think of as being either “rusé” or “espiègle.” Finally, the translation given seems to be stretching the imagination: it is hard to see the thought process involved in translating *un peu ratoureux* by **not all it seems**.

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 2 for the complete list.

<sup>7</sup> The HASH provides no sense indications.

The QD, while indicating that *ratoureux* can be both an adjective and a noun, gives equivalents only for the adjectival form. Both senses of the adjective are covered: **crafty** is given as an equivalent for the first sense, and **mischievous**, for the second. Since both these equivalents seem to successfully cover the meanings of the headword, they were retained.

The DCF does not indicate parts of speech, but it nonetheless provides two noun equivalents and one adjective equivalent. It also does not clearly separate the senses of the word, the only separation marker being a semicolon. **Tricky** is the adjective equivalent given, presumably for the first sense, although, at first glance, I felt that it might be a better equivalent for the second sense. With the equivalents added, the entry then looked like this:

**ratoureux** *f*, **ratoureuse** *adj* - (RQ2) SHOULD THE “RATOUREUR” SPELLING FOUND IN RQ+RQ2+BELN+LC+RP+BER BE GIVEN FOR THIS ENTRY? IT IS NOT FOUND IN THE CORPUS-SH. (CD) ONLY FOUND IN CD DICOS & CORPORA-SH 1 (*qui est rusé*) (BER+SH) DOES THIS SENSE NEED A PEJORATIVE LABEL?-SH **crafty** (QD), **wily** (HASH), **devious** (HASH).

**2** (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (RQ2+SH) **mischievous** (QD), **tricky** (DCF).

### **7.3.2 TL Unilingual Dictionaries**

Unilingual English dictionaries were consulted along the way to verify that the sense of the proposed equivalents matched the corresponding sense of the headword. Each word was searched in the GAGE, the RHWEB and the COCO2. The definitions of **crafty** and **wily** seem to correspond to that of “rusé:” the idea of being “deceiving,” present in “rusé,” is found in the definitions for both. **Wily** is defined in the GAGE as: “using subtle tricks to deceive; crafty; cunning; sly,” while the GAGE defines **crafty** as “skilfull in deceiving others; sly; tricky.”

The definitions for **devious**, however, are rather different. They stress the idea of being dishonest and not straightforward. While this equivalent was provisionally retained, I added a note to the revisors that it seemed to have a somewhat different sense from the other proposed equivalents.

The dictionaries define **mischievous** as the idea of “harmless teasing” which seems to comply with “espiègle.” **Tricky**, on the other hand, contrary to my first impression, is defined more along the lines of sense 1, i.e., being “deceiving” and “crafty.” I nevertheless left it under sense 2 with a question mark until further verification.

Basically then, the only changes made in the entry at this stage were the addition of the unilingual dictionary source codes, a note following **devious** and a question mark after **tricky**.

**ratoureux f, ratoureuse adj** - (RQ2) SHOULD THE “RATOUREUR” SPELLING FOUND IN RQ+RQ2+BELN+LC+RP+BER BE GIVEN FOR THIS ENTRY? IT IS NOT FOUND IN THE CORPUS-SH. (CD) ONLY FOUND IN CD DICOS & CORPORA-SH 1 (*qui est rusé*) (BER+SH) DOES THIS SENSE NEED A PEJORATIVE LABEL?-SH crafty (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), wily (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), devious (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2). *DEVIOUS* SEEMS TO HAVE A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT SENSE FROM THE FIRST TWO EQUIVALENTS -SH.

2 (*qui est spiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (RQ2+SH) mischievous (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), tricky ? (DCF+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2).

## **7.4 Corpus Consultation**

### **7.4.1 Corpus Use for Determining TL Equivalents**

Other equivalents were determined by mentally translating the SL corpus examples.

