ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES

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Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association
Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques

PAMAPLA 28 / ACALPA 28

PAPERS FROM THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING / ACTES DU VINGT-HUITIÈME COLLOQUE ANNUEL

EDITED BY / RÉDACTION

JANE S. SMITH
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
2004

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University of Maine
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5-6 November 2004

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L'Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques et l'organisatrice du colloque tiennent à remercier les personnes et organismes suivants pour leur appui financier et moral du 28ième colloque annuel :

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Dr. Ann Leffler, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences
Dr. Eugene Del Vecchio, Chair, Department of Modern Languages & Classics

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LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

This year marked the 400th anniversary of the establishment of the first permanent French settlement in North America. St. Croix Island, on which that colony was first located, lies in the middle of the river by the same name that now forms a part of the border between New Brunswick, Canada, and Maine, U.S.A. This political border was temporarily suspended when the University of Maine hosted the 28th annual meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association. The theme for the conference was *Languages in Contact*, and papers dealing with language contact phenomena in all areas of linguistics, particularly those focusing on the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, and New England were presented by ten conference participants. Three are included in these proceedings. Professor Claude Poirier of the Trésor de la langue française, Université Laval, delivered the plenary Murray Kinloch Memorial Lecture. His paper was titled, "L'anglicisme dans les français d'Amérique du Nord: convergences et divergences." Papers treating other areas of linguistics were also welcomed,

LANGUES EN CONTACT

L'an 2004 a marqué le quadricentenaire de l'établissement de la première colonie française en Amérique du Nord. Lors de son établissement, la colonie s'est située dans l'Île Sainte-Croix, qui se trouve au milieu du fleuve du même nom qui sépare le Nouveau-Brunswick du Maine. L'effacement temporaire de la frontière actuelle entre le Canada et les Etats-Unis. s'est effectué quand l'Université du Maine a accueilli les membres de l'Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques lors de son 28e colloque annuel. Le thème du colloque « Langues en Contact » mettait un accent particulier sur les Provinces Atlantiques, le Québec et la Nouvelle-Angleterre et avait pour objet l'ensemble des domaines linguistiques (lexicologie, morphologie, syntaxe, phonologie, alternance de code, etc.) reflétant les conséquences du contact de langue. Les communications de dix conférenciers examinaient le contact des langues dont trois figurent parmi les actes du colloque. Le professeur Claude Poirier du Trésor de la langue française à l'Université Laval, conférencier invité (Murray Kinloch Memorial Lecture), a prononcé un discours intitulé "L'anglicisme dans les français d'Amérique du Nord : convergences et divergences." Des communications portant sur d'autres thèmes linguistiques ont aussi été acceptées.

I. LANGUAGES IN CONTACT / LANGUES EN CONTACT

Formaliser les flexions des verbes utilisés dans l'oral acadien

Gisèle Chevalier, CRLA, Université de Moncton
Michaël Long, Université de Moncton et UNB (Saint-John)

La formalisation les flexions des verbes utilisés dans l'oral acadien pour répondre aux exigences du traitement informatique fait apparaître des régularités dont on ne devinera l'ampleur que lorsque les travaux seront achevés. Le résultat ressemblera à *L'art de conjuguer* de Bescherelle, ou mieux, à *Tous les verbes conjugués* de Séguin (1986). Ces deux ouvrages se distinguent de deux points de vue principaux :

1) Séguin conjugue tous les verbes. Le Bescherelle parsème les modèles de conjugaisons de notes infrapaginales indiquant des variantes orthographiques, faisant ainsi l'économie de quelques tables de conjugaison.[1]

2) La typologie de Séguin est fondée, suivant le courant de la « nouvelle grammaire » (Dubois et Lagane 1966) sur la notion de radical plutôt que sur les groupes définis à partir de la terminaison à l'infinitif et rend compte de l'oral autant que de l'écrit. Au total, Séguin dégage 90 modèles de conjugaison. La typographie (l'usage de la majuscule) attire l'attention sur les particularités phonétiques et orthographiques.

Quel que soit le nombre final de modèles conjugaison, il reste qu'une grande proportion des classes de conjugaison sont des singletons.

Une autre différence, de moins d'importance pour notre propos, mais symptômatique de la naïveté du Bescherelle est que Séguin ne prend pas la peine de conjuguer les verbes à la forme composée, puisqu'ils suivent le modèle de l'auxiliaire ou du semi-auxiliaire : *avoir, être* suivis d'un participe passé, *aller* et *venir* suivis de l'infinitif. On peut en effet se demander pourquoi Bescherelle se donne la peine de conjuguer à répétition le verbe *avoir* dans toutes les tables de conjugaison (ou *être* dans une douzaine d'entre elles) pour le passé composé, tout en cachant aux utilisateurs, l'existence du futur proche et du passé récent ...

1. La flexion automatique des verbes

L'environnement informatique que nous avons adopté, INTEX-NooJ, repose sur la grammaire transformationnelle harrisienne. Pour l'aspect qui nous concerne, cela signifie que les règles de conjugaisons que nous formulons reposent essentiellement sur les opérations d'effacement et d'ajout[2] : pour générer l'imparfait du verbe « aimer » nous donnons la commande de reculer de deux positions (effacer « er ») et d'ajouter « -ais » aux personnes 1 et 2 du singulier, « -aient » ou « -iont » à la troisème personne du pluriel. La substitution opérationalisable au moyen d'un transducteur

à états variables s'applique aux phénomènes généralisés, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

Notre objectif est de générer automatiquement la forme fléchie d'un ensemble aussi exhaustif que possible des verbes susceptibles d'apparaître dans des corpus écrits ou oraux transcrits semi-orthographiquement, de sorte que le logiciel INTEX-NooJ puisse reconnaître de façon statistiquement satisfaisante les textes acadiens qu'on lui soumet.

L'entreprise consiste donc, suivant la procédure INTEX-NooJ

1) à dresser la nomenclature : nous devons inclure les verbes à la forme infinitive du français standard, les verbes dits régionaux ou du vieil acadien (ceux qui ne sont pas répertoriés dans les dictionnaires généraux de la langue française[3]), les verbes anglais rencontrés dans les corpus; ce qui donnera un dictionnaire des formes simples des verbes « acadiens » ;

2) à constituer une bibliothèque de graphes à états finis qui représenteront toutes les flexions possibles : formes standard, formes orales déviantes (*vous disez*), formes en vieil acadien (*je bâsis*), formes anglaises fléchies en français acadien (*i callont jamais*), etc. ;

3) à générer automatiquement, au moyen des graphes flexionnels, toutes les formes fléchies des verbes consignés dans le dictionnaire de formes simples répertoriés en 1).

Le produit final sera un dictionnaire des formes fléchies aux temps, personnes et modes spécifiés dans les graphes, et étiquetées comme dans les exemples suivants : *turnont,turner. Vaimer :P3p*, c'est-à-dire, Verbe qui se construit sur le modèle de « aimer », fléchi au présent, à la troisième personne du pluriel ; *assisait,assir.V :I3s*. L'entrée du « turner » précisera que c'est un emprunt à l'anglais, celle de « assir » que le verbe a comme équivalent en « français commun », le verbe « asseoir ». Ce dictionnaire sera intégré au dictionnaire général du français acadien, qui contiendra les mots de toutes les catégories grammaticales, les mots composés, les noms propres et toponymes, etc.[4]

2. Questions à résoudre

L'entreprise apparemment simple soulève de nombreuses questions. Il est souvent délicat de départager les cas de figure : qu'est-ce qui est acadien, qu'est-ce que est du « vieil acadien », qu'est-ce qui est simplement un usage oral standard ou encore un usage standard populaire? Deuxième type de problème : quels verbes anglais intégrer? Comment les orthographier : hang+er : *hanger out* ou *hagner out* ? agree+er => *agreeer* ou *agreer*? set+er : *seter* ou *setter*? *Je check* ou *je checke*? Si j'opte pour la forme plutôt anglaise, *je check*, est-ce que je conserve la même orthographe aux trois personnes (*je/tu/i,a,on check*) ou est-ce que j'introduis « –es » à la deuxième personne (*je check; tu*

checkes), ce qui est la réaction spontanée de certains informateurs consultés. La normalisation de l'orthographe des emprunts devra se faire sur des principes bien définis (voir Chevalier, Kasparian et Silberztein 2004, paragraphe 3.4).

Devant l'urgence de développer l'outil morphologique, les marques d'emploi revêtent un intérêt secondaire, mais on ne peut éluder les questions reliées à la normalisation des normes de transcription. L'autre question, fondamentale, est de décider si, du point de vue du traitement du texte, on conserve deux systèmes parallèles. En d'autres mots, applique-t-on successivement les ressources lexicales françaises puis, les ressources lexicales « acadiennes » pour la reconnaissance des formes non reconnues à la première passe, ou construit-on « à neuf » les ressources lexicales « acadiennes », en intégrant dans un seul dictionnaire, les trois zones délimitées : standard, oral/régional, anglais?

3. Rappel des notions préliminaires

L'approche de la flexion des verbes fondée sur la terminaison désigne la classification des verbes en groupes : 1er groupe en *–er*, 2^{e} groupe en *-ir* (= *issant*), et les autres. L'approche fondée sur les radicaux classifie les verbes en fonction du nombre de radicaux utilisés pour les conjuguer au présent de l'indicatif.

Les deux approches s'entendent pour reconnaître que l'infinitif et l'indicatif servent de point de départ pour la conjugaison des autres temps : finiss-ons donne son radical à l'imparfait, qui se reconnaît au son « è » de la terminaison aux rangs 1, 2, 3 et 6, et à l'insertion de « i » au rang 4 et 5. Le futur prend son radical de l'infinitif et utilise des terminaisons qui lui sont propres, à l'exception des rangs 4 (*-ons*) et 5 (*-ez*), communs à toutes les conjugaisons sauf quelques exceptions très rares : *dites, faites, sommes, êtes*. L'infinitif donne son radical au conditionnel, l'imparfait lui donne sa terminaison.

Le tableau ci-dessous illustre les terminaisons, en incluant la 3^{e} pers. du pluriel acadien, que nous numérotons 7 (plutôt que 6a), parce qu'il introduit une terminaison additionnelle et qu'il fait appel à des radicaux différents. Nous écartons pour le moment le passé simple encore utilisé chez certains Acadiens des Maritimes, et la terminaison en « *je ... -ions* », sans ignorer qu'ils pourraient nous amener à réviser nos conclusions.

Tableau 1 : Terminaisons selon le rang (à l'exclusion du passé simple et du subjonctif imparfait)

	Rang 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pronom	je	tu	il,elle,on	nous	vous	ils,elles,i	ils,elles,i
Terminaison au présent	e	es	e	ons	ez	ent	ont
	s	s	t				
	s	s	e				
	s	s	--				
imparfait et conditionnel[5]	ais	ais	ait	ions	iez	aient	iont
Subjonctif présent	e	es	e	ions	iez	ent	iont

On distingue trois classes différentes de conjugaison du point du vue du radical en français :

- Les verbes à 1 radical :
  le radical est stable à toutes les personnes et tous les temps et modes
  Ex. *arriver, ouvrir, rire*

- Les verbes à 2 radicaux :
  i) un radical sert pour les rangs 1, 2 et 3 ; l'autre pour les rangs 4, 5 et 6
  Ex. *finir, vêtir, mettre, peindre*

  ii) un radical sert pour les rangs 1, 2, 3 et 6 ; l'autre pour les rangs 4 et 5
  Ex. *voir, commencer, appeler, jeter, voyager*

- Les verbes à 3 radicaux :
  i) un radical sert pour les rangs 1 et 2, un autre pour 3 ; un autre pour 4, 5, 6, et 7
  Ex. *plaire*

  ii) un radical pour les rangs 1,2,3, un pour 4, 6 et 7, un pour 5
  Ex. *dire, faire*

  iii) un radical pour les rangs 1, 2 et 3, un pour 4, 5 et 7, un pour 6
  Ex. *vouloir, pouvoir, devoir, craindre, éteindre, venir*

- Les verbes à plus de 3 radicaux :
  Les verbes comme *avoir, être, savoir, faire, aller* sont réputés comme irréguliers, et ayant plus que 3 radicaux compte tenu de tous les tiroirs verbaux.

4. Particularité principale des conjugaisons acadiennes

La principale source de divergence entre les verbes acadiens et les verbes en français standard est la terminaison « -ont » à la troisième personne du pluriel (notre rang 7) au présent, imparfait, conditionnel et subjonctif. Le futur se termine toujours par « -ont ». Tout se passerait bien si on pouvait simplement substituer la terminaison verbale de rang 6 « -ent » par celle de rang 7 « -ont », ce qu'accomplit le transducteur de la figure 1.

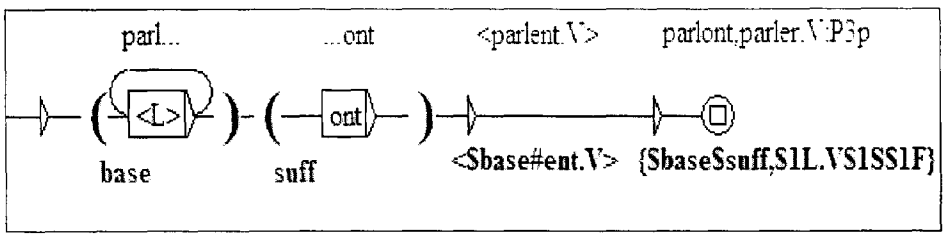

Figure 1 : Graphe on.grf pour la reconnaissance du présent au rang 7

Le transducteur produit des résultats satisfaisants sur les verbes au présent, mais se limite aux verbes qui ont le même radical aux trois personnes du pluriel, soient les classes 1, 2 i), 3i) et 3ii). Il faudrait des transducteurs additionnels pour couvrir l'imparfait, le conditionnel et le subjonctif car non seulement veut-on pouvoir reconnaître les formes à la troisième personne, mais également leur attribuer l'étiquette morphologique appropriée. Les verbes des classes 2 ii) et 3 iii) passent néanmoins par les mailles du filet (tableau 1), de même que les verbes anglais qui ne sont pas incrits dans notre dictionnaire. Si les verbes des classes 2 ii) et 3 iii) sont peu nombreux par comparaison aux autres, il est néanmoins reconnu que les verbes les plus irréguliers sont en général les plus fréquents à l'usage. On ne peut les écarter!

4.1 Améliorer le transducteur à états variables?

La source de variation des radicaux est double : la coupe syllabique qui occasionne des altermances vocaliques et le comportement capricieux du « c » et « g » devant les voyelles, comme dans de nombreuses langues, même celles qui ont une orthographe réformés comme l'italien et l'espagnol.

Tableau 2 : « Remplacer la terminaison de rang 6 par la terminaison de rang 7 »

PRÉSENT	IMPARFAIT	CONDITIONNEL
appell+ent *appell+ont appe+lont	appelaient appeliont	appeler+aient appeler+iont
achèt+ent *achèt+ont ache+tont	ache+taient ache+tiont	achèt(e)raient achèteriont
prenn+ent *prenn+ont	pren+aient pren+iont	prendr+aient prendriont/prenderiont
commenc+ent *commenc+ont	commanç+aient *commanç+iont	commancer+aient commencer+iont
voyag+ent *voyag+ont	voyage+aient *voyage+iont	voyager+aient voyager+iont

Le transducteur à états variables ci-dessous (figure 2) surmonte ces embûches en se basant sur l'identité du radical aux rangs 4 et 7 en acadien familier ou populaire, grâce au maintien de la terminaison « –ont » qui conserve donc un radical stable aux personnes du pluriel. Le graphe donne la consigne de vérifier, lorsqu'on rencontre une forme se terminant en « –ont », si le mot entier ne correspondrait pas à une forme semblable partout ailleurs disponible dans les dictionnaire. Si oui, et si cette forme est étiquetée « verbe à la 1^{e} personne du pluriel d'un temps donné d'un lemme donné », alors, il faut étiqueter la forme non reconnue comme étant un verbe à la 3^{e} personne du pluriel du même temps, pour le même lemme. Les formes qui échappent encore à ce stratagème sont les verbes anglais qui ne sont évidemment pas encodés dans le dictionnaire français, et qui ne le sont pas encore dans le dictionnaire acadien, de même que les formes françaises non standard.

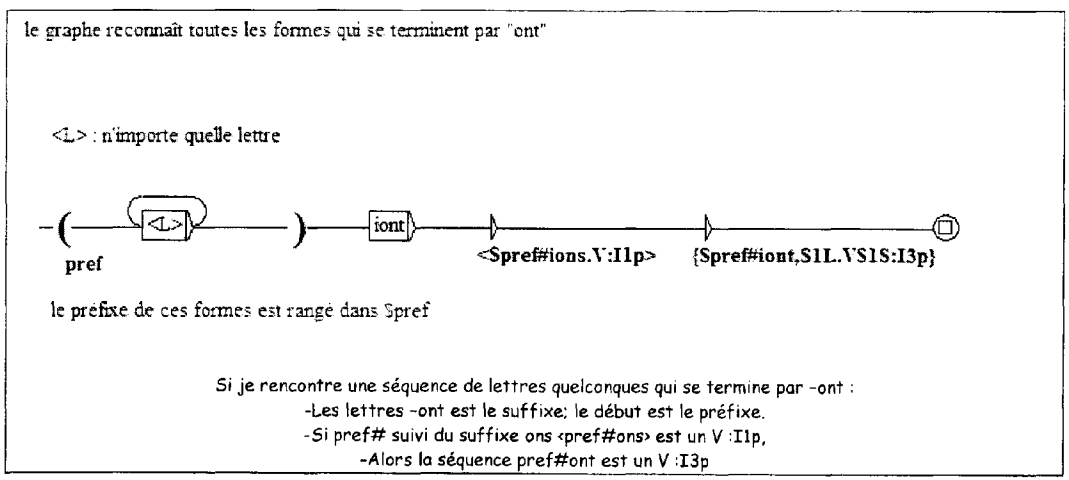

Figure 2 : Graphe « PourI.grf » pour l'identification des verbes de rang 7 à l'imparfait[6]

5. Quels verbes anglais inscrire dans le dictionnaire?

L'inscription des verbes anglais dans le dictionnaire ne pose pas de problème insurmontable, une fois résolue la question de la graphie. La convention orthographique la plus efficace serait celle d'aligner toutes les flexions sur le système français, soit la finale « e, es, e » aux trois seules personnes pour lesquelles la question se pose.[7] On pourrait, à la rigueur, l'économie n'étant pas une contrainte sérieuse pour le traitement informatique, ajouter à la nomenclature du dictionnaire « acadien » l'ensemble d'un dictionnaire verbes anglais, indépendamment des possibilités de réalisation de tous ces verbes en chiac, et les coder selon qu'ils se conjuguent sur le modèle de « aimer », « commencer » ou voyager » ...

