

**APLA - ALPA**



Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association  
Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques

**PAMAPLA 31 / ACALPA 31**

**PAPERS FROM THE 31ST ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES  
LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION**

**ACTES DU 31e COLLOQUE ANNUEL  
DE L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE  
DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES**

**2007**

**EDITED BY / RÉDACTION**

**WLADYSLAW CICHOCKI**



# **PAMAPLA 31**

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**University of New Brunswick / Saint Thomas University  
Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada  
2–3 November 2007**

# **ACALPA 31**

**ACTES DU 31<sup>e</sup> COLLOQUE ANNUEL  
DE L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE  
DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES**

**Université du Nouveau-Brunswick / Université Saint-Thomas  
Fredericton, Nouveau-Brunswick, Canada  
2–3 novembre 2007**

**EDITED BY / RÉDACTION**

**WLADYSŁAW CICHOCKI**  
*University of New Brunswick*

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Printed in 12 point Times New Roman and bound by / Impression et reliure  
Imaging Services, A Division of Integrated Technology Services, University of New  
Brunswick, Fredericton NB, Canada

*Papers from the 31<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association*  
*Actes du 31<sup>e</sup> Colloque annuel de l'Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques*  
v.31 (2007)

Legal deposit / Dépôt légal : 2009  
National Library of Canada  
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

ISSN: 0831-3520

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**AUTHOR CONTACT INFORMATION /  
INFORMATION COMPLÉMENTAIRE CONCERNANT LES AUTEUR.E.S**

Wladyslaw Cichocki  
University of New Brunswick  
cicho@unb.ca

William Davey  
Cape Breton University  
bill\_davey@cbu.ca

Pei-Jung Kuo  
University of Connecticut  
pei-jung.kuo@uconn.edu

Yi-An Lin  
University of Cambridge  
yal23@cam.ac.uk

Anthony C. Lister  
University of New Brunswick (retired)  
listera@unb.ca

Jasmina Milićević  
Dalhousie University  
jmilicev@dal.ca

Cynthia Potvin  
Université de Moncton  
potvinc@umoncton.ca

Kanstantsin Tsedryk  
University of Western Ontario  
ktsedryk@uwo.ca

Egor Tsedryk  
Saint Mary's University  
egor.tsedryk@smu.ca

Gerard Van Herk  
Memorial University of Newfoundland  
gvanherk@mun.ca

## ABOUT APLA/ALPA31

WLADYSŁAW CICHOCKI  
*University of New Brunswick*

The 31<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association (APLA) / Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques (ALPA) took place from 2 to 3 November 2007 on the campus of Saint Thomas University in Fredericton NB. The conference was organized by a joint committee of linguists from the University of New Brunswick (UNB) and from Saint Thomas University (STU). The last time that APLA/ALPA met in Fredericton was in 1996 on the occasion of the Association's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

About 40 scholars attended the APLA/ALPA31 conference. In addition to linguists from the four Atlantic Provinces, the conference attracted researchers from other regions of Canada, Taiwan, the United Kingdom and the United States. One quarter of the attendees were students.

The conference theme was "Dialect and Variation." Sali Tagliamonte (Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto) delivered the plenary Murray Kinloch Memorial Lecture. Her presentation entitled "Dialects in the city of variation: Toronto" discussed analyses based on data from the *Toronto English Corpus*; she analyzed five variables - including the intensifying adverb *so* and quotatives such as *be like* - that illustrate clear patterns of variation at both community and inter-neighbourhood levels.

This volume of *PAMAPLA/ACAPLA* includes revised versions of nine presentations given at the conference. The following eleven papers were also presented but do not appear in these proceedings.

EMMANUEL AITO, *University of Regina*, Democracy without language? Lexical creativity in a Nigerian minority language

EMMANUEL AITO, *University of Regina*, Esan dialects and orthography harmonization: Addressing the "Russian Doll" effect

PATRICIA BALCOM, *Université de Moncton*, Do instruction and exposure make a difference on the learning of orthographic spelling by speakers of a regional variety?

LOUISE BEAULIEU, *Université de Moncton*, and WLADYSŁAW CICHOCKI, *University of New Brunswick*, La variation dans les formes verbales 3PL à l'imparfait en français acadien

BERNARD MULO FARENKIA, *Cape Breton University*, L'énonciation allocutive en contexte plurilingue : Le cas du Cameroun

ANNE FURLONG, *University of Prince Edward Island*, "Everything old is new again": The role of memory in the productive repetition of texts

JOANNA LUSTANSKI, *McMaster University and York University*, The broken stereotype of the ethnic identity of the Polish minority group in Canada

MARIADELALUZ MATUS-MENDOZA, *Drexel University (USA)*, Phonetics of Guatemalan *fincas*

JEAN-GUY MBOUDJEKE, *University of Windsor*, Norme contre variations : Les difficultés normatives des étudiants canadiens de français langue maternelle

ALAIN FLAUBERT TAKAM, *Dalhousie University*, The use of articles in non-standard dialects of British English and in Cameroon English: A comparative analysis

JENNIFER M. WEI, *Soochow University (Taiwan)*, In search of post-modern Chinese

The conference was made possible by generous support from the following offices and departments:

Office of the Vice President (Academic), STU

Office of the Vice President (Research), UNB

Office of the Dean of Arts, UNB

Mi'kmaq-Maliseet Institute, UNB

Second Language Education Centre, UNB

Department of Anthropology, UNB

Department of Education, STU

Department of English, STU

Department of English, UNB

Département d'études françaises, UNB

Department of Psychology, UNB

Department of Romance Languages, STU

Linguistics Programme, UNB

The Department of Education at STU kindly provided the conference rooms.

Photos from the conference are posted on the APLA/ALPA website at [www.unb.ca/apla-alpa/enphoto71.html](http://www.unb.ca/apla-alpa/enphoto71.html).

Four student assistants helped to ensure that everything ran smoothly: Trista Black, Stacey Clouston, Ari Najarian and Nancy Power. The members of the Organizing Committee were Wladyslaw Cichocki (UNB), Anne Hewson (STU), Anne Klinck (UNB) and Anthony C. Lister (UNB).



# THE MAKING OF A REGIONAL DICTIONARY: THE DEFINING PROCESS

WILLIAM DAVEY and RICHARD MACKINNON  
*Cape Breton University*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Following the example of the two Atlantic regional dictionaries already published, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English Second Edition with Supplement* (1990) and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* (1988), the co-editors, William Davey and Richard MacKinnon, began work on our on-going project to create a dictionary of Cape Breton English in 1993. A pilot study determined that there were indeed enough words and senses that were original to Cape Breton or distinctive and characteristic of the variety of English used on Cape Breton Island, and our long-term project began. This paper discusses some of the interesting and absorbing decisions involved in creating a regional dictionary. After a brief consideration of how regional words differ from those in other varieties of English and how the words are collected, the focus shifts to the defining process we are currently using to write the "Dictionary of Cape Breton English".

## 2. REGIONAL VOCABULARY

Regional words fit between two varieties of language. On one side is slang which Jonathon Green, editor of *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang*, defines as 'the counter-language. A jackanapes lexicon of the disposed. The language of the rebel, the outlaw, the despised, the marginal, the young. Above all it is the language of the city . . .' (1998:v). By contrast, regional language is predominantly rural, more conservative than rebellious, and reflective of older speakers and practices. Regional words are also distinguished from another variety of language often identified as standard, that is, the words found without usage labels in what might be called general dictionaries such as the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* or *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary Tenth Edition*. These words are widely used and not limited by locality. As one would expect, however, the borders between these varieties are not impervious; so how then do editors identify words for a regional dictionary? Following the general principles stated by Walter Avis in his introduction to *A Dictionary of Canadianisms*, we are looking for two types of words, expressions, and senses, those that are native to a region and those that are 'distinctively characteristic' (Avis 1991:xiii). The first type is the -ism words that originate in a particular area. Words like *suet* ('a strong south-east wind'), *tarabish* ('a card game') and *backlanders* ('settlers on inferior lands without access to the coastal waters') are some of the words with distinctive forms we believe to be Cape Bretonisms. The word *dairy* is an example where the word itself is widely used but where the Cape Breton sense of a 'convenience store' is local. However, in our dictionary and typically in other regional dictionaries, the more frequent type of word is not exclusive to an area, but regional in nature. One such example of this second type of word is the verb *to junk*,

meaning ‘to cut logs or meat into pieces or chunks.’ The verb is recorded in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*, the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*, and beyond the Atlantic region in the *Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition (OED2)*, the *Dictionary of American Regional English* and *Maine Lingo*. As a regional word, this sense is not recorded in general dictionaries but is found in the Atlantic region and in parts of the United States.

The sources for these regional words are broad as they come from the activities of everyday life. In this area some originate in local occupations like mining, fishing, and steel making. Mining, for instance, has given us words like *gob* (‘an empty space where the coal has been removed’), a *bob-tailed pay sheet* (‘a pay slip with little money after deductions’), and *pit socks* to designate ‘heavy grey work socks’ (whether used in a mine or not). Social and leisure activities give us *scoff* (‘an abundant meal’) and *Cape Breton silver* (‘moonshine’). Words borrowed from other languages give us *kieler* (a basket) and *waltus* (‘a game’) from Mi’kmaq, *bocan* (‘ghost’) from Gaelic, and *mi-carême* (‘celebration during mid-Lent’) from Acadian French. Some are humorous, *flying axe handles* or the *green apple trots* for ‘diarrhea,’ and the old fashioned word for an earlier version of *Wonder Bread*, scornfully called *baker’s fog*. The rural and historical word *hay barrack* identifies the rough wooden structure used to protect stacks of hay. Other words describe the local types of ice and weather – such as *red ice*, *the big ice*, and *breeze* that fishers use to describe winds of gale force.

Having decided what a regional word looks like in general, the editors can proceed with the two general stages in dictionary making – collecting and defining. In the early 1600s when imitation was the highest form of flattery and copyright was not yet an idea, dictionary makers in England would take a previously published dictionary, add more words, change the title, and publish it under their own name (Murray 1900, Millward 1996, Landau 2001). Using current best practices, editors collect their own citations (i.e., quotations that illustrate meanings of the words) and then define the word according to this information. With the resources of Oxford University Press and the good will of amateur collectors, the monumental *Oxford English Dictionary* collected over five million citations for its first edition. More recently, Katherine Barber has drawn on ‘almost twenty million words of Canadian text held in databases representing over 8,000 different Canadian publications’ (Rpt. in 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2004:ix) in the preparation of the first edition of the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* in 1998. The quality of a dictionary, whether it is regional or not, depends on the quality of its citation files.

### 3. COLLECTION

Since 1993, we have been fortunate in obtaining internal funds from the Research Committee of Cape Breton University and external funds to hire student research assistants to help with the reading program. Working with them, we have collected over 11,500 citations from a variety of sources and have a hundred page working bibliography. The Beaton Institute, the archive at Cape Breton University, has been a valuable resource with its extensive collection of published works, its diverse audiotape collection, and its archival records of diaries and various documents. The citations are entered into *FileMaker Pro*, a computer database that gives the capability of sorting words in a number of different ways.

After ten years of collecting from archival, published, and recorded materials, we discovered to our consternation that several words that we know have widespread use in Cape Breton were not showing up in the collection. The word *puck*, for instance, is a typical example. As a verb it means ‘to strike forcefully’ and is also used as a noun, as in ‘a puck in the arm.’ It had a long history before reaching Cape Breton with the *OED2* giving its earliest citation as ca. 1640. Our ten-year old database had only three citations for the word: two were part of the impolite Gaelic phrase *puck ma thon* (‘kiss my rear’), and the third citation was a metaphorical reference to a personal loss as a ‘tough puck,’ rather than the more usual sense of a ‘physical blow.’ Consequently, we developed a general survey with 127 items to find more evidence for some of these words. T. K. Pratt, editor of the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*, generously loaned us his surveys, which we used as a template for our first survey. This survey has provided information about the frequency of use of certain words, the geographical distribution, and varied senses of words. Later, we designed a shorter survey to collect the terminology used by commercial fishers as these terms frequently vary from location to location, as Rose Mary Babitch’s (1996) study found among the lobster fishers of the islands of Lamèque and Miscou in New Brunswick. Among Cape Breton fishers, the chamber of the lobster trap that holds the lobster after it leaves the baited section (the *kitchen*) is variously called the *parlour*, *jail*, or *prison*, depending upon the port.

#### 4. DEFINING PROCESS

Although the collection stage is never complete, the time comes when the editors must begin selecting and defining the words collected. Before that process begins, however, it is necessary to have a style guide to achieve consistency in the dictionary articles. Although numerous regional dictionaries exist, each one uses a different format, with variations in order, typographical conventions, and methods of citing sources. This should not be surprising as many academic disciplines have their own style sheets for citations and format. For instance, the software program called *Refworks* gives over 200 possible choices for academic citations. With the template in hand, it is possible to begin defining each word. The following discussion refers to words found in our general survey to illustrate some the interesting decisions involved in creating a regional dictionary.

##### 4.1. Evidence

The first step is to determine if the word is characteristic or, in pragmatic terms, do we have enough evidence to support its inclusion? Our goal is to have at least three to five separate references before we include the word in the dictionary. Using the database *File Maker Pro*, we are able to create lists of a particular headword and its accompanying citations and sources. If applicable, we also check the survey results to determine the frequency of use, the geographic distribution, and any comments the respondents have made on the word’s meaning and its usage. For example, the use of *dairy* to mean a convenience store is found frequently in Cape Breton County, but less so in the other three counties.

## 4.2. Selecting the Word

If the dictionary is to contain words that are original to or distinctive of a particular region, editors must discover where else the word or sense may be found. To do this, we have been using a list of eighteen dictionaries in three national groups: Canadian, British, and American. Each national group contains both general and regional dictionaries (see appendix). We occasionally add other dictionaries as needed, such as the online version of the *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (2004) if the word seems to be Scottish in origin.

The dictionary search varies in difficulty. At times it may be simple and straightforward if the word is a Cape Bretonism. The word *backlander* is recorded only in *A Dictionary of Canadianisms* (1991) with the usage described as ‘historical’ and with a Cape Breton work as the sole source. Others words require a more prolonged search. The word *make*, for instance, has 222 senses recorded in the *English Dialect Dictionary* (1905) and has an average of 10 to 25 separate meanings in the general dictionaries. So, among these many senses, the editor must search for ‘to make,’ meaning ‘to preserve fish by salting and drying.’ Similarly, the word *time* is one of those with a surprisingly large number of related meanings – ranging from the time of day to serving time in jail. Even the modestly sized *Nelson’s Canadian Dictionary* has 15 senses, and the *OED2* has 60 main categories with numerous subcategories. The regional meaning of a ‘house party or community celebration at a hall’ is found in Atlantic Canada in a statement like ‘I’ll see you at the time tonight.’

## 4.3. Headnote

The third step is to write the headnote, which begins with the headword, or the word to be defined, followed by its part of speech, any variants of spelling or form, and the definition. Although we are not able to provide pronunciation for each word, where the pronunciation varies or the word is obscure, we will give the phonetic spelling. In most instances, the spelling of the headword is standard, but since regional dictionaries value oral language as well as published sources, the spelling may pose a challenge, as William J. Kirwin (2006) notes in a recent article recalling the editors’ experience with the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. The word *skooshin’* meaning ‘moving quickly and nimbly on pans of ice, or jumping clampers’ is a good example of this problem in our work. We have several oral sources for the word but only one published source, found in an article by John Lorne MacIsaac (2002:34) in a local magazine *The Cape Bretoner*. The author chose *skooshin’* but an alternate spelling – *skushin’* – is also possible to reflect the second pronunciation of the root vowel with slack *u*. The choice of spelling is not limited to oral sources as the word *barachois* demonstrates. The spelling preferred in the 19th century was *barrasois* (Haliburton 1829, vol. 2:232) and the word is also spelt occasionally with a double *r*, *barrachois*.

Along with selecting the most frequent spelling, another decision is to determine the most representative form of the headword. The word *clamber* is the preferred form in our data, but several sources had *ice clamper*. Similarly, the preferred form *flake* (‘a wooden frame raised on poles to dry fish’) appears alongside *fish flake* and *cod flake* as variants. Based on our data, we try to select the one that is most representative. Cross-references are needed if the variant is separated from the chosen form by more than three

dictionary articles, as required for *clamper* and *ice clamper*, *back kitchen* and *summer kitchen*, and *fog* and *baker's fog*.

The final part of the headnote is the definition, the element that the general reader often associates with a dictionary. In the early 1970s Ladislav Zgusta (1971:12) expressed his regret about the lack of published resources on the theory and practice of lexicography. Since then, several handbooks, collections of articles, and journals have been published giving guidance on lexicography in general and on defining principles and procedures, such as the recent books by Landau (2001), Jackson (2002), and Sterkenburg (2003). These authors and others provide a number of useful defining principles, some of which Landau (2001:152-216) notes even the large commercial dictionaries breach. These rules include avoiding circularity in defining (for example, a *fishing pole* is a 'pole used to fish') and the need for brevity and simplicity. Not all of these principles, however, apply to a regional dictionary. A large general monolingual dictionary should define each word used in the definitions of the headwords, but the editor of a regional dictionary can assume the readers' knowledge of Standard English. In addition, all editors face the challenge of finding the essential qualities of the word being defined, but editors defining regional words also try to record the qualities or nuances that the word may have in local usage that distinguish it from other regions. So *backlanders* are not merely settlers 'in the back country,' as indicated in *A Dictionary of Canadianisms*, but they are also settlers on inferior land and who are often economically and socially deprived in contrast to their frontland neighbours. *Skooshin*' is not just 'moving from one pan of ice to another,' but the skill and challenge of moving nimbly over pieces of ice that may or may not be large enough to hold the person's weight. The editor strives to express these ideas concisely.

While many words are straightforward, others require special editorial judgment. One such example is the use of the word *after* to indicate a completed action in statements like 'I was after talking to her yesterday.' This so-called after-perfect is one that we are still examining. We have numerous citations, but many of these lack the context that would help clarify the intended meaning. *Away*, in the statement 'she is from away,' is another word with various senses. *Away* can indicate mainland Nova Scotia, another Atlantic province, and especially Ontario. Occasionally, however, *away* may also refer to a place within Cape Breton; for instance, someone moving from Sydney to Big Pond (a distance of about 30 km) might also be described as being *from away*.

#### 4.4. Citations

Having defined the word based on the collected data, the next step is to select citations to illustrate the meaning. To indicate the time that the word has been current on Cape Breton Island, at least according to our data, we give the earliest and latest citations in our files. Other citations are given in chronological order, followed by survey results. In some instances, the word may no longer be used, often because the technology or social practice has changed. Only older speakers know words like *double sled* and *bunk* (a heavy beam extending across a logging sleigh). By contrast, our earliest record for *barachois* is from Thomas Pinchon's 1760 description of Cape Breton, and the word is still current in speech and survives in several Atlantic place names (see Hamilton 1996:291, Rayburn 1997:24).

Having established the regional time frame according to our data, we next look for clear descriptions of the term, such as the one from Jim and Pat Lotz who concisely describe a *barachois* as a ‘pond cut off from a larger body of water by a neck of land or a sand bar’ (1974:71). This presents an accurate view of a *barachois*, but other sources note that the ‘neck of land’ may be open to the larger body of water, thus making the pond a lagoon. Both are equally valid, and both differ from the idea expressed in the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* as ‘a backwater near the mouth of a river; a marsh.’ The comments in the surveys have helped with some of these words that are understood locally in various ways.

#### 4.5. Dictionary List

With the word selected, spelled, defined, and illustrated, the next stage is to return to the dictionary list to indicate the distribution of the word defined. This is a feature which we hope will be of interest to historians and language specialists, but probably the general reader will find the list a baffling array of initialisms. What it should illustrate, however, is the geographical and chronological range of the word. Is it a Cape Bretonism as we have seen with *backlander*? Is it found in the Atlantic region such as *barachois*? Is it a regional word known more widely, such as the verb *to junk* that is found in Atlantic Canada and in the eastern United States but not in general dictionaries without a usage label? We also include the earliest date recorded where indicated by the various dictionaries such as the *OED2* and the regional dictionaries. The dictionaries and their initialisms are listed in the Appendix, and include various kinds of dictionaries from Canada, the United States and England.

Using the initialisms, the reader sees that the Cape Bretonism *backlander* is recorded in the nineteenth century and only in one dictionary as: ‘*DC Hist.* (1869).’ The Atlantic word *barachois* is represented as: ‘*DNE, DC 1. Atlantic Provinces (1760-), COD Cnd. (Nfld. and Maritimes), NCD 1. Atlantic Canada.*’ Some general dictionaries record the word, but have usage labels, locating the word as being from the Atlantic Provinces. The more widely known verb *to junk* is recorded in ‘*DNE also junk up (1776), DPEIE also with up, DC Obs., OED2 1b, DARE also with up, ML.*’ A still more complicated list is needed for a word like *bakeapple* that is found in the Atlantic Provinces and regionally in parts of the United States: ‘*DNE (1755-), DPEIE, DC Esp. Atlantic Provinces 1755, F&W Canadian, GCD Cdn., esp. Atlantic Provinces, NCD Canadian, COD N. Amer. (esp. Nfld & Maritimes), OED2 (1775), W3; bake-apple, SSPB; baked-apple berry, DARE DCan 1755-, DA.*’ Among North American dictionaries, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* often has the earliest dates for citations, even earlier than some in the much larger *Dictionary of American Regional English*.

#### 4.6. Language Note

Finally, in some instances, the dictionary article will end with a language note that may discuss either the general origin of the word or draw attention to some aspect of the word’s usage. The note on *after*, for instance, comments that although many observe the ‘after perfect’ to be Irish, there is reason to consider it more widely as a characteristic of Gaelic as it is found in many Gaelic speaking areas, including Wales. Another language note comments on the usage of the phrase *from away*. A colleague, Ann Marie MacNeil,

had commented that those native to Cape Breton use the phrase *from away*, while non-native Cape Bretoners often use *come from away* or *CFA*. Respondents to the survey indicated that this was in fact their understanding too, and so the language note reports on this pattern of usage. Although the following would not be included in the note, the growth of initialisms as a productive source of new words is interesting: in Halifax, if a person is called a *CFA* (a Come From Away), he or she may respond that the accuser is an *NBA*, a Never Been Away (MacIntyre and Walls 2005:41)

#### 4.7. Proofreading

Once the dictionary article is finished, the editors give it a preliminary proofreading, but later they will check the original works cited and the dictionaries listed – another long-term task.

### 5. CONCLUSION

All research involves a certain amount of tedium but also has its particular rewards. Each new word defined opens a new subject to study and understand. The citations constantly lead the editor to events important to individuals or to the history of Cape Breton Island. One citation for *clammer* comes from newspaper article published on Christmas Eve 1919, as it reports on the deaths of two young brothers who apparently stopped to jump the clammers, fell beneath the ice, and drowned. A citation for the word *flake* records the wreckage caused by the famous August Gale in the 1870s. Working on various types of ice led to a diary of a wife of the lighthouse keeper on Gabarus Island, who describes the events of their isolated lives and the types of ice that prevented ships from moving by the island. One citation referring to *kellick* (the preferred spelling) tells of an heroic rescue by a local fisherman who “fastened a *killick* in the frozen ground above, and attaching a rope thereto, lowered himself to the wave-swept deck of the brig” (Knight 1913:104). He helped the trapped sailors escape from their ship, grounded in a winter storm. The not-so-positive side of working on a regional dictionary is the long time required to finish. T. K. Pratt worked remarkably quickly on the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*, finishing in seven years, while we will be closer to the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* that took roughly twenty years. At this stage, our work is to be continued.

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## **Appendix: Dictionary List - Dictionaries Consulted and Abbreviations**

### **AOD**

- The Australian Oxford Dictionary Second Edition*. 2004. Bruce Moore (ed.). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.



**CDS**

*Cassell's Dictionary of Slang*. 1998. Jonathon Green (ed.). London: Cassell.

**COD**

*Canadian Oxford Dictionary Second Edition*. 2004. Katherine Barber (ed.). Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

**ConOD**

*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. 9th ed. 1995. Della Thompson (ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**DA**

*A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*. 1951. Mitford M. Mathews (ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**DAE**

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**DARE**

*Dictionary of American Regional English*. 1985-. Vols. 4-. Frederic G. Cassidy and Joan Houston Hall (eds.). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

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*A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*. 1967. Rpt. 1991. Walter S. Avis et al. (eds.) Toronto: Gage.

**DNE**

*Dictionary of Newfoundland English, Second Edition with Supplement*. 1990. G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin and J. D. A. Widdowson (eds.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

**DPEIE**

*Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*. 1988. T.K. Pratt (ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

**DSL**

*Dictionary of the Scots Language*. 2004. Susan C. Rennie (ed.). Dundee, Scotland: University of Dundee. Online version <[www.dsl.ac.uk/index.html](http://www.dsl.ac.uk/index.html)>

**EDD**

*The English Dialect Dictionary*. 1898-1905. Rpt. 1986. Joseph Wright (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**FW**

*Funk and Wagnalls Canadian College Dictionary*. 1989. Sidney I. Landau et al. (eds.). Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

**GCD**

*Gage Canadian Dictionary*. 1998. Gaelan Dodds de Wolf et al. (eds.). Vancouver: Gage.

**ML**

*Maine Lingo: Boiled Owls, Billdads, & Wazzats.* 1975. John Gould (ed.). Camden, ME: Down East Books.

**MWCD**

*Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary Tenth Edition.* 1994. Frederick C. Mish et al. (eds.). Springfield: Merriam-Webster.

**NCD**

*ITP Nelson Canadian Dictionary of the English Language.* 1997. Susan Green et al. (eds.). Toronto: ITP Nelson.

**NOAD**

*The New Oxford American Dictionary Second Edition.* 2005. Elizabeth J. Jewell et al. (eds.). New York: Oxford University Press.