These were added to the preliminary entry. **Sly** was one equivalent not listed in any dictionary

which came to mind often for the first sense. This was the case, for instance, in the following couple of examples:<sup>8</sup>

**les ombles sont “ratoureux” et ils peuvent voler l'appât sans se faire prendre** char are sly and they can steal the bait without getting caught

**il faut être un peu ratoureux pour réussir une vente de garage** you have to be a little sly to pull off a garage sale

**Cunning** also came to mind, especially in the following example referring to a lawyer:

**il est bagarreur, ratoureux, arrogant, réputé le meilleur de la ville, surnommé le requin** he is aggressive, cunning, arrogant, reputed to be the best in the city, nicknamed “the shark”

For sense two, I could not think of a better equivalent than **mischievous**, which was given by the QD. It seemed to be a suitable equivalent for the example referring to the “polichinelle ratoureux” (a mischievous clown). I also still thought that **tricky** might be a suitable equivalent for this sense, especially in the corpus context referring to a “magicien ratoureux.”

With the addition of a couple of equivalents, the entry looked like this:

**ratoureux** *f*, **ratoureuse** *adj* - (RQ2) SHOULD THE “RATOUREUR” SPELLING FOUND IN RQ+RQ2+BELN+LC+RP+BER BE GIVEN FOR THIS ENTRY? IT IS NOT FOUND IN THE CORPUS-SH. (CD) ONLY FOUND IN CD DICOS & CORPORA-SH 1 (*qui est rusé*) (BER+SH) DOES THIS WORD NEED A PEJORATIVE LABEL?-SH crafty (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), sly (SH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), cunning (SH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), wily (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), devious (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2). *DEVIOUS* SEEMS TO HAVE A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT SENSE FROM THE FIRST TWO EQUIVALENTS-SH.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Note that **crafty** seemed to fit equally well in both of these examples.

<sup>9</sup> Note that the equivalents **sly** and **cunning** which I suggested were also checked in the GAGE, RHWEB and COCO2, and their senses matched the sense of the headword and other equivalents.

2 (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (RQ2+SH)  
mischievous (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2), tricky ?  
(DCF+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2).

## 7.4.2 TL Corpus Use for Verifying TL Equivalents

The ECP sub-corpus was then used to verify that actual usage of the proposed equivalents matches the usage of the headword. Usage seems to match for the sense 1 equivalents, **crafty**, **cunning**, **sly** and **wily**: the contexts in which they are used are similar to the contexts for *ratoureux*, i.e. they are often used in reference to lawyers, politicians and businessmen. Some corpus examples for each equivalent are presented below:

sly:

697439918, ..hey said, was sly and manipulative. He seemed able to prevail on..  
373522875, ..dy. Mulroney, sly dog, was having us on and we fell for it. Tak..  
590762512, ..ng price, the sly entrepreneur has gone to Plan B. Leach is runn..  
52024395, ..lling him ``a sly lawyer,' ' a ``colonial oppressor,' ' ``a cunnin..  
697875142, ..mpson to be a sly, manipulative child and a natural liar. He was..  
724485363, ..ore, when the sly Washington lobbyist brings up the secret phras..

crafty:

12518933, .. Not that the crafty Burns would admit to any of this. "Ya, I w..  
79277656, ..landlord, the crafty business owner tries to show a level of sal..  
444840257, ..perience as a crafty guerrilla commander. Aideed's top official..  
458355390, ..urderer whose crafty lawyer manages to get him not only a stay o..  
325062989, ..mark. \* Be a crafty negotiator. That means shopping around to l..  
136481612, ..regarded as a crafty politician, has carefully balanced one side..

cunning:

755015045, ..hat ``wicked, cunning' ' 11-year-olds exist in freakish isolation..  
241149545, ..rbed. You are cunning and manipulative and you have shown no rem..  
435786317, .. world's most cunning, innovative spymaster. Never mind that at..  
755430685, .. he was not a cunning political animal. He was very much a fish ..  
323657612, ..working and a cunning strategist. There is no other place in th..

wily:

350395527, ..ic, seen as a wily and pragmatic politician, was the man most ab..  
359441785, ..to Ottawa. A wily backroom tactician, Mazankowski was considere..  
12434311, .. influential, wily business people, someone forgot to tell the o..  
206272690, .. Ben Matlock, wily criminal lawyer in Atlanta. We're still in t..  
611317495, ..k hundreds of wily criminals had set up shop in the province to ..  
350249985, ..n outfoxed by wily Liberal strategists. And it looks like the T..  
144588714, ..f Manitoba, a wily politician termed "silent, secretive and self..