6. L'option alternative : un outil indépendant des ressources lexicales françaises

Il ne serait pas très compliqué, ni onéreux, de modifier les graphes qui décrivent le français standard, pour y ajouter la fameuse 3^{e} personne du pluriel aux quatre conjugaisons concernées. Pierrette Allain (2004) a identifié dans son mémoire de spécialisation en linguistique un certain nombre de cas à répertorier et elle a produit les graphes décrivant les usages standard et ceux « déviants » du standard. Il reste à voir quels processus sont récurrents, lesquels justifient de construire un modèle de conjugaison pour un cas isolé. Le cas des conjugaisons au conditionnel (voir le tableau 1) peut peut-être résolu par un transducteur, si on parvient à bien circonscrire les contextes de l'épenthèse. Sinon, il faudra créer une classe morphologique où classer les verbes au cas par cas.

Nous pourrions donc nous orienter vers la génération d'un dictionnaire des formes fléchies acadiennes qui comprendrait :

> 1) l'ensemble des verbes français à tous les temps et mode et personnes, y inclus notre « rang 7 » et les tiroirs du passé simple et du subjonctif imparfait, indépendamment de leur probabilité d'usage par un acadien du sud-est du N.-B. ;
>
> 2) l'ensemble des verbes anglais codifiés en fonction de leur appartenance aux groupes de conjugaisons françaises, indépendamment de leur probabilité d'usage comme en 1) ;
>
> 3) les formes particulières au français oral régional (*assir, tiendre, viendre,* etc.).

Le tout serait alors généré par une seule bibliothèque de graphes intégrant le standard et l'oral régional du sud-est du N.-B. et sans avoir à passer deux ensembles de ressources lexicales. Les transducteurs pour les formes conditionnelles marquées par l'épenthèse pourrait être appliqué sur les formes non reconnues. Le transducteur pour le repérage des verbes en « ont » de l'acadien serait dorénavant superflu, de même que le dictionnaire du français standard.[8]

Linguistiquement, et surtout, d'un point de vue sociolinguistique, la solution n'est pas des plus esthétiques, mais du point de vue informatique, le rendement d'INTEX-NooJ ferait un bond de géant. Rien n'empêche par ailleurs d'intégrer des marques d'usage (*-ent* = Fstandard, *-ont* =Facadien, *turner*=En, *assisait*=Fpopulaire) dans le dictionnaire des formes simples, de façon à trier les formes en fonction de ces indicateurs.

Sur le plan morphologique, il y aurait moyen d'optimiser le système de conjugaison pour capter un plus grand nombre de régularités ; par exemple l'alternance « e/è » touche des verbes qui suivent le même pattern, mais que la position avant la consonne du radical nous contraint à multiplier les modèles flexionnels : *cède, jète, mène*. Les pressions ne viennent d'ailleurs pas uniquement de l'usage acadien : les nouvelles prescriptions orthographiques qui autorisent les variantes *plaît* et *plait* (sic) en font autant.

Notes

1. À l'inverse, la numérotation « fluo » de ce qui semble être les modèles de conjugaisons, monte à 82, mais l'œil vigilent comprend que quelques pages de la numérotation sont consacrées à la présentation d'un nouveau groupe de conjugaison. En fait, Bescherelle présente 79 tables de conjugaison, et en omet quelques uns.

2. Au moment d'écrire ces lignes, nous explorons les avenues pour optimiser la description. Les résultats seront présentés aux Xe Journées INTEX-NooJ en juin 2005.

3. En pratique, ce sont les verbes qui ne sont pas enregistrés dans le dictionnaire français intégré à INTEX.

4. Dans l'immédiat, chaque catégorie grammaticale fait l'objet d'un dictionnaire à part dans le classeur des « ressources lexicales ». Au moment d'ouvrir un corpus dans INTEX-NooJ, nous appliquons simultanément le dictionnaire français original, et les composantes développées à ce jour.

5. Le « r » caractéristique du conditionnel et le « « -iss » caractéristique du 2e groupe sont considérés comme éléments du radical.

6. Un graphe a été développé depuis par M. Long et M. Silberztein pour intégrer l'étiquetage des verbes au présent, imparfait, conditionnel et subjonctif

7. Si on opte pour la graphie sans terminaison des verbes anglais, on doit ajouter à notre bibliothèque de graphe, un graphe exclusif pour les verbes anglais, qui s'appliquerait sur les formes non reconnues. Puisque la convention de transcription sans terminaison au rangs 1, 2 et 3 du présent a été appliquée à plusieurs corpus existants, et que certains continueront à l'appliquer, il faut peut-être se résoudre à garder cette « béquille » dans le système, à moins de développer un

programme qui puisse substituer automatiquement les graphies en ne confondant pas les substantifs et les verbes.

8. ... bien que ce dernier reste utile pour les formes des autres catégories grammaticales (N, A, ADV, CONJ, INTJ, DET, PRO)

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La part de la néologie allogène dans la variété du français québécois

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Les politiques linguistiques des divers gouvernements québécois, élaborées principalement à partir des années 60, ont toutes eu un impact sur la création néologique.

> Le contexte politique se révèle parfois dynamisant pour la néologisation. Là où la langue se sent menacée, risquant d'être battue en brèche par une autre, la néologisation se développe souvent en contre-feu. Le Québec a conduit à cet égard une politique exemplaire pour éviter le bilinguisme oppressant qui aurait pu faire de l'anglais le modèle dominant. (Pruvost et Sablayrolles 2003: 26-27)

Au Québec, on néologise abondamment, parfois fort habilement et surtout d'une manière différente de la France. Toutefois, en raison des pressions quotidiennes de l'anglais, on importe aussi des mots, des sens, des structures qui innervent le système de la langue d'éléments allogènes.

« L'existence d'un flou terminologique » (Sablayrolles 2000: 12) relativement à la nature et au classement des innovations nous amène à considérer les emprunts, extérieurs au système de la langue française, plus précisément les emprunts à l'anglais, comme un procédé de création néologique à part entière, au même titre que les néologismes créés à l'aide des mécanismes propres au français. L'emprunt ne consiste pas à proprement parler en une création originale de signe, mais plutôt en une adoption de signe, la véritable création intervenant dans la langue emprunteuse (Lagueux 1987: 105). Ainsi, en raison de l'absence d'un dictionnaire officiel de la variété du français québécois, nous accordons le statut de néologisme à tous les mots (signifiants nouveaux, signifiés ajoutés à des mots existants, syntagmes lexicalisés, emprunts à l'anglais, calques, etc.) de la variété québécoise non inscrits dans un dictionnaire d'archaïsmes/dialectalismes français ni dans un dictionnaire de la langue courante du type *Le Petit Robert*.

Pour mener à bien une analyse objective de la situation néologique au Québec, nous avons réuni un corpus de dépouillement que nous voulions le plus près possible de la langue courante. Ainsi, nous avons observé la langue de six humoristes québécois (Y. Deschamps, F. Pérusse, P. Légaré, Les Cyniques, C. Desrochers, C. Meunier), langue très spontanée, populaire, qui colle obligatoirement à la réalité linguistique des spectateurs et qui se rapproche des usages du français parlé. Il ne s'agit pas de la langue des écrivains, langue travaillée, peaufinée. Au contraire, la langue des humoristes est une langue d'effets-chocs, instinctive, impertinente, une langue que tout le monde comprend sans grand effort et qui reflète les usages linguistiques d'un certain milieu social. Le but premier des humoristes est de faire rire les spectateurs, de les surprendre, de les choquer parfois. Aussi, le choix des mots qu'ils utilisent, leur impact ne peuvent être négligés. La langue de l'humour innove. Elle ne se soucie guère des rigueurs du système ni des jugements de valeur négatifs dont elle

est l'objet (Dor 1996: 173). L'échantillonnage retenu donne une idée assez juste, croyons-nous, de la création néologique en général et de l'utilisation de l'emprunt en particulier en français populaire au Québec.

Nous avons relevé sur un total de 1 283 entrées collectées, 578 innovations françaises (45 %) par rapport au français hexagonal, 348 anglicismes de toutes sortes (27,1 %), 332 archaïsmes et dialectalismes (25,8 %) et 7 amérindienismes. Au premier coup d'oeil, on se rend compte que la présence des innovations et des anglicismes (presque 74 % de tout le corpus) par rapport aux archaïsmes et aux dialectalismes constitue un fait notable du français québécois qui ne peut donc être tenu pour une variété fondamentalement archaïque. Il est exact que des formes et des tours anciens disparus depuis longtemps du français hexagonal se rencontrent dans le lexique de la variété québécoise. Cependant, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que la variété québécoise se présente principalement comme une variété composée de nombreux mots qui lui appartiennent d'une manière exclusive, des mots français ou anglais inconnus ailleurs dans la francophonie, auxquels s'ajoute le lexique issu du fonds indo-européen et partagé par toutes les communautés linguistiques françaises.

Les anglicismes, le quart de l'ensemble des mots recensés, ce qui est tout de même appréciable, participent activement au renouvellement du français québécois, à son façonnement. Certains sont d'ailleurs tellement intégrés au lexique que le trait grammatical ou sémantique correspondant en français standard a l'air suspicieux (marcher *sur*/dans la rue, acheter quelque chose *de*/à quelqu'un, le *bol* des toilettes/cuvette, mettre les *hautes/basses* en voiture/les feux de route et de croisement). Dans l'ensemble de nos corpus, nous comptons 159 emprunts, plus précisément 112 emprunts directs, en gros des noms (des *freckles*, un *computer*, des *records*), des syntagmes nominaux (un *pet shop*, des *hot pants*, des *running shoes*), quelques interjections (*oh boy* , *my god*, *you bet*, *ouch*, *wow*) et adjectifs (*cute*, *swell*, *steady*) et 47 emprunts francisés, pour la plupart des verbes anglais qui subissent une adaptation à l'aide de la flexion verbale du premier groupe *-er* (*checker*, *flyer*, *pitcher*, *staller*, *feeler*). Ces verbes aménagés en français sont pour la plupart des verbes courts, souvent d'une seule syllabe, que les jeunes utilisent abondamment dans leur vocabulaire quotidien. Un certain nombre jouit d'ailleurs d'une solide popularité parmi certains humoristes (*pitcher*, *checker*, *sticker*, *triper*, *feeler*). Quelques noms, une dizaine tout au plus, modifiés à l'aide des suffixes français *–eur* (un *catcheur*, des *gallipeurs*) ou *–ette* (*steppette*) ou encore francisés plus librement (une *canisse*, une *toune*) et trois adjectifs (être *peppé*, du vin *ballouné*, être *tilté*) complètent l'ensemble de ces adaptations.

En commençant cette recherche, nous avions l'impression que certains emprunts recensés se trouvaient déjà dans le vocabulaire usuel du début du XX^{e} siècle. En effet, un quart des emprunts directs et francisés de nos corpus (une bonne quarantaine au total) sont répertoriés dans le *Glossaire du parler français au Canada*. Ces emprunts dont l'« usage est courant », attestés par « plusieurs témoins sûrs et compétents » de cette époque (*Glossaire* 1930: VII) font partie intégrante du français de la variété québécoise au même titre que les amérindienismes et les archaïsmes. Il est surprenant de constater que des mots empruntés comme *chum*, *pitcher*, *rough*, *pluguer*, mettre du *gaz*, *blinds*, *toune*, *switcher*, *springs*, *track*, etc. faisaient partie des habitudes linguistiques de la société un siècle plus tôt. Bien à l'évidence, quelques-uns d'entre eux sont disparus de la langue courante en raison de

l'évolution de la société (un *record*/disque, un *set* carré) ou tout simplement d'habitudes linguistiques différentes. Mais dans l'ensemble, les emprunts que nous avons collectés et que l'on trouve enregistrés dans le *Glossaire* sont plutôt bien implantés dans le lexique contemporain de la variété québécoise. La proportion des anglicismes entrés dans le système de la langue à la Conquête ou au début du XX^{e} siècle, et ils sont légion, ne doit certainement pas nous faire perdre de vue que l'anglais continue à exercer des pressions quotidiennes sur la variété du français québécois en raison d'une situation socio-économique particulière.

En langue commune comme en langue scientifique et technique, en France comme au Québec, les emprunts sont extrêmement populaires, pour des raisons différentes dans l'un et l'autre cas. L'utilisation de mots anglo-saxons ou de mots à tonalité anglo-saxonne jouit de la faveur populaire, sanctionnés qu'ils sont par la société en général ou par la communauté scientifique en particulier. D'un côté comme de l'autre de l'Atlantique, des mots américains, qui ne sont pas toujours les mêmes, apparaissent dans la conversation (*air bag*, *laser beam* en France; *hatch back*, *cruise control* au Québec). En France, l'emprunt à l'anglais relève avant tout de la volonté de faire chic, exotique, à la mode. Il est de bon ton d'émailler sa conversation de mots anglais. En revanche, au Québec, l'emprunt est un fait de société qu'on évite difficilement, qu'on ne peut ignorer. De toute évidence, l'anglicisation prend des formes différentes selon l'endroit où l'on se trouve dans la francophonie. Certains mots empruntés, partagés par les diverses communautés linguistiques de langue française, possèdent une valeur sémantique différente au Québec de celle qu'on lui attribue dans l'Hexagone (au Québec, *look* → regard et apparence, en France → apparence; au Québec, *gang* → bande et groupe de malfaiteurs, en France → groupe de malfaiteurs; au Québec, *ticket* → contravention et billet d'autobus/de spectacle, en France → billet). Le mot emprunté est presque toujours monosémique en français hexagonal alors qu'en français québécois, il conserve fréquemment dans le passage d'une langue à l'autre plus d'une désignation. L'intérêt marqué des francophones de l'Hexagone pour l'utilisation de mots à consonance anglaise se traduit à l'occasion par l'ajout d'une désignation inexistante au mot étranger, désignation qui sera généralement ignorée des francophones québécois (*set* → ensemble de napperons ; *meeting* → réunion publique importante).

L'emprunt direct tout comme l'emprunt que l'on tente d'intégrer au système de la langue française à l'aide d'une flexion ou d'un suffixe se remarquent sans peine en raison de leur impression de nouveauté, de leur singularité. À l'opposé, les traductions littérales, calquées sur l'anglais dans le passage d'une langue à l'autre, entrent en douce dans le système de la langue emprunteuse. Le constat du sentiment de nouveauté varie donc forcément en fonction de la nature de l'anglicisme, à tout le moins chez les usagers de la langue : les emprunts, adaptés ou non (*pitcher*, *chum*), accentuent la présence tangible de l'infiltration de l'anglais en français, alors que l'utilisation d'une préposition non conforme au français standard (*sur* le train), la modification de l'agencement des mots dans une phrase (*un gros 15 minutes*) ou tout simplement l'ajout d'un sens sous l'influence de l'anglais (un outil *versatile*) passent complètement inaperçus. À mi-chemin entre les emprunts directs ou francisés et les traductions libres du type *e-mail* → courriel, *ferry* → traversier, souvent de bon aloi, se trouvent une série de mots et d'expressions, en apparence français, qui sont dans une situation de dépendance étroite envers l'anglais. Ignorés, peu visibles, ces anglicismes (189

occurrences dans l'ensemble de notre corpus) que l'on appelle aussi « calques », « interférences », « faux-amis », « emprunts formels », « emprunts sémantiques », « anglicismes sémantiques », « anglicismes formels », etc. façonnent indéniablement la physionomie du français québécois. Pour les besoins de cette recherche, nous avons adopté la classification des catégories d'anglicismes proposée par J. Darbelnet (1976: 83) : calque morpho-sémantique, sémantique, syntagmatique et syntaxique.

1. ***Calque morpho-sémantique (mot simple)***

(Sa français existant + Sé anglais : *retracer son chemin* ; identité des Sa anglais et français)
Le calque morpho-sémantique (une soixantaine d'occurrences environ) provient de la ressemblance formelle de deux mots : la forme d'un mot anglais exerce son influence sur un mot français, son sosie, au point de lui donner une désignation nouvelle que normalement il ne possède pas (to retrace his steps → retracer son chemin). Résultat d'un acte de traduction mal exécuté, il se présente fondamentalement comme l'ajout d'une désignation étrangère, anglaise, à l'ensemble des désignations originelles d'un mot français. Nous dénombrons dans l'ensemble de notre corpus 33 entrées nominales (*le bol des toilettes*), 12 entrées verbales (*charger 12 $*) et 9 entrées adjectivales (*être confortable*) qui appartiennent à ce type de calque. L'identité ou la quasi-identité de nombreuses formes anglaises et françaises fait du calque morpho-sémantique un des mécanismes d'anglicisation de la langue commune les plus efficaces.