**OED2**

*The Oxford English Dictionary. Second Edition.* 1989. John Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press. *OED Online.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. <[www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)>

**SSPB**

*The South Shore Phrase Book.* 2nd ed. 1988. Lewis J. Poteet (ed.). Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press.

**W3**

*Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged.* 1961. Rpt. 1993. Philip Babcock Gove et al. (eds.). Springfield: Merriam-Webster.

**WGUS**

*A Word Geography of the Eastern United States.* 1949. Hans Kurath (ed.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

# THE PREPOSED OBJECT IN MANDARIN CHINESE AND SOUTHERN MIN

PEI-JUNG KUO  
*University of Connecticut*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I discuss a preposed object construction in two Chinese dialects, Mandarin and Southern Min. An example of a preposed object is shown in (3). As one can see when comparing with (1), the object now is located between the subject and the verb. Note that this object preposing is different from the typical topicalization in (2), where the object moves to the left of the subject.

- (1) Geruisen kan-wan-le [DP zheben shu]. (SVO)  
Grissom read-finish-ASP this-CL book  
'Grissom finished reading this book.'
- (2) [DP zheben shu], Geruisen kan-wan-le. (OSV / topicalization)  
this-CL book Grissom read-finish-ASP
- (3) Geruisen [DP zheben shu] kan-wan-le. (SOV)  
Grissom this-CL book read-finish-ASP

The preposed object in Mandarin is believed to be optional, as shown in (4) (cf. Ernest and Wang (1995) and many others). However, as claimed by Lee (2007), the preposed object is obligatory in Southern Min in the environment in (5). The object cannot stay in postverbal position.

- (4) a. Abing zhi wan [DP fan] le  
Abing eat finish rice PERF  
'Abing has finished eating the rice.'
- b. Abing [DP fan] zhi wan le  
Aing rice eat finish PERF
- (5) a.\* Abing chah oan [DP png] a  
Abing eat finish rice PERF  
'Abing has finished eating the rice.'
- b. Abing [DP png] chah oan a  
Aing rice eat finish PERF

In the following discussion, I will first argue that the preposed object in both dialects is a topic, but not a focus as generally claimed in the literature. Furthermore, I will show that the above contrast in Mandarin and Southern Min is not due to different syntactic strategies of object preposing in these two dialects, but it is a result of tone combination differences in these two languages.

## 2. FOCUS OR TOPIC?

In the literature discussing Mandarin, the preposed object in (3) has been mostly considered to be a focus-bearing element (as proposed by Shyu (1995) and Ernst and Wang (1995), and followed by many others). For example, Shyu (1995) has provided the topic-focus structure for Chinese shown in (6). The DP in Sentence (7) is in the topic projection, while the DP in (8) is in the focus projection. Note that the focus projection in (8) is overtly marked by the focus marker *lian...dou* ('even...all'), which is in bold.

- (6) TopicP...IP...FocusP...AspP...VP
- (7) [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu], Geruisen kan-wan-le.  
this-CL book Grissom read-finish-ASP  
'Grissom finished reading this book.'
- (8) Geruisen **lian** [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] **dou/ye** kan-wan-le.  
Grissom even this-CL book all/also read-finish-ASP  
'Grissom even/also finished reading this book.'

Shyu (1995) claims that even in sentences like (9), the preposed object without a focus marker is also a focus.

- (9) Geruisen [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] kan-wan-le.  
Grissom this-CL book read-finish-ASP  
'Grissom finished reading this book.'

Under Shyu's proposal, the only difference between (8) and (9) is whether the focus marker is overt or covert.

Shyu (1995) provides several arguments in favor of this proposal, which mainly focus on the structural position of the DP in (8) and (9) respectively. For example, the preposed object in both (8) and (9) is higher than negation, dynamic modal and manner adverbs, which is illustrated in examples (10) to (15).

- (10) a. Geruisen **lian** [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] **dou** mei kan-wan.  
Grissom even this-CL book all not read-finish-ASP  
'Grissom even hasn't finished reading this book.'
- b.\* Geruisen meiyou **lian** [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] **dou** kan-wan.  
Grissom not even this-CL book all read-finish-ASP
- (11) a. Geruisen [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] mei kan-wan  
Grissom this-CL book not read-finish  
'Grissom didn't finish reading this book.'
- b.\* Geruisen meiyou [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] kan-wan  
Grissom not this-CL book read-finish
- (12) a. Geruisen **lian** [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] **dou** dei kan-wan.  
Grissom even this-CL book all have to read-finish-ASP  
'Grissom even has to finished reading this book.'

- b.\* Geruisen dei **lian** [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] **dou** kan-wan.  
Grissom have to even this-CL book all read-finish-ASP
- (13) a. Geruisen [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] dei kan-wan  
Grissom this-CL book have to read-finish  
'Grissom has to finish reading this book.'  
b.\* Geruisen dei [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] kan-wan  
Grissom have to this-CL book read-finish
- (14) a. Geruisen **lian** [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] **dou** henkuaide kan-wan.  
Grissom even this-CL book all quickly read-finish-ASP  
'Grissom even finished reading this book quickly.'  
b.\* Geruisen henkuaide **lian** [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] **dou** kan-wan.  
Grissom quickly even this-CL book all read-finish-ASP
- (15) a. Geruisen [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] henkuaide kan-wan  
Grissom this-CL book quickly read-finish  
'Grissom didn't finish reading this book.'  
b.\* Geruisen henkuaide [<sub>DP</sub> zheben shu] kan-wan  
Grissom quickly this-CL book read-finish

However, the following contrasts show that some distinctions should be made for IP-internal elements with or without a focus marker. For example, we know that in Chinese the external topic can be an Aboutness Topic, as shown in (16). The topic 'car' is an Aboutness Topic, which is related to the object 'truck' in the comment sentence.

- (16) Chezi, Zhangsan xihuna kache. (External Aboutness Topic)  
Car Zhangsan like truck  
'As for cars, Zhangsan likes truck.'

As Shyu herself points out, in the IP-internal position an Aboutness Topic cannot appear with a focus maker.

- (17) ?\* Zhangsan **lian** chezi **dou** xihuan kache  
Zhangsan even car all like truck  
'Even cars, Zhangsan likes truck.' (Shyu 1995: 89)

However, I show that if we drop the focus marker, the sentence becomes grammatical, as in (18).

- (18) Zhangsan chezi xihuan kache.  
Zhangsan car like truck  
'As for cars, Zhangsan likes truck.'

The above contrast thus indicates that the presence/absence of a focus marker on IP-internal elements results in differences in grammaticality.

Furthermore, it is easy to show that a preposed object without the focus marker can co-occur with a preposed object with a focus marker. In a double object construction like (19), we

can prepose both objects: one is used without the focus marker, whereas the other one occurs with the focus marker *lian...dou* ('even...all'), as in (20).

- (19) Geruisen song-le [DP zhege ren] [DP naben shu].  
 Grissom give-ASP this person that book  
 'Grissom gave this person that book.'
- (20) a. Geruisen [DP zhege ren] **lian** [DP naben shu] **dou** song-le  
 Grissom this person even that book all give-ASP  
 'Grissom even gave that book to this person.'
- b. Geruisen [DP naben shu] **lian** [DP zhege ren] **dou** song-le  
 Grissom that book even this person all give-ASP  
 'Grissom gave that book even to that person.'

It is generally impossible to have two foci in a single sentence if one assumes that there can only be one main focus per sentence, as shown in (21). Thus, if the bare preposed object is a focus, as claimed by Shyu, it is unclear why the sentences in (20) are grammatical.

- (21) \* Geruisen **lian** [DP naben shu] **dou** **lian** [DP zhege ren] **dou** song-le  
 Grissom even that book all even this person all give-ASP

If the preposed object is not a focus, what is it actually? Ting (1995) and Paul (2002) both argue that the preposed object is a topic. In addition to the syntactic differences that I have provided in the previous section (also see Paul (2002) for different syntactic/semantic arguments), pragmatically there is a clear distinction between topic and focus. Topic generally refers to old information while focus refers to new information. In the following sentences the preposed object 'apple' is mentioned in the question. It then must be old information when it is mentioned again in the answer. This shows that the preposed object in (22) is not focalized, in which case it would need to be interpreted as new information.<sup>1</sup>

- (22) Q: Zhangsan zui xihuan zai nali chi pingguo?  
 Z. most like at where eat apple  
 'Where does Zhangsan like to eat apples most?'  
 A: Zhangsan, pingguo, zui xihuan ZAI CHUANSHANG chi.  
 Z. apple most like at bed eat  
 'Zhangsan, as for apples, likes to eat AT BED most.' (Ting 1995: 289-291)

Now let us switch our attention to Southern Min. For Southern Min, Lee (2007) shows that the preposed object also has to be higher than the manner adverbs, modal verbs, and negation, and claims that it is a focus. However, as we have seen in the above discussion, similarly to the preposed objects in Mandarin, the behavior of the preposed objects in Southern Min shows that they cannot be treated as focus elements.

Interestingly, in another part of Lee's paper, she in fact shows that the bare preposed object does not behave like the preposed object with a focus marker in Southern Min. To be more specific, the bare preposed object has to be higher than the focus phrase. As shown in Ernst and Want (1995), in Mandarin the focus phrase is lower than the adverb *you* ('again') as shown in (23).

- (23) Wo you **lian** yi-fen qian ye mei you le  
 1<sub>SG</sub> again even 1-CL money also NEG have PART  
 ‘Once again I don’t’ even have a cent.’ (Ernst and Wang 1995: 251)

In Southern Min, the focus phrase and the corresponding adverb *iu-koh* (‘again’) show the same pattern as can be seen in (24a). In this sentence, the adverb has to be higher than the focus phrase, just like in Mandarin. However, in the absence of the focus marker, the bare preposed object cannot be lower than the adverb *iu-koh* (‘again’). In other words, it has to be higher than the adverb. This contrast is given in (24b) and (24c).

- (24) a. Goa iu-koh **lian** hit-bun chheh **ma** be-ki-tit han a  
 I again even that-CL book also forget return PERF  
 ‘Once again I don’t even remember to return the book.’  
 b. \*Goa iu-koh hit-bun chhen be-ki-tit han a  
 I again that-CL book forget return PERF  
 c. Goa hit-bun chheh iu-koh be-ki-tit han a  
 I that-CL book again forget return PERF (Lee 2007: 9)

I take the above contrast as the evidence showing that the bare preposed object is not a focus in Southern Min. Moreover, since the bare preposed object shows the similar syntactic pattern as the one in Mandarin, I will propose that the bare preposed object in both Mandarin and Southern Min is a Topic, not a Focus.

### 3. OBLIGATORY OBJECT PREPOSING?

Lee (2007) claims that object preposing in Southern Min is obligatory when the verb is combined with a phrasal marker (or a resultive compound in my terms) as in (5), repeated here as (25), but not when the verb is followed by an adjunct complement (Numeral Quantifier + Classifier in my terms) or an aspectual marker as shown in (26) and (27) respectively.

- (25) a. \*Abing chah oan [<sub>DP</sub> png] a  
 Abing eat finish rice PERF  
 ‘Abing has finished eating the rice.’  
 b. Abing [<sub>DP</sub> png] chah oan a  
 Aing rice eat finish PERF
- (26) a. Abing chiah san oa png a  
 Abing eat three bowl rice PERF  
 ‘Abing has eaten three bowls of rice.’  
 b. Abing png chiah san oa a  
 Abing rice eat three bowl PERF
- (27) a. Abing khu koe mikok a  
 Abing go EXP USA PERF  
 ‘Abing has been to the States.’  
 b. Abing mikok khu koe a  
 Abing USA go EXP PERF

Lee's major claim is that object preposing is obligatory only when used with a resultative compound verb. However, I would like to point out two problems regarding this claim. Theoretically, either Topicalization or Focalization is a pragmatic strategy. There should not be any 'obligatory' requirement of either of these two. Furthermore, there is empirical evidence showing that other resultative compounds do not trigger object preposing in Southern Min. In sentences (28) and (29), the resultative compounds *paxi* ('beat to dead') and *gong poah* ('break something') do allow optional object preposing. If the object has to be obligatorily fronted in the environment of resultative compound as Lee claims, it would be a mystery why they become optional in the examples below.

- (28) a. Abing pa xi lang a.  
 Abing beat dead person PERF  
 'Abing beat someone to death.'  
 b. Abing lang pa xi a  
 Abing person beat dead PERF
- (29) a. Abing gong poah oa<sup>n</sup> a  
 Abing break broken bowl PERF  
 'Abng broke the bowl.'  
 b. Abing oa<sup>n</sup> gong poah a  
 Abing bowl break broken PERF

To answer these two questions, I suggest looking at 'the obligatory preposing' phenomenon from a different perspective. That is, I propose that object preposing in both dialects is basically optional. However, the complicated tone sandhi of Southern Min forces the object to move to the preverbal position under certain tone combinations. In other words, this is a result of syntax and PF interaction.<sup>2</sup>

It is well known that there are four tones in Mandarin, as shown in (30). On the other hand, there are eight tones in Southern Min, as shown in (31).

(30) *Mandarin: four tones*

1(55) 2(35) 3(213) 4(53)

(31) *Southern Min: eight tones*

1(44) 2(53) 3(21) 4(32) 5(24) 6(53) 7(33) 8(4)

I propose that the tone combination of the resultative compound and the object in (32) is not allowed in Southern Min. (The reason behind this requires further research.) In other words, the tone combination '377' is not allowed. But since there is an escape hatch - object preposing - the object is then forced to move to the preverbal position, making the 'obligatory' impression. On the other hand, there is no such constraint in Mandarin, thus both word orders are allowed.

- (32) a. \*chit3 oan7 png7  
 eat finish rice  
 b. png7 chit 3 oan 5  
 rice eat finish

Note that the current approach implies that the 'obligatory' object preposing in Southern Min is not limited to resultative compounds. Thus, it explains why other resultative compounds



allow optional object preposing, as in (28) and (29). Also note that if we check the tone combinations in sentences like (28) or (29), these are different from the one in (32), which are shown in (33) and (34) respectively. None of them is the forbidden combination '377'.

- (33) a. pa8 xi1 lang5  
beat dead person  
b. lang5 pa8 xi2  
person beat dead

- (34) a. gong2 poah2 oa<sup>n</sup>2  
break broken bowl  
b. oa<sup>n</sup>2 gong2 poah3  
bowl break broken

Furthermore, the optional object preposing examples from Lee's paper also have different tone combinations compared to (32). These facts are given in sentences (35) and (36) in which the verb is followed by a combination of a Numeral Quantifier and a Classifier and the verb is followed by an aspectual marker respectively.

- (35) a. chiah3 san7 oa1 png7  
eat three bowl rice  
b. png7 chiah3 san7 oa2  
rice eat three bowl

- (36) a. khu2 koe2 milkok4  
go EXP USA  
b. milkok4 khu2 koe3  
USA go EXP

Finally, there is also evidence showing that once the forbidden tone combination in (32) is changed, the object can stay in the postverbal position. In example (37), I have changed one word in the resultative compound. Now the tone combination is not '377' anymore, but '317', as in (38). As one can see, this tone combination does not force object preposing.

- (37) a. Abing chah liao [DP png] a  
Abing eat EXP rice PERF  
'Abing has finished eating the rice.'  
b. Abing [DP png] chah liao a  
Aing rice eat EXP PERF

- (38) a. chah3 liao1 png7  
eat EXP rice  
b. png7 chah3 liao2  
rice eat EXP

Furthermore, I would like to point out that the examples in (35) and (38) show strong support to my proposal here. That is, for some reasons to be explored later, the tone combination '377' is not allowed in Southern Min. However, once we find a way to avoid the forbidden tone combination, either by inserting one different tone to form '3717' as shown in (35), or changing

one word in the tone combination to form '317' instead as shown in (38), we can get optional object preposing. Hence I believe that the 'obligatory' object preposing is not an absolute syntactic phenomenon but a result of the conspiracy of syntax and phonology.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I compare the object preposing phenomenon in Mandarin and Southern Min. I show that object preposing is a process of topicalization in both dialects. Object preposing is optional in both Mandarin and Southern Min. The 'obligatory' object preposing in Southern Min is an interface result from Syntax and Phonology. The syntactic 'obligatory' object preposing in Southern Min is a result of the phonological constraints on possible tone combinations.

#### NOTES

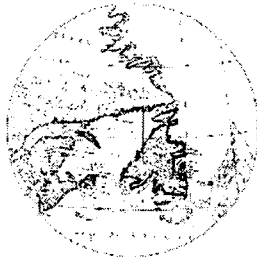
1. In Chinese, focus marking is done by using a combination of the focus marker *lian...dou* ('even...all') or by stressing an in-situ element, as argued in Gao (1994). Here *zai chuanshang* ('at bed') is an in-situ focus. Again, I assume that there can only be one focus in a sentence. Thus, *pingguo* ('apple') in the answer can only be a topic, but not a focus.
2. Apparently the approach that I propose in this paper cannot be integrated into the traditional Y modal since phonological process occurs after the point of Spell Out. However, if one adopts the one single output modal, as proposed in Bobaljik (1995, 2002), this concern can be eliminated.

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# **APLA - ALPA**



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# THE ENCODING OF DEFINITENESS, SPECIFICITY AND REFERENTIALITY IN MANDARIN AND CANTONESE

YI-AN LIN  
*University of Cambridge*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is a comparative study of the morphosyntax of the constituents referred to as noun phrases (NP) in traditional grammar. In particular, the focus of this paper centres on two Sinitic languages, namely Mandarin and Cantonese. The phrase structure of nominals in these languages has been investigated in the literature (i.e., Cheng and Sybesma (1999) on Mandarin and Cantonese, Cheng and Sybesma (2005) on Mandarin, Cantonese, Taiwanese and Wenzhou dialect). In contrast to Cheng and Sybesma's studies, this paper investigates the internal structure of nominal phrases in terms of Abney's (1987) Determiner Phrase (DP) Hypothesis, i.e. the hypothesis that nominal phrases are headed by determiners. Furthermore, this paper intends to pursue a unified account of the articulated structure of nominal phrases for cross-linguistic data in line with Pereltsvaig's (2007) Universal-DP Hypothesis, which asserts that the syntactic structure of the nominal phrase is universal regardless of the presence of lexical items which realize the heads of the functional projections (FPs). More specifically, this paper will propose a Probe-Goal feature valuing model to account for the parametric variation in these two languages within the framework of Chomsky's (2000, 2001, 2004) phase-based Minimalist Programme (MP).

### 1.1. Data under study

Sinitic languages and Tibeto-Burman languages are two subgroups of the Sino-Tibetan languages. Sinitic languages, spoken by over 1,000 million people (Chappell 2001), are usually classified into seven different groups, which are mutually unintelligible. Ranging roughly from north to south, they are Mandarin, Gan, Wu, Xiang, Min, Kejia (Hakka) and Yue. Some of these groups are often referred to by reference to the best-known variety in the group, for example, Cantonese for Yue (Goddard 2005).

In this paper, only two varieties of Sinitic languages will be discussed. The first one is Mandarin, which is the northern variety of Chinese; nevertheless, the area in which it is spoken extends over all territories of China because it has been adopted as the official language (Cheng and Sybesma 2005). It is also the official language of Taiwan and an official language in Singapore. The variety of Mandarin that is used in this paper is from Taiwan. However, the language data are presented using *Pinyin*, which is the official romanization system of the People's Republic of China. In Taiwan, the official romanization system for Mandarin is *Tongyong*.

The second one is the Yue language. This is a relatively homogeneous group of varieties spoken in most of Guǎngdōng and Guǎngxī provinces of China as well as in Hong Kong. The term *Cantonese*, frequently used interchangeably with Yue, refers to the

variety of Guǎngzhōu (Canton), the capital of Guǎngdōng province. The Yue data used here belong to the variety spoken in Hong Kong, and the language data are presented using *Jyutping* developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. The term *Cantonese* will be used in this paper to refer to the Yue language.

## 1.2. Nominals in Sinitic languages

Compared with English and other Indo-European languages, (in)definiteness in Sinitic languages can be exhibited with bare nominals due to the lack of articles. Moreover, one celebrated feature of Sinitic languages is the existence of a special grammatical category, classifier (CI), which is required to co-occur with numerals or other quantifying phrases in the expression of quantities. The basic word order concerning demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, adjectives and nouns is Demonstrative-Numeral-Classifier-Adjective-Noun.

## 2. THE CURRENT ISSUE

Given that Sinitic languages are article-less languages, definite expressions can be exhibited without any grammatical markers as shown in (1):

- (1) gǒu yào guò mǎlù (Mandarin)  
 dog want cross road  
 ‘The dog wants to cross the road’ or ‘The dogs want to cross the road’  
 NOT: ‘A dog wants to cross the road’

The issue is then if Sinitic languages share the same syntactic structure with articulated languages. For instance, Cheng and Sybesma (1999) argue that Chinese and English nominals have different internal structures to encode the grammatical property: definiteness. What Cheng and Sybesma believe is that definiteness is encoded by the CI head in Chinese, whereas it is encoded by the D head in English. The two types of encoding strategies that they assume are schematized as in (2) and (3).

*Article-less languages such as Chinese* (Sio 2006: 29; modified)  
 (2) [NumeralP Indefinite [CIP Definite]]

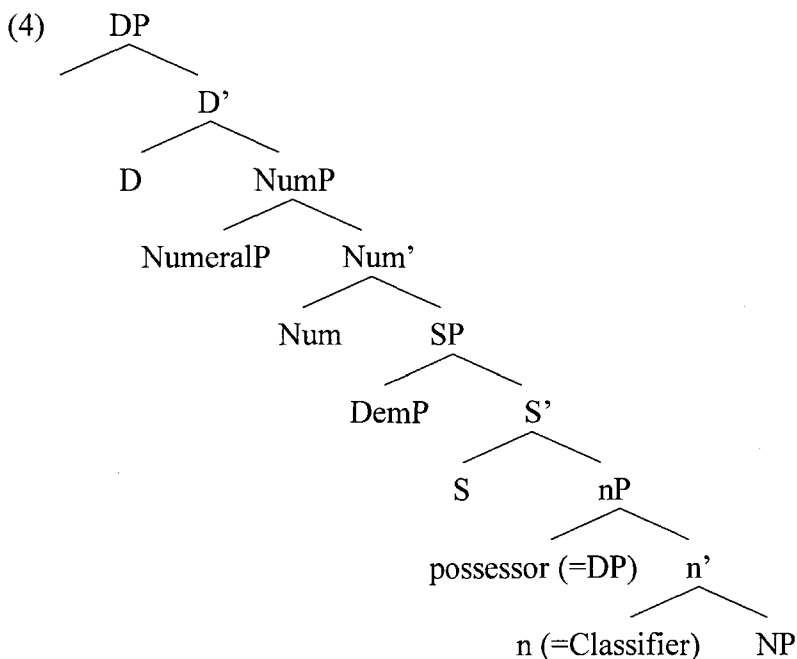
*Articled languages such as English* (Sio 2006: 29; modified)  
 (3) [DP Definite [NumeralP Indefinite]]

Nonetheless, their assumption is questionable. First of all, why should there be two types of encoding strategies instead of one? Their answer to this question will be that the article-less languages do not have the DP layer in the underlying syntactic structure. However, if the CIP and NumeralP can be covert as they propose for bare nouns in Sinitic languages, there is no reason for arguing against the postulation of a covert DP. Second, as criticized by Chan (1999), it is not theoretically plausible for the CI head and the Numeral head to have a fixed value for the [Def] feature, which in turn will lead to a crash in the derivation, for the feature specification of a functional head is transparent to the highest node of an extended projection (Grimshaw 1991). Therefore, Cheng and Sybesma’s (1999, 2005) postulation of inherently indefinite NumeralP containing the CI with inherent [+Def] feature must be in the wrong direction.

On the contrary, if it is believed that the projection of DPs is a property of Universal Grammar, a universal inventory for the encoding of (in)definiteness in natural languages can be reached. That is, the (in)definiteness of nominal phrases should rely on the feature specification of the functional head D. As a result, we can have a unified underlying structure for both definite and indefinite nominals. That is, they are all DPs. The only difference is the value of the interpretable [Def] feature on D. Therefore, I propose that nominal phrases in Sinitic languages like their counterparts in article languages also project to DPs in argument positions at all times, although Sinitic languages are languages without articles. This is not a new idea for article-less languages because Progovac (1998) maintains that the projection of DPs is independent of the presence of the lexical item which realizes the head of the projection (see also Pereltsvaig 2007). DP serves as an operator binding a variable in an NP. In other words, an NP provides a restriction for the operator in D.

### 3. MY PROPOSAL: A PROBE-GOAL APPROACH

Although there is still a debate on the internal structure of the Sinitic nominal phrase, I will argue for the existence of DP in Sinitic languages and show how the composition of the nominal phrase may bear on issues of referentiality, specificity, quantification, definiteness and argumenthood in order to maintain a unified structure account, namely the DP Hypothesis, cross-linguistically. The syntactic structure that I postulate is schematized as in (4).



In order to maintain the idea that the nominal structures are essentially the same cross-linguistically, I assume that the head of DP is the locus of the [Definite] feature (henceforth [Def]), the head of Number Phrase (NumP) is the locus of the [Number] feature (henceforth [Num]), the head of Specificity Phrase (SP) is the locus of the

[Specific] feature (henceforth [Spec]), and the light noun projection (nP), which is lexically realized as the classifier in classifier languages, is the locus of the [Referential] (henceforth [Ref]), [Countable] (henceforth [Count]), and [Unit] features. In terms of feature interpretability (Chomsky 1995), the mentioned feature carried by each functional projection is interpretable. However, the head of each functional projection bears not only the interpretable feature but also several uninterpretable features related to the other functional projections. For instance, the D head is composed of an interpretable [Def] feature and the uninterpretable [Num], [Spec] and [Ref] features. According to Chomsky's (2001) Probe-Goal theory, the interpretable feature of each functional head interacts with the uninterpretable features of other functional heads through the operation Agree. For example, the D head with the interpretable [Def] feature and the unvalued uninterpretable [Ref] feature serves as the Probe, while the n head with the interpretable [Ref] feature and the unvalued uninterpretable [Def] feature serves as the Goal. The interpretable [Def] feature on D matches and deletes the unvalued uninterpretable [Def] feature on n by Agree, while the interpretable [Ref] feature on n matches and deletes the unvalued uninterpretable [Ref] feature on D by Agree. In addition, following Szabolcsi (1987, 1994) and Stowell (1989, 1991), I assume that the D head has the function of turning predicates into arguments.