The sense 1 equivalent **devious**, which I felt did not have exactly the same sense as the other equivalents, is also used in contexts similar to those of the headword and the other equivalents:

devious:

697875361, ..d a liar, was devious and skipped school, but insisted until the..  
754854378, ..egotiate with devious asses (sic) posing as honorable business..  
4973586, .. bad news for devious druggies who figure they can hide a stash..  
311830389, ..h the help of devious lawyers and ignorant judges -- walk away s..  
604238157, ..victimized by devious politicians, deserted by fairweather frien..

Nevertheless, I retained the question concerning **devious** for the revisors since it was defined quite differently from the other equivalents in the TL unilingual dictionaries. If the CF specialists agree that *ratoureux* is commonly pejorative, then **devious** may in fact prove to be a better equivalent than the others, which do not seem as pejorative.

The contexts for **mischievous** showed it to be a good match for the second sense of *ratoureux* ("qui est espiègle").

mischievous:

777024662, ..r potentially mischievous 5-year-old. The uniformed visitors wer..  
478655778, .. Basehart), a mischievous acrobat who befriends Gelsomina and an..  
59366184, ..March 29. The mischievous Billy Crystal will return as host.) W..  
513630718, .. a Boggart, a mischievous fairy that plays pranks on humans. Bo..

472470889, ..ed hair and a mischievous poet look in their eyes. She takes you..  
299213709, ..s a lithe and mischievous Trickster (now, where was he when ATP ..  
358702123, ..as an active, mischievous tyke. "He was a typical little boy," ..  
While I did notice that there was a tendency for **mischievous** to be used often with children, this was not always the case.

**Tricky**, however, when examined in context, appears to match the first sense better.

tricky:

138198675, ..uthor is "one tricky coyote," as admiring fellow writer Leon Roo..  
163375297, ..Key Biscayne. Tricky Dick Nixon, Bebe Rebozo and I were walking ..  
195529057, ..the road from Tricky Dick to Elder Statesman, Richard Nixon find..  
353263993, ..and imitate ``Tricky'' Sam Nanton while bassist Reg Veal did a c..  
363458394, ..t Open title; Tricky Spaniard Bruguera on deck; Graf takes on Fe..

Therefore, this equivalent was moved to sense 1.

### **7.4.3 TL Corpus Use for Ordering Equivalents**

The ordering of the equivalents was determined by searching the equivalents in the corpus to see which were the most common. Since *ratoureux* is most commonly used in reference to people, I only considered the corpus examples for the equivalents when they too were applied to people.

Surprisingly, among the sense 1 equivalents, **wily**, the one word that I thought would not be very commonly used, had the highest number of occurrences in the ECP, at 135 matches. Next came **crafty** at 99, **cunning** at 54 and **sly**, last, at 39. Although there were over 700 matches for **tricky** in the corpus, examination of a sample of 200 occurrences revealed only five instances where this adjective qualifies a person. It was therefore placed after **sly**. Finally, despite the fact

that **devious** was found 52 times, it was still left as the last equivalent because of its seemingly different sense, until it was accepted or rejected by the revisors.

For sense 2, there was only one equivalent given, **mischievous**, which occurred 69 times in the ECP.

With all the equivalents re-ordered, the entry now looked like this:

**ratoureux** *f*, **ratoureuse** *adj* - (RQ2) SHOULD THE “RATOUREUR” SPELLING FOUND IN RQ+RQ2+BELN+LC+RP+BER BE GIVEN FOR THIS ENTRY? IT IS NOT FOUND IN THE CORPUS-SH. (CL) ONLY FOUND IN CD DICOS & CORPORA-SH 1 (*qui est rusé*) (BER+SH) DOES THIS WORD NEED A PEJORATIVE LABEL?-SH wily (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(135)), crafty (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(99)), cunning (SH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(54)), sly (SH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(39)), tricky (DCF+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(5)), devious (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(52)) **DEVIOUS** SEEMS TO HAVE A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT SENSE FROM THE FIRST TWO EQUIVALENTS-SH.