2. ***Calque sémantique (mot simple)***

(Sa français existant + Sé anglais : *prendre un cours* ; différence des Sa anglais et français)
Le calque sémantique (33 occurrences) n'est pas le résultat de la ressemblance morphologique d'un mot français et d'un mot anglais. Au contraire, les formes (Sa) des deux mots ne se rapprochent nullement, cependant que leurs aires sémantiques tendent, elles, à se confondre, comme dans le cas du calque morpho-sémantique, sans jamais se recouvrir entièrement. Un mot français emprunte à un mot anglais, de forme différente, un sens nouveau et l'intègre naturellement à son champ sémantique. C'est à ce stade que se situe cette fois le mauvais fonctionnement de la traduction littérale (*to take a course → prendre un cours*). Moins enraciné que son pendant, le calque morpho-sémantique, le calque sémantique, réparti principalement entre les catégories nominale (*the green light → la lumière verte*) et verbale (*a car hits someone → une voiture frappe quelqu'un*), n'en demeure pas moins un procédé subtil et efficace d'anglicisation de la langue.

Cette séparation des calques en calques sémantique et morpho-sémantique est une division artificielle qui ne doit pas masquer le fait que la néologie de l'anglicisme se concrétise non seulement par l'emprunt massif de formes étrangères, mais aussi par l'emprunt de sens (93 entrées) qui appartiennent à l'anglais. Le calque morpho-sémantique et le calque sémantique constituent en réalité le même type d'emprunt dans lequel une désignation étrangère (Sé) s'ajoute à un signifiant national (Sa) déjà existant.

3. *Calque syntagmatique (locution)*

(Sa français nouveau + Sé anglais : *manquer le bateau* ; différence des Sa anglais et français)

Le calque syntagmatique (60 occurrences) appelé aussi « calque locutionnel », « idiomatique » ou « phraséologique », relève, à l'instar des autres calques, exclusivement du domaine du lexique, c'est-à-dire du domaine des signifiés, et non de l'organisation des mots dans une séquence. « L'examen de la traduction " mot à mot " fait apparaître une tentative de transférer directement des signifiés appartenant à un système dans un autre système ... » (Pergnier 1980: 76) alors qu'en réalité, le message seul devrait être pris en considération. Dans la locution « manquer le bateau », l'union syntaxique du verbe et de l'objet n'est en rien fautive. Cependant, le signifié qu'on lui reconnaît, signifié unique au demeurant, ne recouvre pas du tout la réalité propre à la langue française, représentée plus justement par les expressions *passer à côté de quelque chose/rater la cible/manquer le coche* (cette dernière expression est davantage connue en France). Il existe entre la locution anglaise *to miss the boat* et la locution française impropre, des équivalences de mots, mais aucune équivalence réelle fondée sur le message. En réalité, il s'agit d'une tentative de transfert d'un signifié d'un système linguistique à un autre système : une locution française, dans bien des cas plus adéquate, est alors laissée pour compte au profit d'une nouvelle locution, d'un nouveau signifiant (*credit line → marge de crédit/de sécurité ; safety vest → veste de sauvetage/gilet ; to take a walk → prendre une marche/faire*). Il faut admettre toutefois que plusieurs calques syntagmatiques se présentent comme les seuls substituts possibles et connus, à des expressions anglaises recouvrant des réalités nord-américaines pour lesquelles il n'existe pas vraiment d'équivalent adéquat en français (*soft ball → balle molle, new age → nouvel âge, wood yard → cour à bois, date square → carré aux dates, chicken fingers → doigts de poulet*). La proximité morphologique entre le français et l'anglais facilite sans contredit la naissance de locutions françaises ressemblant étrangement à leurs équivalents anglais. Les syntagmes nominaux du type [N + prép. + N.] (*marge de crédit*) ou [N. + Adj.] (*chaise berçante*) ou encore [N. + N.] (*mère-nature*) concourent sans nul doute à faire de ce type de calque (une quarantaine d'exemples au total) un mécanisme de création lexicale à la fois redoutable et utile. De plus, nous avons recensé une dizaine de syntagmes verbaux d'allure plus ou moins française (*être en avant de son temps, mettre de côté, être le fun, avoir l'air le fun*) et trois ou

quatre syntagmes prépositionnels (à date).

4. *Calque syntaxique/grammatical (phrase/locution)*

Le calque syntaxique (36 occurrences) se définit comme le seul calque qui « modifie les structures de la langue sur le plan de la syntaxe » (Darbelnet 1976: 104) au profit de tournures absolument étrangères ou d'agencements qui ne conviennent pas au français (*to buy from → acheter de, another $15.00 → un autre 15 $, one billion deficit → un milliard de déficit, Thursday the 3 of September → jeudi le 3 septembre*). Peu nombreux par rapport aux autres formes de calques et surtout moins saisissable, le calque grammatical apparaît avant tout sous les traits d'interférences dans lesquelles on substitue à certaines prépositions jouant un rôle dans l'organisation de la phrase française d'autres prépositions traduites directement de l'anglais. Nous avons recensé dans nos six corpus une vingtaine d'exemples d'utilisation inhabituelle de prépositions. Il s'agit principalement des prépositions « sur » (10 exemples) qui semble en train de battre en brèche de nombreuses autres prépositions, tant au Québec qu'en France d'ailleurs (*sur l'étage, sur la ferme, être sur le bord de quelqu'un, arrêter sur un stop, sur la rue, sur semaine*, etc.), « dans » (*Que mets-tu dans le milieu? Le plus gros pot de terre dans le monde, ils l'ont emmené dans le Vietnam*) et « par » utilisée surtout dans des expressions de mesure (*un pouce et 3/4 par un pouce et 3/8, 12 pieds par 14*) et dans quelques syntagmes (*il l'a rencontrée par affaires, 24 heures par jour*). L'organisation des constituants de la phrase française subit aussi les assauts incisifs de l'anglais. Ainsi, l'utilisation répétitive du modèle syntaxique anglais [Article (un) + Adjectif qualificatif (bon) + Adjectif numéral (quatre) + Nom (minutes)] au détriment du modèle syntaxique français [Adjectif numéral (quatre) + Adjectif qualificatif (bonnes) + Nom (minutes)] fournit un indice révélateur de la nature des interférences qui peuvent se produire lorsque deux langues sont en contact. Nous avons bien quelques autres exemples d'influence syntaxique anglaise, mais ce sont pour la plupart des écarts individuels, difficilement imputables à l'ensemble de la collectivité (*Juste pensez à ça ; Les noirs ont toujours été discriminés contre ; pour tout de suite ; un milliard de déficit*), sauf peut-être pour ce dernier exemple qui donne l'impression d'être plus familier.

Nous comptons aussi dans l'ensemble de notre échantillonnage quelques interférences relativement au choix de la catégorie grammaticale de certains mots français, généralement identiques à des mots anglais. Les mots « vacances » et « spaghettis », toujours au pluriel en français quand il s'agit de « période de liberté » ou de « pâtes alimentaires », peuvent porter la marque du singulier, comme en anglais, dans la variété du français québécois (*ça va nous faire une belle petite vacance, à fait venir un bon spaghetti*). Ce type de calque relève de la nature grammaticale des mots et n'entraîne aucun détournement de sens du mot français. Il y a aussi interférence grammaticale dans la recatégorisation du mot « olympique » qui passe de la catégorie grammaticale adjectivale à la catégorie grammaticale nominale, en raison de l'effacement du mot « jeu » dans l'expression « jeux olympiques ». Au Québec, on parle toujours, comme en anglais, des « olympiques » au lieu des

« jeux olympiques/J.O ». Dans cet exemple cependant, une nouvelle désignation s'ajoute au mot français dans le passage d'une catégorie à une autre. Le sens québécois associé au mot « olympique », c'est-à-dire le sens de « jeu de nature particulière exigeant de la vigueur, de l'adresse sportive», bien que compréhensible par tous les francophones, n'appartient pas en propre à la nature sémantique originelle du mot.

Conclusion

Bien qu'imparfaite, cette étude permet tout de même d'évaluer l'importance des emprunts et des calques dans la néologie en français québécois. Ainsi, l'anglicisme doit-il être examiné impérativement par rapport aux liens étroits qu'il entretient avec les diverses disciplines de la linguistique : morphologie, sémantique, lexique, phonétique/phonologie, syntaxe, etc. Parler d'anglicisation sans tenir compte des éléments qui caractérisent la langue française risque de ne pas être utile à la compréhension approfondie du phénomène des langues en contact.

L'hybridation des langues, en particulier avec l'anglais, est un phénomène universellement constaté, aux conséquences variées selon les lieux et selon les époques. Cependant, quel que soit le comportement adopté vis-à-vis du mot ou du sens étranger, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que la vitalité de l'anglicisme dans le contexte québécois se traduit malheureusement par un affaiblissement de la véritable création française et souvent par l'éradication pure et simple de mots appartenant au lexique de la langue.

L'examen de la situation linguistique au Québec ne peut se faire sans la prise en considération des notions d'anglicisme de bon aloi et d'anglicisme conforme aux « realia », c'est-à-dire aux usages sociaux et linguistiques. Dès lors, nous sommes en droit de nous demander si la taille des lits en Amérique (lit simple/queen/king) et la découpe de la viande (un T-bone) sont des « realia » appartenant à la société nord-américaine qu'on devrait nécessairement intégrer dans un lexique officiel du français québécois. Un mot comme « chum », que l'on trouve inscrit dans le Glossaire du parler français au Canada, devrait-il faire partie d'un dictionnaire du français québécois, à côté du mot « blonde » par exemple, sous prétexte qu'il s'agit d'un mot bien enraciné dans la langue populaire? La reconnaissance officielle d'un anglicisme appartenant au « bon usage » du français de la variété québécoise relève forcément d'une conception dictionnairique propre à cette société.

Un dictionnaire du français québécois doit-il se déterminer par rapport au français hexagonal (le Multidictionnaire de la langue française) ou par rapport à une norme nationale interne, norme qui bien à l'évidence n'est pas encore définie? Un mot emprunté à l'anglais au Québec est-il condamné à être rejeté d'un dictionnaire national parce qu'il n'existe pas en France ou qu'il signifie autre chose de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique (*ticket* → *contravention/billet quelconque*)? Les critères de sélection des emprunts et des calques que l'on devrait inscrire dans un dictionnaire de la variété du français québécois doivent tenir compte de toute évidence de l'environnement socio-culturel dans lequel baigne la société, mais aussi et surtout de l'appartenance de la variété québécoise à la grande famille

du français. L'intercompréhension entre les francophones demeure un élément essentiel à la survie de la langue française en Amérique. Il importe de ne pas s'isoler du reste de la francophonie, ce qui ne signifie pas le rejet absolu de ses particularités linguistiques.

Il va sans dire que les créations originales et les emprunts que nous avons recensés sont fréquemment regardés comme curieux et même fautifs. Certaines sociétés de gens de lettres, des linguistes, des écrivains québécois et surtout français qualifient d'inacceptables les écarts lexicaux qui éloignent toute variété de français du français de référence hexagonal : on n'a qu'à se rappeler la querelle Poirier/de Villers à la suite de la décision de la maison Larousse d'entériner l'usage québécois de quelques mots, comme « vidanges » entre autres, ou encore le désaccord manifeste de l'Académie française sur le virage féminisant pris par le Québec. Tout néologisme lexical ou syntaxique quel qu'il soit doit obligatoirement faire l'objet d'un consensus social et linguistique avant de se retrouver dans un lexique officiel de la langue.

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Bilinguisme, politiques et attitudes linguistiques au Cameroun et au Canada

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Résumé

Comme le Canada, le Cameroun est un pays bilingue dans lequel le français et l'anglais sont langues officielles. Mais contrairement au Canada, au Cameroun, la minorité statistique est anglophone tandis que la majorité est francophone. Le rapprochement des deux situations sociolinguistiques peut permettre de mieux comprendre la réalité du bilinguisme (aussi bien en tant que réalité sociale qu'en tant que pratique individuelle) dans les deux pays. La présente étude s'emploie à mettre en évidence les ressemblances et les différences entre les deux situations sociolinguistiques. Elle montre que les différences, qui découlent pour l'essentiel du rapport différencié que les citoyens des deux pays ont avec leurs langues officielles, déterminent les choix des politiques linguistiques et influencent les attitudes vis-à-vis du bilinguisme individuel.

Abstract

Just like Canada, Cameroon is a bilingual country in which French and English are the official languages. But unlike in Canada, in Cameroon, the statistical minority is English-speaking while the statistical majority is French-speaking. A comparison of both sociolinguistic situations can lead to a better understanding of bilingualism (both as a social reality and as an individual practice) in both countries. This paper depicts the similarities and differences between the two sociolinguistic situations. It shows that the differences, which derive mostly from the differentiated relationship that Cameroonians and Canadians have with their official languages, determine the choices of language policies and influence attitudes towards individual bilingualism.

1. Introduction

'La situation de chaque pays bilingue ne peut être pleinement appréciée que si l'on regarde par-delà ses frontières', écrit Darbelnet (1976:14). En d'autres termes, en matière de bilinguisme, les comparaisons sont parfois éclairantes. Dans la réflexion qui suit, nous allons essayer de comprendre pourquoi le Cameroun et le Canada, deux pays dans lesquels le français et l'anglais sont les langues officielles, ont adopté des politiques linguistiques différentes en matière de bilinguisme. Il ne s'agira pas pour nous de vanter les succès ou d'étaler les ratés de telle ou telle politique, mais, tout simplement d'essayer de comprendre le ou les éléments qui les ont motivées. Mais avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, peut-être convient-il d'évoquer rapidement les circonstances historiques qui ont conduit au bilinguisme officiel dans l'un et l'autre pays.

2. *Bref historique*

En tant qu'État, le Canada existe depuis le 1er juillet 1867, date de la signature de *l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique* qui crée la Confédération canadienne en entérinant l'union du Haut-Canada (qui était à forte majorité anglaise et comprenait les provinces du Nouveau-Brunswick et de la Nouvelle-Écosse) et du Bas-Canada (qui était à forte majorité française et comprenait les provinces du Québec et de l'Ontario[1]). La signature de cet acte intervenait après environ un siècle de cohabitation houleuse entre les colons anglais et français. Ces derniers, qui avaient été pourtant les premiers Européens à fouler le sol canadien vers le milieu du 16ème siècle, avaient vu leur force numérique et leur poids politique s'amenuiser considérablement au fur et à mesure que les Britanniques, débarquant par vagues successives en provenance des États-Unis ou de la Grande-Bretagne, consolidaient leur nombre et leur influence politique. En 1756, une guerre (la Guerre de Sept Ans) éclate entre les deux groupes linguistiques qui essayent de s'éliminer réciproquement. Elle se soldera par la signature du Traité de Paris qui consacre la fin du régime français en Amérique et qui fait du Canada une propriété britannique. Ce désengagement de la France laisse la voie libre à Londres qui, jusqu'à la signature de l'Acte de la Confédération, essayera moult manœuvres visant à soumettre et à assimiler les Canadiens français. Par exemple, dès la première réunion de la Chambre d'Assemblée du Bas-Canada en 1792, Londres impose l'anglais comme langue officielle du Bas-Canada (pourtant langue de la minorité dans cette partie du Canada), admettant le français, langue de la majorité, simplement comme langue de traduction. Autre exemple : dans un rapport d'enquête adressé, en 1839, au gouvernement britannique, suite aux violents soulèvements des Français du Bas-Canada, Lord Durham prône, entre autres mesures, une anglicisation sans équivoque des Canadiens français, seul gage, selon lui, de la paix et de la stabilité dans la région. Et dans le dessein de créer une entité linguistiquement homogène au Canada et partant en Amérique du Nord, Londres fait inscrire dans l'Acte d'Union de 1841 un article (l'article 41) qui stipule clairement que la langue anglaise est la seule langue officielle du pays. Mais toutes ces tentatives d'assimilation se heurteront à la résistance tenace des Canadiens français, décidés à défendre leur patrimoine culturel et linguistique. Yves Thériault se vantera de cette résistance acharnée des Canadiens français, l'attribuant fièrement à leurs origines gauloises :

> Brimades et oppression, si subtiles fussent-elles, n'ont jamais influé parce que nous possédions l'entêtement breton, l'acharnement normand, l'obstruction poitevine et la ruse angevine. Contre de telles murailles, les prétentions anglaises se sont toujours butées (1959:21).

L'*Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique* reconnaîtra, de façon symbolique, la dualité linguistique de la Confédération canadienne, en instituant un bilinguisme obligatoire au parlement fédéral, dans les tribunaux fédéraux et à la législature du Québec et un bilinguisme facultatif ailleurs au Canada. Mais cette disposition qui impose le bilinguisme au Québec (province à majorité française) sera violemment dénoncée par les Canadiens français pendant la « Révolution Tranquille », et le Parti québécois, porté au pouvoir en 1976, fait adopter la *Charte de la langue française* (plus connue sous le nom de la Loi 101) qui proclame le français comme la seule langue officielle du Québec. Sept années auparavant, en 1969, le Nouveau Brunswick (province à majorité

anglophone), avait adopté le français et l'anglais comme langues officielles, devenant de ce fait la seule province bilingue de la Confédération canadienne. Toutes les autres provinces sont officiellement unilingues.

Au Cameroun, le bilinguisme officiel résulte de la réunification le 1er octobre 1961, de deux territoires anciennement colonisés par les Français et les Britanniques. Avant cette double colonisation, le Cameroun avait été une colonie allemande de 1884 à 1916. Après avoir défait les Allemands à la fin de la Première guerre mondiale, Français et Britanniques décident de s'adjuger toutes ses anciennes colonies, dont le Cameroun. Les premiers recevront 80 pour cent du territoire tandis que les seconds, qui n'étaient pas manifestement attirés par les terres camerounaises, se contenteront des 20 pour cent restants. Après cette bipartition, les Britanniques coupent aussitôt leur « part du Cameroun » en deux parties et rattachent la partie septentrionale (*Northern Cameroon*) au Nigéria. La partie méridionale (*Southern Cameroon*) est administrée comme une colonie autonome. Au moment des indépendances, le *Northern Cameroon* opte, par plébiscite, le rattachement définitif au Nigéria tandis que le *Southern Cameroon* choisit la réunification avec le Cameroun francophone. Le jeune État ainsi formé adopte aussitôt le français et l'anglais comme ses langues officielles.