#### 4. DATA ANALYSIS

##### 4.1. Bare nouns

Common nouns are frequently affixed with morphemes or co-occur with articles in order to appear as arguments. For instance, common nouns in English are required to occur with articles (i.e. *the* or *a*) or the plural marker *-s* in argument positions. As shown in (5a, b, c), the common nouns *boy* and *toy* require an article or the plural marker *-s* to occur in the argument positions. When the article and the plural marker are absent, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in (5d).

- (5) a. The boy likes toys.  
 b. The boy likes the toy.  
 c. Boys like toys.  
 d. \*Boy likes toy.

In contrast to English, it is well known that Sinitic languages allow bare nouns – that is, common nouns that are morphologically unmarked - to appear as arguments without any affixation or articles, as in (6) since Sinitic languages lack articles and productive number morphology. This is one of the main reasons why all nouns in Sinitic languages are assumed to have a mass denotation by some researchers (see Chao 1968, Chierchia 1998, Li and Thompson 1981 among many others).

- (6) a. gǒu yào guò mǎlù (Cheng and Sybesma 1999:510; modified)  
 dog want cross road  
 Singular reading: 'The dog wants to cross the road.'  
 Plural reading: 'The dogs want to cross the road.'  
 NOT: 'A dog wants to cross the road.' or 'Dogs want to cross the road.'



- b. gǒu jīntiān hěn guāi  
 dog today very obedient  
 Singular reading: 'The dog was very obedient today.'  
 Plural reading: 'The dogs were very obedient today.'
- c. gǒu ài chī ròu  
 dog love eat meat  
 'Dogs love to eat meat'

However, as indicated by Cheng and Sybesma (1999, 2005), bare nouns in Mandarin can have different interpretations according to their positions in the sentence. For instance, postverbal bare nouns can be interpreted as indefinite, definite or generic, whereas preverbal bare nouns can be interpreted as definite or generic only. Examples can be found in (7) and (8).

(7) *Object position* (Cheng and Sybesma 2005:261; modified)

- a. Húfěi mǎi **shū** qù-le. (Indefinite)  
 Hufei buy book go-LE  
 Singular reading: 'Hufei went to buy a book.'  
 Plural reading: 'Hufei went to buy books.'
- b. Húfěi hē-wán-le **tāng**. (Definite)  
 Hufei drink-finish-LE soup  
 'Hufei finished the soup.'
- c. wǒ xǐhuān **gǒu**. (Generic)  
 I like dog  
 'I like dogs.'

(8) *Subject position* (Cheng and Sybesma 2005:261; modified)

- a. **gǒu** jīntiān tèbié tīnghuà. (Definite)  
 dog today very obedient  
 Singular reading: 'The dog was very obedient today.'  
 Plural reading: 'The dogs were very obedient today.'
- b. **gǒu** ài chī ròu. (Generic)  
 dog love eat meat  
 'Dogs love to eat meat.'

According to Cheng and Sybesma's analysis, the diverse interpretations result from the different underlying syntactic structures. More specifically, they propose that the nominal expression in Chinese projects to a NumeralP when it is indefinite but only to a CIP when it is definite, for they assume that the NumeralP and CIP are inherently with a specific value of definiteness. In addition, they maintain that definite bare nouns in Mandarin undergo N-to-Cl movement.

Unlike Cheng and Sybesma's analysis, I argue that there is a unified underlying syntactic structure as shown in (4) for both definite and indefinite nominals. More specifically, I propose that the (in)definiteness of nominal phrases is dependent on the feature specification of the functional head D, not on that of the Numeral head or the Num head. In other words, the only difference between definite and indefinite nominals is the value of the interpretable [Def] feature on D.

In contrast to Cheng and Sybesma's head-movement analysis of bare nouns in Mandarin, I provide an alternative account, arguing that there is an N-to-n movement followed by a phrasal movement of nP to the Spec of DP. Before that, let's turn to Cheng and Sybesma's (1999, 2005) head movement analysis first.

The head-movement analysis of bare nouns in Mandarin follows Cinque's (1994) proposal that there is N-movement (head movement of N to D) in the DP domain of Romance languages. His analysis is based on the relative order of nouns with respect to a number of modifying adjectives. Such an analysis is parallel to the head-movement analysis of verb in the clausal domain, which is based on the relative order of verbs with respect to a number of modifying adverbs. Nevertheless, given that Mandarin like English has an unvaried Adjective-N order as show in (9), Cheng and Sybesma's (1999, 2005) postulation of head movement in Mandarin nominal phrases seems to be unconvincing. As a result, an alternative account is required for the relevant data.

- (9) a. yí ge piàoliàng nǚhái  
       one Cl beautiful girl  
       'a beautiful girl'  
       b. \*yí ge nǚhái piàoliàng  
       one Cl girl beautiful  
       Intended meaning: 'a beautiful girl'

My alternative account is that there is an N-to-n movement followed by a phrasal movement of nP to the Spec of DP via the Spec of SP and the Spec of NumP. For definite bare nouns, the nP with the interpretable [+Ref] feature raises to the Spec of DP to match and delete the uninterpretable [Ref] feature of D. It also satisfies the [Def\*] feature of D and gets its uninterpretable and unvalued [Def] feature specified as [+Def] from D. For indefinite bare nouns in the object position, the nP undergoes the same movement operation as definite bare nouns, but it gets its uninterpretable and unvalued [Def] feature specified as [-Def] from D. As for the N-to-n movement in bare nouns, it is triggered by the [Ref\*] feature carried by the n head. Compared with a pure head-movement analysis, such an account is more compatible with the analysis of nominals with numerals to be provided in 4.3, where I assume the NumeralP moves to the Spec of DP to satisfy the [Def\*] feature on D.

As indicated by Cheng and Sybesma (2005), Cantonese is different from Mandarin in that bare nouns cannot receive a definite reading as shown in (10).

- (10) \* gau<sup>2</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> gwo<sup>3</sup> maa<sup>5</sup>lou<sup>6</sup> (Cheng and Sybesma 2005:269; modified)  
       dog want cross road  
       Intended meaning: 'The dog wants to cross the road.'

However, this is not always the case. For instance, the bare noun in (11) below can be interpreted as definite.

- (11) bat<sup>1</sup> ngo<sup>5</sup> maa<sup>5</sup>-zo<sup>2</sup> sap<sup>6</sup> zi<sup>1</sup>  
       pen I buy-Asp(ect) ten Cl  
       'As for the pens, I bought ten.'

In addition to such a definite meaning, bare nouns in Cantonese can generally receive an indefinite reading as in (12) or a generic reading as in (13).

- (12) Wu<sup>4</sup>fei<sup>2</sup> heoi<sup>3</sup> maai<sup>5</sup> syu<sup>1</sup> (Cheng and Sybesma 2005:269; modified)  
 Wufei go buy book  
 ‘Wufei went to buy a book/books.’
- (13) ngo<sup>5</sup> zung<sup>1</sup>ji<sup>3</sup> gau<sup>2</sup>  
 I like dog  
 ‘I like dogs.’

According to my unified structure account for both definite and indefinite nominals, the (in)definiteness of nominals in (11), (12) and (13) depends on the value of the interpretable [Def] feature on D. However, it should be pointed out that the bare nouns in (10) and (11) are actually different structures. The former is a DP whereas the latter is an extracted NP. The grammatical counterpart of (10) is given in (14).

- (14) zek<sup>3</sup> gau<sup>2</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> gwo<sup>3</sup> maa<sup>5</sup>lou<sup>6</sup> (Sio 2006: 27)  
 Cl dog want cross road  
 ‘The dog wants to cross the road.’

Given my analysis for bare nouns in Mandarin, I assume that there is an instance of N-to-n movement followed by phrasal movement of nP to the Spec of DP here. Hence, the nP with the interpretable [+Ref] feature in the indefinite bare noun as in (12) raises to the Spec of DP to satisfy the [Def\*] feature of D. The unvalued [Ref] feature of D is valued by the interpretable [+Ref] feature on the n head via Agree. At the same time, the unvalued [Def] feature on the n head is specified as [-Def] by D. As for the definite Cl-N sequence as in (14), the nP undergoes the same movement operation as indefinite bare nouns, but the n head gets its unvalued [Def] feature specified as [+Def] from D. As for the ungrammaticality of (10), I assume that it is due to the requirement in Cantonese that the uninterpretable [+Def] feature on the n head must be spelt out by the insertion of classifiers rather than the N-to-n movement. In the next section, I will turn to the discussion of the derivation of the Cl-N sequence in Mandarin and Cantonese.

## 4.2. Classifier-Noun

According to Cheng and Sybesma (1999, 2005), the Cl-N sequence in Mandarin cannot simply be taken as the phonological reduction of the *yi* ‘one’-Cl-N sequence, for these two types of sequences have different distributions and interpretations. For instance, as indicated by Cheng and Sybesma (1999, 2005), the Cl-N sequence in Mandarin cannot appear in the object position of a bounded predicate as shown in (15a), but the *yi*-Cl-N sequence can as in (15b). On the other hand, the *yi*-Cl-N sequence can appear in the object position of the *ba* construction as in (16a), whereas the Cl-N sequence cannot as shown in (16b).

- (15) a. \* wǒ chī-wán-le kuài bǐnggān  
 I eat-finish-LE Cl cookie  
 Intended meaning: ‘I finished a cookie.’
- b. wǒ chī-wán-le yí kuài bǐnggān  
 I eat-finish-LE one Cl cookie  
 ‘I finished a cookie.’ (Cheng and Sybesma 1999: 525-526; modified)

- (16) a. wǒ bǎ yì wǎn tāng hē-wán-le  
 I BA one bowl soup drink-finish-LE  
 ‘I finished a (particular) bowl of soup.’  
 b. \* wǒ bǎ wǎn tāng hē-wán-le  
 I BA bowl soup drink-finish-LE  
 Intended meaning: ‘I finished a (particular) bowl of soup.’

In terms of different interpretations, Cheng and Sybesma (1999, 2005) argue that the CI-N sequences in Mandarin are invariably limited to an indefinite non-specific reading, while the *yi*-CI-N sequence can be both specific and non-specific. However, as pointed out by Yang Gu (as cited in Cheung 2003), the CI-N sequence in Mandarin can be interpreted as definite. Examples can be found in (17).

- (17) a. Hú Fěi mǎi-le běn shū (Cheung 2003: 70; modified)  
 Hu Fei buy-LE CI book  
 ‘Hu Fei bought the book.’  
 b. tā chī-le kuài bǐnggān  
 (s)he eat-LE CI cookie  
 ‘He/She ate the cookie.’

For the derivation of the CI-N sequence in Mandarin, I assume that there is phrasal movement of nP to the Spec of DP via the Spec of SP and the Spec of NumP. This movement is the same as the one found in bare nouns. The nP with the interpretable [+Ref] feature targets the Spec of DP to match and delete the uninterpretable [Ref] feature on D and to satisfy the [Def\*] feature on D. In addition, the head of nP gets its unvalued [Def] feature specified as [ $\pm$ Def] from D. Such an account is totally compatible with the analysis of bare nouns in Mandarin provided in the previous section.

Similarly, the CI-N sequence in Cantonese cannot simply be taken as the phonological reduction of the *yat* ‘one’-CI-N sequence, for these two types of sequences have different interpretations as shown in (18) and (19).

- (18) keoi<sup>5</sup> maai<sup>6</sup>-zo<sup>2</sup> gaa<sup>3</sup> ce<sup>1</sup>  
 he sell-ASP CI car  
 ‘He sold the car.’  
 NOT: ‘He sold a car.’  
 (19) keoi<sup>5</sup> maai<sup>6</sup>-zo<sup>2</sup> yat<sup>1</sup> gaa<sup>3</sup> ce<sup>1</sup>  
 he sell-ASP one CI car  
 ‘He sold a car.’

For the derivation of the CI-N sequence in Cantonese, I assume that it is similar to that of the CI-N sequence in Mandarin. The nP with the interpretable [+Ref] feature moves to the Spec of DP to match and delete the uninterpretable [Ref] feature on D and to satisfy the [Def\*] feature on D. In addition, the uninterpretable and unvalued [Def] feature on the n head is specified as [ $\pm$ Def] from D. This leads to the definite meaning of the CI-N sequence in (18) and an indefinite meaning of the CI-N sequence in (20).

- (20) keoi<sup>5</sup> soeng<sup>2</sup> maai<sup>5</sup> gaa<sup>3</sup> ce<sup>1</sup>  
 he want buy CI car  
 'He wants to buy a car.'

As for the ungrammaticality of the indefinite meaning of the CI-N sequence in (18), I assume that it is due to the restriction that in Cantonese a bounded predicate must select a CI-N sequence with the [+Def] feature.

In the next section, I will turn to the discussion of the derivation of the Numeral-CI-N sequence in Mandarin and Cantonese.

### 4.3. Numeral-Classifier-Noun

According to Li (1998, 1999), nominal expressions containing numerals in Sinitic languages can be divided into two types, namely the quantity-denoting number expression and the individual-denoting number expression. For Li, NumP is the maximal projection of the quantity-denoting number expression, whereas DP is the maximal projection of the individual-denoting number expression. The former differs from the latter in that it can occur in the topic and subject positions and that it is definite in meaning. Examples can be found below:

#### *Quantity-denoting*

- (21) liǎng zhāng chuáng jǐ wǔ ge rén  
 two CI bed squeeze five CI people  
 'Two beds are crowded with five people.'

#### *Individual-denoting*

- (22) yì ge kèrén shuō: 'jīntiān wǎnshàng zhēn gāoxìng'  
 one CI guest say today night so happy  
 'One of the guests said, "It's so joyful tonight."' (Wu 2006: 130; modified)
- (23) Guō Jìng xiàng Huáng Yàoshī yǔ liù wèi shīfù gǒngshēn xínglǐ  
 Guo Jing towards Huang Yaoshi and six CI mentor bend-over bow  
 'Guo Jing bowed at Huang Yaoshi and the/his six mentors.'  
 (Wu 2006: 132; modified)
- (24) wǒ bǎ yì wǎn tāng hē-wán-le  
 I BA one bowl soup drink-finish-LE  
 'I finished a (particular) bowl of soup.'  
 (Cheng and Sybesma 1999: 526; modified)
- (25) yǒu yí ge kèrén lái-le  
 have one CI guest come-LE  
 'There is one guest coming.' (Li 1999: 201; modified)

However, based on my proposal that nominal phrases in Sinitic languages project to DPs in argument positions all the time, I maintain that both the individual-denoting and quantity-denoting number expressions have the DP layer. For the quantity-denoting number expression, the head of DP is specified for an interpretable [+Def] feature, and the Spec of DP is filled by NumeralP via A'-movement, which is triggered by the [Def\*]

feature on D. The NumeralP moves to the Spec of DP to satisfy the [Def\*] feature on D. As for the individual-denoting number expression, the head of DP carries a [ $\pm$ Def] feature, and the Spec of DP is filled by A'-movement of NumeralP as in the quantity-denoting number expression. The same analysis can also apply to the Cantonese data in (26).

- (26) loeng<sup>5</sup> zoeng<sup>1</sup> cong<sup>4</sup> zai<sup>1</sup> ng<sup>5</sup> go<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>4</sup>  
 two CI bed squeeze five CI people  
 'Two beds are crowded with five people.'

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, it is argued that Mandarin and Cantonese nominals in the argument positions have a projection of DP with null determiners at all times and share the same mechanism of encoding definiteness with articulated languages such as English. The basic assumption is that DP is the only functional projection in the nominal phrase which is responsible for the encoding of definiteness. More specifically, it is proposed that it is the interpretable [Def] feature on the D head which values and deletes the uninterpretable [Def] features on the other functional heads in the nominal phrase via the operation Agree. Adopting such a Probe-Goal approach, the current model can provide a unified structure account to explain parametric variation between Mandarin and Cantonese.

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# DEFINING POSTVERBAL PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES IN CHINESE

ANTHONY C. LISTER

*University of New Brunswick (retired)*

## INTRODUCTION

In this paper I examine the occurrence of prepositional phrases (PPs) in Chinese in postverbal position. The corpus was composed of 92 sentences taken from several Hong Kong newspapers that were published in 2004 and 2005, including *Sing Tao Daily* and *Wen Wei Po*.

I was first drawn to this subject by a frequently used expression *lai zi* 'to come from', which seems to be an exception to the rule that prepositional phrases normally precede the verb. In this particular case, one might expect *zi* + PLACE EXPRESSION + *lai*. Indeed, another preposition *cong* which has the same meaning as *zi* 'from' is always found in preverbal position. Hence the Chinese for 'to come from Beijing' can be either *lai zi Beijing* or *cong Beijing lai*. I decided to examine the reason for the difference, why *lai zi* appeared to be an exception, and to examine whether there were other cases where prepositions could follow the verb.

The question is also of interest since the position of PPs is of relevance to the determination of word order in Chinese. As mentioned in an early paper (Lister 2004), opinions among scholars are divided as to whether Chinese word order is SVO, SOV or neither, and one of the arguments used to support the position that it is SOV, or is changing to that order from SVO, is that languages with preverbal PPs tend to be SOV.

According to Li and Thompson (1974a, 1974b), PPs used to be predominantly postverbal and, over the centuries, they have moved to preverbal position. Other scholars, such as Sun Chaofen, maintain that there has not been a major change in the position of PPs, merely that the prepositions have changed. Sun Chaofen (1996:48) shows that the percentage of postverbal PPs was about 40% in 100 BC, dropped to 25% in 1800, and has risen again to about 33% at present.

One of the problems in determining the frequencies is deciding which constructions to count, since it is not as easy to pinpoint prepositions in Chinese as in European languages. It was found that the equivalents of English prepositions form a spectrum with pure prepositions at one end to verbs at the other. It might be open to question whether some of the verbs at the far end of the spectrum could even be considered as prepositions.

The postverbal PPs in the examples that I examined broadly fell into three main groups and two subgroups, based on the following introductory linking elements:

- IA independent and movable prepositions, with no verbal use
- IB independent and movable prepositions, which can be used as verbs
- IIA prepositions bound to preceding verb
- IIB verbs bound to preceding verb, but do occur as preverbal prepositions with a different meaning
- III verbs bound to preceding verb, but do not occur independently as prepositions.

### TYPE IA - INDEPENDENT AND MOVABLE PREPOSITIONS, WITH NO VERBAL USE

Just one preposition, which does not have a verbal use, was found in the corpus, *yu* ‘at, in’, and it occurred in just one kind of post verbal structure, V + *yu* + N. It generally preceded a time or location expression, as in (1).

- (1) Baozha xiji yue fasheng [<sub>pp</sub>yu dang di shijian zaoshang jiu shi].  
 explosion attack approximately happen at that place time morning 9 time  
 ‘The bomb attack happened at approximately 9 am local time.’

Other examples were:

- sheng yu* ‘be born in’ + place  
*sheng yu* ‘be born’ + date (1801)  
*sheng yu* ‘was born’ + date (1774) + place (London)  
*fa yu* ‘happened at’ + time (1 pm)  
*fasheng yu* ‘happened at’ + time (3 am)  
*zhu yu* ‘live in’ + place

Usually, a type I postverbal PP can be moved to a preverbal position without a change of meaning. For example, in (2) the *yu* phrase is preverbal.

- (2) 12 wei Chengda ji 21 wei Shenda xuesheng  
 12 wèi<sub>N-CL</sub> City-University and 21 wèi Shenzhen-University students  
 [<sub>pp</sub>yu nian chu] zuchengle “xuesheng chouban weiyuanhui”.  
 at year beginning set up “student planning committee”  
 ‘At the beginning of the year, 12 City University students and 21 Shenzhen University students set up the Student Planning Committee.’

### TYPE IB - INDEPENDENT AND MOVABLE PREPOSITIONS, WHICH CAN BE USED AS VERBS

The most frequent postverbal preposition, *zai* ‘at, in, to be’, occurred in the three different structures; we present these according to their frequency of occurrence. The most frequent structure is S + V + *zai* + N (14 occurrences), as in (3).

- (3) Bu jieyi luo [<sub>pp</sub>zai bie ren zhihou].  
 not mind fall at other people behind  
 ‘(They) also do not mind falling behind other people.’

The verbs preceding *zai* were *luo* ‘to fall’, *zhu* ‘to live’, *zhan* ‘to stand’, *shenghuo* ‘to live’, *yun* ‘to faint’, *tang* ‘to lie on’, *fasheng* ‘to happen’, *ting*, ‘to stop’. In some cases, there was a second preposition following the noun governed by *zai*: *hou* ‘behind’, *xia* ‘under’, *shang* ‘on’, *nei* ‘in’, and *fujin* ‘close to’. Generally speaking, no movement was involved. Eleven of the expressions following *zai* referred to location and three to time.

The second most common structure is (*ba*) + O + V + *zai* + N (with 4 occurrences), as in examples (4) to (6). This type of structure involves disposition and often implies movement. The structure O + V + *yu* + N, which would parallel O + V + *zai* + N, was not found.

- (4) Yin ci wai lai min gong zhi hao ba  
 Because this outside come civilian workers can only ba OBJ MARKER  
 zinu liu [<sub>pp</sub> zai xiangxia] shou jiaoyu.  
 children leave in countryside receive education  
 ‘Because of this, outside civilian workers can only leave their children in the countryside to receive their education.’
- (5) Ta ba ta de biji fang [<sub>pp</sub> zai ku dai huo ku dai li].  
 He ba OBJ MARKER he de POSS PART notes put in coat pocket or trouser pocket in  
 ‘He put his notes into his coat or trouser pocket.’
- (6) Shou xie de wenjian chang tie  
 hand write de POSS PART documents long-time post  
 [<sub>pp</sub> zai Luoma yu ge sheng de zhongxin].  
 in Rome with every province de POSS PART centre  
 ‘Hand written documents for a long time were posted in Rome and in the centre of every province.’

The third structure is S + V + N + *zai* + V (1 occurrence found), as in (7). This use of *zai* followed by a verb is often translated in English by the present participle.

- (7) (Women) kan tamen [<sub>pp</sub> zai chengchang].  
 (we) saw them at growing up  
 ‘We saw them growing up.’

The example in (8) illustrates the use of *zai* in a preverbal PP.

- (8) [<sub>pp</sub> Zai yi ba er wu nian] qianwang nan Zhongguo kaichuang xin tiandi.  
 in 1 8 2 5 year went South China start new world  
 ‘In 1825 he went to South China to start a new life.’

As mentioned above, a type I postverbal PP can be moved to a preverbal position without a change of meaning. This is the case in the sentences in (9) and (10) which occurred in the corpus in close proximity. The position of the PPs is preverbal in one case and postverbal in the other, and in both cases the order could be reversed.

- (9) Yi zong kaiqian [<sub>pp</sub> zai tangrenjie] fasheng.  
 one zong N-CL firing in Chinatown happened  
 ‘One firing happened in the Chinatown.’
- (10) Shou zong shijian fasheng [<sub>pp</sub> zai tangrenjie nei].  
 first zong N-CL event happened in Chinatown inside  
 ‘The first event happened in the Chinatown.’

However, in some cases, it would be stylistically awkward to move a preverbal PP to a postverbal position. Further research would be necessary to discover the conditions that determine whether a PP occurs preverbally or postverbally in any particular structure, and whether there are cases where it is ungrammatical for prepositions such as *yu* and *zai* to follow the verb.

Comparing the two common prepositions in postverbal position, *zai* and *yu*, both generally preceded location or time expressions. In the examples found in the corpus, *zai* was more general in distribution, occurring after a larger variety of verbs and it referred more to place than to time. *Yu* occurred very often after one verb, *fasheng* ‘to happen’, and referred to time more than to place. Moreover, it occurred in only one type of structure whereas *zai* as shown above occurred in three. However, the number of samples found was too small to draw any definitive conclusions and further research would be necessary to confirm these findings. Another difference is that *yu* as a locative preposition is not used commonly in the spoken language, while *zai* is used both in the spoken and written language. This is particularly so in Cantonese where neither *yu* nor *zai* occur in the spoken language as prepositions, being replaced with Cantonese *hai*.

Examples of other verbal prepositions in postverbal position in the corpus are in (11) to (16).

*gei* ‘to, to give’

- (11) wo hui fa xin [<sub>pp</sub> gei ban xue tuanti he jiaoyu zuzhi].  
I will issue letter give/to manage school groups and education organizations  
‘I will send letters to school management groups and educational organizations.’

*gei* ‘for, to give’

- (12) Pengyou shengri ni jue ding zi zhi yi ge dangao [<sub>pp</sub> gei ta].  
friend birthday you decide self make a gè<sub>N-CL</sub> cake give/for him  
‘On your friend’s birthday, you decide to make a cake yourself for him.’

Preverbal *gei* is more likely to mean ‘for’ but it can also mean ‘to’ in a sentence such as (13).

- (13) Ta [<sub>pp</sub> gei fumu] xie xin.  
he gives/to parents writes letter  
‘He writes a letter to his parents.’

*dao* ‘to, to reach’

- (14) Guangdong sheng weishuji Zhang Dejiang 23 ri zhongwu  
Guangdong province committee secretary Zhang Dejiang 23 day midday  
yi lai [<sub>pp</sub> dao Zhaoqing].  
already come reach/to Zhaoqing  
‘Guangdong’s provincial committee secretary Zhang Dejiang had already come to Zhaoqing at midday on the 23<sup>rd</sup>.’

This is a case where the PP could be moved to a preverbal position though it would sound awkward.