**2** (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (R.Q2+SH) **mischievous** (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(69)).

One other issue had to be faced at this point: the matching of register between the equivalents and the headword. *Ratoureux* is definitely informal, while all of the English equivalents provided for *ratoureux* - those given by the bilingual dictionaries and those determined during translation of corpus examples - are of a neutral register. Despite my best efforts, I could not come up with informal equivalents. But I am by no means the only one with this problem. The DCF marks *ratoureux* with an asterisk, which indicates “a colloquial word or expression for which an appropriate English-Canadian equivalent could not be found.”

(Robinson and Smith, 1990:x)

## 7.5 Finalizing the First Draft of the *Ratoureux* Entry

The next step involved selecting corpus examples for each sense. For sense one, I chose three:

**politicien** ~ wily/crafty politician;

**cet avocat, surnommé le requin, est bagarreur, ~ et arrogant** that lawyer, nicknamed the shark, is aggressive, cunning and arrogant;

**il faut être un peu ~ pour réussir une vente de garage** you have to be a little crafty to pull off a garage sale.

The first two examples were chosen to show nouns that *ratoureux* commonly applies to. Both of these, especially the second one, show *ratoureux* used in contexts which are somewhat pejorative. Conversely, the third example was chosen because, here, *ratoureux* does not appear to be used pejoratively, and also because it contains a Canadianism, *vente de garage*.

For sense two, I decided to adapt an example from one of the dictionaries since I thought it would illustrate the sense better than any of the four found in the corpus. The example taken from the RP was originally:

**T'es sûre que tu fais pas semblant d'endormir? J'te connais...T'es ratoureuse**

I modified it to

**elle est si ratoureuse, elle fait semblant de dormir** she's so mischievous, she's pretending to be asleep

This modified example clearly presents the idea of playing a trick on someone.

As it stands, the finalized version of the first draft of the adjective entry for *ratoureux* appears as follows:

**ratoureux** *f*, **ratoureuse** *adj* - (RQ2) SHOULD THE "RATOUREUR" SPELLING FOUND IN RQ+RQ2+BELN+LC+RP+BER BE GIVEN FOR THIS ENTRY? IT IS NOT FOUND IN THE CORPUS-SH. (C'D) ONLY FOUND IN CD DICOS & CORPORA-SH 1 (*qui est rusé*) (BER+SH) DOES THIS WORD NEED A PEJORATIVE LABEL?-SH wily (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(135)), crafty (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(99)), cunning (SH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(54)), sly (SH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(39)), tricky (DCF+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(5)), devious (HASH+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(52)) *DEVIOUS* SEEMS TO HAVE A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT SENSE FROM THE FIRST TWO EQUIVALENTS-SH. \* **politicien** ~ (PCF#312167725+SH) wily/crafty politician (SH+ECP(6)/SH+ECP(2)); **cet avocat, surnommé le requin, est bagarreur, ~ et arrogant** (PCF#429800912) that lawyer, nicknamed the shark, is aggressive, cunning and arrogant (SH); **il faut être un peu ~ pour réussir une vente de garage** (PCF#328165698) you have to be a little crafty to pull off a garage sale (SH).

**2** (*qui est espiègle, malicieux et aime jouer des tours*) (RQ2+SH) mischievous (QD+GAGE+RHWEB+COCO2+ECP(69)). \* **elle est si ratoureuse, elle fait semblant de dormir** (RP+SH) she's so mischievous, she's pretending to be asleep (SH).

## 7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have taken a Canadianism and worked, step by step, through the process of preparing an entry for the BCD. Along the way, I have encountered several of the problems related to the treatment of Canadianisms discussed in previous chapters of this thesis.

First, due to the fact that the headword is a Canadianism, it is not found in many unilingual or bilingual dictionaries. This means that much more emphasis has to be put on corpora to clarify the senses and suggest and confirm equivalents.

