Stefan Dollinger, *Creating Canadian English*: *The Professor, the Mountaineer, and a National Variety of English*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019a, xviii + 283 pp. (Reviewed by Carol Percy, University of Toronto, Canada)

The first chapter of *Creating Canadian English* presents distinctive perspectives on the monograph's concept and on the chapter's title: "What is Canadian English?" Dollinger acknowledges English as one of at least 263 other languages spoken in Canada, at least 60 of which are Indigenous. He epitomizes the effect of English on First Nations languages by showing how colonial toponyms like "Chatham and Discovery Islands" obliterate Indigenous heritage and cultural-linguistic knowledge. Immigrant languages other than English appear in a chronological chart of immigration waves. Canadian and other English dialects feature in more detail in the contexts of settlement history and new dialect formation theory. And we meet American- and British-born scholars among the "Big Six" who edited the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (*DCHP*), one of four dictionaries published for Gage between 1962 and 1967, Canada's Centennial year. Their perspectives and editing arguably "created" Canadian English. Dollinger's book focuses almost solely on these texts and these men. But this introductory perspective on the origins of Canadian English is the first of many episodes likely to engage readers who are intrigued by the intellectual and the logistical challenges of codifying colonial varieties of English.

Dollinger's monograph officially begins in 1940, when Queen's University professor Henry Alexander mentioned Canadian English amid chapters on British and American English in *The Story of our Language*. With Alexander as its anchor, the well-researched second chapter on "The Heritage of Canadian English" features American projects to interconnect the men who codified Canadian English for Gage. From 1946, the American autodidact Charles Lovell distinguished Canadian vocabulary from the Americanisms he accumulated for the University of Chicago Press. The title's "mountaineer", Lovell combined his love of hiking and lexicography with first-hand fieldwork on words like *hobo*. Lovell died in 1960, just after

securing Canada Council funding for a full year of work on the *DCHP*. The *DCHP* would be steered by the "professor": Walter Avis received his PhD from the University of Michigan after studying at Queen's with Alexander. Canadianizing the spelling of an American dictionary, conducting early research, and training scholars like Avis, Alexander is Dollinger's "godfather" of Canadian English.

Lexicography produces dictionaries and heart failure: Avis's 1979 death opens chapter 3, "Avis Pulls It Off". Dollinger reconstructs the background for Avis's training in the 1950s: the *Middle English Dictionary* at Ann Arbor and (in nearby Wisconsin) the future *Dictionary of American Regional English*. And he illustrates Avis's employment at the Royal Military College, with pan-Canadian undergraduate dialects and excessive administration. Emerging through the story is the Canadian Linguistic Association (1954) and its Lexicographical Committee (1957), and an eventual agreement by Gage (1959) to fund the *DCHP* as well as three-tiered school dictionaries. Dollinger draws on obituaries, family calendars, and especially letters between Lovell and Avis to map the realities of long-distance dictionary composition. He perceptively interprets events like the first-name basis between Charlie and Wally (1955) and the activities of other editors, volunteers, and family members, including women. Like Matthew H. Scargill, the founding chairman of the lexicographical committee and the coordinator of the volunteer reader programme (1957-59), some left less evidence of their labour.

Perspectives and methods in compiling the *DCHP* dominate chapter 4, "The 'Technology': Slips, Slips, and More Slips". Duplications, errors, and omissions on *quotation* or *citation slips* (Canadians say both) underscore the difficulties of coordinating reading programs and classifying Canadianisms. A late addition was the word *canoe* – not unique to Canada but certainly Canadian. The *DCHP-1* editors' assumptions about belonging and lexicography pervade records for potential entries like *Canuck*, *Indian residential school*, *Ojibwa*, and *Stikeen* – the latter First Nation names that were ultimately excluded. Their spellings here and in the records are the product of standardization – itself a settler conception. And the absence of *Anishnabe* reflects how slowly settler Canadians recognized Indigenous groups' preferred terms. As the *DCHP-2*'s editor-in-chief, Dollinger deploys his analytical skills: even non-*Canuck*s should appreciate his reasoning whereby Hawaiian *kanaka* 'man, person' became the ultimate self-designator of a Canadian, via the east coast of North America and whaling ships.

The marketing of regional dictionaries features in chapter 5, "1967 – Excitement and Hype". The *DCHP* is sketched alongside its fellow pioneering dictionary of a regional English, Cassidy and Le Page's *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (1967), and compared to perpetually edited dictionaries of dominant varieties like the *Oxford English Dictionary*, sucking money but providing data for the formerly profitable genre of the desk dictionary. Royalty statements and estimates of postage and advertisements underscore the challenges of producing new titles for a small market amid American and British competition. The rise of the Gage series of school dictionaries extends the story well past 1967. Dollinger contextualizes the 1983 rebranding of the former Senior dictionary as the *Gage Canadian Dictionary*, which dominated the market until 1998. The challenge of codifying non-dominant varieties is epitomized by determining criteria for Canadianisms: as the editor of *DCHP*-2 (2017), Dollinger's six criteria included cultural significance (such as *eh*) distinguished from negative legacy (such as *residential school*).