3. Les langues officielles : langues maternelles ou langues étrangères ?

Sur la base de ce bref aperçu historique, il ressort que le français et l'anglais ont des statuts différents selon que l'on considère le Cameroun ou le Canada. Au Canada, les deux langues sont en même temps les langues maternelles des citoyens ou mieux, de la majorité des citoyens, la population canadienne étant aussi constituée d'un nombre assez important d'immigrants qui ne sont ni de souche française, ni de souche anglaise. En empruntant une terminologie de Kachru (1988), on peut dire qu'à l'intérieur de la francophonie et du Commonwealth, le Canada appartient aux pays du « inner circle », c'est-à-dire au cercle des pays dans lesquels les langues officielles coïncident avec les langues maternelles des citoyens. Parce qu'elles sont leurs langues maternelles, il y a, chez les Canadiens français et anglais, une certaine consubstantialité entre la conscience linguistique et la conscience ontologique, entre la « langue du cœur » et la « langue de la raison ». Le Cameroun, par contre, fait partie des pays du « outer circle », c'est-à-dire les pays dans lesquels les langues officielles, héritées de la colonisation, ont le statut de langues étrangères. À ce titre, elles se superposent aux langues maternelles des citoyens, c'est-à-dire aux langues qui leur permettent de se définir sur le plan culturel et identitaire. Contrairement au Canadien français ou anglais, le Camerounais francophone ou anglophone n'a pas toujours une connaissance du français ou de l'anglais. C'est du reste au moyen de la scolarisation qu'il compte l'apprendre. Il peut donc ne pas avoir un 'attachement idéologique et sentimental' (Calvet 1987:129) aux langues officielles. Celles-ci sont perçues soit comme un simple moyen vers la promotion sociale, soit comme le signe vivant de l'acculturation survenue pendant la période coloniale, mais jamais comme la marque d'une identité naturelle. Ainsi, lorsqu'un Camerounais « anglophone », mécontent de la politique gouvernementale fait valoir que 'we will free our people from this BRUTAL FRENCH COLONISATION;[2] we do not like their culture of death and tyranny [...] ', un autre Camerounais,

« francophone », lui rétorque sur le même ton passionné : '« Anglophone » n'est pas une tribu camerounaise, pas plus que ne l'est l'étiquette « francophone » [...] Seuls des imbéciles [pourris par une mentalité de néo-colonisé] peuvent réclamer une autonomie au nom d'une langue de colonisation imposée par nos oppresseurs d'hier .'[3] La contestation de l'authenticité d'une identité spécifiquement anglophone est également perceptible dans la réflexion ci-après de Simo Bobda (2001) :

> The term *Anglophone*, as it is understood in Cameroon, has mostly an ethnic connotation. As a corollary, it has a political connotation since in Cameroon, access to public service jobs and appointments to high positions are ethnically planned. The term *Anglophone* has very little to do with knowledge of the English language; indeed, an *Anglophone* in the Cameroonian sense does not need to know a word of English.

Cette observation vaut sans retouche pour le terme « francophone ». Il va sans dire que cette querelle sémantique est inexistante au Canada où les Canadiens français et anglais se reconnaissent d'emblée dans leur langue maternelle. Ce rapport différencié aux langues officielles explique probablement pourquoi les Camerounais et les Canadiens ont adopté des politiques linguistiques divergentes en matière de bilinguisme officiel.

4. Bilinguisme et politiques linguistiques

Une précision : Au Canada, en dehors de la politique linguistique mise en place par le gouvernement fédéral, chaque province applique sa propre politique en matière de langue officielle. Mais à des fins de simplification et de concision, nous nous limiterons à l'axe majeur de la politique linguistique du gouvernement fédéral canadien. À ce propos, on remarque que la politique du gouvernement fédéral canadien en matière de bilinguisme est orientée vers la préservation des deux principaux unilinguismes. Le gouvernement fédéral estime qu'il n'est pas de son ressort d'obliger les Canadiens à apprendre les deux langues officielles. Sa principale priorité est de veiller à ce que ses services soient offerts aux citoyens dans les deux langues officielles, d'où le grand volume de traductions qui a cours au sein de l'administration fédérale. Seul 'le gouvernement fédéral est bilingue, /.../ les Canadiens n'ont pas à l'être' (1994:10) lit-on dans un opuscule sur le bilinguisme publié par le Ministère du patrimoine canadien. Il ne serait donc pas exagéré de définir le bilinguisme officiel canadien comme la cohabitation de deux 'unilinguismes reliés l'un à l'autre' (1969:522), selon les mots de la Commission royale sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. C'est ainsi qu'au niveau de l'organisation politique, en dehors du Nouveau-Brunswick, chaque province fédérée est officiellement unilingue française ou anglaise. Dans le système éducatif, chaque groupe linguistique met en place et contrôle ses propres commissions scolaires. La même ségrégation touche également le paysage médiatique puisque chaque groupe linguistique dispose de ses propres chaînes de radio et de télévision ... Bref, l'objectif du gouvernement fédéral en matière de bilinguisme est de sauvegarder, autant que faire se peut, l'unilinguisme de chaque groupe notamment en garantissant des prestations dans les deux langues officielles et en favorisant leur développement séparé. Cette option politique donne raison à Mackey (1967:11) qui constate : 'Bilingual countries were created

not to promote bilingualism, but to guarantee the maintenance and use of two or more languages in the same nations'. Mais si cette remarque est vraie au Canada, est-elle également valable au Cameroun ?

Pour définir sa politique linguistique, le Cameroun a pris en ligne de compte deux facteurs majeurs : l'unité de la nation et l'avenir de la jeunesse. Concernant le premier point, dès la création de la République fédérale du Cameroun en 1961, l'État a vu dans l'expansion du bilinguisme individuel français/anglais un élément déterminant pour la consolidation de l'unité et de l'intégration nationales. Il fallait exorciser les démons de la division, de la sécession et du tribalisme et solidifier la fraîche identité nationale par la promotion du bilinguisme individuel. Pour les autorités, il n'était pas question d'avoir un Cameroun peuplé d' « anglophones » à l'ouest et un Cameroun peuplé de « francophones » à l'est, mais un État uni peuplé d'est en ouest de bilingues français-anglais. ' L'État consacre le bilinguisme au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur comme facteur d'unité et d'intégration nationales' lit-on à l'article 5 de la loi N° 005 du 16 avril 2001 portant orientation de l'enseignement supérieur. Bernard Fonlon, le principal protagoniste de la politique gouvernementale en matière de bilinguisme, insiste sur les avantages que la connaissance des deux langues officielles comportent pour le citoyen camerounais. Il précise, au passage, que le modèle que le Cameroun entend poursuivre est nettement en porte-à-faux par rapport aux modèles canadien et belge.

> La grande majorité des Canadiens et des Belges sont restés monolingues. Un État bilingue ne suppose donc pas nécessairement des individus, des citoyens bilingues. Mais pour nous, au Cameroun, ce serait une méconnaissance des avantages qui s'offrent à nous et un manque regrettable d'idéal que de nous contenter d'avoir créé un État bilingue. L'objectif que nous devons viser doit être un bilinguisme individuel grâce auquel chaque enfant qui suit le cycle de notre système d'éducation sera capable de parler l'anglais et le français (1963:54).

Cette orientation gouvernementale se concrétise par la multiplication des écoles bilingues (privées et publiques), des centres de formation bilingue destinés aux adultes (privés et publics), la création des chaînes de télévision et des stations de radio bilingues ... Avant la réforme universitaire de 1992 qui permit la création d'une université de tradition anglo-saxonne à Buéa, tous les étudiants camerounais, anglophones et francophones confondus, fréquentaient la seule université bilingue du pays (Université de Yaoundé) dans laquelle chaque enseignant avait et a encore, de nos jours, le droit de dispenser les cours dans sa première langue officielle. Les étudiants, quant à eux, avaient et ont encore le droit de passer les examens dans leur première langue officielle.

En somme, le Cameroun a pris le contre-pied de la politique canadienne en matière de langues officielles. Pendant que le Canada s'engage à offrir au citoyen des services dans sa langue maternelle, le Cameroun s'engage dans la voie difficile d'une bilinguisation généralisée des citoyens. Il est vrai qu'au Cameroun, cette politique est loin d'avoir produit les résultats escomptés. Mais le simple fait qu'il ait eu une approche complètement différente de celle en cours au Canada nous incite à postuler que dans un contexte de bilinguisme officiel, les politiques linguistiques adoptées sont tributaires de la nature des rapports qui existent entre les citoyens et les langues officielles. Si ces

langues ont le statut de langues étrangères, il est possible que l'État s'emploie à vulgariser leur connaissance dans le but de préserver l'unité nationale tout en donnant aux citoyens des moyens indispensables pour leur épanouissement. Si en revanche, les langues officielles ont le statut de langues maternelles, il est possible que l'État opte pour une politique orientée vers la préservation des unilinguismes, même si, à la longue, les circonstances économiques peuvent obliger l'un des groupes à apprendre l'autre langue.

Autant le rapport aux langues officielles dicte les politiques linguistiques, autant il détermine les attitudes vis-à-vis du bilinguisme individuel.

5. Attitudes vis-à-vis du bilinguisme individuel

Au Canada, on note chez chaque groupe linguistique et en particulier chez les francophones, la ferme volonté de préserver sa langue et partant, son identité culturelle et ethnique. Dans l'ensemble et toutes proportions gardées, le bilinguisme en tant que pratique semble indisposer, à des degrés divers, Canadiens français et Canadiens anglais. Ainsi, quand au début des années 1970 le gouvernement fédéral essaie de rendre ses agents bilingues, la réaction des Anglo-Canadiens de l'Ouest est cinglante, comme nous le rapporte Stanley.

> C'est au début des années 70 que naquit l'expression *'having French crammed down our throats'*, qui au cours des redites, devint l'objet d'un véritable brûlot intitulé *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow.*[5] Ce boutefeu politico-linguistique broché mettait en scène à Ottawa un gouvernement de Québécois complotant la francisation de tout le Canada (Stanley 1981:4).

Les Canadiens veulent bien du bilinguisme, mais simplement en tant que réalité sociale et non en tant que pratique individuelle. Les Canadiens-anglais n'acceptent le principe du bilinguisme que pour autant qu'on ne leur impose pas la tâche ardue d'apprendre le français dont ils estiment qu'ils peuvent s'en passer.[6] Ce n'est donc pas un hasard si la proportion des bilingues français-anglais à l'extérieur du Québec se situe à seulement 10,3 pour cent alors que le nombre d'anglophones qui disent appuyer le bilinguisme officiel culmine à 78 pour cent. Quand on sait qu'une proportion importante des 10,3 pour cent des bilingues à l'extérieur du Québec sont issus des groupes minoritaires francophones, on devine aisément la faiblesse du bilinguisme français/anglais des Anglo-canadiens, faiblesse qui a poussé Keith Spicer à formuler cette remarque caustique : 'Somehow, we've got in our heads that learning another language is crippling, that it is a limitation. English Canadians must be the only people in the world who actually brag about not knowing another language' (cité par John Newlove 1988:27). Même ceux qui croient aux bienfaits du bilinguisme individuel rationalisent en estimant qu'il serait plus réaliste et économiquement plus rentable, pour le Canadien anglais, d'apprendre d'autres langues internationales comme le chinois et le japonais, en lieu et place du français qui serait en perte de vitesse sur la scène économique mondiale. L'avis ci-après d'un lecteur du *Globe and Mail* se passe de tout commentaire.

> Given the importance of English, how important is French? The truth is, unless one wants a civil service job, or like me, one is an obsessive Francophile, there is little reason for Anglophone to learn French. Personal success in today's economy would be better served by learning Chinese or Spanish. While we have given French an equal place in Canada, the future of French in the global economy is questionable (Tom Cmajdalka 2004:A12).

Les Franco-Canadiens rejettent aussi le bilinguisme individuel français/anglais. Comme les anglophones, les francophones sont convaincus que « les bilingues d'aujourd'hui seront anglophones demain ». Ainsi pendant les années chaudes où l'anglais dominait le Québec, Yves Thériault exhortait les Canadiens français à résister au bilinguisme, d'autant plus qu'il était à sens unique.

> Je craindrais qu'une éducation bilingue à un trop bas âge, À MOINS QU'ELLE NE SE FASSE PENDANT UNE ÉDUCATION SIMILAIRE DANS LE RESTE DU CANADA,[7] soit dangereuse, peut-être fatale (1959 :21).

L'impression générale qui se dégage de ces quelques réactions est que dans l'ensemble et sans verser dans l'absolu, les Canadiens français et anglais trouvent la pilule du bilinguisme individuel dure à avaler. Les uns et les autres semblent croire dur comme fer que 'bilingualism is maintained by two monolingual units. Should one of the units become entirely bilingual, it assures the linguistic dominance of the other unit, which can then assimilate the bilingual community' (Mackey 1967:12). Les Canadiens français et anglais n'ont que trop conscience de ce danger et s'en méfient. Voyons à présent ce que les Camerounais pensent du bilinguisme individuel français/anglais.

Être bilingue français/anglais est au Cameroun un idéal que beaucoup recherchent, même si très peu l'atteignent. Les deux langues étant d'abord perçues sous un angle utilitaire, francophones et anglophones ne rechignent pas à se les approprier. Une étude réalisée en 1981 par Tchoungui avait même révélé que dans les zones urbaines, le taux d'enfants « francophones » bilingues était supérieur au taux d'enfants anglophones bilingues, soit 24 pour cent et 21 pour cent respectivement. Il est vrai que le rayonnement international de l'anglais est la principale cause de cette ruée vers la langue statistiquement minoritaire. Pour les francophones et les anglophones, la première langue officielle qu'ils choisissent d'apprendre est celle qui leur permettra de mieux atteindre leurs objectifs dans la vie. Le penchant pour le bilinguisme est palpable à travers la multiplication, en zones francophones, d'écoles anglophones qui attirent de nombreux francophones.

Dans ce climat de consensus général, les quelques voix qui ont critiqué la politique du bilinguisme individuel français/anglais au Cameroun se sont attaquées non pas au principe en tant que tel, mais plutôt à ses incohérences. En effet, plus de trente ans après l'engagement de l'État en faveur du bilinguisme, force est de constater que peu d'actions concrètes sont prises pour passer des discours aux actes et que les fruits tardent à tenir les promesses des fleurs. Pendant que les hautes autorités continuent à proclamer pieusement leur volonté de promouvoir les deux langues officielles, elles continuent en même temps d'encourager l'unilinguisme. Par exemple, au Cameroun, on n'a pas

besoin de connaître les deux langues officielles pour occuper des fonctions politiques ou administratives

> [...] Monolingual top civil servants - Presidents, Ministers, Secretaries General, Directors, Governors, Prefects - still litter our landscape in their majority ... In a bilingual country, one of the major criteria for appointment would have been bilingual competence (Wancha Titus Neba, cité par Stephen Jikong 2000).

Ces hauts fonctionnaires, comme leurs subalternes, travaillent impunément dans une seule langue officielle, en l'occurrence le français. Ceux d'entre eux qui sont anglophones maîtrisent le français davantage parce que l'environnement sociolinguistique (dans lequel domine le français), facilite leur apprentissage. Le glissement vers l'unilinguisme français au sein de l'administration frustre la minorité « anglophone » qui doute de la bonne foi des autorités gouvernementales quand elles proclament leur engagement en faveur de la dualité linguistique. La dénonciation du projet gouvernemental de rendre tous les Camerounais bilingues n'est pas motivé par le fait qu'elle met en péril l'intégrité culturelle ou identitaire d'un groupe quelconque. Elle émane plutôt du fait que mal appliquée, elle assure la domination sociopolitique d'une des langues officielles, et partant, de ceux qui la parlent. La complainte ci-après d'un Camerounais « anglophone », candidat à un examen officiel au cours duquel toutes les questions proposées étaient en français est assez révélatrice :

> If this is not a deliberate plot, why was it that all the questions at the exams came in French? Yes, "Cameroon is bilingual" they would sing. Have the questions ever come exclusively in English? And when the unfortunate Anglophone candidates dared to plead even for some verbal translations, they were told in no uncertain terms to keep quiet.
> A bilingual country? Any real Anglophone who still believes in that is living in a cloud cuckoo land. Bilingualism is a euphemism for francophonising and impoverishing Anglophones. A clear one-way traffic. (Ngu 1998:4).

Au total, au Canada, on suspecte le bilinguisme individuel français/anglais d'être le signe prémonitoire d'une dépossession généralisée. Au Cameroun, la dépossession linguistique ayant déjà eu lieu pendant la période coloniale avec la marginalisation des langues maternelles des Camerounais, la connaissance des deux langues officielles n'est plus perçue comme une menace à l'intégrité culturelle ou identitaire d'un groupe quelconque. Au contraire, elle est le ciment qui permet de bâtir et de consolider l'unité et l'identité nationales.

6. Conclusion

En conclusion, si le Cameroun et le Canada se sont engagés dans deux voies différentes en matière de bilinguisme officiel, c'est sans doute parce que les deux langues ont des statuts différents dans les deux pays. Au Canada, une politique qui chercherait à imposer le bilinguisme aux citoyens aura d'autant moins de chance de réussir qu'elle se heurtera d'abord à la conscience ontologique des deux groupes linguistiques en présence. Au Cameroun, une politique qui chercherait à favoriser le

développement séparé des groupes francophones et anglophones exposerait le pays à la désintégration et priverait les Camerounais de deux formidables outils de développement intellectuel.