Second, even when the dictionaries do present the headword, they can often confuse the issue rather than help to clarify matters, since they do not all present the senses of *ratoureux* in the same way. Examining examples of actual usage of the headword taken from the corpora

seems essential to clarify the information provided in the dictionaries, and consequently to establish the senses more reliably in the entry.

Third, I encountered the problem of spelling variants for a Canadianism and had to determine which form to list first. This problem was solved by searching the two forms in the corpus and seeing which one was used more often.

Since the preparation of this entry, it has been reviewed by the BCD's CF specialists, who have provided responses to some of my questions:

Regarding the question of whether or not *ratoureux* is pejorative in the sense of “qui est rusé,” they feel that this is not necessarily the case: it does not necessarily indicate “une nuance de mépris pour l'être auquel on l'attribue.”

For the spelling variant *ratoureur*, which was not found in the BCD corpora, the CF specialists searched material used for compiling the TLFQ and found “presque autant de fiches *ratoureur* que de *ratoureux*, et pas seulement des attestations anciennes.” However, one specialist had the hypothesis that perhaps “les gens en utilisant *-eur*, veulent éviter l'impression de régionalisme que véhicule la suffixation en *-eux*.”

Finally, the CF specialists note that “la distinction sémantique entre 1 et 2 n'est pas évidente.” They feel that there is only one sense, “modulé selon les applications de discours.” However, given the fact that the equivalents are totally different, I have retained the two senses until bilingual revision is completed.

But this remark reinforces a point made earlier: it is often not easy to determine the senses of Canadianisms and this, in turn, makes finding suitable equivalents difficult.

# CONCLUSION

## Summary

This thesis, whose primary objectives are to indicate the problems involved in treating Canadian English and French, in lexicography, especially bilingual lexicography, and to propose ways of addressing these problems, has attempted to attain these objectives by:

- a) tracing the development of Canadian English and Canadian French, defining Canadianism, and describing four different types of Canadianisms - lexical, grammatical, orthographic and phonological;
- b) examining lexicographic developments in Canada and reactions to the more recent dictionaries;
- c) analyzing the treatment of Canadianisms in a number of dictionaries;
- d) identifying problems affecting Canadian lexicography; and
- e) seeing how the BCD project is dealing with these problems both in theory and in practice.

The major points that my study has revealed are the following:

- a) Canadianisms are not systematically covered or treated even in Canadian dictionaries;
- b) Canadianisms are not always easy to identify;
- c) the sense of Canadianisms is not always obvious; and
- d) corpus analysis seems to be an essential tool for the proper coverage and treatment of Canadianisms.

## Recommendations for Future Canadian Dictionaries

The BCD project is making every effort to improve the presentation of the particularities of Canadian English and French. It has examined a number of the problems relating to Canadianisms which have been identified in this thesis and has adopted certain practices which should help it to treat Canadianisms better than any existing dictionary: it will rely on corpora to help ensure that the nomenclature represents contemporary Canadian English and French; it will

also use corpora at every step of entry preparation to help ensure an objective analysis of each word; it will geographically label aspects of language which are particular not only to Canada, but also the United States, France and Great Britain; and it will avoid prescriptive tendencies by not applying judgemental labels such as “anglicism.” Nevertheless, there are a couple of more practices that the BCD could adopt which would further enhance its coverage of Canadianisms.

First, the BCD has no provision for usage notes of the kind discussed in 5.1.2.6. However, the sophisticated users for whom the BCD is intended would greatly benefit from having as much information as possible to make an intelligent judgement about the words they search. For this reason, usage notes which provide information on particularities of Canadian usage would be very valuable.