*yu* ‘with, to get along with’

- (15) Ganghao fuhe [<sub>pp</sub> yu liang suo zhongxue jielong yaoqiu].  
just meets with two suo<sub>N-CL</sub> middle schools unified flow demands  
‘It just meets with the demands of the two middle schools for a unified flow-through process.’

A preverbal PP construction *fuhe...yu* is possible. The preposition also occurs widely in preverbal position, as in example (16).

- (16) Zeng Yinquan chengluo, hui [<sub>pp</sub>yu zishen gongwuyuan] yiqi bianzhi  
 Zeng Yinquan promised, will with senior civil servants together structure  
 yi tao quan jianyi.  
 a tao<sub>N-CL</sub> complete suggestion  
 ‘Zeng Yinquan promised that he together with the senior civil servants would put together a complete proposal.’

In the examples quoted above, the PP could either be moved to a preverbal position or it could occur in a preverbal position in a similar sentence with a similar meaning.

#### TYPE IIA - PREPOSITIONS BOUND TO PRECEDING VERB

There is another set of constructions where the main verb is followed by a true preposition, which is also bound to the preceding verb and therefore could not be moved to a preverbal position, or by a second verb which acts in much the same way as a preposition but which is also bound to preceding verb. However, the second verb can occur independently as a preposition in preverbal position, but with a different meaning. The following examples illustrate the first type of construction, true prepositions bound to the preceding verb. In sentences (17) to (19), the preposition *yu* ‘in, at’ is bound to the verb and cannot be separated from it.

- (17) Bangang mei nian cha guo 8000 ren si [<sub>pp</sub>yu xinxueguan bing  
 Hong Kong each year surpassing 8000 people die of heart blood vessel disease  
 ji zhongfeng].  
 and stroke  
 ‘Each year in Hong Kong, more than 8000 people die of heart disease and strokes.’
- (18) Ta huoyue [<sub>pp</sub>yu kewai huodong].  
 ‘He is active in extra curriculum activities.’
- (19) “Di” de zhidu yuan [<sub>pp</sub>yu Xihan].  
 “di” de<sub>POSS PART</sub> system originated in Western Han  
 ‘The Di newspaper system originated in the Western Han.’

Other examples of V + nonmovable *yu* found in the corpus were: *chu yu* ‘to deal with’; *rong yu* ‘to combine with’; *fang yu* ‘to be hindered by’. Similarly, in (20) the preposition *yu* ‘with’ is bound to the preceding verb *can* ‘to join, be involved in’ and could not be separated from it. The form *yu sheji can* ‘in design to participate’ would be ungrammatical.

- (20) Chule dongyuan gongsi de shizhuang shejishi can [<sub>pp</sub>yu sheji] wai  
 as well as mobilize company de<sub>POSS PART</sub> fashion designer participate in design as well  
 ‘As well as mobilizing the company’s fashion designers to participate in the design’

Other bound prepositions were *zhi* ‘to, until’, as in (21), and *zi* ‘from’. The PP *zhi sibai ren* cannot be moved to a preverbal position, and *zhi sibai ren die* would be ungrammatical.

- (21) Xiao yi zong shou sheng ren shu yi die [<sub>pp</sub> zhi sibai ren].  
 primary one total accept student people number already drop to 400 people  
 ‘The primary one total number of students has already dropped to 400.’

**TYPE IIB - VERBS BOUND TO PRECEDING VERB, BUT DO OCCUR AS PREVERBAL PREPOSITIONS BUT OFTEN WITH A DIFFERENT MEANING**

The verb *xiang* ‘to face, towards’ was a common example in the corpus of a verb acting as a preposition in postverbal position, but which also can be found as a preposition in preverbal position, though with a different meaning. In the sentence in (22), *xiang* is bound to the preceding verb and the phrase *xiang ditiezhan* could not be moved to a preverbal position. However, *xiang* occurs frequently as a preverbal preposition, as in (23).

- (22) Zhe liang bashi keneng zheng shi [<sub>pp</sub> xiang ditiezhan]  
 This liang<sub>N-CL</sub> bus possibly just driving towards metro station  
 ‘This bus was possibly just driving towards the metro station.’
- (23) Taifeng [<sub>pp</sub> xiang bei] yidong,  
 typhoon towards north moves  
 ‘The typhoon is moving towards the north.’

*Li* ‘to leave’ was a common example in the corpus of a verb acting as a preposition in postverbal position but which also can be found as a preposition in preverbal position, though with a different meaning. The example of its use as a preverbal preposition in (25) is taken from a dictionary.

- (24) Ji shang 12 ming jizu renyuan yu 297 ming chengke jishi tiao  
 plane on 12 ming<sub>N-CL</sub> crew members and 297 ming<sub>N-CL</sub> passenger in time jumped  
 [<sub>pp</sub> li ji cang].  
 leave/from plane cabin  
 ‘12 crew members and 297 passengers jumped from the plane in time.’
- (25) [<sub>pp</sub> Li shi zhongxin] bu yuan.  
 from city centre not far  
 ‘Not far from the city centre.’

**TYPE III NON MOVABLE POSTVERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS, WHERE THE LINKING VERB DOES NOT OCCUR INDEPENDENTLY AS A PREPOSITION IN PREVERBAL POSITION**

In type II PPs, the postverbal linking elements, though bound to the preceding verbs, can act as preverbal independent prepositions. These PPs are in a midway position between true independent movable prepositional phrases (type I), and a small number of type III constructions where the linking elements are verbs and cannot occur independently as preposition in preverbal position. However, they can usually be translated into English as prepositions.

Two examples of such a construction are in (26) and (27). In example (26), the linking element *fu* ‘to go’ cannot be separated from the preceding verb, and it does not occur preverbally with a prepositional meaning. In (27), the verb *yu* ‘to give’ unlike *gei*, which also means ‘to give’, does not occur preverbally as a preposition.

(26) Liang ming rujing shiwu zhuren gan [<sub>pp</sub> fu dang di yiyuan].  
 two ming<sub>N-CL</sub> immigration affairs heads rushed went/to that place hospital  
 ‘The two heads of the immigration department rushed to the hospital in that place.’

(27) Mogen Shidanli shoudu jingjishi Luoji ... zhou si yu fafang  
 Morgan Stanley chief economist Roach... Thursday in distribute  
 [<sub>pp</sub> yu kehu de tongxun zhong] jinggao....  
 send/to clients de<sub>POSS PART</sub> communication in warned  
 ‘Morgan Stanley’s chief economist Roach on Thursday warned in his communication distributed to the clients...’

Some other linking verbs, found in the corpus, which do not occur as preverbal prepositions were:

*chu* ‘to go out’ (e.g. *hua chu* ‘to slip off’; *tiao chu* ‘to jump out of’; *ben chu* ‘to run out of’)

*ru* ‘to go in’ (e.g. *chu ru* ‘to insert into’)

*wo* ‘to lie’ (e.g. *dao wo* ‘to fall into’)

*xia* ‘to go down’ (e.g. *die xia* ‘to fall into’)

## DISCUSSION

There is some overlap between two of the categories, IB and IIB, and it is sometimes difficult to decide how a particular PP should be categorized. However, there is a much clearer distinction between these two types, in which the linking element can be used as a preverbal preposition, and type III, where the linking element cannot be so used. There is also a clear difference between type IA prepositions, which are highly grammaticalized, and type III verbs, which retain their full verbal value in preverbal position and which have not become grammaticalized, even though both are usually translated into English as prepositions. While the two ends of the spectrum are clearly differentiated, there is a large grey area in the middle. However, it does not seem to be a satisfactory solution to treat all PPs and all the linking elements equally as is often the case in the literature.

As to the frequency of preverbal and postverbal PPs, which as mentioned above is a significant factor in determining overall word order in Chinese, an examination of several newspaper texts containing a total of 2000 characters revealed the following: if all three types of PPs were included, 70% occurred preverbally and 30% postverbally; if type III phrases were excluded, 86% of the PPs were preverbal and 14% were postverbal.

The percentage of postverbal PPs in all three types correlates with Sun Chaofen’s figure of about 33%. However, it is not certain that type III phrases should be included in the count, since there is some doubt as to whether they are in fact prepositional phrases. When considering changes in the ratios of preverbal and postverbal PPs, it is very important to know exactly what is being counted and whether the PPs from different time periods are similar and comparable.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Henry Chong and Shirley Leung for their advice and comments concerning the meaning of various items in the corpus. I also wish to thank Wladyslaw Cichocki for elucidating some statistical data in Sun Chaofen’s work mentioned in the references.

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# SERBIAN AUXILIARY VERBS: SYNTACTIC HEADS OR DEPENDENTS?

JASMINA MILIĆEVIĆ  
*Dalhousie University*

## 1. THE PROBLEM STATED

This paper purports to answer the following question: What is the syntactic head of a Serbian clause that features a finite auxiliary verb: is it the auxiliary itself or the lexical (semantically full) verb?

- (1) Jovan **je** **došao** juče.  
Jovan **be**<sub>(AUX)-PRES.IND.3SG.CLIT</sub> **come**<sub>-PART.MASC.SG</sub> yesterday  
'Jovan came yesterday.'

In terms of Meaning-Text Dependency Syntax (Mel'čuk 1974: 208ff, 1988, 2003, 2009; Mel'čuk and Pertsov 1987) — our frame of reference in this paper — the question boils down to determining the direction of the syntactic dependency in the configuration

$$V_{(AUXILIARY)FINITE} — V_{(LEXICAL)}$$

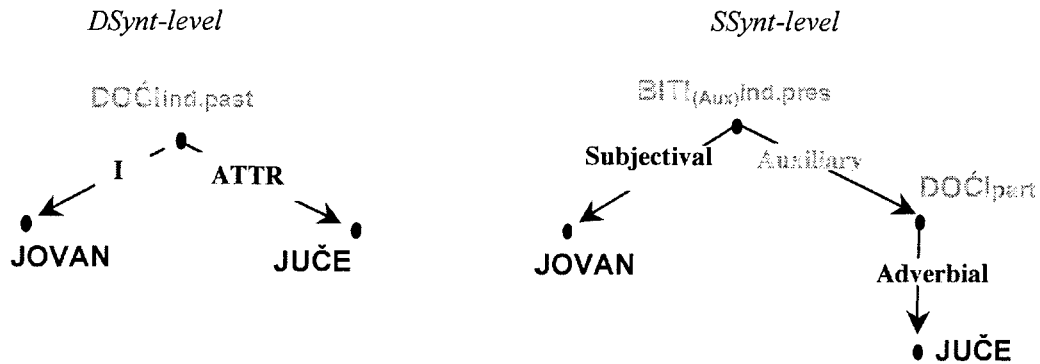
in the surface-syntactic structure of a Serbian clause.<sup>1</sup> Roughly speaking, in the syntactic structure of the clause, a lexeme  $L_1$  *depends* on the lexeme  $L_2$  if the linear positioning of  $L_2$  in the morphological string is determined by  $L_1$ .  $L_1$  is said to be the *governor* (of  $L_2$ ) and  $L_2$  a *dependent* (of  $L_1$ ).

Meaning-Text-based linguistic models use two levels of representation in syntax: the Deep-Syntactic level and the Surface-Syntactic level. Formally, syntactic structures of both levels are linearly unordered *dependency trees* (they differ by types of lexemes and syntactic relations, deep vs. surface). The auxiliaries appear “physically” only at the SSynt-level, where they express values of verbal semantic inflectional variables (mood and tense) and carry syntactic inflectional values.

The syntactic head of the clause, which labels the top node of the corresponding syntactic structure, is the lexeme  $L$  on which depend, directly or indirectly, all the other lexemes of the clause and which does not depend on any lexeme within the clause.<sup>2</sup> An essential property of the clausal head is that it serves as the reference point for the linear positioning of all clause elements. On the notion of head, see, for instance, Zwicky (1985), Hudson (1987) and Nichols (1993).

Mel'čuk (1988, 2003, 2009) identifies a finite auxiliary verb as the top node of the SSynt Structure in French, English and other similar languages; for the corresponding criteria, see section 2 below. This is consistent with the treatment of auxiliary verbs in most contemporary approaches to syntax; see, for instance, Abeillé and Godard (2002) for French, Gazdar et al. (1982) for English, Krapova (1997) for Bulgarian, and Kupść and Tseng (2005) for Polish.

If we adopt the same solution for Serbian, the two Synt-structures of sentence (1), which features a form of the auxiliary *BITI* ‘be’ (the past tense marker), are as shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1**  
Deep- and Surface-Syntactic Structures of sentence (1)

This is an intuitively plausible representation and, as we shall see below, a linguistically sound one. However, three objections can be raised against the “auxiliaries-as-heads” stance for Serbian. The first two have to do with peculiar morphological and syntactic properties of Serbian auxiliaries which, at least at first glance, make them unfit to be clausal heads. The third objection concerns an undesirable consequence of treating auxiliaries as heads, non-projectivity of corresponding sentences.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1. DUBIOUS WORDHOOD PROPERTIES OF SOME CLITIC AUXILIARIES

A Serbian auxiliary can, and often must, appear in the clause in a *clitic form*,<sup>4</sup> i.e., as an item whose wordhood is not immediately obvious. For instance, clitic forms of the auxiliary *HTETI* ‘will’ (the future tense marker) behave in some contexts more like affixes (i.e., parts of wordforms) than like full-fledged wordforms. Compare the internal-like sandhis they provoke: the truncation of the infinitive suffix *-ti* in (2a,b), and the palatalization of the final stem consonant in (2b).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(2) a. Radi==<b>će</b>. &lt;*Radi+ti <b>će</b>.&gt;<br/> work==want-PRES.IND.3SG/PL<br/> ‘[He/she/they] will work.’</p> <p>b. Paš==<b>ćeš</b>. &lt;*Paš==<b>ćeš</b>.&gt;<br/> fall==want-PRES.IND.2SG<br/> ‘[You[SG]] will fall.’</p> | <p>cf.: On <b>će</b> radi+ti.<br/> ‘He will work.’</p> <p>cf.: Ti <b>ćeš</b> paš+ti.<br/> ‘You[SG] will fall.’</p> |
|--|--|

#### 2. SPECIAL LINEAR PLACEMENT PROPERTIES OF CLITIC AUXILIARIES

Serbian clitics (auxiliary verbs, personal pronouns and some other items) are *second-position clitics*, with special linear positioning properties. All the clitics present in the clause are gathered into one *clitic cluster* and positioned together with respect to a clause element that functions as the *host* [prosodic support] for the cluster.<sup>5</sup> The host does not need to be—and often is not—directly syntactically related to any of the clitics.<sup>6</sup> Compare (3), where the host, the interrogative pronoun *KO* ‘who’, and the reflexive clitic *SE* (co-)depend on the lexical verb and are thus not directly syntactically related to the past tense clitic auxiliary *BITI* ‘be’.

- (3) Kome<sub>HOST</sub> [ste se]<sub>CLITIC CLUSTER</sub>, i zašto, žalili?  
 to.whom be<sub>(AUX)</sub>PRES.IND.2PL REFL and why complain.PART.PL.MASC  
 ‘To whom, and why, have you complained?’

Given these bizarre linear placement properties of clitic auxiliaries, it seems paradoxical that they can at the same time serve as the reference point for the linear positioning of full-fledged clause elements (which, as clausal heads, they should be able to do). This concern does not exist in the case of stressed auxiliaries, which are full-fledged clause elements and can be more readily accepted as candidates for clausal heads.

### 3. NON-PROJECTIVITY OF SENTENCES HEADED BY CLITIC AUXILIARIES

If an auxiliary is the head of a clause, the clause often turns out to be *non-projective* (e.g., Kahane et al. 1998). If a dependency diagram is drawn over an actual sentence S, linking by a vertical line each node of the tree to the corresponding wordform of S, then, for S to be projective, the projection domain of each node (i.e., the subtree defined by this node and including the node itself) should be a continuous line segment corresponding to a continuous chunk of linear text.

Figure 2 shows the dependency diagram for the sentence in (4). This sentence, with the clitic auxiliary *je* ‘is’ functioning as the head, is non-projective: the projection domain defined by the node labeled with the lexical verb *poklonio* does not correspond to a continuous chunk of linear text.

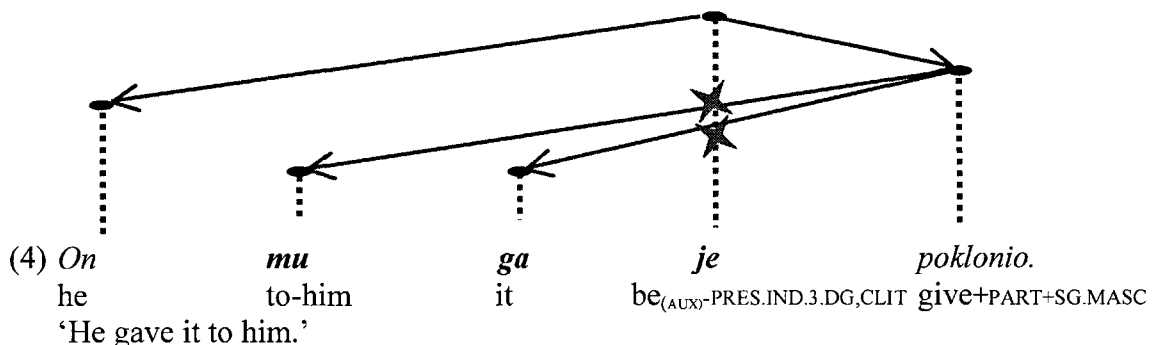


Figure 2

A non-projective sentence with an auxiliary verb as head

Non-projectivity is a serious problem for word ordering, since to deal with it complex, non-local linearization rules are required. Some such rules treating cases of allowed projectivity in English can be found in Mel’čuk and Pertsov (1987: 387-392).

As it turns out, the first and the third objections can be set aside without too much difficulty. In spite of their affix-like behaviour, Serbian future markers are indeed word-forms (see Milićević 2005). For one thing, they are conjugated. Thus, the two future tense markers in (2) above can be described in the following way:

će<sub>(FUTURE AUX, CLITIC)</sub> + -Ø<sub>IND, PRES, 3, SG</sub> and će<sub>(FUTURE AUX, CLITIC)</sub> + -š<sub>IND, PRES, 3, SG</sub>.

This means that, in principle, they can function as clausal heads.<sup>7</sup> Even though the clitic auxiliaries are responsible for the majority of cases of non-projectivity (since, due to their obligatoriness in communicatively neutral conditions, they have a very high incidence in texts), non-projectivity may arise with stressed auxiliaries as well. Thus, if we replaced the clitic auxiliary *je* in (4) by its stressed variant *jeste*, the sentence would remain non-projective. Non-projectivity can happen even without the presence of an auxiliary, as in (5).

- (5) [Njegovi **mu ga** prijatelji]<sub>HOST</sub> poklanjaju  
       his **to-him it** friends give  
       ‘His friends are giving it to him.’

Non-projectivity in (5) is brought about by the insertion of the cluster of two pronominal clitics into the hosting NP. Therefore, it seems that some amount of non-projectivity in Serbian cannot be avoided no matter which solution to the head problem is adopted.

The second objection, however, is a serious one and answering it requires some argumentation. We need to demonstrate that, in spite of some *prima facie* evidence to the contrary, syntactic properties of a Serbian auxiliary are indeed those of the SSynt-head and that the alternative — taking the participle to be the SSynt-head of the clause — is unacceptable. This is precisely what I will try to do in the rest of the paper. I will be using criteria for determining the direction of syntactic dependency at the SSynt-level of representation of utterances, proposed within Meaning-Text Theory, as well as some additional arguments that have to do with specific syntactic properties of Serbian auxiliaries.

## 2. DETERMINING THE DIRECTION OF SSYNT-DEPENDENCY IN THE CONFIGURATION

$$V_{(AUX)FIN}—V_{(LEXICAL)}$$

Two formal criteria and four informal considerations will be used to determine the direction of the dependency link between the auxiliary and the participle.

### 2.1. Criteria for determining the direction of SSynt-Dependency

These criteria were formulated in Mel'čuk (1988: 129ff); see also Mel'čuk (2009: 28-35). One criterion is designed to test external syntactic links of a phrase corresponding to a sub-tree of a SSynt-dependency tree, and the other its external morphological links. The criteria are hierarchized: if the application of the first one is conclusive, the application of the second is not necessary. The results of their application do not need to converge, although it is of course more convincing for a given analysis if they do.

#### *CRITERION-1: IMPOSITION OF THE PASSIVE SSYNT-VALENCE*

The *passive SSynt-valence* of a lexical unit L is a list of all syntactic constructions in which L participates as a dependent (e.g., the passive SSynt-valence of a noun: subject of V, direct object of V, object of Prep, apposition to another N, and so on).

*In the configuration L1—synt—L2, the SSynt-governor (and the SSynt-head of the corresponding phrase) is the lexical unit which determines to a greater extent the passive SSynt-valence of the whole configuration.*

The SSynt-head of the phrase determines the external syntactic links - the distribution - of the phrase; cf. the term *percolation of valence*. In other words, the head of the phrase determines the syntactic class of elements by which the phrase can be governed.

According to *CRITERION 1* in Serbian we have

$$L_{(V, AUX)FINITE} \text{---synt---} L_{(V)NON.FINITE}$$

since the passive SSynt-valence of for example *je došao* 'is having-come' is the same as that of *je* (i.e., of a finite verb), rather than that of *došao* (i.e., of the participle). Compare (6a) with (6b), where the finite verb heading the subordinate clause depends on the conjunction in the matrix clause:

- (6) a. Znam **da**(CONJ)---synt→ [**je**(V, AUX)IND.PRES, CLITIC **došao**]. 'I.know that [he] has come.'  
 [**jeste**(V, AUX)IND.PRES, FULL]. 'I.know that [he] has.'  
 [**dolazi**(V)IND.PRES]. 'I.know that [he] is.coming.'
- b. \*Znam **da**(CONJ)---synt→[**došao**].

*CRITERION 1* is logically sufficient to identify the auxiliary as the clausal head in Serbian; however, I will demonstrate the application of the second one as well. As we shall see, the two criteria converge.

#### *CRITERION 2: MORPHOLOGICAL CONTACT POINT*

*In the configuration L1---synt---L2, the SSynt-governor is the lexical unit which controls the inflection of lexemes outside the configuration or whose inflection is controlled by such lexemes.*

In Serbian, a finite  $V_{(AUX)}$  agrees with the subject in number and person, just as a finite lexical verb does, as in (7).

- (7) a. Ja s + (a)m / jes + (a)m peva+ $l_{PART}+a_{FEM.SG.}$  cf.: Ja peva+m.  
 I am having-sung.  
 'I sing.'
- b. Oni s + u / jes + u peva+ $l_{PART}+i_{MASC.PL}$  cf.: Oni peva+(j)u.  
 They are having-sung  
 'They sing.'

The participle also agrees with the subject; however, this is an adjectival type of agreement—in gender and number. Thus,  $V_{(AUX)FIN}$  is more of a morphological contact point than is the participle.

#### 2.2. INFORMAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR DETERMINING THE DIRECTION OF SSYNT-DEPENDENCY

Four informal considerations proposed in Mel'čuk (1988:138-140) will be used to probe the syntactic status of Serbian auxiliaries. Let it be emphasized that, unlike the two criteria presented in section 2.1, the following considerations are just heuristics, with no force of argument.

### 1. MEANING CONSIDERATIONS

*The governor of the configuration L1—synt—L2 is the lexeme to which the whole configuration can be semantically “reduced”. If the whole configuration means ‘a kind of L1’, then L1 is the governor (e.g., ‘apple pie’ is a kind of ‘pie’, so we have  $apple_{L2} \leftarrow synt - pie_{L1}$ ).*

This consideration is not applicable in our case, since the auxiliaries do not carry lexical meaning.

### 2. FORM CONSIDERATIONS

*The dependent in the configuration L1—synt—L2 is the lexeme whose linear placement, prosodic and morphological properties resemble more other dependents in the language under consideration.*

The participle exhibits the adjectival, i.e., dependent-like, type of agreement with the subject; cf. example (7).

### 3. OMISSIBILITY FROM THE SSYNT-STRUCTURE OF THE CLAUSE

*SSynt-dependents are omissible while SSynt-governors are not.*

Note that we are talking here about omissibility from the SSyntS—not from the real sentence, where an omission may produce ungrammaticality (wrong agreement, etc.). Items typically omissible from the SSyntS are adjectival modifiers and adverbials.

I cannot think of a case where either the auxiliary or the participle is omissible (in the above sense)—except, perhaps, standard answers to yes/no questions, in which only the auxiliary is used (just like in English); see the example in (8).

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| (8) [Da li <b>je</b> <sub>(AUX)CLITIC</sub> došao <sub>(V)LEX</sub> ?] | <b>Jeste</b> <sub>(AUX)FULL</sub> . |
| INTERR is having-come  |                                     |
| ‘Has he come?’   | ‘[He] has.’                         |

This, however, is a rather special case, and cannot serve as an indication of the dependent status of the participle. Thus, the omissibility consideration is not really useful for our purposes.

To be sure, both the auxiliary and the participle can appear in the sentence alone, as in (9a) and (9b) respectively, but it seems to me that these examples illustrate ellipsis rather than omission.<sup>8</sup>

- |        |                                   |                                  |                                    |
|--------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (9) a. | Neka                              | ja                               | <b>ću</b> <sub>(AUX)CLITIC</sub> . |
|        | let.it.be                         | I                                | will                               |
|        | ‘It’s all right, I will [do it].’ |                                  |                                    |
| b.     | EMPHATIC Ja                       | <b>došla</b> <sub>(V)LEX</sub> . |                                    |
|        | ‘I                                | having-come’                     |                                    |
|        | ‘Here I am.’                      |                                  |                                    |

The ability of an item to undergo ellipsis cannot be used to probe its head vs. dependent status either, since practically any clause element can be, generally speaking, deleted under ellipsis (cf., for instance, Nichols 1993).