Aujourd'hui, au Cameroun, il est parfois difficile de dire qui est anglophone et qui est francophone, car de plus en plus nombreux sont les « francophones » qui choisissent, par réalisme, la scolarisation en anglais. Quant aux « anglophones », leur exode vers les grandes villes francophones facilite leur apprentissage du français. La politique qui a conduit à ce brouillage de frontières linguistiques doit beaucoup au fait que les deux langues officielles sont des langues étrangères à tous les citoyens. Nous croyons que les réactions auraient été différentes si l'une des deux langues officielles était la langue maternelle de l'un des groupes ethniques du pays. Pour preuve, le Cameroun n'a pas pu choisir, parmi ses quelques 200 langues autochtones, une langue nationale. Non seulement le citoyen ordinaire s'interroge sur les enjeux économiques réelles d'une telle entreprise, mais aussi, il estime que si une langue doit servir de langue nationale, il faudrait que ce soit la sienne.

Sur la base de ce qui précède et tout en reconnaissant que « comparaison n'est pas forcément raison », nous pouvons émettre l'hypothèse suivante : dans un contexte de bilinguisme officiel, la réticence au bilinguisme individuel est tributaire du statut que les deux langues ont par rapport aux groupes en présence : si les deux langues sont les langues maternelles des groupes en présence, les oppositions au bilinguisme individuel tendront à être très vives, chaque groupe craignant d'être assimilé par l'autre; en revanche, si les deux langues sont des langues étrangères, le bilinguisme individuel tendra à être une valeur désirée, recherchée, voire partagée.

Notes

1. Les autres provinces adhéreront à la Confédération canadienne au fil des années.

2. L'auteur souligne.

3. « Bamenda, cœur du malaise des anglophones du Cameroun ». Réactions des lecteurs. URL http://www.cameroon-info.net/cin_reactions.php?s_id=15326 Dernière mise à jour : le 9 octobre 2004, consulté le 11 octobre 2004.

4. Ce trait piquant servira de titre à un ouvrage polémique écrit par J. V. Andrew (1977), Ontario : Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow. Richmond Hill: BMG Publishing Ltd.

5. Le Rapport annuel 2002-2003 sur les langues officielles constate, avec regret, que le taux de bilinguisme a régressé de 1,5 pour cent depuis 1996 parmi les jeunes anglophones à l'extérieur du Québec (page 10).

6. L'auteur souligne.

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II. OTHER PAPERS PRESENTED / AUTRES COMMUNICATIONS

Unaccusative Verbs and Their Syntactic Correlates in New Brunswick Acadian French

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Abstract

Labelle (1992) argued that pronominal change-of-state verbs in French are unaccusative while those without *se* are unergative, since the former are conjugated with *être* in compound tenses, as are unaccusative verbs of inherently directed motion. On the other hand, change-of-state verbs without *se* are conjugated with *avoir* in compound tenses, like unergative activity verbs. Both verbs of inherently directed motion and pronominal change-of-state verbs occur in impersonal constructions, but change-of-state verbs without *se* are ungrammatical in such constructions, as are other unergative verbs. A third characteristic of verbs of inherently directed motion in French is that, unlike English and Spanish, their past participles can appear in DPs, for example [$_{DP}$ *les invités arrivés après moi*]. Borgonovo and Cummins (1999) attribute this to the fact that they are conjugated with *être*.

It remains to be seen whether the syntactic correlates of unaccusativity described above exist in Acadian French, where use of *avoir* has been demonstrated to be categorical with both verbs of inherently directed motion and pronominal change-of-state verbs (Gesner 1978, Péronnet 1991, King and Nadasdi 2001). I will explore this question using a fill-in-the-blanks task (FB) and grammaticality judgement (GJ) task. The FB is a narrative in the past with blanks to be filled in with an appropriate form of the verb in parentheses. It includes unaccusative verbs (change of state and inherently directed motion), as well as transitive and unergative verbs (change of state and activity). The GJ uses the same verbs as the FB and contain sentences exemplifying the syntactic correlates of unaccusativity. Subjects were speakers of Acadian French from northeastern and southeastern New Brunswick. They were first-year students at a Francophone university in the maritime provinces of Canada. Results indicate that they used *être* 100% of the time with pronominal change-of-state verbs, but variably with verbs of inherently directed motion. Their acceptance of the syntactic correlates of unaccusativity was also variable. There was a relationship between subjects' acceptance of conjugation with *être* in compound tenses and their acceptance of impersonal *il* constructions and past participles in DPs. No significant regional differences were found.

1. Introduction

The Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) maintains that there are two types of intransitive verbs: unergative, where the grammatical subject is the external argument (Agent) and the verb describes an activity (*laugh, run*) and unaccusative, where the grammatical subject is the direct internal argument (Theme) and the verb describes an achievement, accomplishment or state (*open, arrive, exist*). Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995) argued that unaccusatives are not a monolithic class but rather can be divided into distinct sub-classes based on syntactic and semantic criteria: alternating change-of-state verbs such as *break* (henceforth "change verbs"), verbs of

inherently direction motion such as *arrive* (henceforth "motion verbs"), verbs of appearance, disappearance and existence such as *appear* and *die*, and verbs of occurrence such as *happen*. While there is much overlap cross-linguistically, languages differ as to what aspect of meaning - telicity (completion) for unaccusatives or agentivity for unergatives - determines class membership (Van Valin 1990, Dowty 1991, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995). Thus, verbs which are unergative in one language may be unaccusative in another.

It is often assumed that all change verbs in French are unaccusative as they are in English and Italian (Burzio 1986, Bouchard 1992, Kayne 1993, Legendre 1994 for example), but Labelle (1990, 1992) provided syntactic and semantic arguments to make the case that while some change verbs in French are unaccusative, others are unergative. First of all, she noted that some occur with the clitic pronoun *se* while others do not. She argued that change verbs occurring with *se* are unaccusative (1), while those without *se* are unergative (2), since the former are conjugated with *être* in compound tenses (3a), as are unaccusative motion verbs (3b). On the other hand, change verbs without *se* are conjugated with *avoir* (3c), like unergative activity verbs (3d).

(1) a. *Le vase brise.
b. Le vase se brise.

(2) a. La neige fond.
b. *La neige se fond.

(3) a. Le vase s'est brisé.
b. Marie est arrivée.
c. La neige a fondu.
d. Marie a ri.

And while unaccusative verbs - both motion and change - occur in impersonal constructions (4a and 4b) unergative verbs - both activity and change - do not (4c and 4d).

(4) a. Il est arrivé trois femmes.
b. Il s'est brisé plusieurs vases.
c. *Il a ri plusieurs femmes.
d. *$Il_{impersonnel}$ a fondu de la neige.

According to Borgonovo and Cummins (1999), in English and French (as well as Spanish) the past participles of both unaccusative and unergative change verbs can occur in in Determiner Phrases (that is, a Noun Phrase headed by a determiner, henceforth DP), as in (5a) to (5d), since they have a transitive counterpart which can be passivized to describe a state resulting from a process (*brisé, fondu*) or an adjectival passive with stative *être*. Under their analysis, one characteristic of motion verbs in French is that their past participles can also appear in DPs, as in (5e), while such sentences are ungrammatical in English (5f). Borgonovo and Cummins attribute the grammaticality of motion verbs as past participles in DPs in French to the fact that they are conjugated with *être* in

compound tenses.

(5) a. un vase brisé
b. a broken vase
c. la neige fondue
d. the melted snow
e. les invités arrivés après moi
f. *the guests arrived after me

While Labelle's and Borgonovo and Cummins' analyses are valid for normative French, it remains to be seen whether the morpho-syntactic correlates of unaccusativity described above exist in varieties of French which use *avoir* where normative French uses *être*. In many varieties of vernacular French use of *être* in compound tenses is variable, conditioned by linguistic and social factors (Bauche 1920, Seutin 1975, Sankoff and Thibault 1980, Canale, Mougeon and Bélanger 1978, Russo and Roberts 1999, Willis 2000). Sankoff and Thibault and Willis in particular noted that age and education were strongly correlated with auxiliary use, with younger educated speakers employing *être* more in compound tenses than less educated older speakers.

However, in several varieties of Acadian French, use of *avoir* in compound tenses is categorical with both motion verbs (6a) and pronominal verbs (6b) (Gesner 1978 for Nova Scotia, Péronnet 1991 for southeastern New Brunswick, King and Nadasdi 2001 for Prince Edward Island).

(6) a. Alle a sorti, alle a été trouver le capitaine. (Peronnet 1991:98(2a))
b. Quand que la vieille s'a levé, le gars était parti. (Peronnet 1991:91(6d))

Yet as King and Nadasdi (2001) pointed out, with the exception of their own corpus, which was stratified by age, sex and socio-economic factors, the studies cited above on Acadian French had a small number of informants who were older, rural and mostly male.

The study reported here was therefore guided by two research questions:

- Do young, educated speakers of New Brunswick Acadian French use the auxiliary *avoir* categorically in compound tenses or is its use influenced by social or linguistic variables?

- Do they accept the clustering of morpho-syntactic properties associated with conjugation with *être*, namely impersonal constructions and past participles in DPs?

2. Methodology

2.1. Materials

There were two tasks, a controlled production task and an acceptability judgement task. The production task was a narrative with 44 blanks to be filled with an appropriate form of the verb in parentheses. It contained verbs from various subclasses of unaccusative verbs, as well as unergative and non-alternating transitive verbs. An excerpt is given in (7).

(7) **Directives:** Lisez soigneusement le passage en bas. Remplissez les lacunes avec une forme appropriée du verbe entre parenthèses. C'est possible que vous deviez ajouter un verbe auxiliaire ou un pronom réflexif. Parfois, il y a plus qu'une possibilité, et plusieurs temps verbaux sont acceptables. Voici des exemples :

Jean a perdu son livre. Je vais lui donner OU le lui donnerai (lui donner) le mien.
Son livre a été volé (voler) hier. Il s'est mis (mettre) en colère.

Le « Grand Feu » _____ (passer) à St.-Jean Terre-Neuve le 8 juillet 1892. Il _____ (commencer) dans l'étable de Timothy O'Brien, au coin de la rue Freshwater et de la rue Pennywell. Le feu _____ (passer) parce qu'une pipe allumée _____ (tomber) dans le foin ...

The judgement task consists of 44 sentences using some of the same verbs as the production task. Each verb occurred in a sentence conjugated with *avoir* (8a) with *être* (8b), in an impersonal construction (8c) and as a past participle in DP (8d). Subjects were asked to indicate whether a sentence was "grammatical", "ungrammatical" or if they were "not sure", and to correct those they judged ungrammatical.

(8) a. *Marie a arrivé à la gare avant le départ de son train.
b. Jean est arrivé en même temps que plusieurs autres personnes.
c. [$_{DP}$Les élèves arrivés avant 9h00] recevront un bonbon.
d. Il est arrivé hier soir trois hommes de la Nouvelle-Écosse.

2.2. Subjects

Subjects were 40 speakers of New Brunswick Acadian French who were first-year students at a French university in one of the maritime provinces of Canada. Twenty (ten male and ten female) were from the north-eastern part of the province, where Francophones are in the majority, and twenty (ten male and ten female) were from the south-east, where Francophones are in a minority. Their age ranged from 18 to 24, with a mean of 18.8.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Fill-in-the-blanks task

3.1.1. Verbs of motion

Table 1 gives the frequency of use of the auxiliaries *être* et *avoir* with motion verbs in the fill-in-the-blanks task. "Other" responses - those which used the *passé simple,* the imperfect or some other verb form - were excluded. Thus in some cases the number of tokens was small because subjects did not use a compound tense. (The total in Table 1 indicates in what percentage of their responses subjects employed a compound tense.)

Table 1: *Frequency of* avoir *and* être *with motion verbs in the fill-in-the-blanks task*

Main verb	Être		Avoir		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arriver (3)	51	85	9	15	60	50
Descendre	2	20	8	80	10	6
Monter	2	18	9	82	11	6
Tomber	10	37	17	63	27	67.5

Note: *Arriver* occurred three times in the passage, as indicated by (3).

With the exception of *arriver* (only 15% *avoir*) subjects preferred this auxiliary with motion verbs: 63% with *tomber*, 80 % with *descendre* and 82 % with *monter*. There were no significant differences in the responses based on region or sex. In contrast, in both Péronnet's (1991) study of New Brunswick Acadian French and/or King and Nadasdi's (2001) study of PEI Acadian French *arriver, descendre, monter* and *tomber* all occurred with *avoir* 100% of the time. (Numbers were taken from Table 2 in King and Nadasdi 2001.)

3.1.2. Pronominal verbs

In the fill-in-the-blanks task, only the infinitive of the verb was provided. The possibility of adding a clitic pronoun had been mentioned in the directions, and an example provided. The relevant section of the instructions given in (7) is repeated as (9) for the reader's convenience.

(9) ... C'est possible que vous deviez ajouter un verbe auxiliaire ou un pronom réflexif. .... Voici des exemples :

Jean a perdu son livre. Je vais lui donner OU le lui donnerai (lui donner) le mien. Son livre a été volé (voler) hier. Il s'est mis (mettre) en colère.

The results show that the subjects in this study never conjugated pronominal verbs (those requiring a clitic pronoun) with *avoir*, in contrast to Péronnet (1991) and King and Nadasdi (2001) where use of *avoir* with pronominal verbs was categorical (100% in both corpora). As can be seen in Table 2, in every case where subjects used an auxiliary verb with a pronominal verb, they used *être*.

Table 2: ***Frequency of* avoir *and* être *with pronominal verbs in the fill-in-the-blanks task***

Main verb	cl'être		cl'other		other	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Étendre	13	32.5	19	47.5	8	20
Briser (2)	10	13	21	26	49	61
Produire (2)	47	59	15	19	18	22
Disperser	7	17	23	58	10	25
Rendre compte	20	50	17	42	3	8
Promener	9	22	28	70	3	8
Total	106	33	123	39	91	28

Note: "cl" = Pronominal or reflexive clitic. *Briser* and *produire* occurred twice each in the passage, as indicated by (2).

Subjects, however, used cl'*être* in only 33% of their responses, ranging from 13% with *briser* to 59% with *produire*.

In Table 2, "cl'other" refers to use of a clitic with another verb form, usually the *passé simple*: 39% of the subjects' responses fell into this category, giving a total of 72% of responses with a clitic. In 28% of their responses subjects used no clitic; over half of these responses (49/91 or 53.84%) were with *briser*, where subjects used the *passé simple* with no clitic in 33% of their 'Other' responses and an adjectival passive in over 20% of their 'Other' responses with this verb.

3.2. Acceptability judgement task

3.2.1. Change verbs

The change verbs used in the acceptability judgement task were *briser* and *fondre*. Based on Labelle's arguments presented above, *briser* is unaccusative and *fondre* is unergative. Table 3 shows how subjects judged sentences containing *s'être brisé* and **s'être fondu*, as well as **avoir brisé* and *avoir fondu*.

Subjects clearly distinguish the two verbs: *s'être brisé* was judged grammatical 90% of the time, compared to only 12.5% with **s'être fondu*. And 90% of subjects judged *avoir fondu* to be grammatical, while only 45% of the subjects judged **avoir brisé* to be grammatical. This ties in with the results in the fill-in-the-blanks task, where subjects made a distinction between unaccuative and unergative change verbs but did not use a clitic with intransitive *briser* in 61% of their responses.

Table 3: ***Acceptability judgements with*** **avoir** ***and*** **être** ***with change verbs***

Judgement	Briser				Fondre			
	S'être		Avoir		S'être		Avoir	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Grammatical	36	90	18	45	5	12.5	36	90
Ungrammatical	3	7.5	21	52.5	31	77.5	4	10
Not sure	1	2.5	1	2.5	4	10	0	0

3.2.2. Motion Verbs

Recall that in the judgement task each verb occurred in a sentence with *avoir* and with *être*. Figure 1 gives the judgments of the subjects on sentences with motion verbs with both auxiliaries.

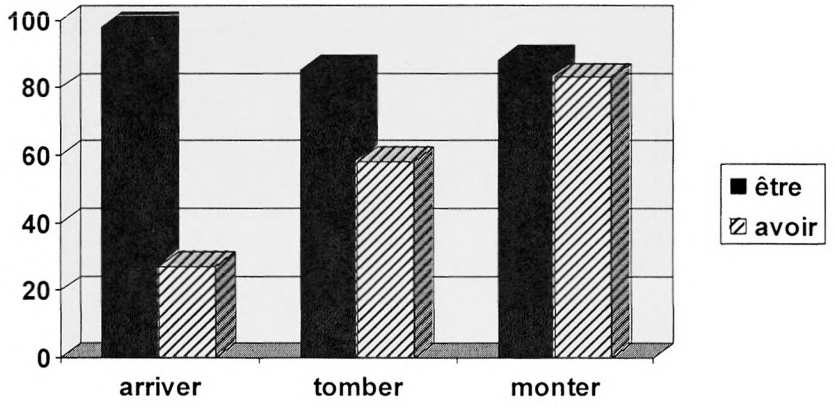

Figure 1. Percentage of "grammatical" judgements with *être* and *avoir* with motion verbs

There were no significant differences in their judgements with *être:* 93 % grammatical with *arriver*, 88 % with *monter*, and 85% with *tomber*. However, the same results did not obtain with sentences with *avoir:* only 27% of the subjects judged the sentence with *arriver* to be grammatical, compared to 83% with *monter* and 58% with *tomber*. Because the sentences in the judgement task were constructed so that there were no aspectual differences between the sentences with *avoir* and *être* containing the same verb, it would appear that there is free variation in auxiliary choice with *tomber* and *monter*. Again, region was not a significant variable in the responses, but one of the very few statistically significant differences surfaced here: a t-test showed that females had a significantly higher number of "not sure" responses with auxiliaries with motion verbs: *avoir* ($t = 6.083$, $p < .018$) and *être* ($t = 4.153$, $p < .049$). This result could be interpreted as indicating that the female

subjects were more aware of the normative use of *être* in compound tenses and were thus less certain when it came to choosing between the vernacular and the norm.

With these results in hand, it is now possible to test the hypotheses of Borgonovo and Cummins (1999) and Labelle (1992) concerning the relationship between conjugation with être and occurrence in past participles in DPs and in impersonal constructions.