Taking the usage notes from the GAGE and the OXHA as models, I have compiled a usage note for the BCD discussing the spelling variants -our/-or:

<p><b>-or/-our</b> In Canada, usage varies between these two spellings in such words as <i>color/colour</i>, <i>honor/honour</i> and <i>labor/labour</i>. Both spellings are acceptable; however the BCD corpus indicates that -or is the more common form, since it appears in the corpus over 75% of the time. For this reason, the -or form is listed first.</p>
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Another point which I feel the BCD should review is its policy on the exclusion of some anglicisms as equivalents. The BCD policy states that although many anglicisms will be included in the dictionary as headwords in the SL, not all of these anglicisms will automatically be listed as possible equivalents in the TL since the BCD does not wish to propagate the use of anglicisms. It is my feeling, however, that the same criteria should be used for both headwords and equivalents. If a word has been deemed appropriate for inclusion as a headword, then it

should also be appropriate to be included as an equivalent. If this is not the case, then the word should not appear in the dictionary at all.

These recommendations could apply not only to the BCD, which will be the first ever full-sized dictionary of Canadian English and French, but to all future Canadian bilingual dictionaries. In fact, the first recommendation made above, as well as many of the BCD's existing policies and practices concerning Canadianisms, could be usefully adopted by any new Canadian dictionary.

As mentioned in the introduction, lexicography, and particularly bilingual lexicography, is a relatively young field in Canada which requires further research. It is my hope that this thesis will contribute to the advancement of this field, in terms of the treatment of Canadianisms in future Canadian lexicographic endeavours.

# APPENDIX 1: ABBREVIATIONS

AE.....	American English
AHD.....	American Heritage Dictionary
BCD.....	Bilingual Canadian Dictionary
BE.....	British English
BELN.....	Dictionnaire nord-américain de la langue française
BER.....	Dictionnaire de la langue québécoise
BRCOR.....	British corpus collections
CE.....	Canadian English
CEC.....	Dictionnaire CEC jeunesse
CF.....	Canadian French
COCO.....	Collins Cobuild English Dictionary
COCO2.....	Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (second edition)
COLL.....	Collins English Dictionary
DA.....	Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles
DC.....	Dictionnaire canadien/Canadian Dictionary
DCF.....	Dictionary of Canadian French
DCHP.....	Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles
DISCO.....	Discotext
ECP.....	English Canadian Press
FF.....	French from France
FUN.....	Funk and Wagnall's Canadian College Dictionary
GAGE.....	Gage Canadian Dictionary
HA.....	Harrap's Standard
HASH.....	Harrap's Shorter French-English, English-French Dictionary
IPA.....	International Phonetic Alphabet
LAR2.....	Larousse grand dictionnaire 2
LC.....	Dictionnaire des canadianismes
LEM.....	Lemeac
LEX.....	Larousse dictionnaire de la langue française - Lexis
MOND.....	Le Monde
MULTI2.....	Multidictionnaire des difficultés de la langue française (second edition)
NA.....	North Americanism
NPR.....	Nouveau Petit Robert
OLF.....	Office de la langue française
OTIAQ.....	Ordre des traducteurs et interprètes agréés du Québec
OXHA.....	Oxford-Hachette
PCF.....	Presse canadienne française
PEN.....	Penguin Canadian Dictionary
PLUS.....	Dictionnaire du français plus
QD.....	Québécois Dictionary
RHWEB.....	Random House Webster's College Dictionary
RCSS.....	Robert-Collins Super Senior
RP.....	Richesses et particularités de la langue écrite au Québec
RQ.....	Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui
RQ2.....	Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui (second edition)
SD.....	Senior Dictionary
SL.....	Source language
TL.....	Target language
TLFQ.....	Trésor de la langue française au Québec
WIN.....	Winston Dictionary of Canadian English
WSJ.....	Wall Street Journal



## APPENDIX 3: BCD TYPOLOGY

<b>bold</b>	Elements in bold are the <b>headword</b> , the <b>sense division number</b> , and the <b>source language</b> for the examples.
<i>italics</i>	Elements in italics are used for the <i>grammatical category</i> , the <i>part of speech</i> , <i>geographical labelling</i> and the <i>sense indication</i> .
UPPER CASE	All SOURCE CODES and LEXICOGRAPHER'S NOTES are written in upper case.
plain type	Plain type is used for elements in the target language.
*examples	Examples are preceded by an asterisk in bold (*).

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