Chapter 6, "Riding the Wave of Success", perversely concerns the declining interest in dictionaries by academic linguists and the lack of revision of the *DCHP* by its surviving editors. A 1973 edition was abridged but not updated with newly topical words like *eh*. A trade book was published but soon forgotten. Other projects were never finished or published, for personal or political reasons: Dollinger relentlessly exhumes abandoned manuscripts – one for a nearly-complete bilingual dictionary, aborted before the 1980 Quebec referendum on separatism. Dollinger sees the death of Avis as "the last nail in the coffin of a revision project" (2019a: 145) and "a serious setback for an academic field that had just found its first firm footing" (2019a: 67). Instead, variationist and corpus linguistics diverted the next generation of professional academics from the vocabulary and standards that typically interest the public. Canadian vocabulary was nevertheless collected by the.*Oxford English Dictionary*: between 1968 and 1978 Douglas Leechman was paid by editor Robert Burchfield for his contributions to the *OED* supplement.

The supposed Americanization of Canadian English along with the entry of Oxford UP into the Canadian market sets the scene for chapter 7, "A Global Village and a National Dictionary War". Dollinger explains the implications of the American and British genealogies of the Canadian dictionaries published respectively by Gage (1997), ITP Nelson (1997), and Oxford (1998). Readers interested in Canadian pronunciation will find some information here: perceptions of the Canadian-American relationship are indexed by pronunciations of words like *news* and *Iraq*. But the bulk of the

chapter contextualizes the appearance of the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (*COD*) in the rise of corpus lexicography and the history of the *OED*, and elaborates on the challenge of codifying and marketing lexical Canadianisms. To what extent should encyclopedic and regional terms be included in a national desk dictionary? For Dollinger, the success of the *COD* and its second edition (2004) reflects the outreach of its editor and the prestige of England in a former colony. The later failure of all three dictionaries reflects not simply the internet but specifically Oxford UP's retreat from this small market after monopolizing it.

The problems involved in codifying changing social attitudes concerns chapter 8, "Decolonizing *DCHP-1* and *DCHP-2*". The existence of countries like Canada reflects settlers' oppression and extermination of original inhabitants. The *DCHP-1* itself was (as Dollinger observes) an anti-colonial project in its codification of distinctively local lexical norms. But the existence of *residential schools* and the testimony of its survivors betray the Canadian state's sustained erasure of Indigenous languages and cultures. Further research in the citation files suggests that it was only in late 1967 that settler journalists and thus lexicographers might be expected to recognize residential schools as sites of cultural genocide. For numerous headwords including *go Indian* and *good Indian*, quotations and definitions emphasize negative attitudes, unrecognized with usage labels. As the editor of *DCHP-2*, Dollinger retained but flagged such evidence of the negative legacy of *DCHP-1* and consulted widely when writing new entries – and this book. And although proper names were not added to the *DCHP-2*, in the last chapter we learn that the third most common semantic domain is the "Aboriginal".

Readers of *Creating Canadian English* will anticipate its author's answer to the question posed by the final chapter: "Is There Really a Canadian English?" Readers of media should wonder how much we can conclude from journalists' repeated rediscoveries of *Canadian English* – and whether the decline in references to that phrase might reflect the ongoing closure of newspapers. And the opinion of the public (even university students) about whether Canadian English is distinctive likely reflects sociopolitical ideologies rather than linguistic realities. Academic linguists were among those *In Search of the Standard in Canadian English*, edited by W.C. Lougheed in 1986, though in chapter six Dollinger identified only J.K. (Jack) Chambers as a member of the new generation's "variationist camp". But to anyone with internet access, the existence of the *DCHP-2* (as of this monograph) will prove the distinctiveness and the development of Canadianisms.

Creating Canadian English is an outstanding work of research. It brings to light and interprets much unpublished material. Touching on pronunciation and spelling, it focuses mostly on vocabulary – a subject of particular interest to the general public. Its interconnected stories describe the craft of lexicography and the scholarly lives of the editors whose dedication resulted in the inevitably imperfect codification of ever-changing Canadian English. Keen and occasionally confused readers will want an even richer bibliography and index – an index that includes figures like Jaan Lilles, who argued against the existence of Canadian English, and all substantial references to culturally significant words like *eh* or tricky ones like *Indian*. But with its multiple theoretical perspectives, *Creating Canadian English* will also appeal to non-Canadian scholars of fields like World Englishes, English linguistics, European lexicography, and "pluricentric" languages more generally – another area of expertise for Dollinger (2019b).

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