3.2.3. Past participles in DPs

Table 4 shows that almost all subjects (91%) judged past participles with transitive verbs as grammatical and that with unergative verbs a very small percentage of "grammatical" judgements were given, only 1%.

Table 4: "Grammatical" judgements for different verb classes by sentence type

Verb class	Past participle in DP		Impersonal construction	
	n	%	n	%
Alternating transitive	73	91	10	13
Non-alternating transitive	73	91	5	6
Unergative	1	1	5	6
Motion	74	62	19	16

This is what one would expect since the former are grammatical and the latter ungrammatical in normative French. These results can therefore provide a baseline for sentences with motion verbs. The percentage of acceptability - 62% - is almost 30% less than for transitive verbs, but 61% higher than for unergative verbs. The results thus support Borgonovo and Cummins' (1999) hypothesis concerning the relationship between motion verbs' in French being conjugated with *être* and their ability to appear as past participles in DPs, though not categorically.

3.2.4. Impersonal constructions

Table 5 shows that subjects did not favour impersonal constructions with verbs of motion. Of course this is also true of *there* constructions in English (i.e. *There arrived three men from Paris last night.)*. While a number of researchers (Keyser and Roeper 1984, Burzio 1986, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995 for example) have suggested that *there*-insertion can be used as a diagnostic for non-alternating unaccusatives in English, not all native speakers accept such structures (Belletti 1988).

Table 5: "Grammatical" judgements for individual motion verbs by sentence type

	Être		Past participle in DP		Impersonal construction	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arriver	37	93	26	65	13	33
Monter	35	88	19	48	1	3
Tomber	34	85	29	73	5	13
Total	106	88	74	62	19	16

The "grammatical" judgements for impersonal constructions with motion verbs were low, an average of 16%. However, the rate of acceptability is considerably higher with two verbs, 33% for *arriver* and 13% for *tomber* but only 3% for *monter*. These results show a tendency for subjects to prefer impersonal constructions with verbs they also preferred conjugated with *être*. In fact the only significant correlation in judgements was between those sentences conjugated with *être* and impersonal constructions (level of significance 0.05, bilateral test). For change verbs there was also clear difference in the subjects' evaluations: **Il s'est fondu* (5%) and *Il s'est brisé* (20%), which provides further support for Labelle's contention that there are two types of change verbs in French, unergative and unaccusative.

It can also be seen in Table 5 that there is an implicational hierarchy: starting at the right-hand side of the table and moving leftward it is clear that acceptance of impersonal constructions implies acceptance of past participles in DPs which in turn implies acceptance of the conjugation with *être*.

3.3. Corrections

Recall that in the judgement task subjects were asked to correct those sentences they had judged to be ungrammatical. In most of their corrections with auxiliaries they replaced the ungrammatical auxiliary with the grammatical one: with *arriver* and *tomber* they changed ungrammatical **avoir* to *être* as shown in (10). With *briser* they changed *avoir* to *s'être*, as shown in (11), while with **s'être fondue*, they changed the auxiliary and deleted the clitic, as in (12).

(10) Stimulus: *Marie a arrivé à la gare avant le départ de son train.
Correction: Marie est arrivé(e) à la gare avant le départ de son train.

(11) Stimulus : *La fenêtre a brisé à cause des filles qui jouaient au base-ball.
Correction: La fenêtre s'est brisé(e) à cause des filles qui jouaient au base-ball.

(12) Stimulus: *Comme il faisait chaud ces jours-là, la neige s'est fondue.
Correction: Comme il faisait chaud ces jours-là, la neige a fondu(e).

Table 6 summarizes the types of corrections subjects made to sentences containing the auxiliaries *avoir* and *être* with both motion and change verbs.

Table 6: Corrections to sentences judged "ungrammatical"

Verb	Ungrammatical		Correction with s'être		Correction with avoir	
	n	%*	n	%**	n	%**
Avoir arrivé	27	68	25	93	0	
Être arrivé	1	3	0		0	
Avoir monté	4	10	2	50	0	
Être monté	5	13	0		5	100
Avoir tombé	13	33	12	92	0	
Être tombé	5	13	0		5	100
Avoir brisé	21	53	17	81	0	
S'être brisé	3	8	0		3	100
Avoir fondu	4	10	2	50	0	
S'être fondu	31	78	4	13	24	77

Note: *% of total responses; **% of "ungrammatical" judgements

Because there is a different rate of "ungrammatical" judgements for each verb, the number of corrections is different as well. The corrections confirm the results on the fill-in-the-blanks and judgement tasks: subjects corrected ungrammatical *avoir* with *être* with the motion verbs *arriver* (93%) and *tomber* (92%) and the pronominal change verb *briser* (81%). They also made a clear distinction between unaccusative and unergative change verbs: **s'être fondu* was corrected with *avoir* in 77% of responses.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

To summarize the results, subjects produced and accepted *être* with two sub-classes of unaccusatives - motion and change verbs - although their performance varied depending on the verb. It appears that differences are attributable to free variation since there were no significant differences based on sex or region, and the linguistic context was the same for all subjects.

Concerning the categorical use of *être* with pronominal verbs (100%) and its variable use with motion verbs, I have argued elsewhere (Balcom 2004) that these results are due to the fact that with pronominal verbs the use of *être* is related to a property of the functional category of the clitic SE which suppresses the external argument, and is applied across the board, while use of *être* with motion verbs is idiosyncratic, marked on each verb in the lexicon (Chomsky 2000).

The results support the morphosyntactic correlates of unaccusativity argued by Labelle (1992) and Borgonovo and Cummins (1999), though not categorically. Thus, as argued by King (1991) and demonstrated by Beaulieu and Balcom (2001), data from Acadian French can be used to support linguistic theory.

While subjects did make a distinction between ergative and unaccusative change verbs, supporting Labelle's analysis, the results also suggest that *briser* in N.B. Acadian French has a dual categorization, like *casser* in normative French, as shown in (13a).

(13) a. Le vase casse./Le vase se casse.
b. *Le verre brise./Le verre se brise. (Labelle 1992:275-377).

According to Labelle (1990, 1992) there are subtle differences in meaning between the two verbs, but this distinction does not appear to be operative for at least some of the subjects in this study. For them, the first sentence in (12b) is also grammatical.

It would appear that *monter* is classified as an unergative verb by these subjects as its conjugation with *être* and acceptance in past participles in DPs and impersonal constructions is considerably lower than the other motion verbs. The higher acceptance of *avoir* with *monter* supports Sankoff and Thibault's (1980) observation that speakers of Montreal French preferred *avoir* with motion verbs which had a transitive counterpart (*monter*, as well as *partir* and *sortir*).

There were no significant differences in the responses based on region or sex, no doubt due to the fact that subjects were all high-school graduates of the same age who had open networks. The results therefore support the idea that use of *être* is associated with a higher level of education. The next step in this research programme is to administer the same tasks to students in their fourth and fifth year of study at the same institution to see if there are significant differences between their judgements and use and those of first-year students.

Differences in production and judgements are due to the nature of the task: the acceptability judgement taps a more formal register than the controlled production task.

It is clear from this study that it is premature to "generaliz[e] across Acadian" concerning use of *avoir* with unaccusative verbs, as did King and Nadasdi (2001:64). The results, showing wide-spread use of *être* in compound tenses by young, educated speakers of two varieties of New Brunswick Acadian French, again indicate, as Beaulieu and Balcom (1998:24) affirmed, it is 'présomptueux d'extrapoler d'une variété [of Acadian French] à l'autre'.

Notes

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Word Order in Chinese - A Text Analysis

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This paper was partly inspired by a remark made by the late Murray Kinloch. He said that he found the word order in the Chinese examples I had quoted in a paper to be complex and baffling, and I felt that I should perhaps present a paper at a later time showing that word order in Chinese was in fact not as complicated as it might first appear. Indeed, my impression particularly when listening to news broadcasts is that the order of subject verb and object is generally not very different from English and that it is often possible to translate word for word keeping the same word order. Having looked more carefully at a written passage, an editorial from a newspaper,[1] I have found that the basic word order is fairly consistent, but that it is often obscured for a variety of reasons which I shall attempt to explain in this paper.

Another reason for this study was to satisfy my own curiosity about the question of word order in Chinese, since it is an area of much debate and there is no consensus among scholars in the matter. For Mathews and Yip (1994:67) Cantonese is a SVO language:

> As a language with little grammatical morphology, Cantonese relies heavily on word order to express grammatical relations such as subject and object. As a result, word order is fairly rigid, as it is in English for similar reasons. Like other isolating languages, Cantonese has the basic word order [subject-verb-object], or it is said to be an SVO language.

They then define four main sources of deviation from this word order: SOV, VS, right dislocation "which involves putting an element last or adding it separately from the rest of the sentence", and topicalization "the possibility of making various elements of a sentence the sentence **topic** by placing them first" (Mathews and Yip 1994:67).

Li and Thompson (1989), agree that Chinese dialects such as Cantonese have a SVO order but they are not convinced that Mandarin is an SVO language. Indeed they believe that it is a language for which no basic word order can be established and that it "belongs to none of the standard word-order types that universal grammarians have discussed" (1989:26). They also believe that, unlike other Chinese dialects, it is changing from a SVO to a SOV language. Due to lack of space, it is not possible in this paper to describe in detail the reasons for Li and Thompson's position concerning word order in Chinese, but they can be summarized as follows:

1. Certain features of Chinese correlate with Greenberg's typology of SOV languages. For example, 'if the object *precedes* the verb then modifiers of the noun tend to *precede* the noun and modifiers of the verb tend to *precede* the verb' (1989:17). However, they admit that "a sample text count yields more SVO than SOV sentences and ... in most complex sentences the subject precedes

the verb" (1989:23).

2. 'The notion of subject is not a structurally well-defined one in the grammar of Chinese' and '... it seems sensible to regard Mandarin as a topic-prominent rather than a subject-prominent language, since the basic structure of sentences can be more insightfully described in terms of the topic-comment relation rather than in terms of the subject-predicate relationship' (1989:19), an insight first expressed by expressed by Chao (1968).

3. Meaning in Chinese is associated with constituent ordering. For example, locative phrases have different meaning according to whether they appear before or after the verb.

Other scholars hold the position that Mandarin is indeed a SVO language, and that furthermore the word order is not changing to SOV. Among them is Sun who states (1996:10):

> A generation of historical linguists in the U.S. specializing in Chinese in the 1970's seemed to believe that the general word order of Mandarin has been drifting from SVO (Subject Verb Object) order to SOV order in the last 2,000 years, and is approaching the end of this historical drift, i.e., Modern Mandarin is probably an SOV language. However, in a text-count study, Sun and Givón (1985) found from both written and spoken texts of Modern Mandarin that on average, 90% of syntactic objects follow the verb. This finding not only contradicts and falsifies the claim that Modern Mandarin is, or is becoming, an SOV language, but also suggests that the basic word order of Modern Mandarin is clearly SVO.

Moreover, Sun (1996:10) refutes the claim by Li and Thompson (1976: 486) that,

> The classical literature up to the twelfth century A.D. leaves little doubt that the predominant sentential position of the prepositional phrase is post-verbal rather than preverbal ... It was not until the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D. that the new prepositions with preverbal prepositional phrases became prevalent.

He contends that in Old Chinese (500 B.C. to 200 A.D.) prepositional phrases (PPs) were preverbal in half the cases, but agrees that while "In Old Chinese, PPs indicating double-object construction, passive construction, source/locative/goal, and comparative can be, or are, post-verbal ... in Modern Mandarin, all PPs other than those indicating double-object construction and goal must be preverbal" (1996:11). However, he also states that "the PPs in Old Chinese are nevertheless far from having been predominantly post verbal" and that the "position of PPs in the history of Chinese turns out to be no argument at all in support of the hypothesized SVO to SOV word-order drift" (1996:15). Furthermore, he believes that the modern Chinese preverbal object markers *ba* and *jiang* merely replaced an earlier object marker *yi*, and their increasing use did not signify any major change in word order.

For this paper, an editorial in the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Pao* of July 12, 2001[2] was carefully analyzed to ascertain the order of the subject, verb and object in the main clauses. Since the

written form of Chinese is usually Mandarin, this article concerns that particular dialect, even though *Ming Pao* is published in Hong Kong, a Cantonese speaking area. Before I discuss the results of this analysis, there follow a few remarks concerning general word order in Chinese.

One of the biggest differences between English and Chinese is that in Chinese modifying clauses precede nouns. The following sentence may serve as an example of this:

> Wúyí Shēnzhen gǎng huì jiàng yuánlái yóu Xiānggǎng chǔlǐ de
> huóguì fēnliú le yī bùfen
> (Literally) Doubtless Shenzhen's port will *object marker* previously by HK handled
> *de* containers share a part
> There's no doubt that Shenzhen will share a part of the containers which were
> previously handled by Hong Kong.

In this case, the clause *which were previously handled by Hong Kong* precedes the noun which it modifies, *containers*.

Another difference between English and Chinese is that prepositional phrases and time expressions (except those expressing duration) nearly always precede the verb. For example in the following sentence, the phrase *zài jīchǎng* 'at the airport' precedes the verb *xīngjiàn* 'to build':

> Jīchǎng guǎnlǐjú yǐjīng juédìng zài jīchǎng xīngjiàn wùliú zhōngxīn
> (Literally) Airport authority already decided at airport build goods flow centre
> The airport authority has already decided to build a logistics centre at the airport

Finally, even more than in English, two or more nouns can be joined together with the first modifying the following noun or nouns. For example *the rule of law* becomes *law rule* and *the advantages of the rule of law* becomes *law rule advantages*.

Concerning the analysis of the data, the following problems were encountered. The grammatical structure was often unclear, though the meaning was obvious. This is due to the fact that the rules of syntactical structure are not codified in Chinese as clearly as in European languages, and what would be considered as loose or unacceptable structures in English or French does not cause concern in Chinese. As a result, it is sometimes difficult to decide where one sentence ends and the next begins, or whether one is dealing with a main clause or a subordinate one. This is an important matter since identifying the main verbs is essential in order to determine the order of subject, verb and object, and to be able to compare the order with that in similar structures in other languages and in older forms of Chinese. Of course, defining main clauses is a problem in analyzing spoken speech in any language, but written Chinese is more difficult to analyze than written English or French where the rules are much clearer. Moreover, punctuation does not help since in Hong Kong newspapers at least, commas are often used to mark the end of sentences within a paragraph, and periods only occur at the end of a paragraph, or when there is a change of topic. This convention allows writers to ramble on with little concern about clarity. It should be pointed out however, that

the written forms of the Chinese characters are rigidly standardized.

In addition to the above difficulties, the subject in a Chinese sentence may be omitted and pronouns referring back to previously stated subjects are usually omitted as well. While the subject is normally obvious, it is not always the case, and there may be ambiguity. Sometimes, even verbs can be omitted if they can be implicitly understood. In such cases, a structure can be interpreted either as a phrase or a sentence. Parts of speech in Chinese are also not so clearly defined as in European languages. Verbs and nouns for example can share the same form and only the context allows the reader to decide which part of speech is involved. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that the copula is also often omitted, which would be an indicator that the preceding word is in fact a noun and the conjunction *and* is also often omitted, making it difficult to know if one is dealing with another subordinate clause or the start of a new sentence.

In view of the problems mentioned above, and due to the fact that it is not always easy or even possible to identify all of the main sentences with complete certainty and objectivity, there will inevitably be a margin of error in establishing the results of the analysis. However the number of ambiguous cases was small enough to be statistically unimportant for this study.

In the text which I examined, there were 55 sentences, of which some examples are presented below illustrating the four word orders identified: VS; SV or (S)V; SVO or (S)VO; and OV, SOVO or (O)SV. The passive verb marker *bei* occurred in the two of the OV structures.

VS:

Tóng yáng shì shuǐ shēn gǎng kuòde Shēnzhen Yántián gǎng
(Literally) Equal is water deep harbour wide *de* Shenzhen Yantian harbour
Shenzhen's Yantian harbour is as wide and deep as Hong Kong's

SV:

Zhōngguó zhěngtǐ chūkǒu liàng chíxù zēngjiā
(Literally) China's whole exports amount continues to increase
The total amount of China's exports continues to increase.

SVO:

Xiānggǎng yì nán bǎituō "bù jìn zé tuì" de jìngzhēng guīlù
(Literally) Hong Kong also hard shake off "not go forward then go backward" *de* competition law
It is hard for Hong Kong to shake off the law of competition that if you do not go forward, then you go backwards.

(S)VO:

Yǔ Xiānggǎng jǐn (scarcely) yī shuǐ zhī gé, tóng yáng shì shuǐ shēn gǎng kuòde Shēnzhen Yántián gǎng, gōngbùle dì sān qī f āzhǎn jihuà

(Literally) From Hong Kong scarcely one river's separation, equal is water deep harbour wide *de* Shenzhen Yantian harbour, announced third phase development plan
Separated from Hong Kong by only a river, Shenzhen's Yantian harbour is as wide and deep as Hong Kong's. Shenzhen (implied subject) announced (V) the third phase of the development plan (O).

OV:

Huówù jísàn ... fēi júxiàn yú hǎiyùn
(Literally) Goods collection and distribution ... not limited to sea transport
Cargoes are not only carried by ships

OV (with passive marker):

(Huóguì gáng de dìwèi huì fǒu) shènzhì bèi zhúbù qǔdài?
(Lit) (container port *de* position will it or not) actually *bei* (passive marker) gradually replaced?
Will the container port's position be actually replaced?

SOVO:

Wúyí Shēnzhen gǎng huì jiàng yuánlái yóu Xiànggǎng chǔlǐ de huóguì fēnliú le yī bùfen
(Literally) Doubtless Shenzhen port will *jiàng* (object marker) previously by HK handled *de* containers) take *le* a part
There is no doubt that Shenzhen's harbour will take a part of the container cargoes previously handled by Hong Kong

(O)SV:

Tóng yáng shì Xiànggǎng Héhuáng gōngsī guǎnlǐ
(Literally) Just the same is Hong Kong Whampoa Company manage
It also is managed by Hong Kong's Whampoa Company

The number of occurrences of the various types of word orders was as follows:

VS	1
(S)V	3
SV	26
SVO	11
(S)VO	6
V(O)	1
OV	5
SOVO	1
(O)SV	1

If the ten cases with implicit S, V or O are included, the overall total for SV or SVO and VO order is 47 (85.5%). The subject precedes the verb in all cases but one.