#### 4. STATISTICAL PREDICTABILITY

*SSynt-dependent statictically predicts the whole configuration more often than does the SSynt governor.*

For instance, a governing noun can always be used without its adjectival dependent, while the converse is obviously not the case. As a result, when you see an adjective in a text, you expect a noun to be somewhere not far away, but not vice-versa. This consideration is of course linked to the previous one: it is the omissibility of the dependent that gives it a better ability to predict the whole configuration. Because of this, statistical predictability consideration is in our case just as inconclusive as the omissibility consideration.

To sum up, Consideration 1 is not applicable, Consideration 2 identifies the auxiliary as the governor, and Considerations 3 and 4 are inconclusive.

### 3. ADDITIONAL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF TREATING AUXILIAIRES AS CLAUSAL HEADS

Four syntactic arguments will be presented; all of them show that the auxiliary behaves in the same way as the lexical main verb, i.e., as the clausal head. From now on, I will be using only clitic auxiliaries in the illustrations; everything that is valid for them will also be valid for stressed auxiliaries.

#### 1. CO-OCCURRENCE WITH NEGATION

Clausal negation bears on the  $V_{(AUX)FIN}$ , as shown in (10):<sup>9</sup>

- |         |                                       |   |
|---------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (10) a. | On <b>je</b> <sub>(AUX)</sub> radio.  | ~ On <b>nije</b> radio. / *On <b>je ne</b> radio.             |
|         | ‘He worked.’                          | ‘He hasn’t worked.’   |
| b.      | On <b>će</b> <sub>(AUX)</sub> raditi. | ~On <b>neće</b> raditi. / *On <b>će ne</b> raditi.            |
|         | ‘He will work’                        | ‘He will not work’  |
| c.      | Radi== <b>će</b> <sub>(AUX)</sub> .   | ~ <b>Neće</b> raditi. / *Ne radi== <b>će</b> <sub>(AUX)</sub> |
|         | ‘[He/she/they] will work.’            | ‘[He/she/they] will not work.’                                |
| d.      | On radi.                              | ~ On <b>ne</b> radi.  |
|         | ‘He works.’                           | ‘He doesn’t work.’  |

Also, the participle cannot accept the contrastive negation [‘not X but Y’], possible with other clause elements; cf. (11a) and (11b), respectively.

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
| (11) a.* | On <b>je</b> <sub>(AUX)</sub> <b>ne radio</b>        | nego <b>je spavao</b> .                 |
|          | He is not having-worked                              | but is having-slept                     |
|          | ‘He wasn’t working but was sleeping.’                |   |
| b.       | On <b>je</b> <sub>(AUX)</sub> radio                  | <b>ne u školi</b> nego na univerzitetu. |
|          | He is having-worked                                  | not in school but at university         |
|          | ‘He wasn’t working in a school but at a university.’ |   |

#### 2. COORDINATION WITH LEXICAL (SEMANTICALLY FULL) VERBS

A  $V_{(AUX)FIN}$  can be coordinated with a semantically full  $V_{FIN}$ . The coordinated verbs normally (although by no means necessarily) bear the same Subject person/number agreement markers.

The SSynt-structure of sentence (12), in which the auxiliary *BITI* ‘be’ is coordinated with the semantically full verb *STIĆI* ‘arrive’, is given in Figure 3.

- (12) [Marija **je**<sub>(AUX)3.SG</sub> doputovala juče] a [Jovan **stiže**<sub>3.SG</sub> danas].  
 Marija is having-come yesterday while Jovan arrives today  
 ‘Marija came yesterday while Jovan arrives today.’

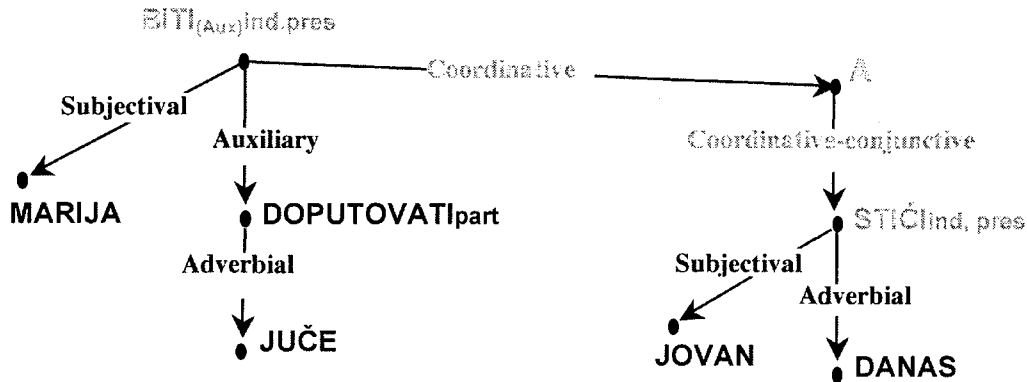


Figure 3

SSynt-Structure of sentence (12)

The “alternative,” i.e., coordination of the participle and the finite verb, poses the problem of the attachment of the subject in the first conjunct: should the subject depend on the participle (which seems highly counter-intuitive), or should it stay with the auxiliary (which would make agreement rules more complex)?

### 3. GOVERNMENT: TAKING A CLAUSAL COMPLEMENT

A  $V_{(AUX) FIN}$  can take a clausal complement, as do future and conditional auxiliaries, shown in (13a). This behaviour is parallel to that of semantically full (lexical) verbs, such as those in (13b). And, more importantly, if we do not admit the auxiliary as head, how are we to represent this configuration?

- (13) a. On **će** <bi> [da(Conj) radi]<sub>COMPLETIVE CLAUSE</sub>  
 He will-PRES.IND.3SG <be-AORIST.IND.3SG> that(CONJ) work-PRES.IND.3SG  
 ‘He will <would> work.’
- b. Sutra **nameravam** <želim> [da(Conj) radim]<sub>COMPLETIVE CLAUSE</sub>  
 Tomorrow [I] intend <want> that I work-PRES.IND.1SG  
 ‘I intend <want> to work tomorrow.’

### 4. PARALLELISM WITH LEXICAL COUNTERPARTS

Clitic forms of semantically full verbs homophonous with  $V_{(AUX)}$  (cf. Note 4) are without any doubt heads of their clauses. In (14), the copula ‘be’, the locative ‘be’ and the full verb *HTETI* ‘want’ are the only sentence elements that can claim the head status.

- (14) a. On **je**<sub>(COPULA)</sub>—synt→ student. <\*je← synt—student>  
 ‘He is [a] student.’
- b. On **je**<sub>(LOCATIVE)</sub>—synt→ ovde. <\*je← synt—ovde>  
 ‘He is here.’



- c. Šta ćeš tamo? <\*ćeš←synt—tamo>  
 What want [you<sub>SG</sub>] there?  
 ‘What is the purpose of your being/going there?’

By analogy, clitic forms of  $V_{(AUX)}$  should be treated in the same way, that is, as clausal heads.

#### 4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper discussed the question of whether Serbian auxiliary verbs can be accepted as clausal heads. This question arises in view of the fact that an auxiliary normally appears in the clause in the clitic form, i.e., as a prosodically deficient element itself positioned with respect to a host. It thus apparently lacks an essential property of the clausal head: ability to serve as the reference point for linear ordering of full-fledged clause elements.

It was demonstrated that clitic auxiliaries have all the properties of SSynt-heads. In particular, a clitic auxiliary—just like a full (stressed) form thereof—controls the distribution of the phrase corresponding to a SSynt-subtree  $V_{(AUXILIARY)FINITE}$ — $V_{(LEXICAL)}$  and interacts morphologically with elements external to the phrase in a way that a finite lexical verb does. It is thus the finite auxiliary, rather than the non-finite lexical verb (the participle), that is the governor in this construction and, consequently, the SSynt-head of the entire clause.

The phonological deficiency of a clitic auxiliary does not, in point of fact, prevent it from acting as the reference point for the linear positioning of full-fledged elements of the clause. This is due to the stratificational nature of a Meaning-Text linguistic model. Within such a model of Serbian (and other languages with second-position clitics), the linearization of a linearly unordered SSynt-tree, whose result is a fully ordered morphological string, is carried out using two independent sets of rules, one treating the full-fledged clause elements and another the clitics (cf. Milićević (2009: 257ff)). Full-fledged clause elements have to be linearly ordered before the clitic cluster can be inserted into the morphological string (the cluster being positioned with respect to an appropriate constituent—typically the clause-initial one) and this can very well be done with respect to the clitic auxiliary before it joins the other clitics in the cluster. Thus, within our model, it is perfectly possible for an element to be a head in syntax and a deficient wordform in morphology.

If, on the other hand, we chose the participle as head, we would have to foresee different linear placement and agreement rules for sentences with and without auxiliaries, a clearly unacceptable outcome.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Igor Mel'čuk for having read and commented on this paper.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> From a semantic viewpoint, auxiliary verbs may be considered “second-class” elements with respect to lexical (semantically full) verbs; however, in a stratificational model of language such as ours, in which semantic considerations are kept strictly separate from syntactic ones, this is

irrelevant and the status of the auxiliaries as heads is determined based on purely syntactic considerations.

<sup>2</sup> The notions of governor and head are of course distinct. The governor is the head of (a configuration corresponding to) a two-element phrase (the unit X is the governor of the unit Y and X is the head of X+Y). Thus, in *John's departure surprised* [someone], *departure<sub>X</sub>* is the governor of *John's<sub>Y</sub>* and the head of the NP [*John's<sub>Y</sub> ← departure<sub>X</sub>*], while the governor of the noun heading the NP is the verb *surprised* [...←] *departure<sub>Y</sub>* ← *surprised<sub>X</sub>*, the head of the clause.

<sup>3</sup> There are three sets of auxiliaries in Serbian: past tense auxiliaries (present tense forms of *BITI*<sub>(AUX)</sub> 'be'), conditional mood auxiliaries (aorist forms of *BITI*<sub>(AUX)</sub> 'be'), and future tense auxiliaries (present tense forms of *HTETI*<sub>(AUX)</sub> 'will'). The auxiliaries have semantically full counterparts—*BITI*<sub>(COPULA)</sub> 'be', *BITI*<sub>(LOCATIVE)</sub> 'be' and *HTETI* 'want'; these full verbs also have clitic forms which are completely homophonous with clitic forms of the auxiliaries.

<sup>4</sup> The use of clitic auxiliaries is the default case; they are obligatory in communicatively neutral conditions (absence of contrast/emphasis) and, thus, they appear much more frequently in texts than stressed (full-form) auxiliaries.

<sup>5</sup> The order of the clitic within the cluster is rigid, which contrast sharply with the free-word order of Serbian language.

<sup>6</sup> Hosting capability of a clause element depends on its prosodic heaviness (that is, on the number of stresses it carries), on its capacity to induce a pause (before or after itself), and on its syntactic composition; see Milićević (2009: 242ff).

<sup>7</sup> The word-hood of the past tense auxiliaries is uncontroversial. The conditional auxiliaries are undergoing grammaticalization; some speakers use just one form—*bi*—in all persons/numbers, but this usage is still considered nonstandard.

<sup>8</sup> Omissibility is a property of a given class of syntactic items, and ellipsis is an operation consisting in the deletion of syntactic items that is aimed at some specific—stylistic or other—effects. Unlike an omission, which is the complete removal of an item (i.e., from all representations), ellipsis is the removal from the sentence, with the elided item still present in the SSyntS.

<sup>9</sup> The auxiliary is "fused" with negation into a secondary wordform (Mel'čuk 1993: 238ff); negative auxiliaries are always full (that is, stressed).

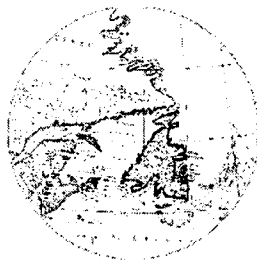
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# CONCEPT DE MONOTONICITÉ ET DISTRIBUTION DU SUBJONCTIF : INTERFACE ENTRE MORPHOSYNTAXE ET SÉMANTIQUE

CYNTHIA POTVIN  
*Université de Moncton et Université Laval*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Le but du présent article est de postuler l'existence d'une interface entre morphosyntaxe et sémantique afin d'expliquer l'acquisition de la distribution modale en espagnol. Pour ce faire, nous donnons un bref aperçu de ce qu'est le concept de monotonie, nous exposons le parallèle entre distribution du subjonctif et distribution des termes de polarité négative (TPN) et nous identifions trois critères à prendre en considération lors de l'évaluation d'énoncés monotoniques décroissants (section 2). Nous présentons ensuite une hiérarchie des TPN et des opérateurs affectifs qui autorisent la distribution de ces derniers (section 3). Nous terminons par expliquer en quoi l'acquisition de la distribution modale en espagnol résulterait d'une interface entre morphosyntaxe et sémantique (section 4). En dernier lieu, nous résumons les principaux points de notre article (section 5).

## 2. CONCEPT DE MONOTONICITÉ DANS L'EXPLICATION DE LA DISTRIBUTION DE SUBJONCTIF EN ESPAGNOL

Face à l'identification des lacunes de l'explication traditionnelle quant à l'explication de la distribution modale (Farkas 1992, Potvin 2004b, entre autres), Potvin (2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2006) recourt au concept de monotonie afin d'expliquer la distribution du subjonctif dans les propositions subordonnées complétives en espagnol.

Le concept de monotonie a permis à Fauconnier (1975) de développer des échelles pragmatiques qui rendent compte de l'interprétation des superlatifs de l'anglais. Ce concept a par la suite inspiré Ladusaw (1979) lors de son étude sur les termes de polarité négative (TPN) (par exemple, *grand-chose*, *fermer l'œil*). L'auteur a montré que les TPN exigent la présence d'éléments qui induisent des contextes monotoniques décroissants afin d'apparaître grammaticalement dans des phrases. Ces éléments qui autorisent la distribution des TPN reçoivent différentes appellations : opérateurs affectifs (Klima 1964, Jackendoff 1969), *activadores negativos* « activateurs négatifs » (Bosque 1980) et expressions monotoniques décroissantes (Ladusaw 1979).

### 2.1. Définition de la monotonie

Le concept de monotonie se caractérise par la préservation ou l'inversion, au niveau de la proposition, des relations d'inclusion entre deux prédicats; la monotonie constitue en fait divers contextes linguistiques qui permettent d'établir des implications. Nous distinguons trois sortes de monotonie : la monotonie croissante, la monotonie décroissante et la non-monotonie.

La monotonie croissante préserve les relations d'inclusion entre deux prédicats, comme en (1).

- (1) (a) Martín come manzanas. → Martín come fruta.  
 « Martín mange des pommes. → Martín mange des fruits. »  
 (b) Martín come fruta. -/-> Martín come manzanas.  
 « Martín mange des fruits. -/-> Martín mange des pommes. »

Formellement, nous pouvons définir la monotonie croissante appliquée à des propositions (P) comme en (2).

- (2) P est monotone croissant si pour tout P  
 $P[[VP1]] \rightarrow P[[VP2]]$  et  $[[VP1]] \subset [[VP2]]$ .  
 Une proposition P est un contexte phrastique monotone croissant si tout P qui contient SV1 implique P qui contient SV2, de façon à ce que la dénotation de SV1, c'est-à-dire  $[[SV1]]$ , soit incluse dans la dénotation de SV2, c'est-à-dire  $[[SV2]]$ .

Ladusaw (1979) soutient que la monotonie décroissante produit des inférences de ce qui est général vers ce qui est spécifique, puisque ce type de monotonie inverse les relations d'inclusion entre deux prédicats. L'inversion n'est possible que grâce à des opérateurs affectifs comme la négation *no* « ne ... pas » et certains quantificateurs (par exemple, *poco* « peu »); voir (3) et (4).

- (3) (a) Martín no come fruta. → Martín no come manzanas.  
 « Martín ne mange pas de fruits. → Martín ne mange pas de pommes. »  
 (b) Martín no come manzanas. -/-> Martín no come fruta.  
 « Martín ne mange pas de pommes. -/-> Martín ne mange pas de fruits.  
 (4) (a) Pocos niños llegaron hoy. → Pocos niños llegaron esta mañana.  
 « Peu d'enfants sont arrivés aujourd'hui. → Peu d'enfants sont arrivés ce matin. »  
 (b) Pocos niños llegaron esta mañana. -/-> Pocos niños llegaron hoy.  
 « Peu d'enfants sont arrivés ce matin. -/-> Peu d'enfants sont arrivés aujourd'hui. »

Formellement, nous pouvons définir la monotonie décroissante appliquée à des propositions P comme en (5).

- (5) P est monotone décroissant si pour tout P  
 $P[[VP1]] \rightarrow P[[VP2]]$  et  $[[VP2]] \subset [[VP1]]$ .  
 Une proposition P est un contexte phrastique monotone décroissant si tout P qui contient SV1 implique P qui contient SV2, de façon à ce que la dénotation de SV2, c'est-à-dire  $[[SV2]]$ , soit incluse dans la dénotation de SV1, c'est-à-dire  $[[SV1]]$ .

En plus de la négation et de certains quantificateurs, Bosque (1980) dresse une liste des différents éléments qui agissent comme opérateurs affectifs en espagnol. Nous retrouvons, entre autres, certains prédicats (par exemple, ceux de doute, les émotifs-factifs) et certaines locutions prépositionnelles (par exemple *antes de* « avant que », *en vez de* « au lieu de »).

Les contextes non monotoniques ne permettent ni la préservation ni l'inversion des relations d'inclusion entre deux prédicats. Donc, il n'y a pas d'implications qui puissent s'établir et nous ne retrouvons ni monotonie croissante, ni monotonie décroissante, voir (6).

- (6) Exactly three children bought pants in this store. <-/->  
 Exactly three children bought pants in this store.  
 « Exactly three children bought pants in this boutique. <-/->  
 Exactly three children bought pants in this boutique. »

Le type de monotonie sur lequel nous concentrons notre étude est la monotonie décroissante, car c'est ce type qui détermine la distribution des TPN.

## 2.2. Parallèle entre distribution du subjonctif et distribution des TPN

L'étude de la polarité négative a permis d'expliquer la distribution des termes de polarité négative : tout TPN doit apparaître dans un contexte monotone décroissant induit par un opérateur affectif (Ladusaw 1979). En (7), la présence du TPN *gran cosa* « grand-chose » rend la phrase agrammaticale. En (8), sa présence est grammaticale sous l'opérateur affectif *no* « ne ... pas », lequel induit des contextes monotones décroissants, voir (9).

- (7) \*Comió gran cosa.  
 « \*Il a mangé grand-chose. »  
 (8) No comió gran cosa.  
 « Il n'a pas mangé grand-chose. »  
 (9) Pedro no come fruta. → Pedro no come manzanas.  
 « Pierre ne mange pas de fruits. → Pierre ne mange pas de pommes. »

Il est possible d'établir un parallèle entre distribution des TPN et distribution du subjonctif en espagnol afin d'expliquer la distribution modale : le subjonctif, tout comme les TPN, doit apparaître dans des contextes monotones décroissants (Potvin 2004b). En (10), la distribution du *subjonctif* rend la phrase agrammaticale. En (11), sa distribution est grammaticale sous l'opérateur affectif *no* « ne ... pas ».

- (10) \*Cree que María esté enferma.  
 « \*Il croit que Marie soit malade. »  
 (11) No cree que María esté enferma.  
 « Il ne croit pas que Marie soit malade. »

Le subjonctif que nous retrouvons lorsqu'un verbe déclaratif ou épistémique apparaît sous le domaine d'un opérateur affectif (p. ex. la négation) porte le nom de subjonctif polaire (voir Ridruejo 1999, Borgonovo 2002, entre autres). Différents opérateurs affectifs permettent la distribution du subjonctif polaire. En (12a), le quantificateur *poco* « peu » autorise la distribution du subjonctif, contrairement à (12b) où aucun opérateur affectif n'autorise la distribution du subjonctif, rendant ainsi la phrase agrammaticale.

- (12) (a) Pocos de mis amigos creen que Juan esté enfermo.  
 « Peu de mes amis croient que Jean soit malade. »  
 (b) \*Todos mis amigos creen que Juan esté enfermo.  
 « \*Tous mes amis croient que Jean soit malade. »

Le trait caractéristique des opérateurs affectifs est d’induire des contextes monotoniques décroissants qui permettent la distribution des TPN. Le parallèle établi entre distribution des TPN et distribution du subjonctif a pour conséquence d’élargir la notion d’opérateurs affectifs aux prédicats qui régissent le subjonctif dans leurs subordinées complétives, puisqu’ils induisent des contextes monotoniques décroissants, et permet ainsi de considérer ces prédicats comme des opérateurs affectifs (Potvin 2003, 2004b). Les exemples (13) à (22) témoignent que les prédicats *querer* « vouloir », *entristecer* « attrister », *désilusionar* « décevoir », *alegrar* « rendre heureux », *sorprender* « surprendre », *ser una pena* « être triste », *ser imposible* « être impossible », *extrañar* « étonner », et *ser mentira* « être faux » induisent des contextes monotoniques décroissants.

- (13) Quiero que se case. → Quiero que se case con María.  
« Je veux qu’il se marie. → Je veux qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (14) Me entristece que se case. → Me entristece que se case con María.  
« Cela m’attriste qu’il se marie. → Cela m’attriste qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (15) Me desilusiona que se case. → Me desilusiona que se case con María.  
« Cela me déçoit qu’il se marie. → Cela me déçoit qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (16) Les alegra que se case. → Les alegra que se case con María.  
« Cela les rend heureux qu’il se marie. → Cela les rend heureux qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (17) Me sorprende que se case. → Me sorprende que se case con María.  
« Cela me surprend qu’il se marie. → Cela me surprend qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (18) Es una pena que se case. → Es una pena que se case con María.  
« C’est triste qu’il se marie. → C’est triste qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (19) Es imposible que se case. → Es imposible que se case con María.  
« C’est impossible qu’il se marie. → C’est impossible qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (20) Es posible que se case. → Es posible que se case con María.  
« C’est possible qu’il se marie. → C’est possible qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (21) Me extraña que se case. → Me extraña que se case con María.  
« Cela m’étonne qu’il se marie. → Cela m’étonne qu’il se marie avec Marie. »
- (22) Es mentira que se case. → Es mentira que se case con María.  
« C’est faux qu’il se marie. → C’est faux qu’il se marie avec Marie. »

Les exemples (13) à (22) montrent qu’en plus des cas de subjonctif polaire, lequel apparaît lorsqu’un verbe déclaratif ou épistémique apparaît sous le domaine d’un opérateur affectif, l’éventail complet des prédicats qui agissent comme opérateurs affectifs doit inclure tout prédicat qui régit le subjonctif, puisque ces prédicats induisent des contextes monotoniques décroissants (Potvin 2004b).

### 2.3. Critères pour l’évaluation des énoncés monotoniques

Afin de déterminer la validité des implications monotoniques de propositions subordinées, nous devons établir certains critères. Comme le mentionne Español-Echevarría (2004), certains locuteurs ont de la difficulté à déterminer que les prédicats comme *querer* « vouloir » induisent des contextes monotoniques décroissants. Nous proposons ici qu’il y a trois critères à prendre en considération lors de l’évaluation d’énoncés monotoniques décroissants :



- (a) Selon la monotonie décroissante à la Strawson, la conclusion de l'implication doit avoir une valeur définie, c'est-à-dire que *A implique B* seulement dans le cas où l'on satisfait la présupposition de B (Fintel 1999).
- (b) L'évaluation de l'implication doit se faire à partir d'une perspective constante (Kadmon et Landman 1993).
- (c) Les prédicats d'attitude propositionnelle (p. ex. *querer* « vouloir ») introduisent des ensembles d'alternatives, lesquelles introduisent à leur tour un processus de focalisation (Español-Echevarría 2004).

Ces critères permettent d'évaluer si un énoncé est monotone décroissant ou non. En dépit du fait qu'un élément induise des contextes monotones décroissants et que l'on puisse considérer cet élément comme un opérateur affectif, il reste que ce ne sont pas tous les opérateurs affectifs qui autorisent tous les TPN.

### 3. HIÉRARCHIE DES TERMES DE POLARITÉ NÉGATIVE ET DES OPÉRATEURS AFFECTIFS

Bosque (1980), entre autres, a constaté que tout opérateur affectif ne permet pas la distribution de tout TPN. En d'autres mots, certaines combinaisons d'opérateurs affectifs avec certains TPN rendent les phrases agrammaticales, bien que l'on soit en présence de contextes monotones décroissants induits par les opérateurs affectifs en question. Bosque (1980) en vient alors à la conclusion qu'il existe deux types d'opérateurs affectifs : les faibles et les forts.

De son côté, Zwarts postule qu'il existe en fait trois types d'opérateurs affectifs et de TPN. L'auteur a donc utilisé le concept de monotonie pour établir une hiérarchie entre les TPN et les opérateurs affectifs qui autorisent l'apparition de ces derniers. Zwarts (1996, 1998) a divisé les TPN en TPN faibles, forts et très forts, alors que les opérateurs affectifs se regroupent en trois catégories sous le nom de négation sous-minimale, minimale et classique. Afin d'établir la catégorie à laquelle appartient un opérateur affectif, Zwarts s'est inspiré des lois de De Morgan. À partir de la base théorique de Zwarts (1993, 1996, 1998) nous avons établi la hiérarchie des TPN et des prédicats qui agissent comme opérateurs affectifs en espagnol. Voici les résultats auxquels nous sommes arrivés. Nous exposons dans le tableau 1 la classification des TPN de l'espagnol et dans les tableaux 2 et 3, la classification des prédicats qui agissent comme opérateurs affectifs.