The overall total for OV, SOVO, and (O)SV is 7 (13%).
The number of objects following the verb is 19 (73%).
The number of objects preceding the verb is 7 (27%).

While the percentage of objects following the verbs is less than the 90% found by Sun and Givón (1985), it still represents a significant majority.

Concerning the seven cases where the object is preverbal, there is a major difference between the OV and SOVO sentences in that the verbs in OV constructions would be in the passive mood in English, while the verbs in the SOVO and (O)SV sentences would be active. There seems to be a general rule that the Chinese logical object in a preverbal position without the presence of a subject is usually the equivalent of the grammatical subject of a passive verb in English. On this point Mathews and Yip (1994:73) state, "Note that English typically uses the passive to make the object the subject (and thereby topic) of the sentence, where Cantonese simply topicalizes the object. Such topicalizations thus often correspond to passives in English." Indeed, two of the five examples in the text of OV were preceded by the passive marker *bei*. Moreover, the number of such OV sentences (5) was much larger than SOVO and (O)SV (2). In SOV or SOVO sentences preverbal objects in Chinese may be marked by *jiang*" (Lister 1997:135) and it was surprising that there was only one example of this in the corpus, also that there were no examples of the SOV construction, either marker or unmarked.

Overall, as was expected, the number of objects in preverbal position was far less than the number in post-verbal position. Topicalization of the object was certainly the exception rather than the rule, and could be considered as a deviation from the normal SVO order, just as in English the passive construction is a transformation of the more frequent active mode. In spite of the fact that certain features of Chinese do correlate with Greenberg's typology of SOV languages, it does seem to be of overriding importance that the majority of logical objects in Chinese do actually follow the verbs.

Notes

1. *Ming Pao Daily News,* July 12, 2001, Hong Kong. All examples are taken from this editorial.

2. I wish to thank Henry Chong and Shirley Leung for their advice and comments concerning the meaning of various items in the corpus.

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Variations in Style in Eastern Abenaki Narratives

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1. Introduction

Eastern Abenaki was once spoken by the native people of central and western Maine, but is now extinct.[1] Most collection of language took place by missionaries and travelers in the era before professional anthropological linguistics and consists of word lists, brief collections of sentences or dictated traditional legends. As a result, knowledge of ordinary conversational Eastern Abenaki depends on a very small corpus. A discourse analysis of two texts collected by different people at different times by different collectors may yield a better understanding of narrative styles that are formal, in the case of a traditional narrative, or informal, as in the case of a statement of opinion or argument.

The two narrative samples used for this study represent different genres. One, a traditional tale told by a raconteur to anthropologist Frank Speck in the early twentieth century represents the traditional literature genre. The second, told by one of the remaining speakers in the middle of the twentieth century to a linguistic student from Harvard represents a genre of argument. For the purposes of this paper, only the first few pages of the material are reproduced here (due to their length) but it is enough of a sample to determine essential differences in the narrative style. The first text I shall refer to as A is the story of Wolverine collected by Frank Speck and located in his papers housed at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. The second text I shall call B was collected by Eugene Gordon and deposited in the American Philosophical Society in the early 1960s. Unfortunately, the society has no provenience for the material. It appears, however, that Gordon may have been a student at Harvard when he did this work.

2. The texts

Text A

Frank G. Speck Alnksu 'Wolverine' (Line 1 original transcription, line 2 my analysis, line 3 English translation). Frank G. Speck papers, American Philosophical Society Collections.[2]

1. *Wiȟit nssatlokȟan*

|*wɑ́wɪket* AI redupl. conj. 3psg 'as he lives continuously'| *nətɑtlóhkɑkan* AN 'my traditional story'|

Here lives my story.

2. *lnksu naga nizwididjil medjimi kiwite.*

alάkso AN 'wolverine'|*nɑ̀kɑ* pc.'and'|*nísəwəčil* AN obv.sg.'his spouse'|*mečìmi* pc. 'always'|*kíwitte** pc. kiwi + emph. –tte 'away [* should be *kiwíhlɑt*.AI 3pl. conj. 'When they were going about']|

Wolverine and his wife were always going about.

3. *malam salaki wunodown alemussal mede u gi kelidjil naga made kwezn.*

|*mɑ̀lam* pc.'at last'|*salάhki* pc. 'at one time'|*wənòtawɑn* TA 3p sg. ind. def. 'he heard him'|*áləmossal* AN obv. 'dog'|*mete-wɔ̀kihkəličil* prev. 'make noise' AI c.conj. 'he was barking' |*nɑ̀kɑ* pc. 'and'|*matéhk̆esən* AI m.reflex. ind.def. 'he made himself heard'|

At last he heard a dog barking and howling.

4. *gamete mulhstawn alemussal nedudji.*

|*kámatte* pc. + emph. encl. 'very, very'|*mɑlhɑsətawɑn* TA Ind. def. 'He was surprised'| *áləmossal* AN obv.|

He was very surprised at the dog.

5. *kwilustaw nt dn alagwi mede kwezn.*

|*k̆ílawáhstawɑhɑtit* TA conj.3p-3p obv. 'as they searched for him'| *alak̆i-* prev.' in that direction, that way,' *matéhk̆esən* AI m.reflex. ind. def. 'he made himself heard'|

Then he started to look for him (the one who made the noise).

6. *nedudji mdjett agwilachn amlm elbit el kwel t unami tun pemi pkwakthzit nembedjilt.*

|*atoči* pc. 'at that time'| *mɑčetak̆íhlačən* AI 3p ind.def. 'he started to go'| *aləmi-* prev. 'steadily' *élɑpit* AI c. conj 'as he looked'| *wənámihton* IT Class 2 Ind. def. 'he saw it'| *tɑn* pc. 'where'| *pəmi-* pren. 'along'| *pk̆ɑhɑ́wihkəsit* AN pl. obv. 'Balsam fir trees' |*neməpétəčilit* AI 3p obv. conj. redupl. 'He arrived across or crosswise'|.

At last, looking as he went, he saw a cross opening in the woods.

7. *ibitde wudjignasla nemitngwi*

ípitte pc. emph. encl. 'only, just, merely'| *wəčikkɑnəsal* INAN 1p. poss 'his empty

house' |*nemɪtənáǩi* II m. reflex. conj. 'it appeared in the direction ahead'|

Only an abandoned camp ground appeared there.

8. *nemina alemus umadekwezin.*

|*nɪ* pc.' then'| *mìna* pc. 'again'| *áləmoss* AN 'the dog'| *matéhkesən* AI Ind. Def. 'he howled'|

Then again the dog howled.

9. *elbit unamitun wigwomsis etekwaka wikwakthzik.*

èlɑpɪt AI c. conj. 'as he looked'| *wənámihton* TI class 2 'he saw it'| *wíkəwɑmsis* INAN DN dim '(his) little house'| *èhtek* II. c. conj. 'where it was located '| *takáki* pc. 'so far'| |*wihkáhkihkek* II conj. 'It was at the edge of the woods.'

Looking, he saw a little wigwam set at the far end of the opening.

10. *udlitn nalemus za Khinoidetn*

|*wətélihlɑt* AI 3p. conj. 'he went there'| *na* AN demonstrative.pc.' that one'| *áləmoss* AN 'dog'.| |*kináwitte* pc. + emph. encl. (-itte) 'at regular intervals.'|

That dog went in and out of there.

11. *manitte ulidehzu ebegwa sizikkwezu.*

|*mánənɪtte* pc. emph.encl. (-itte) 'so, as if' |*wəlítəhɑso* AI m. reflex.' he is glad'|*èpekač* pc. 'even so that, yet'| *sísíkkeso* AI reflex. 'he whines'|

Then he was so glad that on account of it, he whined.

12. *manitte bidigete wigwomsisk naga mina uzizikkwezin nem almi wigwomsis.*

|*mánənɪtte* pc. emph. encl. (-itte) 'so, as if'|*pìtikete* AI conj.' he went into a dwelling'| *wíkəwɑmsis* INAN DN dim.'(his) little house'| nɑ̀kɑ pc. 'and'| *mìna* pc. 'again'| *wəsisíkkesən* AI ind. def. 'He whined'||*nəmɑ* pc. 'there'| *alɑ́mi* pc. 'inside'| *wíkəwɑmsis* INAN DN dim. '(his) little house'|

Then he entered the little wigwam and again he whined, when inside the little wigwam.

13. *nalnksu ubidigetn wigwomsis k unamihn awssizal .*

|*Na* AN demonstrative pc. 'that'|*alάkso* AN 'wolverine'| *wəpitiɬ̓etən* AI ind. def..'he went inside'|| *wíkəwɑmsɪs* INAN DN dim. '(his) little house' | *wənémihɑk* TA ind. def. 3p. 'when he saw him'| *á́wɑssɪsal* AN dim obv. 'little child'|

That Wolverine went in the little wigwam where he saw a baby.

14. *sidabizu tkin ganuk abadessik neg nkesnuk mezi sisuk megiyu kedemgi awassis.*

|*sɪhtəw-* 'cut rawhide strips' *písi-* pren. 'into' *tkínɑkanok* INAN loc 'on the cradleboard'| *ɑpátehsek* AI reflex conj. 'he leans against something'| |*nəkάnkehsənok* INAN loc. 'on an old rotting log' |*məsɪ-* pren. 'all, every'| *wsìsək̓* INAN DN 'his face'| *mékɪhle* AI 'he is covered with scabs'| *kətəmki-* pren. 'pitiful' *á́wɑssis* AN dim 'little child.'|

He was lashed in a cradle board, leaning on a moss covered log with his face all scabby, poor child.

15. *edlaitnegalossa.*

|*ətal-* prev. 'there, in that place or time'| *nekά́tɑlossa* AI pret. Ind. Def.. 'he was abandoned'|

He was abandoned there.

16. *Gamto alnksu ugedemegidehmal .*

|*kάmɑte* pc. + encl. (-te) 'very much'| *alάkso* AN 'wolverine'|*wəkətəmɑkítəhɑmal* TI 3-3p 'he pitied him.'|

Very Wolverine he felt pity.

17. *Nedudji wikwunt.*

Nɪ pc. 'then' *atóči* pc. 'at that time'| *Wəwíhk̓ənɑt* TA 3-3 conj. prox. obv. 'he took him'|

Then he took him.

18. *kii alemus ulidehasu.*

|*kkɪ* interj. of exclamation| *á́ləmoss* AN ' dog.'|*wəlítəhɑso* AI m. reflex. 'He is glad'.|

Wow! That dog was glad.

19. *Nalnksu nomdjephn awsissal.*

alάkso AN 'wolverine'| *wəmάčephαn* TA indic. Def. 3-3 'he took him away' | *awάssisal* AN dim obv. 'little child.'|

Wolverine took away the baby.

'Here lives my story; Wolverine and his wife were always going about. At last he heard a noise of a dog barking and howling. He was very surprised at the dog when he stopped and listened from what direction the noise and howling came. Then he started to look for him. At last, looking as he went, he saw a cross opening in the woods. When he came there he could see only an abandoned camp ground. Then again the dog howled. Looking, he saw a little wigwam set at the far end of the opening. He went there and that dog came out. Then he [the dog] was so glad that on account of it he whined. Then he entered the little wigwam. When inside the little wigwam that Wolverine went in. In the little wigwam he saw a baby lashed in cradle board leaning on a moss covered log. His face was all scabby. The poor child was abandoned there. Wolverine felt much pity. Then he took him. Boy! That dog was glad. Wolverine took away the baby.'

Text B

Eugene Gordon's Penobscot Record. American Philosophical Society Collections.

1. *Kamač nəmóhsəčin elakek nətalohkewakan.*

pc. *kάmαč* very much| *nəmóhsαčin* TI class3 conj. 'I loved it' | *éleke* II c.conj. 'as it happens' | *nətalòhkewαkan* INAN 'my work' | .

I liked my work very much.

2. *weli kenossa kamač ekˇeč kowatočit yok wəpi kičik atalna otintreste moyokona kiyona kətəlatewewakanəna.*

wèlikənossa II pret. ind. def. 'it has been good' | *kάmαč* pc. 'very'| *ekˇéč-* prev. try- *kowatočit* c. conj.|*jyok* pc.+ prior.encl.'These were the ones'| *wαpikίčik* AI part. White-faced people| *kətayin* AI 3pl. ind. Def.. they remain|Eng. Interest|?|*kèyona* 1p pl. pron. incl. Our|*kətαlatəwéwαkanəna* AN obv.3p pl.incl. 'our speech'|.

It is good that white-faced people have taken an interest in our language.

3. *kamač milakekat mosahk awen nəkəmitahatamohkič.*

|very much pc.|*mɪlə́kə́kat* II conj. 'it is mixed, variable'| *mò̀sahk* pc.+ encl. (-ahk deictic) 'does not'|| *à̀wen* pron. 'anyone'| *nəkəmɪ̀təhɑtamohkɪč* TI class 3 neg. conj. 'they (don't) easily regard it' |

Our language is very difficult, complex, no one can easily learn it.

4. *takʼečkoaten nakasɪpɪ okɪslaliaton təhála wənawat elatawemə́kapan.*

|*kətakʼečkɑwatən* TI conj.incl. we try it|*nɑ̀kasɪpɪ* pc. prior neg. pron of na (AN) the former (lost or missing) | *wəkɪ̀səyaləyaton* OTI 1pl. 'We are able to do it'| *tá̀həlaw* pc. as, like, as though| *wən* AN deictic pc. 'the very one' *owa this one*| *elatawémə́kapan* AI 1pl. c. conj. pret. 'the way we used to.'

We try but futilely are unable to talk that same language as we used to.

5. *mɪlɪkənel mselətol kamač wənɪatakʼɪl kəlossawakanal anəta čəwɪtepato konɪatenena .*

|*mɪ́lɪkənel* II pl. 'they are variable, different'| *msè̀lət* II 'it is a lot'| *kámɑč* pc.' very much'|*wenɪhatakʼɪ́l* TI 1pl. c. conj. 'when we lost them' |*kəlɔ́səwɑkanal* INAN pl. 'words' |aneta pc. 'not'| *kəwánɪhatenena* TI 1-3 ind.def. excl. we lost them |

We have lost very many of our words; we should not have lost them.

6. *kenokaskʼe ɪketačelɪhtɔ́nena kenɪhčénənawak elɪmačéhlatɪt tahapánɪhkʼəm.*

|*kè̀nokaskʼe* pc. + encl. 'but nevertheless, although' | *ɪhkətačelɪhtɔ́nena* TA incl. 1pl.- 3p.pl. ind. Def... 'We try to defend and help' |*kənɪ́čɑnawak* ADN pl. 'all our children'| *alɪ-mačéhlatɪt* AI reflex. 3pl. prox. c. conj. 'as they go' |*à̀htɑ* pc. 'not' |??|

We are unable to help our children from the way they are going.

7. kənɪhčənawak alɪmačehlá tɪkkʼe kɪ səpa kətəlatewéwakana kɪsɪkələnémənena .

| *kənɪ́čɑnawak* ADN pl. 'all our children'| | *alɪ-mɑčéhlatɪkkʼe* AI ind. Def. conj. 'so they go' |kɪ́sɪphɑ TA 3pl.conj. we finished carrying him| | *kətalətəwéwakana* AN. obv. our language | *kɪsɪ-kə̀lənəmənena* TI class 1b 1pl. 'we are able to hold it'|

We have been unable to hold onto our language for our children.

'I like my work very much. It is good that white-faced people have taken an interest in our language.

Our language is very difficult, complex; no one can easily learn it. And (we) try but are unable to talk the same way as we used to. We talk differently now. We have lost very many of our words. We should not have lost them. We can't help the way our children go, for we have been unable to hold onto our language.'

3. Analysis

Text A presents the problem that a child is abandoned by parents. The problem is solved when the child is rescued and raised by Wolverine (later in the story he returns to avenge his abuse). As a type of narrative this is a traditional story repeated every generation by storytellers. Traditional stories in Eastern Abenaki tend to be about spiritual matters. Although the surface meaning relates to an abandoned child and his search for his parents and vengeance, the deeper meaning relates to family origins and religious beliefs. The wolverine represents, on one level the head of a family, and on another level a man with supernatural powers.

In traditional Abenaki legends, heroes or protagonists are often raised by magicians or wizards and are themselves endowed with magical powers. Leadership in this culture involves wisdom and strength but also above-average spirituality. The sample provided relates only that Wolverine and his spouse pay attention to the sound of the dog and follow through in investigating the dog's message. They show compassion and rescue the abandoned child. In this, the audience knows immediately that this child is special, as he has been rescued and will be raised by someone with great spiritual abilities.

The problem in text B as the narrator opines, is that his native language is being lost. He offers a solution (although it is not resolved in the narrative) that the community must get together and talk about it, and consider letting 'white people' help. But more importantly he argues, the community must help itself. The narration represents an argument on a subject about which the narrator feels passionately. The argument is made not to other community members, however, but to an outsider, in this case Eugene Gordon, who has expressed an interest in the language.

The argument genre in Abenaki culture is well documented. Abenaki men were known for their excellent rhetorical skills, often giving speeches that would go on for hours. Here, a Native speaker has been visited by a Harvard graduate student who wants to know more about the language. Rather than answering a series of questions or translating a series of sentences, the speaker chooses to talk about his language and what it means to him. He is greatly concerned about its loss, and the first part of his narrative (provided here) is an impassioned speech on the topic. The elements of discourse in these two samples illustrate differences in the two genres in Eastern Abenaki. These elements include repetition, tense and mode, the use of particles, word order and sentence structure, gender and obviation.