**Tableau 1**  
Classification des TPN de l'espagnol (Potvin 2004)

TYPE DE TPN	EXEMPLES	CONTEXTES REQUIS
TPN faible	Subjonctif <i>Gran cosa</i> « grand-chose »	Monotone décroissant
TPN fort	<i>Nadie</i> « personne »	Anti-additifs
TPN très fort	<i>De toda la semana</i> « de toute la semaine »	Anti-additifs et anti-multiplicatifs

Le tableau 1 indique que les contextes dans lesquels nous retrouvons les TPN faibles sont des contextes monotoniques décroissants. Ces contextes sont induits par tous les types d'opérateurs affectifs, soient ceux de négation sous-minimale, minimale et classique, puisque le trait commun à tout type d'opérateurs affectifs est celui d'induire des contextes monotoniques décroissants, voir le tableau 3. Pour ce qui est des TPN forts, nous les rencontrons dans des contextes anti-additifs. Ce sont les opérateurs de négation minimale et ceux de négation classique qui autorisent ce type de TPN, voir le Tableau 3. En ce qui concerne les TPN très forts, seuls les contextes anti-additifs et anti-multiplicatifs permettent leur distribution. Ces contextes sont induits par les opérateurs de négation classique seulement, voir le tableau 3.

Le tableau 2 montre que les prédicats *saber* « savoir », *ver* « voir », *ser verdad* « être vrai » et *creer* « croire », lorsqu'ils se retrouvent sous un opérateur affectif (p. ex. la négation), exigent la distribution du subjonctif polaire. Cependant, ils agissent différemment quant à la distribution des différents TPN, puisqu'ils appartiennent à des types d'opérateurs affectifs différents. *Saber* « savoir » est un opérateur de négation sous-minimale et induit ainsi seulement des contextes monotoniques décroissants, permettant la distribution des TPN faibles seulement. De leur côté, *ver* « voir », *ser verdad* « être vrai » et *creer* « croire » sont des opérateurs de négation minimale, leur permettant d'autoriser la distribution des TPN faibles et forts, puisqu'ils induisent des contextes anti-additifs en plus des contextes monotoniques décroissants. La particularité des prédicats qui régissent le subjonctif polaire lorsqu'ils apparaissent sous le domaine d'un opérateur affectif est l'absence de négation classique : nous ne rencontrons aucun prédicat qui régisse le subjonctif polaire et qui ait la propriété d'induire des contextes anti-morphiques (Potvin 2004b; Wouden 1997). La classe d'opérateurs de négation classique, classe très restreinte, est constituée de la négation *not* / *it is not the case that* « ne ... pas / ce n'est pas le cas que » seulement (Zwarts 1998).

**Tableau 2**

Classification des prédicats qui agissent comme opérateurs affectifs (Potvin 2004)  
Prédicats qui régissent l'indicatif mais le subjonctif sous un opérateur affectif

TYPE DE NÉGATION	PRÉDICATS	MODE	TPN
Négation sous-minimale	<i>Saber</i> « savoir »	+ Subj. polaire	+ TPN faible
Négation minimale	<i>Ver</i> « voir » <i>Ser verdad</i> « être vrai » <i>Creer</i> « croire »	+ Subj. polaire	+ TPN faible + TPN fort
Négation classique	—	+ Subj. polaire	+ TPN faible + TPN fort + TPN très fort

Le tableau 3 indique que les prédicats *querer* « vouloir » et *ser posible* « être possible » sont des opérateurs de négation sous-minimale, alors que *entristecer* « rendre triste », *alegrar* « rendre heureux », *desilusionar* « décevoir » et *ser una pena* « être triste » sont des opérateurs de négation minimale. Quant à eux, les prédicats *sorprender* « surprendre », *ser mentira* « être faux », *ser imposible* « être impossible » et *extrañar* « étonner » sont des opérateurs de négation

**Tableau 3**  
Prédicats qui régissent le subjonctif

TYPE DE NÉGATION	PRÉDICATS	CONTEXTES	TPN
Négation sous-minimale	<i>Querer</i> « vouloir »	MD	Subj.
	<i>Ser posible</i> « être possible »		TPN faible
Négation minimale	<i>Entristecer</i> « rendre triste »	MD	Subj.
	<i>Alegrar</i> « rendre heureux »	Anti-additifs	TPN faible
	<i>Desilusionar</i> « décevoir »		TPN fort
	<i>Ser una pena</i> « être triste »		
Négation classique	<i>Sorprender</i> « surprendre »	MD	Subj.
	<i>Ser mentira</i> « être faux »	Anti-additifs et	TPN faible
	<i>Ser imposible</i> « être impossible »	anti-multiplicatifs	TPN fort
	<i>Extrañar</i> « étonner »		TPN très fort

classique. Puisque ces prédicats n'induisent pas les mêmes contextes, ils autorisent ou interdisent la distribution des TPN différemment. Les opérateurs de négation sous-minimale autorisent la distribution du subjonctif et des TPN faibles. Les opérateurs de négation minimale admettent, en plus de la distribution du subjonctif et des TPN faibles, la distribution des TPN forts. Les opérateurs de négation classique permettent la distribution des TPN très forts, en plus de celle du subjonctif, des TPN faibles et des TPN forts.

#### 4. INTERFACE ENTRE MORPHOSYNTAXE ET SÉMANTIQUE

Il a été démontré empiriquement que les enfants disposent de certaines “notions” de la monotonie (par exemple, Loi de De Morgan) tôt dans l'acquisition de leur langue maternelle (Gualmini et Crain 2002). Ceci prouve que le concept de monotonie est universel, c'est-à-dire que tout le monde le développe lorsqu'il acquiert sa langue maternelle. Par conséquent, toute personne, peu importe sa langue maternelle, aurait une compréhension de la monotonie.

Les études sur les TPN ont établi que ces éléments doivent apparaître dans des contextes monotones décroissants (Fauconnier 1975, Ladusaw 1979, entre autres). Récemment, le parallèle établi entre distribution du subjonctif et distribution de TPN montre que dans les deux cas, le pré-requis de distribution de ces éléments exige des contextes monotones décroissants, ce qui a pour conséquence de considérer le mode subjonctif comme un type de TPN et les prédicats qui régissent le subjonctif comme étant des opérateurs affectifs (Potvin 2003, 2004b).

Ce qui distinguerait les langues comme l'espagnol face à l'anglais, par exemple, serait alors le fait que la monotonie se manifeste par l'entremise du mode verbal ou de la flexion verbale. Concrètement, le mode subjonctif signifierait des contextes monotones décroissants, alors que le mode indicatif signifierait des contextes monotones croissants. Par l'entremise

d'une étude empirique sur l'acquisition du mode subjonctif en espagnol langue maternelle et langue seconde, nous pourrions vérifier si l'évolution des propriétés monotoniques coïncide avec le développement morphosyntaxique des formes verbales du subjonctif en espagnol. En d'autres mots, nous sommes intéressés à vérifier si la capacité d'utilisation du subjonctif en espagnol langue maternelle et langue seconde augmente au fur et à mesure que se développe la monotonie.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Le parallèle établi entre distribution du subjonctif et distribution des TPN comporte diverses conséquences :

- (a) Le subjonctif est un type de TPN (Potvin 2004b);
- (b) Les prédicats qui régissent le subjonctif en espagnol sont des opérateurs affectifs et induisent des contextes monotoniques décroissants (Potvin 2003, 2004b).

Bien que nous puissions avoir recours au concept de monotonie afin d'expliquer la distribution modale en espagnol, il reste que l'évaluation des énoncés monotoniques repose, entre autres, sur les trois critères suivants :

- (c) Selon la monotonie décroissante à la Strawson, la conclusion d'une implication doit avoir une valeur définie, c'est-à-dire que *A implique B* seulement dans le cas où l'on satisfait la présupposition de B (Fintel 1999);
- (d) L'évaluation d'une implication doit se faire à partir d'une perspective constante (Kadmon et Landman 1993);
- (e) Les prédicats d'attitude propositionnelle (par exemple *querer* « vouloir ») introduisent des ensembles d'alternatives, lesquelles introduisent à leur tour un processus de focalisation (Español-Echevarría 2004).

À ces critères s'ajoute une hiérarchie entre les différents opérateurs affectifs et les différents TPN pour justifier l'impossibilité, dans certains cas, de la distribution de TPN sous un opérateur affectif qui n'induit pas tous les types de contextes requis par ce TPN. En appliquant les notions développées par Zwarts (1993, 1996, 1998) afin d'établir une hiérarchie des TPN et des opérateurs affectifs qui régissent ces TPN, nous pouvons établir pour l'espagnol une hiérarchie des TPN, parmi lesquels nous retrouvons le mode subjonctif, ainsi qu'une hiérarchie des prédicats qui régissent le mode subjonctif et agissent comme opérateurs affectifs (Potvin 2004b).

La particularité de l'espagnol à rendre compte de la monotonie décroissante par l'entremise de la morphologie verbale du subjonctif, distingue cette langue face à l'anglais, par exemple, où la morphologie verbale ne joue aucun rôle quant à la manifestation de la monotonie décroissante. Cette caractéristique de l'espagnol nous permet de croire que nous sommes face à une interface morphosyntaxe-sémantique lorsqu'il s'agit d'expliquer l'acquisition de la distribution modale de cette langue. En menant des études empiriques en acquisition de l'espagnol, qui traitent de l'acquisition du subjonctif et des effets que comporte l'acquisition du concept de monotonie sur l'utilisation du subjonctif, nous serons en mesure non seulement de

corroborer notre explication de la distribution modale en espagnol, mais aussi de vérifier les différentes étapes d'acquisition qui témoignent de l'interface morphosyntaxe-sémantique.

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# VARIATION SOCIOLINGUISTIQUE EN FRANÇAIS LANGUE SECONDE

IRYNA PUNKO ET KANSTANTSIN TSEDRYK  
*University of Western Ontario*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Malgré les efforts des sociolinguistes et des enseignants, l'acquisition de la norme sociolinguistique persiste à poser des problèmes considérables aux apprenants du français en tant que langue seconde (L2) dans un milieu scolaire. En ce qui concerne l'enseignement des langues, dans les derniers temps l'accent est mis sur l'enseignement de la compétence communicative. En théorie cela signifie que par le biais de la langue cible l'apprenant acquiert la compétence grammaticale et sociolinguistique de la langue cible (Dewaele et Regan 2002). Cependant, la théorie ne rejoint pas toujours la pratique. Étant donné que le professeur et les manuels sont souvent la seule source d'input pour les apprenants, ces derniers acquièrent la compétence grammaticale plus facilement, puisqu'elle est plus systématisée et plus facile à apprendre, même sans les contacts avec les locuteurs natifs de la langue cible. Par contre, la compétence sociolinguistique est plus difficile à formaliser en règles précises à cause de la complexité de l'interaction entre les diverses variables indépendantes qui entrent en jeu (Dewaele 2002a). Aussi, serait-elle plus compliquée à enseigner et à acquérir.

## 2. LES PRONOMS D'ADRESSE *TU/VOUS* ET LE CONDITIONNEL DE POLITESSE DANS L'USAGE DES LOCUTEURS NATIFS DU FRANÇAIS.

Quoique le nombre des pronoms d'adresse en français soit limité, le choix du pronom approprié pose souvent des questions pour les locuteurs natifs eux-mêmes. En fait, dès l'origine les pronoms d'adresse ont des fonctions sociales bien déterminées: le pronom *tu* marque la solidarité, l'appartenance à un même groupe; tandis que *vous* exprime le respect (Dewaele 2002b). Cependant lors d'une situation de communication concrète les pronoms en question pourraient aussi acquérir une connotation négative: le pronom *tu* pourrait recevoir une nouvelle signification, celle d'infériorité ou de familiarité déplacée; le pronom *vous*, quant à lui, servirait à marquer la supériorité, la distance, le souhait de s'éloigner du groupe (Vincent 1997).

Gardner-Chloros (1991) examine l'emploi des pronoms *tu/vous* par des francophones de Strasbourg dans des situations différentes. En se basant sur les résultats de son enquête, elle dégage un nombre de facteurs qui déterminent très souvent le choix du pronom d'adresse dans l'usage des locuteurs natifs. Ce sont avant tout:

- i) l'âge des interlocuteurs
- ii) le degré de familiarité (connu/inconnu)
- iii) le contexte dans lequel la communication a lieu (dans le contexte de loisir ou de sport le tutoiement est plus habituel que dans le contexte de travail)
- iv) l'aspect physique des interlocuteurs (on emploie le pronom *tu* plus facilement avec une personne d'aspect sympathique et dont la manière de s'habiller est plutôt « cool » qu'officielle).

Les locuteurs natifs d'une langue sont en général très sensibles aux facteurs extralinguistiques qui influencent l'emploi des pronoms d'adresse. Le choix entre ces pronoms n'est pas toujours évident, ainsi, souvent les locuteurs natifs eux-mêmes préfèrent trouver des moyens permettant d'éviter de faire ce choix. En étudiant le tutoiement et le vouvoiement en français langue première (L1) Peeters (2003) décrit des stratégies discursives permettant d'éviter l'emploi des pronoms en question. Parmi ces stratégies les plus souvent employées sont : l'emploi du pronom indéfini *ça* dans les expressions clichées (en 1), l'emploi du pronom *on* (2), l'omission du verbe (3) et les constructions impersonnelles + infinitif (qui servent à exprimer un conseil ou un reproche) (4).

- (1) Comment ça va ?
- (2) On se promène un peu ?
- (3) Encore une pomme ?
- (4) Il faudrait être indulgent.

Ces stratégies permettant d'être poli et de cacher son hésitation à propos du choix d'un pronom approprié sont aussi souvent utilisées par des locuteurs non natifs.

La section 3 est chargée de présenter brièvement certaines études sur les compétences sociolinguistiques des apprenants du français.

### **3. L'ACQUISITION DES COMPÉTENCES SOCIOLINGUISTIQUES PAR DES LOCUTEURS NON NATIFS DU FRANÇAIS**

La langue est un phénomène social. Un enfant privé de contacts sociaux ne peut pas la développer de façon spontanée. Pendant la période de la socialisation l'enfant acquiert le système des structures grammaticales de sa langue maternelle, aussi bien que le système des marques sociales attribuées à ces structures. L'enfant apprend les règles d'usage approprié de sa L1 dans de diverses situations sociales. Il n'en est pas de même pour un apprenant d'une L2 qui l'apprend dans une salle de classe. Il est moins sensible aux normes communicatives de cette langue.

Étant donné que le choix du pronom approprié pose souvent des questions pour les locuteurs natifs eux-mêmes, il n'est pas difficile d'imaginer quels problèmes ce choix peut soulever pour un apprenant, surtout si sa langue maternelle ne contient pas de distinction de politesse dans son système pronominal. Très souvent les apprenants considèrent les pronoms *tu/vous* comme équivalents.

Nous allons examiner quelques études sociolinguistiques pour mieux éclairer les tendances d'emploi des variables en question par des locuteurs non natifs du français, et étudier les facteurs qui y jouent un rôle.

En étudiant la compétence sociopragmatique des apprenants anglophones Harlow (1990) note que les locuteurs natifs d'une langue apprennent les règles de communication assez tôt pendant la socialisation, ces règles se trouvent souvent au niveau intuitif. Pour ce qui est des locuteurs non natifs, ils trouvent assez peu d'information concernant les normes sociales de la langue cible dans les manuels, et leur sens de la langue n'est pas toujours bien développé. Les résultats de l'étude démontrent que les apprenants tâchent souvent d'exprimer leurs demandes de la façon la plus directe et la plus claire possible, pour éliminer toute ambiguïté qui pourrait surgir d'un message indirect. D'autre part, les apprenants ont des difficultés avec le choix des pronoms d'adresse *tu/vous*, en employant les pronoms de façon inconsciente, sans égard pour l'âge et le statut des interlocuteurs. Elle constate que les locuteurs natifs d'une langue perçoivent les erreurs



pragmatiques de façon plus négative que les lacunes dans les connaissances grammaticales des apprenants. Étant donné que l'apprenant parle couramment la langue cible, le fait qu'il ne respecte pas les règles sociales de communication (les règles de politesse y compris) est considéré comme l'intention volontaire d'offenser son interlocuteur, ce qui peut provoquer la même réaction de la part des locuteurs natifs.

En observant l'emploi des pronoms d'adresse tu/vous en français par des étudiants d'immersion, Lyster et Rebuffot (2002) se proposent d'étudier les raisons pour lesquelles les pronoms en question continuent de susciter des difficultés pour ces apprenants-là. Les auteurs constatent que dans le contexte immersif les élèves n'ont presque jamais l'occasion de se servir du pronom vous de politesse ; il est quasiment absent dans le discours pédagogique. Par contre, ils sont surexposés à l'emploi du pronom *tu* qui est employé, premièrement, pour marquer le singulier, deuxièmement, en tant que pronom indéfini (= *on*) et, finalement, en tant que marque du pluriel; voir l'exemple dans (5).

(5) Mes amis, tu chantes.

(Lyster et Rebuffot 2002 : 5)

Ainsi, il paraît que le discours des professeurs ne fournit pas d'input riche et authentique où les apprenants pourraient observer les fonctions des pronoms d'adresse. Il en est de même pour les manuels de français L2 utilisés dans le contexte immersif.

Mougeon et al. (2002) présentent une recherche sur l'appropriation de la variation sociolinguistique en français L2 par des apprenants avancés. Les auteurs évaluent le niveau des compétences communicatives des apprenants et le comparent ensuite à celui des locuteurs natifs d'après les trois critères suivants :

- i) l'emploi des variantes standard marquées (telles que les conjonctions *donc*, *ainsi* ; la restriction *ne ... que*) ;
- ii) l'emploi des variantes non standard marquées (telles que *m'as* + verbe à l'infinitif) ;
- iii) l'emploi des variantes non standard courantes (par exemple, l'omission de *ne* négatif ; l'emploi du pronom *on* pour *nous*).

De façon générale, les résultats de la recherche démontrent que les apprenants maîtrisent plutôt bien les contraintes grammaticales (étant donné qu'elles sont plus stables et plus systématisées). Par contre, pour ce qui est de la compétence sociolinguistique, les auteurs constatent que les apprenants font un usage marginal des variantes non standard marquées. Ce comportement pourrait être expliqué par l'absence totale de ces variantes dans le discours des enseignants (et aussi des manuels) ; d'autre part, les apprenants se méfieraient de l'emploi des variantes marquées (qu'ils tâchent probablement d'éviter dans leur L1). En ce qui concerne les variantes standard marquées, tout au contraire, les étudiants en font un usage excessif, même dans des situations informelles. Une fois de plus rappelons-nous que souvent les étudiants sont exposés à la langue seconde uniquement dans la salle de classe ; ainsi, les auteurs sont convaincus que les élèves sont surexposés aux variantes standard marquées dans leur milieu scolaire. Cependant, les élèves éprouvent des difficultés à maîtriser les fonctions sociolinguistiques du pronom d'adresse singulier de politesse *vous*, aussi que l'emploi du mode conditionnel. Dans l'emploi des variantes non standard courantes les auteurs observent la tendance à les employer plus rarement (et avec plus d'hésitation) que les locuteurs natifs du français. De nouveau, cette tendance pourrait être expliquée par le manque de contacts avec les locuteurs natifs et d'exposition à la langue parlée.

Ainsi, les auteurs constatent que les apprenants d'écoles d'immersion maîtrisent les contraintes sociolinguistiques dans une mesure plutôt réservée.

Kinginger et Farrell (2004) examinent les effets des séjours dans un pays francophone sur le développement des connaissances métapragmatiques des apprenants du français L2. Les auteures soutiennent l'idée que la compétence sociopragmatique et l'usage approprié d'une L2 dépendent en grande partie de l'accès et du degré d'engagement des apprenants aux relations socioculturelles d'une communauté linguistique donnée. En son tour, Dewaele (2004) ajoute d'autres facteurs qui d'après lui influencent l'acquisition des compétences sociolinguistiques. Ces facteurs sont le degré d'exposition à la L2 (radio, télé) et l'influence des autres langues parlées par l'apprenant, entre autres.

Liddicoat (2006) étudie l'acquisition des aspects du système pronominal d'adresse en français par des locuteurs anglophones. Il examine des manuels utilisés dans l'enseignement du français L2 et il arrive à une constatation que dans leur majorité les manuels donnent une présentation minimale et simpliste du sujet en question. En se basant sur les résultats de sa recherche Liddicoat suggère qu'étant exposés à un input approprié (authentique) les apprenants développent une compréhension beaucoup plus complexe et nuancée du phénomène en question.

Dans la section suivante nous allons présenter les résultats préliminaires de notre étude pilote évaluant le niveau des compétences sociolinguistiques en français des apprenants anglophones.

#### **4. ETUDE PILOTE**

##### **4.1. Les objectifs de la recherche**

Cette étude pilote a porté sur l'acquisition des compétences sociolinguistiques en français L2 par des apprenants anglophones du niveau intermédiaire. L'objectif principal de ce travail était :

- i) d'examiner le niveau des compétences sociolinguistiques des apprenants sur l'exemple d'emploi du *conditionnel de politesse* et des pronoms d'adresse *tu/vous* ;
- ii) d'étudier les facteurs sociolinguistiques qui influencent l'emploi des variables en question.

Nous avons cherché aussi à savoir si les apprenants non natifs utilisent les variables sociolinguistiques en question dans la même mesure et avec la même fréquence que les locuteurs natifs.

##### **4.2. Les participants**

Les participants de cette étude étaient 44 étudiants (39 femmes et 5 hommes) inscrits aux cours de français d'intersession au Département d'études françaises à l'Université Western Ontario. Les caractéristiques des participants sont présentées dans le tableau 1.

Le groupe témoin consistait en quatre personnes (deux femmes et deux hommes) toutes ayant le français comme langue maternelle, âgées entre 25 et 32 ans, trois d'entre elles venant de France et une du Québec.

**Tableau 1**

Informations personnelles sur les apprenants qui ont participé dans l'étude (N=44)

		N	%			N	%
Sexe	Homme	5	11.4	Exposition aux médias français			
	Femme	39	88.6	jamais	12	27.3	
				parfois	26	59.1	
				souvent	4	9.1	
				toujours	2	4.5	
Français à l'école				Contacts avec les LNs			
	français de base	20	45.5	jamais	13	29.5	
	immersion	12	27.3	parfois	20	45.5	
	FL1	8	18.2	souvent	6	13.6	
	aucun	4	9	toujours	5	11.4	
Français à l'université				Age moyen ~ 21			
	2 à 4 cours	33	75	LNs – locuteurs natifs du français			
	5 cours et plus	11	25	FL1 – français enseigné comme une L1			

### 4.3. Méthodologie de la recherche

Pour notre étude nous avons choisi le format de test de production. Dans l'élaboration de ce test nous nous sommes inspirés de la méthodologie de recherche de Harlow (1990). Le test tel qu'il a été proposé aux étudiants était divisé en trois parties : dans la première la tâche des participants était de demander des directions ; dans la deuxième ils devaient demander un service et, finalement, la troisième section est un questionnaire proposant aux étudiants de fournir des informations d'ordre personnel (âge, sexe, L1, etc.). Les situations du test étaient du type suivant: on invitait les participants à imaginer qu'ils se trouvaient dans une rue animée ou un endroit public dans un pays francophone. Ils devaient s'adresser à une personne décrite (inconnue) afin d'obtenir des directions indiquant comment se rendre à un endroit voulu, ou pour recevoir de l'aide de la part de l'interlocuteur. Nous avons choisi de ne pas mentionner un pays concret pour ne pas influencer les réponses des participants.

### 4.4. Description des données

Les données recueillies ont été codées selon les caractéristiques sociolinguistiques des participants (tableau 1) et l'emploi des variables étudiées (pronoms d'adresse et le conditionnel de politesse). Nous allons maintenant considérer l'emploi des variables en question dans chaque situation par les apprenants du français L2 en comparaison avec les réponses des locuteurs natifs.

#### 4.4.1. Pronoms d'adresse *tu/vous*

Le tableau 2 présente les pourcentages d'emploi de *tu/vous* dans les sept situations observées. Dans la première situation en s'adressant à une interlocutrice âgée de 70 ans tous les locuteurs natifs ont employé le pronom *vous*. Le même pronom a été employé par 91% (N=40) des participants, 4.5% (N=2) ont évité l'emploi du pronom et 4.5% (N=2) ont employé le pronom *tu*.

Dans la deuxième situation en s'adressant à une interlocutrice âgée de 19 ans de nouveau 100% des locuteurs natifs emploient le pronom *vous*. En ce qui concerne le groupe expérimental, ici 52% (N=23) ont vouvoyé l'interlocutrice, 23% (N=10) ont employé le pronom *tu* et dans

l'usage de 9% (N=4) de participants nous avons observé le flottement<sup>1</sup> des pronoms; voir l'exemple (6).

(6) Je veut te demander si vous pouvez me dire où est prof Hublet ?<sup>2</sup>

**Tableau 2**  
Pourcentages d'emploi de *tu/vous* dans les sept situations

		Situations						
		1 F 70 ans	2 F 19 ans	3 H 45 ans	4 H 10 ans	5 F 40 ans	6 H 20 ans	7 F 9 ans
Locuteurs natifs (N=4)	<i>tu</i>	0	0	0	75	0	0	100
	<i>vous</i>	100	100	100	25	100	100	0
Apprenants (N=44)	<i>tu</i>	4.5	22.7	4.5	63.6	4.5	27.3	77.3
	<i>vous</i>	91.0	52.3	79.5	13.6	88.6	50	15.9
	flottement	0	9.1	2.3	13.6	2.3	18.2	6.8
	rien	4.5	15.9	13.6	9.1	4.5	4.5	0

Note : F=Femme ; H=Homme

Dans la troisième et la cinquième situations les participants doivent s'adresser respectivement à un homme de 45 ans et à une femme de 40 ans. Les locuteurs natifs y sont catégoriques dans l'emploi du pronom *vous*. Quant aux apprenants, 80% (N=35) d'entre eux ont employé le pronom *vous* avec l'homme et 88 % (N=39) avec la femme, 2 personnes (4.5%) ont tutoyé les interlocuteurs et une personne a eu de l'hésitation (flottement) dans le choix du pronom.

Dans la quatrième et la septième situations les interlocuteurs sont respectivement un petit garçon de 10 ans et une petite fille de 9 ans. Le groupe témoin a employé le pronom *tu*. Toutefois il y a eu de la variation dans les réponses du groupe expérimental : 64% (N=28) ont fait l'usage du pronom *tu* avec le garçon et 77 % (N=34) avec la fille ; 14% (N=6) ont vouvoyé le petit garçon et 16% (N=7) ont vouvoyé la fille. Dans les réponses de 14% (N=6) avec le garçon et 7% (n=3) avec la fille il y a eu du flottement.

Dans la sixième situation les participants devaient faire une objection à un jeune homme de 20 ans qui parlait trop fort dans la bibliothèque. Le groupe témoin était catégorique dans l'emploi de *vous*. 50% (n=22) des apprenants ont employé *vous* aussi, 27% (N=12) ont fait l'usage de *tu* et dans 18% (n=8) il y a eu du flottement.

Dans notre échantillon nous avons observé quelques cas particuliers, intéressants du point de vue de l'usage des pronoms d'adresse : il y a eu des participants ayant employé uniquement le pronom *tu* ou uniquement le pronom *vous* à travers tout le test avec tous les interlocuteurs, quel que soit leur sexe ou leur âge. Ces apprenants semblent ne pas avoir développé une grammaire variable de leur L2.

Un autre fait intéressant que nous avons remarqué au cours de l'analyse des données est que dans beaucoup de cas le flottement des pronoms a eu lieu dans les phrases clichées « excusez-moi », « pardonnez-moi », « s'il vous plaît », comme dans (7).

(7) Peux-tu me dire où est le bureau du professeur Hublet, s'il vous plaît.

Nous supposons que souvent les étudiants apprennent et utilisent ces phrases comme toutes faites, similaires aux formules « *salut* », « *au revoir* » sans faire attention à ce qu'elles changent.

À considérer plus attentivement les caractéristiques partagées par tous les apprenants ayant démontré un usage marqué des pronoms d'adresse, nous pouvons dégager les particularités suivantes :

- i) programme cadre, parfois d'immersion (ou aucun programme) de français à l'école ;
- ii) absence de séjours (ou de courts séjours) dans un pays de la langue cible ;
- iii) absence de contacts (ou des contacts épisodiques) avec les locuteurs natifs de la langue étudiée ;
- iv) exposition et usage minimales de la langue seconde.

Nous pouvons supposer que tous ces facteurs auraient un effet (plutôt négatif) sur l'acquisition des notions sociolinguistiques en français, et seraient cause du comportement non natif des apprenants en ce qui concerne l'emploi des pronoms d'adresse.

#### 4.4.2. L'emploi du conditionnel de politesse

Nous allons voir maintenant où en sont les apprenants dans l'usage du conditionnel de politesse. En ce qui concerne l'emploi de cette variable, les locuteurs natifs ont démontré moins de catégoricité dans leurs réponses. Le conditionnel a été employé par 100% de locuteurs natifs avec une femme de 70 ans (situation #1), 75% de locuteurs natifs ont employé le conditionnel avec une femme de 40 ans (situation #5) et 50% avec un homme de 45 ans (situation #3) et avec un jeune homme de 20 ans (situation #6). Les apprenants non natifs démontrent un usage plus restreint du conditionnel<sup>3</sup>, comme nous pouvons l'observer en tableau 3, un nombre insignifiant d'apprenants ont recouru à ce mode.

**Tableau 3**  
Fréquence d'emploi du conditionnel de politesse dans six situations

	Situations					
	1 F 70 ans	2 F 19 ans	3 H 45 ans	4 H 10 ans	5 F 40 ans	6 H 20 ans
Locuteurs natifs	100% (N=4)	25% (N=1)	50% (N=2)	0% (N=0)	75% (N=3)	50% (N=2)
Apprenants	9.1% (N=4)	4.5% (N=2)	6.8% (N=3)	2.3% (N=1)	13.7% (N=6)	22.7% (N=10)

Au lieu du conditionnel les structures qui ont été utilisées avec la plus grande fréquence (voir le tableau 4) dans la formation des demandes sont l'inversion, comme en (8), et la construction *est-ce que* + présent en (9).

(8) Pouvez-vous m'aider à trouver ce livre ?

(9) Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire où se trouve l'exposition ?

**Tableau 4**Fréquence d'emploi de l'*inversion* et de *est-ce que + présent* par les apprenants dans six situations

	Situations					
	1 F 70 ans	2 F 19 ans	3 H 45 ans	4 H 10 ans	5 F 40 ans	6 H 20 ans
<i>inversion</i>	42.2% (N=19)	34.1% (N=15)	29.5% (N=13)	31.8% (N=14)	36.4% (N=16)	25% (N=11)
<i>est-ce que + présent</i>	27.3% (N=12)	22.7% (N=10)	13.6% (N=6)	43.2% (N=19)	40.9% (N=18)	36.4% (N=16)

Dans notre échantillon nous avons observé quelques cas intéressants du point de vue de l'expression de la politesse : un apprenant a démontré l'usage du registre hyperformel en recourant aux formules du type :

(10) Je vous prie de bien vouloir parler plus doucement, Monsieur. »

Dans d'autres cas nous avons observé des usages non natifs du futur simple pour exprimer les nuances de politesse en (11) et aussi l'emploi du présent dans la même fonction en (12). Nous attribuons cet usage non natif au manque de maîtrise de la L2.

(11) Pourra-tu m'aider à trouver ce professeur ?

(12) Tu m'aide à atteindre ce livre ?

Dans l'ensemble, nous constatons que chez les apprenants de notre échantillon l'expression du message prime sur l'intention d'être polis. Les participants pour la plupart tendent à formuler les demandes de façon directe, sans employer de titres ou d'autres formules pour attirer l'attention de l'interlocuteur, en recourant parfois à l'impératif. L'emploi du conditionnel dans leurs productions est minime, toutefois il est à noter qu'à travers toutes les réponses le plus souvent le conditionnel de politesse a été rencontré dans la situation où les participants devaient faire une remarque à l'interlocuteur qui parlait trop fort (la situation où le degré d'imposition est le plus élevé).

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

En nous basant sur les résultats de notre travail, nous pouvons constater les faits suivants :

- L'âge de l'interlocuteur semble jouer un rôle dans le choix des pronoms d'adresse. Nous avons observé moins d'hésitation dans les situations où le contraste était plus évident (avec la dame âgée et avec les enfants). Les étudiants ont éprouvé plus de difficultés (ce qui a résulté en flottement des pronoms) dans des situations où la différence d'âge n'était pas aussi saillante. A notre avis, ce flottement viendrait soit de l'hésitation de l'apprenant qui ne peut pas décider s'il doit tutoyer ou vouvoyer son interlocuteur, soit du fait que l'apprenant ne maîtrise pas les fonctions des pronoms d'adresse *tu/vous*. Pour ce qui est du conditionnel, le critère d'âge de l'interlocuteur ne semble pas y jouer de rôle important : l'emploi était très peu systématique avec les personnes âgées qu'avec les enfants où les interlocuteurs du

même âge.

- En ce qui concerne les contacts avec les LNs du français, dans l'ensemble l'usage des pronoms d'adresse par les apprenants ayant des contacts fréquents avec des LNs est beaucoup plus approprié que celui des apprenants ayant de rares contacts avec des francophones. Cependant, ce facteur ne semble pas avoir de poids dans la fréquence de l'emploi du conditionnel de politesse : les deux groupes en font un faible usage en recourant plus souvent à l'inversion.
- Relativement aux séjours prolongés dans un pays francophone, nous évaluons ce facteur comme jouant un rôle positif dans l'acquisition de la compétence sociolinguistique d'une L2, quoique les résultats obtenus ne soient pas convaincants à cent pour cent : dans l'ensemble les participants ont démontré un usage approprié des pronoms d'adresse, mais nous avons aussi observé des cas de flottement et d'usage inapproprié. Pour ce qui est du conditionnel, une fois de plus les apprenants préfèrent le remplacer par l'inversion.
- Quant au programme de français suivi à l'école, ce facteur paraît jouer un rôle dans l'acquisition de la compétence sociolinguistique en L2. Les participants ayant suivi le programme de français en tant que L1 diffèrent considérablement dans l'usage des pronoms d'adresse (en démontrant un usage plus approprié) de ceux qui ont suivi un programme cadre ou d'immersion à l'école. Toutefois, la fréquence d'emploi du conditionnel reste très faible dans les réponses de tous les apprenants.

En dressant un bilan de notre travail pilote, nous devons constater qu'en somme les participants de notre échantillon ont démontré une maîtrise plutôt satisfaisante des fonctions des pronoms d'adresse *tu/vous*. Toutefois, la présence du phénomène de flottement des pronoms et des usages inappropriés témoignent du fait que, dans certains cas, cette maîtrise est incomplète. En ce qui concerne l'emploi du conditionnel de politesse, sa fréquence et les modèles d'usage par les apprenants diffèrent considérablement de ceux des locuteurs natifs.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Le phénomène de flottement des pronoms décrit par Dewaele (2004) représente une situation où les deux pronoms *tu* et *vous* sont employés s'adressant à la même personne.

<sup>2</sup> Nous avons gardé l'orthographe originale dans tous les exemples tirés des tests.

<sup>3</sup> L'emploi du conditionnel n'est pas prévu dans la situation #7, pour cette raison la situation en question n'est pas présente dans les tableaux.

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# VARIATION CASUELLE EN FRANÇAIS L2

KANSTANTSIN TSEDRYK  
*University of Western Ontario*

EGOR TSEDRYK  
*Saint Mary's University*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Un des objectifs des études portant sur l'acquisition des langues secondes est de savoir comment on parvient à l'acquisition des catégories grammaticales. En fait il y a une question non triviale concernant le lien entre l'acquisition de la syntaxe des catégories fonctionnelles et leur sous-spécification en traits morphologiques : l'acquisition des traits découle-t-elle automatiquement de l'acquisition de la structure fonctionnelle ? En essayant de répondre à cette question, nous allons nous concentrer sur l'étude de l'acquisition des pronoms clitiques en français langue seconde (L2) par des locuteurs natifs de l'anglais où les clitiques sont absents.

L'acquisition des pronoms clitiques en français ne cesse de faire objet de nombreuses études (White 1996, Duffield et al. 2002, Herschenson 2004, Granfeldt et Schlyter 2004, entre autres). En général, les auteurs soutiennent l'hypothèse du *Transfert complet / Accès complet* de Schwartz et Sprouse (1994). Plus précisément, il a été démontré que les apprenants transfèrent d'abord les propriétés syntaxiques de leur langue première (L1) dans la L2, ce qui résulte dans la post-position des pronoms objets en français comme en (1a). Herschenson (2004) conçoit ce stade comme une influence directe de l'anglais, les propriétés syntaxiques des pronoms de l'anglais étant transférées en français.

Après avoir transféré les propriétés syntaxiques de la L1, les apprenants procèdent au réajustement des paramètres à partir de l'input qu'ils reçoivent. Ainsi, on observe des stades intermédiaires tel qu'en (1b) avec un objet omis ou encore en (1c) avec une cliticisation au participe passé. La position intermédiaire des pronoms clitiques en (1c) révèle que les apprenants commencent à mettre les pronoms dans une position plus haute qu'un VP, mais pas encore dans la position d'une tête fonctionnelle qui servirait de site pour la cliticisation.

### (1) *Étapes dans l'acquisition de la position des clitiques en français L2*

- |    |   |                              |
|----|---|------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Position postverbale</i>             | * je <u>vois</u> le/lui      |
| b. | <i>Omission de l'objet</i>              | * j'ai <u>vu</u> $\emptyset$ |
| c. | <i>Cliticisation au participe passé</i> | * j'ai le <u>vu</u>          |
| d. | <i>Position correcte</i>                | je l'ai <u>vu</u>            |

Finalement, la dernière étape du développement des pronoms clitiques dans l'interlangue des apprenants correspond à la langue cible ou au français standard, comme c'est montré en (1d). Généralement les chercheurs sont d'accord que les apprenants du français L2 peuvent acquérir les catégories fonctionnelles associées aux pronoms clitiques et ils peuvent également réajuster les paramètres associés à ces catégories. Ainsi, Granfeldt et Schlyter (2004) soulignent le fait que la cliticisation en français L2 est acquise graduellement avec le temps et que les apprenants du français passent d'abord par l'étape où les pronoms sont interprétés comme des NP pleins pour devenir ensuite des clitiques attachés au verbe.

De cette manière, nous pouvons voir que les travaux sur l'acquisition des pronoms clitiques ne traitent que le placement des pronoms en français L2 dans la phrase, en argumentant ainsi en faveur de la possibilité de l'acquisition d'une représentation structurale en L2 différente de celle de la L1.

Il est à noter que même si les apprenants réussissent à arriver à l'acquisition complète du positionnement des pronoms clitiques, il n'est pas toujours clair s'ils maîtrisent aussi les formes casuelles des pronoms clitiques, notamment celles de l'accusatif (2a) et du datif (2b).

- (2) a. J'ai salué  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mon voisin} \\ \text{ma voisine} \\ \text{mes voisins} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow$  Je  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{le} \\ \text{la} \\ \text{les} \end{array} \right\}$  ai salué (+ AgrO)
- b. J'ai parlé  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{à mon voisin} \\ \text{à ma voisine} \\ \text{à mes voisines} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow$  Je  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lui} \\ \text{leur} \end{array} \right\}$  ai parlé

Afin de maîtriser la cliticisation en français, les anglophones doivent posséder les compétences résumées en (3). Premièrement, ils doivent acquérir le positionnement des clitiques en passant par les étapes énumérées en (1). Deuxièmement, ils doivent apprendre les propriétés sélectionnelles des verbes. Troisièmement, ils doivent acquérir la différence morphologique entre l'accusatif et le datif; voir (2).

- (3) a. Acquisition du positionnement (les étapes en (1))  
*Morpho-syntaxe des clitiques*
- b. Acquisition des propriétés thématiques du verbe (THEME vs. BUT)  
*Sélection sémantique*
- c. Acquisition du Cas morphologique (ACC vs. DAT)  
*Traits morphologiques*

Dans le présent article nous montrons que, tout en maîtrisant la morpho-syntaxe des clitiques et les propriétés sélectionnelles des verbes, les apprenants ont toujours la difficulté de faire la distinction entre l'accusatif et le datif au moment de Spell-Out. D'une manière plus générale, même si l'on acquiert les projections fonctionnelles, l'acquisition des traits morphologiques, épelés dans les noeuds terminaux de ces projections, reste un défi pour les apprenants du français L2.

## 2. DONNÉES EXPÉRIMENTALES

Le but de la section 2 est de présenter les données de deux études expérimentales auprès des étudiants universitaires dont L1 est l'anglais et qui apprennent le français comme L2.

### 2.1. Étude 1 : Acquisition du positionnement (Tsedryk 2006)

La première étude a eu lieu en été-automne 2006. Cette étude visait au développement de la cliticisation et, plus précisément, aux étapes du positionnement des pronoms clitiques en français L2.

Le groupe expérimental comprend des étudiants des niveaux intermédiaire (N = 21, soit 41%) et avancé (N = 38, 59%). La plupart des étudiants (N = 51, 93%) sont des femmes de moins de 25 ans dont la langue maternelle est l'anglais. Le groupe témoin est constitué de locuteurs natifs du français du Québec (N = 4, 44%) et de France (N = 5, 56%). L'âge des sujets du groupe témoin est entre 18 et 25 ans.

Dans cette étude, deux tests ont été employés : le test de jugement de grammaticalité (TJG) et le test de traduction. Les résultats obtenus pour le TJG sont présentés dans le tableau 1 ; les résultats du test de traduction sont schématisés dans la figure 1. En (5) nous décrivons les contextes de l'emploi des pronoms clitiques tirés du TJG.

(5) Contextes de l'emploi des pronoms clitiques en français tirés du TJG

- a. *Cl + V*  
Ma chère fille, nous *te* félicitons de ton succès.
- b. *V + Cl*  
\*Chaque jour quand je passe devant sa maison il salue *me*.
- c. *Cl + Aux + V*  
Qu'est-ce que tu as offert à ton frère?  
Je *lui* ai offert un iPod Nano.
- d. \**Aux + Cl + V*  
\*Luc a vu son professeur hier et il a *lui* rendu la dissertation.
- e. \**V + Cl + V*  
Mes parents doivent être inquiets, il faut *leur* écrire.
- f. \**V + V + Cl*  
\*Je veux aider *le* tout de suite.
- g. \**Cl + Adv + V*  
\*Elle *me* beaucoup manque.

Pour résumer, les apprenants du niveau intermédiaire ont une tendance de traiter les pronoms personnels plutôt comme des NP pleins. Plus précisément, les sujets favorisent des contextes agrammaticaux avec un clitique séparé du verbe par un adverbe et avec un pronom dans une position post-verbale.

De l'autre côté, les apprenants avancés sont enclins à analyser les pronoms objets comme des clitiques attachés au verbe et se rapprochent ainsi des locuteurs natifs. Comme on peut observer dans le tableau 1, il n'y a qu'une seule différence significative entre les apprenants avancés et les locuteurs natifs.

Selon ces données, les apprenants font preuve d'un développement systématique et par étapes de la cliticisation, ce qui confirme l'hypothèse du *Transfert complet / Accès complet* de Schwartz et Sprouse (1994) et justifie les études antérieures portant essentiellement sur le positionnement des clitiques. Par contre, Tsedryk (2006) a identifié certains contextes qui causent des problèmes aux apprenants. L'étude a en fait révélé que le contexte agrammatical le plus répandu pour tous les groupes d'apprenants est le synchrétisme casuel entre le datif et l'accusatif et vice versa.

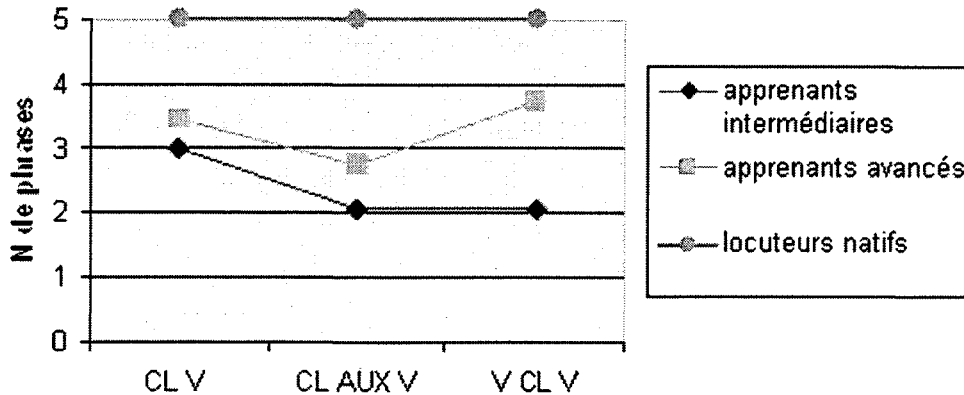
**Tableau 1**  
 Résultats du test de jugement de grammaticalité (étude 1):  
 Distribution des moyennes par rapport aux niveaux et aux contextes

Contexte de l'emploi des pronoms clitiques			apprenants intermédiaires	apprenants avancés	locuteurs natifs
contextes grammaticaux	CL V	Moyenne (1-5)	<b>3.50</b>	<b>4.01</b>	<b>4.95</b>
		Écart type	1.05	0.81	0.11
	CL AUX V	Moyenne (1-5)	<b>4.02</b>	<b>4.25</b>	<b>4.96</b>
		Écart type	0.80	0.73	0.08
	V CL V	Moyenne (1-5)	<b>3.58*</b>	<b>4.35</b>	<b>4.88</b>
		Écart type	0.73	0.64	0.17
contextes agrammaticaux	*V CL	Moyenne(1-5)	<b>2.03*</b>	<b>1.66</b>	<b>1.00</b>
		Écart type	0.71	0.78	0.00
	*V V CL	Moyenne (1-5)	<b>2.55*</b>	<b>1.67</b>	<b>1.00</b>
		Écart type	1.10	0.79	0.00
	*AUX CL V	Moyenne (1-5)	<b>3.20*</b>	<b>2.79*</b>	<b>1.02</b>
		Écart type	1.08	1.11	0.06
	*CL ADV V	Moyenne (1-5)	<b>3.51*</b>	<b>2.51</b>	<b>1.00</b>
		Écart type	0.93	1.05	0.00

(\*) : différence significative par rapport au groupe témoin ( $p < 0.05$ )

**Figure 1**

La distribution des réponses grammaticales dans le test de traduction (étude 1)



Il faut préciser que pour les apprenants des deux niveaux le syncrétisme casuel est beaucoup plus fréquent que tous les autres contextes agrammaticaux : 89.5% (N = 34) des apprenants intermédiaires et 70% (N = 9) des apprenants avancés ont produit au moins une alternance casuelle dans le test de traduction. Dans toutes les phrases où il y a une distinction casuelle, les apprenants ont eu des difficultés. En (6) nous illustrons les alternances casuelles produites par des apprenants dans le test de traduction.

(6) *Exemples des alternances casuelles dans le test de traduction*

- a. Nous voulons \***les** raconter cette histoire.
- b. Je \***l'**ai indiqué le chemin.
- c. Il \***l'**a proposé un voyage.
- e. Nous devons \***leur** remercier.
- f. Marie \***lui** a forcé à rester.

Une explication possible pour la plupart des alternances est que les étudiants ne maîtrisent pas la sélection du verbe, d'où vient le syncrétisme casuel des pronoms clitiques en français. Autrement dit, il s'agit plutôt de l'impossibilité des apprenants d'acquérir les propriétés sélectionnelles de certains verbes en français. Par exemple, *to tell somebody a story* pourrait être transféré erronément au français comme *raconter quelqu'un une histoire*, alors que BUT est toujours introduit par la préposition *à* en français. Dans la tradition des grammaires pédagogiques, on appelle cela la « rection des verbes ». Une telle possibilité d'explication des erreurs en (6) nous a amenés à examiner davantage l'acquisition des propriétés sélectionnelles des verbes en français.

## 2.2. Étude 2 : Acquisition des propriétés sélectionnelles du verbe

Dans la seconde étude, effectué en avril 2007, le groupe expérimental comprend aussi les étudiants universitaires qui apprennent le français aux niveaux intermédiaire (N = 30, soit 67%) et avancé (N = 15, 33%). La plupart des étudiants étaient des femmes (N = 38, 84%) avec l'âge moyen de 22 ans et dont la langue maternelle est l'anglais. Dans le groupe témoin nous avons administré le test à 7 locuteurs natifs dont 4 sont du Québec (57%) et 3 de France (43%). L'âge moyen du groupe témoin est de 33 ans.

Dans l'étude 2, nous avons utilisé le test de jugement de grammaticalité qui vise à examiner la capacité des apprenants du français L2 de reconnaître les contextes grammaticaux des propriétés sélectionnelles du verbe, en ce qui concerne la sélection du THEME et du BUT. Nous y avons inclus 12 phrases grammaticales et 12 phrases agrammaticales en demandant de les évaluer sur une échelle de 1 à 4, comme illustré en (7); « 1 » représente une phrase inacceptable, et « 4 » celle qui est bien formée. « 2 » et « 3 » seraient attribués en cas de doute avec une tendance à l'agrammaticalité ou grammaticalité respectivement.

- |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7) a. <i>Les enfants cherchent <u>leurs</u> jouets.</i>  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. <i>Jean souriait <u>à cette belle jeune</u> fille.</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Le tableau 2 récapitule la distribution de la moyenne par rapport au niveau des apprenants (intermédiaire, avancé et locuteurs natifs) et au contexte de sélection catégorielle du THEME et du BUT. Pour ce qui est des apprenants du niveau intermédiaire, nous observons qu'ils ont certaines difficultés dans la distinction des compléments d'objet direct et indirect du verbe, ils ont une moyenne assez élevée de l'acceptation des contextes agrammaticaux et nous voyons également qu'ils ont plus de problèmes avec la reconnaissance de l'objet indirect. La moyenne des contextes grammaticaux pour BUT (3.28) est plus basse que celle de THEME (3.54). En même temps, cette moyenne est plus élevée pour des contextes agrammaticaux (pour THEME elle est égale à 1.69 ; pour BUT, c'est la moyenne de 1.80).

**Tableau 2**

Résultats du test de jugements de grammaticalité (étude 2) :  
La distribution de la moyenne par rapport au niveau et au contexte (THEME vs. BUT)

Types de contexte	Types de sélection thématique du verbe		Apprenants intermédiaires	Apprenants avancés	Locuteurs natifs
contextes grammaticaux	THEME	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>3.54</b>	<b>3.62</b>	<b>4.00</b>
		écart type	0.53	0.40	0.00
	BUT	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>3.28*</b>	<b>3.49</b>	<b>4.00</b>
		écart type	0.55	0.52	0.00
contextes agrammaticaux	*THEME	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>1.69*</b>	<b>1.43</b>	<b>1.03</b>
		écart type	0.63	0.34	0.07
	*BUT	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>1.80*</b>	<b>1.58</b>	<b>1.00</b>
		écart type	0.73	0.43	0.00

\* - la différence significative par rapport au groupe témoin ( $p < 0.05$ )

Les résultats du test ANOVA à un facteur et du test *post hoc* démontrent une différence significative par rapport aux locuteurs natifs dans tous les contextes sauf celui de l'objet direct grammatical. Les valeurs de « p » sont représentées entre les parenthèses (THEME  $p = 0.080$ ; BUT  $p = 0.007$ ; \*THEME  $p = 0.020$ , \*BUT  $p = 0.014$ ). En ce qui concerne les apprenants du niveau avancé, ils ont eu moins de difficultés dans le degré d'acceptation des verbes avec différents compléments. Les résultats des tests statistiques dégagent le patron similaire aux résultats des locuteurs natifs; aucun des contextes ne contient de différence significative du groupe témoin (THEME  $p = 0.212$ ; BUT  $p = 0.106$ ; \*THEME  $p = 0.259$ ; \*BUT  $p = 0.136$ ). Nous concluons donc que les apprenants avancés maîtrisent bien la sélection thématique du verbe.

En général, nous observons une différence nette entre les niveaux intermédiaire et avancé et ce, par rapport à l'acquisition du placement des clitics l'acquisition des propriétés sélectionnelles des verbes en français.

### 2.3. Étude 2 : Acquisition du cas morphologique

Comme nous avons remarqué dans la section 2.1, les apprenants des deux niveaux ont eu du mal à produire correctement les formes casuelles des pronoms objets dans le test de traduction. Nous avons donc décidé d'examiner davantage la capacité des apprenants de reconnaître le datif et l'accusatif en utilisant uniquement le test de jugement de grammaticalité.

Dans la seconde étude, le test de jugement de grammaticalité comprend 20 phrases avec des contextes grammaticaux et le même nombre de phrases avec des contextes agrammaticaux; voir les exemples en (8). Il s'agit des mêmes groupes expérimentaux décrits dans la section 2.2.

- |  |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| (8) a. <i>Cet étudiant a très bien travaillé, je voudrais <u>le</u> remercier.</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. <i>Sa copine <u>lui</u> a souri sans rien répondre.</i>                         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c. <i>Vous pouvez <u>lui</u> envoyer un colis.</i>                                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d. <i>Cette jeune fille, nous *<u>lui</u> voyons chaque jour.</i>                  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| e. <i>Michel *<u>le</u> ressemble beaucoup.</i>                                    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| f. <i>Leur professeur *<u>les</u> donne toujours des devoirs difficiles.</i>       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Le tableau 3 présente la distribution de la moyenne (sur l'échelle de 4) par rapport au niveau des apprenants et au contexte (grammatical ou agrammatical) de l'emploi des formes casuelles des pronoms objets, notamment l'accusatif et le datif.

**Tableau 3**  
Résultats du test de jugement de grammaticalité (étude 2):  
Distribution des moyennes par rapport aux niveaux et aux contextes

Types de contexte	Cas du pronom clitique		Apprenants intermédiaires	Apprenants avancés	Locuteurs natifs
contextes grammaticaux	ACC	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>3.34*</b>	<b>3.31*</b>	<b>4.00</b>
		écart type	0.45	0.41	0.00
	DAT	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>3.19*</b>	<b>3.29*</b>	<b>4.00</b>
		écart type	0.53	0.41	0.00
contextes agrammaticaux	*ACC	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>2.75*</b>	<b>2.62*</b>	<b>1.00</b>
		écart type	0.53	0.56	0.00
	*DAT	Moyenne (1-4)	<b>2.91*</b>	<b>2.59*</b>	<b>1.00</b>
		écart type	0.62	0.53	0.00

\* - la différence significative par rapport au groupe témoin ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Considérons de plus près les données de différents groupes d'apprenants. Pour les apprenants du niveau intermédiaire, nous constatons l'absence de la différence nette entre les contextes grammaticaux et agrammaticaux. Ils ont la moyenne de l'acceptation des contextes agrammaticaux assez élevée : pour le contexte de l'emploi agrammatical des pronoms à l'accusatif la moyenne est de 2.75 et pour le datif elle est de 2.91.

Le cas datif semble être plus difficile à maîtriser pour les apprenants intermédiaires. En effet, la moyenne des contextes de l'emploi grammatical du pronom DAT est moins élevée (3.19) que celle des pronoms ACC (3.34). Avec les contextes agrammaticaux nous observons l'inverse : pour l'emploi agrammatical du pronom DAT la moyenne est plus élevée (2.91) par rapport à l'accusatif (2.75). Le test ANOVA à un facteur met en évidence la divergence apparente des résultats des apprenants intermédiaires par rapport aux jugements des locuteurs natifs (ACC  $p = 0.002$ ; DAT  $p = 0.001$ ; \*ACC  $p = 0.000$ ; \*DAT  $p = 0.000$ ).

Regardons maintenant les résultats des apprenants du niveau avancé. D'une manière très intéressante, et à l'opposé de ce qui a été observé dans les sections 2.1. et 2.2, les apprenants du niveau avancé se rapprochent maintenant plutôt des apprenants intermédiaires que des locuteurs natifs. Les locuteurs avancés n'ont pas de préférence marquée entre le datif et l'accusatif et, de même que les locuteurs intermédiaires, ils ont un niveau assez élevé de l'acceptation des contextes agrammaticaux. On voit que la moyenne pour les contextes agrammaticaux avec l'accusatif et le datif monte jusqu'à 2.6. Comme les apprenants intermédiaires, les apprenants avancés ont une différence significative par rapport aux locuteurs natifs et ce, pour tous les contextes de l'emploi des deux formes casuelles (ACC  $p = 0.003$ ; DAT  $p = 0.008$ ; \*ACC  $p = 0.000$ ; \*DAT  $p = 0.000$ )

Contrairement aux résultats ayant trait au placement des clitiques et aux propriétés sélectionnelles des verbes en français, les apprenants des deux niveaux ont des difficultés avec la reconnaissance des formes casuelles des pronoms clitiques en français. Le tableau 4 résume les résultats des tests décrits dans la section 2.

**Tableau 4**  
Le sommaire des résultats des tests sur l'acquisition de la pronominalisation

	Apprenants intermédiaires	Apprenants avancés
Acquisition du placement des clitiques	<b>NON</b>	<b>OUI</b>
Acquisition des propriétés thématiques du verbe (THEME vs. BUT)	<b>NON</b>	<b>OUI</b>
Acquisition du cas morphologique (ACC vs. DAT)	<b>NON</b>	<b>NON (?)</b>

### 3. CONCLUSION

En conclusion, l'hypothèse de *Transfert complet / Accès complet* de Schwartz et Sprouse (1994) rend compte de l'acquisition du positionnement des clitiques et des propriétés sélectionnelles des verbes, tandis qu'elle ne peut expliquer l'imperfection casuelle dans l'interlangue des apprenants. D'après cette hypothèse, tous les traits associés à une projection fonctionnelle devraient être mis à la disposition de l'apprenant; donc une fois le placement des clitiques est acquis, les apprenants devraient reconnaître automatiquement une forme casuelle inexistante dans leur langue maternelle, ce qui n'est pas le cas d'après notre étude.

Les difficultés avec la reconnaissance des formes casuelles pourraient être attribuées aux difficultés plus générales d'associer l'information morphologique aux noeuds terminaux en syntaxe. Ainsi, Lardière (1998) et Prévost et White (2000) suggèrent que les problèmes avec l'accord verbal, par exemple, sont attribués aux difficultés d'association des formes morphologiques aux traits syntaxiques ; cette approche est connue comme « *Hypothèse de la flexion absente* ». D'après ce point de vue, les erreurs morphologiques ne présupposent pas la déficience syntaxique, puisque la morphologie est une composante autonome qui reprend la dérivation syntaxique et détermine les modifications nécessaires aux lexèmes. Les chercheurs constatent que les processus de l'association morphologique sont beaucoup plus vulnérables à la variation dans l'interlangue que tous les autres mécanismes langagiers.

Étant donné que les différentes composantes de la grammaire sont sujettes aux différentes étapes du développement et des types de fautes, nous pouvons conclure que dans le cas de la cliticisation en français L2 la composante morphologique est plus susceptible à la fossilisation que la composante syntaxique.

Les données obtenues nous amènent à conclure que les anglophones connaissent les différences conceptuelles entre le datif et l'accusatif, mais ces différences ne sont pas encodées morphologiquement dans leur grammaire jusqu'à un certain niveau de maîtrise du français L2. Ce niveau ainsi que les facteurs qui contribuent à l'acquisition des formes casuelles font partie de notre recherche à venir.



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**APLA - ALPA**



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# IDENTITY MARKING AND AFFILIATION IN AN URBANIZING NEWFOUNDLAND COMMUNITY

GERARD VAN HERK

*Memorial University of Newfoundland*

BECKY CHILDS

*Coastal Carolina University*

JENNIFER THORBURN

*Memorial University of Newfoundland*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The English of Newfoundland (henceforth NE) offers intriguing opportunities for the study of salience, identity, and rapid sociolinguistic change. The province is linguistically homogenous; nearly all inhabitants speak only English, a distinct local variety derived from dialects spoken by migrants from southwest England and southeast Ireland. Some residents still identify as having English or Irish roots, despite virtually no immigration since the 1830s. Newfoundland was relatively isolated until the mid-20th century, when World War II brought an influx of Canadian and American troops and, in 1949, Newfoundland became part of Canada. These events began a period of resettlement and urbanization that included an overhaul of the school system and the development of offshore oil resources. Perhaps the most significant event in recent years has been the cod moratorium of 1992; its imposition forced many Newfoundlanders to abandon their traditional ways of life, causing outport communities to decline.

Today, traditional linguistic variables compete with newer linguistic forms, and linguistic choices figure prominently in residents' representations of self and place. In these situations, locally salient variables become vital evidence for understanding the ways in which speakers' orientations reflect changing social norms. To determine how locally salient variables function as indicators of linguistic change, we investigate one phonological and one syntactic variable, both of which are stereotypical of Newfoundland English: the stopping of interdentalals (for example, *this thing* as *dis ting*) and non-standard verbal *s*-marking (for example, *You knows it*). These features are regarded as indexers of affiliation with Newfoundland and also remain an active part of traditional rural speech.

In this paper, we offer a preliminary analysis of these two totemic variables in a dialect of NE spoken in Petty Harbour, a community located 15 km southeast of St. John's that has undergone drastic social and economic change. Petty Harbour was first settled by West Country (English) migrants in the 1600s. Initially a seasonal site, it eventually grew into a year-round settlement with clear religious divisions, with Anglicans living on the south and Catholics on the north side of the harbour. The community was fairly isolated until the construction, in 1932, of the first road which connected Petty Harbour to the St. John's area; prior to this, people travelled to the capital either by sea or overland (on foot or in carts). As recently as twenty years ago, the town was still a thriving fishing community maintaining a

traditional way of life; however, the cod moratorium forced residents to turn to other sources of income and employment, and now many residents commute to St. John's for work. Petty Harbour is now a bedroom community of fewer than 1,000 people, with an economy partially based on tourism and film and television production.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

Starting in 2006, data were gathered in sociolinguistic interviews in Petty Harbour. We began by working from a list of informants developed in conjunction with a local organization, the Petty Harbour/Maddox Cove Town Council. Later, contacts were made using the friend-of-a-friend method (Milroy 1987). All interviews were conducted by at least one native Newfoundlander; when possible, interviews were conducted by Petty Harbour/Maddox Cove residents. Recordings were made using digital recorders and were catalogued and transcribed at the Memorial University Sociolinguistics Lab. Statistical analyses were performed using Goldvarb X (Sankoff et al. 2005), a variable rule program designed for sociolinguistic research.

The sample for this analysis consists of data from 24 native residents of the community, stratified according to sex and age (under 30 years of age, 30 to 59, over 60). Although religion has been noted as a significant social variable in Newfoundland (Clarke 1991), it was not considered in this analysis as informant responses about the plethora of mixed religion relationships and their widespread acceptance in the community indicated the diminishing role of religion as an absolute social marker.

## 3. THE STOPPING OF INTERDENTALS

Variable production of /θ/ and /ð/ are longstanding features of NE. Work by Clarke (1991, 1997b, 2004b) has shown that the stopping of interdentals appears in the casual speech of all social classes in urban and rural centres throughout the province. Previous studies (Clarke 1991, 1997b; Colbourne 1982) have primarily examined the effects of speaker sex and age on production, with results indicating that men and older participants are most likely to use non-standard variants. Perhaps most interestingly, though, there is not one social hierarchy that can account for interdental production for all speakers of Newfoundland English. While all studies concur that older males are the most vernacular speakers, there is little agreement on the place of other social groups in the hierarchy. In addition, previous studies have not considered lexical effects on the production of interdentals in NE.

For the analysis of interdentals type-token ratios were controlled, with only the first five tokens of each word included in the analysis. Contracted forms are included in the analysis, but they are included as one of the five possible tokens of a word (for example, *they'd* counted as one of the five tokens of *they*). The data were also coded for age and sex, as well as syllable position and function word status.

Analysis of rates of non-standard Eth /ð/ (see Table 1) indicates that age and sex figure prominently into the patterns of stopping: males across all age groups have the most non-standard productions. However, interestingly, women tend to level out at rates of stopping around 30% in the middle age and younger groups, while the men show a steady decline in use of the stopped variant. Overall, these results indicate a difference in the progression of ð-stopping among men and women in the community. Female residents of Petty Harbour have

never maintained rates of stopped /ð/ as high as those of the male residents, and the female residents levelled their stopping of /ð/ at 30%, while the male members continue to show a steady decline in stopping only reaching levels of stopped variants in the 30% range among the young men. The results of this analysis indicate that the women moved to more standard productions much sooner than the men.

**Table 1**  
Analysis of ð across social groups in Petty Harbour

Group	Total ð (N)	Non-standard ð (N)	Non-standard ð (%)
Older women (60+)	256	144	56.2
Older men (60+)	237	216	91.1
Middle women (30-60)	251	76	30.2
Middle men (30-60)	264	190	72.0
Younger women (under 30)	265	83	31.3
Younger men (under 30)	251	88	35.0
Total	1524	792	51.9

As previously mentioned, function words were coded in the data. Function words for this analysis were defined as words that have little to no lexical meaning and serve a grammatical function, indicating a relationship between other items in a sentence. Another requirement imposed was that the words chosen had to be present in every interview. The function words included in the analysis were *the, this, that, these, those, them, there, and their*, and contracted forms of these words.

**Table 2**  
Rates of non-standard ð in function words in Petty Harbour

Group	Total [+Function] (N)	Non-standard [+Function] (%)	Total [- Function] (N)	Non-standard [- Function] (%)
Older women (60+)	163	80.3	93	13.9
Older men (60+)	146	88.3	91	95.6
Middle women (30-60)	165	38.8	86	15.1
Middle men (30-60)	141	74.5	123	69.1
Younger women (under 30)	175	42.8	90	8.9
Younger men (under 30)	156	38.5	95	29.4
Total	946	60.5	578	38.7

Table 2 provides the data on the effect of function word status on the realization of /ð/. In all groups, except the older men, there is a notable difference in the rates of non-standard production in function words ([+Function]) vs. non-function words ([-Function]). Also, for

women, there have always been significant differences in the production of function and non-function words, while for the men, we do not see these marked differences. Indeed, women primarily stop [ð] in function words, highlighting the use of only the totemic productions of *dis*, *dat*, *dese*, and *dose*. Goldvarb analysis of the data, shown in Table 3, provides evidence of the significance of the age, sex, and function word status in the non-standard production of *eth*. Although syllable position was coded for in the data, it was not selected as significant.

**Table 3**  
Factors contributing to the occurrence of non-standard ð in Petty Harbour

Total N: 1524		Corrected mean: .050			
<b>Sex</b>		<b>Age</b>		<b>Function</b>	
Male	<b>.66</b>	Old	<b>.75</b>	[+Function]	<b>.60</b>
Female	.33	Middle	.48	[-Function]	.34
		Young	.23		
	<i>Range 46</i>		<i>Range 52</i>		<i>Range 26</i>

Not selected as significant: syllable position; Bolded values indicate significant effects

Data for /θ/ are given in Table 4. Again, similar to /ð/, older men have the highest non-standard rates, and young men maintain higher rates of stopping than the middle aged and young women. Again, women move toward the standard productions faster than the men, as they did for /ð/. The Goldvarb results given in Table 5 indicate a favouring effect for male and old age groups in non-standard production. Statistical analysis did not indicate significance for word position or function word status for /θ/.

**Table 4**  
Rates of non-standard θ across social groups in Petty Harbour

Group	Total θ (N)	Non-standard θ (N)	Non-standard θ (%)
Older women (60+)	174	70	40.2
Older men (60+)	135	110	81.5
Middle women (30-60)	203	34	16.7
Middle men (30-60)	161	95	59.0
Younger women (under 30)	231	20	8.7
Younger men (under 30)	237	77	32.5
Total	1141	406	35.5

**Table 5**  
Factors contributing to the occurrence of non-standard  $\theta$  in  
Petty Harbour

Total N: 1141		Corrected mean: .30	
<b>Sex</b>		<b>Age</b>	
Male	<b>.76</b>	Old	<b>.81</b>
Female	.29	Middle	<b>.55</b>
		Young	.20
	<i>Range 47</i>		<i>Range 61</i>

Not selected as significant: syllable position; Bolded values indicate significant effects

To summarize the findings for interdental  $\theta$ : we find that age and sex exert a significant effect, while syllable position does not. Looking at each of the variables, the analysis of /ð/ showed females levelling to around 30% non-standard production, starting in the middle age group. Likewise, the analysis showed the status of /ð/ function words, namely that function words maintain high levels of stopped variants when compared to non-function words. /θ/ does not exhibit the levelling pattern found for /ð/, but stratification still exists among the age/sex groups.

In sum, the distribution of non-standard variants suggests that  $\theta$ -stopping in all linguistic contexts is totemic – that is, the nonstandard variant acts as a salient (though perhaps not fully consciously deployed) marker of traditional Newfoundland identity. This is further supported by the fact that  $\delta$ -stopping has been tied to lexical items; and the stopping of /ð/ remains relatively high compared to /θ/. In Petty Harbour the production of *thing* as *ting* remains much more marked and serves as a more salient totem of local identity than the production of *those* as *dose*, which with its widespread and levelled status is present in the speech of nearly every person in the community.

#### 4. VERBAL S-MARKING

Like interdental stopping, non-standard *s*-marking of simple present tense verbs is a salient marker of NE. It is a mainstay of performed dialect (jokes, songs, t-shirt slogans), and it is still found in traditional rural varieties at rates as high as 43% to 85% (Clarke 1997b). As example (1) illustrates, our Petty Harbour informants also *s*-mark present tense verbs across the person and number paradigm.

- (1) a. *First person singular*: I **likes** having fun with the kids (Petty Harbour speaker f)
- b. *First person plural*: Because we **knows** a lot of people out there (PH o)
- c. *Second person*: When you **goes** down around the wharf you'll always end up doing something (PH O)
- d. *Third person plural (NP)*: But people **pictures** a Newfie as the dumbest person alive. (PH f)
- e. *Third person plural (pronoun)*: Then they **deserves** to be called Newfies. (PH f)

In the current analysis, we extracted all sentences containing simple present verbs from recordings of the same informants tapped for the study of interdental stopping. We then reduced the data set by excluding tokens that did not speak to the issue of variation in *s*-marking, as in (2). Third singular is *s*-marked in the standard; there is little (if any) variation in *s*-marking for present-reference *got*, *have*, *be*, and *do*, or with sentence filler collocations (see Torres Cacoullós and Walker 2009), and habitual *be(es)* seems to follow rules of its own (and is rare in this data set).

(2) *Excluded tokens*

- a. *3rd singular*: the alcohol really **brings** out the ah the drunk in her eyes (PH b)
- b. *auxiliary do*: but I **do remember** pretty well everybody (PH E)
- c. *have*: We have concerts. (PH i)
- d. *be*: For the most part, people in Petty Harbour **are** nice. (PH t)
- e. *invariant got*: Lots of time you **got** no cream in the house. (PH e)
- f. *invariant be*: I **be** like my mom. (PH d)
- g. "*sentence filler*" *collocations*: I mean, you know, I think, I believe, I guess

The remaining 1090 tokens were coded for the social factors of sex and age, to permit study of change, and for linguistic factor groups proposed in the literature to condition *s*-marking (Montgomery et al. 1993, Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001, Van Herk and Walker 2005, Walker 2001). These included subject type (see (1) above) and adjacency (3), to test for persistence of the British-origin (Northern) Subject Rule (Murray 1873); overt habituality markers (4), to more finely define aspectual conditioning (Clarke 1997b, Singler 1999); and verb semantics (5), to investigate an anecdotal sense that young urban speakers are limiting non-standard *s*-marking to mental stance verbs in first person contexts (for example, the popular local expression *Loves it!*). We did not test the oft-described distinction between habitual/durative and punctual verb uses (Clarke 1997b, Walker 2001), as present-referring punctuals were too rare in our data (6).

- (3) a. *Subject adjacent to verb*: I **hate** those cell phones that ring like that. (PH b)
- b. *Subject not adjacent*: I also kinda **want** a pair of Adidas ones. (PH z)
- (4) a. *Adverbial habitual marker*: I always **goes** up to Mick's cabin on the weekends. (PH f)
- b. *When(ever) clause habitual*: When I **go** visit, I go for two-three months. (PH w)
- c. *Other*: But people **pictures** a Newfie as the dumbest person alive. (PH f)
- (5) a. *Mental stance verb*: I **like** Grey's Anatomy. (PH i)
- b. *Other stative verb*: My niece, I **see** her every single day. (PH c)
- c. *Non-stative verb*: They **make** a pudding out of it, right. (PH H)
- (6) *Punctual*: I **smell** peanut butter. (PH b)

A first finding is that overall rates of use of non-standard *s*-marking are only 5.6% - far lower than those described in previous studies of Newfoundland English. This does not appear to be due to the nature of the interview or recording process; note that rates of equally non-standard interdental stopping are far higher. A more likely explanation is that morphosyntactic variables are highly salient and subject to a greater degree of conscious control than phonetic variables. A multivariate analysis of social factors found both age and sex to be statistically significant, in the direction typical of declining vernacular features: non-standard *s*-marking is



favoured by men, and declines in use over three generations (see Table 5). Table 6 shows that *s*-marking is distributed socially much like its salient phonetic counterpart, with males and older generations showing higher rates of *s*-marking.

**Table 6**  
Rates of non-standard *s*-marking across social groups in Petty Harbour

Group	Total (N)	<i>s</i> -marked (N)	<i>s</i> -marked (%)
Older women (60+)	43	3	7.0
Older men (60+)	51	6	11.8
Middle women (30-60)	173	6	3.5
Middle men (30-60)	126	16	12.7
Younger women (under 30)	478	14	2.9
Younger men (under 30)	219	16	7.3
Total	1090	61	5.6

Turning to linguistic constraints on *s*-marking (Table 7), we see a strong conditioning effect of habituality, but not exactly that predicted in the literature. Habituality *per se* does not favour *s*-marking; rather, habitual sentences marked by adverbials like *always* actually disfavour *s*-marking, while those that occur with *when*-type constructions favour it. We also see a significant effect for verb semantics, but it is other statives, rather than mental stance verbs, that favour *s*-marking. (A separate analysis, not reported here, revealed that even in first person contexts, mental stance verbs did not significantly favour *s*-marking.) The remaining factor groups, subject type and adjacency, exerted no significant effect. The Northern Subject Rule (NSR), the constraint that these last two factor groups were established to test, is generally only active in third person plural contexts and involves an interaction between the two groups; a separate analysis customized to this context (Table 8) shows that the NSR is clearly not operative in this data set, paralleling earlier findings for Newfoundland English (Clarke 1997b).

**Table 7**  
Linguistic factors contributing to the occurrence of *s*-marking in Petty Harbour

Total N: 1090		Corrected mean: .049	
	%		%
<b>Expression of habituality</b>		<b>Verb semantics</b>	
<i>when(ever)</i> construction	<b>74</b> 11.5	Statives	<b>.75</b> 13.1
no overt marker	50 5.3	Mental stance	<b>.56</b> 6.4
adverb	28 1.7	Non-stative	.43 4.3
<i>Range 46</i>		<i>Range 32</i>	

Not selected as significant: subject type, subject adjacency; Bolded values indicate significant effects

**Table 8**

Linguistic factors contributing to the occurrence of *s*-marking in Petty Harbour,  
3<sup>rd</sup> person plural contexts only

Total N: 306	Corrected mean: .055	%
<b>Verb semantics</b>		
Statives	.78	17.1
Mental stance	.65	9.8
Non-stative	.40	3.8
<i>Range: 38</i>		

To summarize our findings for *s*-marking, we see a decline in the use of this non-standard feature, led by women. In terms of linguistic conditioning, we see some similarities to earlier findings for traditional Newfoundland English, with respect to the absence of the NSR and a habituality finding; but we also note some differences, in that stative verbs favour *s*-marking, rather than disfavour, and the habitual effect may be more complex and more syntactically constrained than previously thought. Some of these mixed findings may be an artifact of considering data from all age and sex cohorts in a single Goldvarb run. With more data for each subset, we may be able to better track changes in rate (and perhaps function) of this linguistic feature.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The linguistic and social distributions of these two salient features, when considered in tandem, provide useful insights into the process of linguistic change in Petty Harbour. Both features are in rapid decline, but the rate of decline is linked to saliency and degree of control: voiced and function-word interdentalals are less salient and thus less suppressed, and the phonetic variable appears to be less sensitive to speaker control than the morphosyntactic one. Women lead the change for both features in three ways: their overall rates of use are lower all along, they show a rapid decline a generation sooner than men, and for interdentalals, they show a greater sensitivity to saliency.

Our long-term goal is to situate these salient features within the full matrix of non-standard features, salient and otherwise, available in an urbanizing context in Newfoundland. Newfoundlanders have access to a huge sociolinguistic repertoire; it is possible to find features that differ in degree of control, saliency, and the indexing of identity components like gender, local orientation, tradition, and education. Exploratory work looking at individual younger speakers is promising. Young women seem to be orienting toward education and the standard, reflecting their limited opportunities within rural traditional roles since the decline of the fishery. While some young men match the women in their social and linguistic orientation, others maintain high rates of local traditional forms, showing an orientation toward vernacular culture and working class occupations. This split, paralleled in our work with rural communities elsewhere (Childs et al. 2008), may be a result of the social and economic capital that labour and strong local affiliation can still provide to men. By carefully choosing linguistic features to study, accurately identifying the social work they do, and

considering changes in function as well as rate of use, we hope to provide a more nuanced view of how the community responds linguistically to urbanization and to other rapid social changes.

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