In text A 'wolverine,' 'dog,' 'making noise,' 'little house' and 'baby' are all terms repeated in the story. On one level the story is a historical tale that addresses the issue of child abandonment.

The wolverine is the hero of the story, but he represents a spiritual man (probably the head of a clan) as is the case in many traditional Eastern Abenaki tales. In text B the synonyms for language, speech and words are used to emphasize the purpose of the narrator. Other repeated terms include 'our children, lose and very much.' This text is an impassioned argument lamenting the loss of the native tongue and calling for some action to save it. As it is being told to a white man, the white people are addressed as well.

3.1. Orders, Tenses and Modes

Text A begins with the verbs in conjunct order. In a main clause, conjunct verbs in narrative contexts mark the discourse as a traditional narrative, not a report of the narrator's direct experience (Dahlstrom 2003). This is reinforced by the subject of the first sentence which is a noun that can only be translated as 'my traditional story.' Note that in this sentence, the verb precedes the subject, and the verb is intransitive. In Penobscot, as in other Algonquian languages, an intransitive verb can have an object in the sentence. The second sentence establishes the scene of the story; the wolverine and his spouse are usually walking about (in the woods). The verb expresses an unspecified past time, thus the conjunct order is used. (*kiwite* may be a mistake by the speaker or the transcriber—it is clear from the translation that *kiwihlɑt* is meant.) In the next sentence, the speaker switches to the definite mode (affirmative). The definite mode brings the audience and narrator into the story, and establishes it as a true event that really happened. 'At last he heard a dog barking and growling.' This pattern of using the conjunct and indicative definite continues throughout most of the narrative.

Text B begins with a declaration by the narrator that he loves his work. He expresses this idea using the conjunct and changed conjunct because he is talking about work he has completed—the conjunct can be used to express the simple past. He then switches in the next sentence to a new topic, using the indicative indefinite preterit to compliment his interviewer by declaring that 'it has been good that white people have taken an interest in saving the Eastern Abenaki language.' In the next sentence, he uses the conjunct and negative conjunct tenses to warn that the language is complex and very difficult to learn. In the next sentence he uses the prioritive to talk about the words that have been lost, and the changed conjunct preterit to mourn that loss. In sentences five, six and seven he uses the definite mode to affirm that his community has truly tried to help their children learn the language, but they have been unable to help their children (from speaking English), and that they have been unable to hold onto their language (as a community) so that their children will learn it.

3.2. Use of particles

The Eastern Abenaki language uses particles, pronouns and preverbs as modifiers. The narrator of text A uses numerous deictic particles, nearly every sentence has one or two; one even has five. Most of the particles are connectives that mark a change in scene and that refer to time for example: 'at last, at one time, at that time, then, again, at regular intervals.' Other connective particles signal a shift in the narrative in relation to place: 'where, so far, there, inside.' The remaining particles are particles of emphasis such as 'very much, so, or only'; there is one use of the

conjunction 'and' four preverbs of direction or quality modify verbs: 'in that direction, steadily, along, into'; and two prenouns modify nouns: 'all or every, and pitiful.'

Text B uses particles of emphasis: 'very, very much,' and demonstratives such as 'these, the very one, this one.' There are three negative particles: 'don't, prior or lost, and not.' One connective is used by the speaker: 'nevertheless.' I think it is in the use of particles where we see the greatest difference in the style of the two texts. The first includes a greater use of time and place connectives that can be used by a narrator to mark changes in the scene of his story. One would expect this of traditional literature that requires some markers that can serve as clues to memory as well as shifting the attention of the listener to different times, places and actions in the story. However, text B uses emphatic enclitics and negative particles to emphasize the points the speaker is trying to make about a somewhat negative subject: the loss of a language. The use of emphatic enclitics (suffixes on particles) marks the passion or importance the speaker lends to the topic of the text.

This use of particles as a narrative device in traditional literature is not unique to Algonquian languages. Dell Hymes (1996) noted that storytellers use particles in the traditional literature of Zuni, a southwestern language unrelated to Algonquian. He finds patterns in the text where at certain points, the word for 'meanwhile' marks units of scene change; although this is not the exclusive way the speaker marks a change of scene in the story.

3.3 Word order/sentence structure

Word order in Eastern Abenaki sentences is very diverse. A sentence can consist of a single intransitive verb, a verb first and a noun second, or just the opposite. Transitive verbs can be either followed by or preceded by a noun or a verb. Because the person markers (I, you, he, we, and they) are attached to the verb as prefixes, they do not need to be added as pronouns; yet they can be, usually for emphasis. Particles can begin a sentence, come between nouns or nouns and verbs or between two verbs. They may also appear next to other particles. Text A uses more particles and begins quite a few sentences with particles as a means of setting a scene in time or place. Text B uses particles more often as a means of emphasis of the importance of particular statements in the argument. In this small sample, no significantly different patterns in syntax could be found.

3.4 Gender

In Algonquian languages gender is marked (animate/inanimate) in both nouns and verbs. Text A uses many more animate nouns and verbs than text B. The topic of the first text deals with animals, a baby and a dog. However, the second text uses more inanimate verbs because the speaker is referring more to processes of language learning and loss than to animate beings. Note the difference in animacy between language and words. The difference has semantic importance, animacy being associated with more intimate articles of human culture.

In the English sense of gender, note that while the translator uses the English male pronoun 'he' for the wolverine and dog, no such designation is required by the grammar in the story. The term translated as 'wife' more accurately would be translated 'spouse' as there is no specific term for wife or husband in Eastern Abenaki. The story could just as easily be translated with female protagonists. No doubt the gender of the storyteller and transcriber comes into play here. In Eastern Abenaki, if a speaker wants to mark an animate noun as specifically female, they may add the suffix *–skwes*. Otherwise, the nouns can be interpreted as either gender.

3.5 Obviation

A grammatical feature found in Algonquian languages is known as obviation, in which one third-person referent (singular or plural) is assigned the unmarked grammatical form proximate, and any and all other third-person referents are assigned the marked obviative form. Skjon (2001) reported on point-of-view and obviation in Fox, another Algonquian language. Any number of Algonquianists have argued that obviation in formal narratives refers to point-of-view (Goddard 1984 Russell 1996). Skjon found that that was not the case in Fox. Instead, he found that proximate assignment to characters in a narrative was marked also by other devices such as spatial deictic terms, verbs, and summary descriptions, and so forth. The concept of point-of-view in literary analysis is actually a derivative of these devices as a whole. In Text A we do not find point-of-view narrated through the main character's (Alɑkso) mind but rather it is told from the perspective of the narrator, who claims knowledge of the events he is describing. He can relate the mental state of the main character, as in the case when he says that Alɑkso was surprised by the noise of the dog, or that he 'took pity' on the little child. So this text is told through the narrator's point of view from the outside of the minds of the characters in the story. The narrator relates the main character (Alɑkso) in every case as the proximate actor, whereas he uses obviation to mark other occurring third persons including the spouse (second subject of the sentence), the dog (object of the sentence), and the child (He saw him, he took him).

This use of obviative is more common in the traditional narrative than in text B. In text B, the narrator is the main character of the speech, in a sense, and his beliefs, feelings and opinions are unmarked as proximate. The only use of obviative occurs when the narrator uses the animate nouns 'our speech' and 'our language' as objects of the verb marking them obviative. The obviative occurs quite often in Text A (wolverine, wife, dog, baby occurring in the same sentence). However, in Text B we find the obviative used only in reference to 'our language, speech', because the Eastern Abenaki word for language is animate and so is the word for white people in sentence two, and in sentence seven, language and children, both appear. On the other hand, 'words' is an inanimate noun so the obviative is not needed. Thomason (1995) has reported that formal and informal narratives in Algonquian languages exploit two different paradigms for the assignment of proximate and obviative categories in Fox. Our data for Eastern Abenaki is not extensive enough at the present time to determine if there are different obviation paradigms in different narrative styles, or if some other explanation for the dearth of obviation in ordinary conversation is required.

4. Conclusion

While both brief text samples use similar mechanisms to tell their story: use of repetition, variable word order, use of conjunct and definite modes to express simple past and true statements, it is clear that the two texts do represent different styles of discourse. The greatest difference in the two texts is in the number and type of particles used by each speaker. Many more connectives of time and place occur in the traditional story style, while particles of negation and emphasis mark the style of the argument or speech. I found speaking errors in both texts, though only in text B did I find a sample of code-switching to English. Some of the errors may be assigned to the transcriber who interpreted the speech. As I do not have access to the recording as yet, I have not had an opportunity to investigate the accuracy of the transcription. But on the whole, the transcription is quite sound, as you can see by the interlinear translation I have provided.

As this is a preliminary analysis, and only a portion of the two texts are represented here, more extensive conclusions must await further work.

Key to Abbreviations:

Pc.: Particle
TI: Transitive inanimate verb
TA: Transitive animate verb
AI: Animate intransitive verb
II: Inanimate intransitive verb
Conj.: Conjunct mode,
Cc. conj.: Changed conjunct (initial vowel change)
Ind. Def.: indicative definite mode (affirmative)
Obv.: Obviative (marks 3rd person in discourse)
AN: Animate noun or pronoun
INAN: Inanimate noun or pronoun
D: Dependent (requires person prefix.)
Prev.: Preverb (adverbial prefix)
Pren.: Prenoun (adjectival prefix)
Pron.: Pronoun
Encl.: Enclitic suffix
Emph.: Emphatic
Redupl.: Reduplicated
P: Person,
Pl.: Plural
Part.: Participle
Pret.: Preterite
Poss.: Possessive
Prior.: Prioritive
Prox.: Proximate

Incl.: Inclusive
Excl.: Exclusive
Dim.: Diminutive
M. reflex.: Middle reflexive
Person prefixes: 1 nə- 2 kə-, 3 wə

Notes

1. The language is no longer spoken in the home though efforts to teach it in the school are on-going.

2. Authorities for Algonquian grammar include Leonard Bloomfield (1946), Ives Goddard (1967) and for Eastern Abenaki in particular, Paul Voorhis and Dr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr. (1941) (see bibliography). The phonemic orthography used here follows Siebert.

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Affricate /č/ in an Immigrant Community

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Abstract

Drawing on variationist methodology and migration studies, this paper analyzes the speech of a minority group in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. The study aims to determine the linguistic and extralinguistic constraints of the realizations of the dependent variable /č/, a voiceless affricate [č] and a voiceless fricative [š], in this population. The variable seems to act as a social marker.

1. Background

From a distance, first your nostrils tingle with the peculiar smell that emanates from the compost that is prepared with chicken manure,[1] corn cobs and synthetic ingredients (Bastalick 1982). Then you see the mushroom houses[2] that make up the mushroom farms. Since the eighties, Kennett Square has been identified as the main mushroom shipping center in the United States. It is here that Mexicans work in the intensive manual labor that involves growing and harvesting the crop. It is here that men and women from different parts of Mexico share the responsibilities of the crop production. It is here that a new social language marker is shared, shaped and made anew. It is here that[3] twenty-seven individuals were interviewed in summer 2002. This study draws on the analysis of the speech sample obtained in those interviews. The realizations of the affricate phoneme /č/ in this community are studied with a view to determining the linguistic and extralinguistic factors that delimit both pronunciations.

2. Introduction

Phonological description of Standard Spanish indicates that the phoneme /č/ has a principal voiceless alveopalatal affricate allophone [č] (Barrutia and Schwegler 1994, Dalbor 1997, Hammond 2001). Some dialects also present another allophone, a voiceless palatal fricative [š] (Cedergren 1973, Brown 1976, Lipski 1994). The affricate /č/ rarely loses its occlusive element in Argentina and Venezuela (Lipski 1994). In Puerto Rico, Lopez Morales (1983) finds an increasing tendency for fricative realization of intervocalic /č/. In Panama City, the affricate /č/ frequently receives a fricative pronunciation (Cedergren 1973, Brown 1976, Lipski 1994). In Peru, the affricate often emerges as affricate in the highlands. The affricate does not normally lose its occlusive element in the central coast of Lima. Affricate is often pronounced as fricative in the lowlands (Lipski 1994). In Mexican Spanish, one can hear the palatal fricative realization in northern states like Chihuahua, Sonora, Baja California and Nuevo Leon (Brown 1989, Moreno de Alba 1994). Actually, the fricative allophone acts, to some extent, as a marker (Trudgill 1986) that identifies people who come from the northern states in Mexico, especially from Monterrey, Nuevo Leon (Serrano 2000).

3. Site and informants

Located to the southwest of Philadelphia, Kennett Square is a rural town near Longwood Gardens. Mainly Mexicans work in the mushroom industry. Several businesses cater to the prevailing minority population's needs: supermarkets, clothing stores, tax offices and restaurants. Businesses with Spanish names like El Sombrero or Taquería Moroleón pervade throughout this small town. At dawn, one can see men and women walking or driving to their work place to do the back breaking activities of preparing and spreading the compost, planting and watering the spawn, and picking the mushrooms. Each phase of the process entails great care. Any error committed here might affect productivity and everyone's work.

Outside the mushroom houses, one can see large piles of compost that must be turned and watered every so often to avoid fires. Once it turns dark brown, it should be spread on the beds inside the mushroom house, maintaining a temperature of 140 degrees Fahrenheit for four hours. Then the process of planting the spawn begins. Three weeks later, an inch of peat moss is spread to cover the beds and the temperature is dropped to 55 or 65 degrees for the best growing conditions. Mushrooms appear in sudden breaks or flushes about every ten days and continue for two or three months. They should be picked before the cap expands to expose the gills, which release the spores (Bastalick 1982). Pickers must handle the mushroom carefully to avoid damaging or breaking it; otherwise, its value decreases and it has to be sold for soup preparation. Once mushrooms are placed in different sized boxes, they are taken to the factory to be packed and shipped. Even though there are different shifts available on the farms, work hours depend on the life of the mushroom. If there are many breaks, they should be harvested before the color changes because that also decreases their value. Here, a relationship between the mushrooms and the workers seems to grow as well. They depend on each other to survive, and they promote language change that seems to be rooted in the very same process of production.

4. Data

Each interview yields a different number of realizations of the affricate and dependent variable /č/. In an effort to maintain consistency in this study, only forty-six tokens from each speaker were coded for analysis using GoldVarb 2001. Ten factor groups, three linguistic and seven sociolinguistic, were used in analyzing the data. The linguistic factors consist of the preceding segment, succeeding segment, and syllable stress. The sociolinguistic factors are gender, age group, education, occupation, origin, length of residence in the United States, and language spoken in the work place. Because the first run of the program created some knockouts due to empty cells within the data, some of the factors were recoded or deleted from the analysis. For example, length of residence in the United States was completely deleted, leaving only nine factor groups to be considered. The preceding segment was reformatted to eliminate nasal and liquid consonants because '/č/ is always realized as the affricate [č] following a nasal or lateral consonant' (Jaramillo and Bills 1982:156), for example in words like "rancho" 'small hamlet', "el chaleco" 'the vest'. The first factor group, the preceding phonological environment, consists of front vowels /i, e/, back

vowels /o, u/, central vowel /u, a/, consonants other than nasals and liquids, or a pause. The second factor group includes codes for stress (stressed syllable, preceding or succeeding stress). The third factor group pertains to the segment following the variable: front vowels /i, e/, back vowels /o, u/, and central vowel /a/.

The overall results for the standard variant [č] and for the fricative variant [š] are 95% and 5%, respectively. The phonological environment of the standard variant [č] comprises consonants (97%) and front vowels (97%) in the preceding segment, and front vowels and central vowels (96%) in the following segment in words like *lecha agua* 'you throw water', *cosechador* 'grower', *los chamacos* 'the kids', *michiote* 'a type of food', *de Chihuahua* 'from Chihuahua', and *leche* 'milk'. These results contrast with those of Cedergren (1973:68) and Jaramillo and Bills (1982:156) who find the [č] variant is more frequent after consonants than after vowels in their respective studies of Panamanian and New Mexican Spanish. Stressed syllables also favor the standard variant [č], with 97% for example *estuve chica* 'I was young', *de chivo* 'of goat'. The fricative variant [š] is constrained by pause (16%) and back and central vowels (5%) in the preceding segment, and back vowels (6%) for the succeeding segment, in words like *llevaba chocolate* 'she took chocolate', *mucho* 'a lot', *muchacho* 'young man', *le nombro chunde* 'I call it a big basket'. A preceding or following stressed syllable favors this variant, with 5%, as in for example in, *dieciocho* 'eighteen' and *Pachuquilla*, a place name, thereby contradicting Jaramillo and Bills' results, who found 'there is no significant difference in the variability of /š/ after a vowel and after a consonant other than a nasal or lateral' (1982: 156).

Although the overall percentages of occurrence of the fricative variant seem somewhat low (5%), it is noteworthy to consider that none of the informants in the sample comes from a region in Mexico in which speech is characterized by the fricativization of the dependent variable /č/[4] (Moreno de Alba 1994) and where the realization of this variant may reach percentages higher than 50%. The mushroom workers surveyed for this study come from states located in the center, the southeast, and the northeast of Mexico: Estado de México, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Puebla and Tamaulipas.[5] Boyd-Bowman (1960:81) assures that 'the occlusive element in the articulation of the affricate /č/ never weakens in the Guanajuato area' from where more than half of the interviewees come. Factors other than place of origin might explain the occurrence of the fricative variant. The type of job on the farms and the social forces that interact in the community seem to contribute to the occurrence of the fricative variant in a population where it has not been documented before. After all, according to Pessar (1999:580) '[r]esearchers have only recently begun to explore how changing politico-economic conditions in labor exporting and labor-importing societies differently affect men and women and how this, in turn, may provide them with contrasting incentives and constraints on movement and ...' language variation.

The binominal run of the statistical program discards two linguistic, preceding segment and syllable stress, and one extralinguistic, gender, factor groups. Interestingly, the last factor indicates that females favor the standard variant [č] at a rate of 97% while males favor the fricative variant [š] at a rate of 5%. At first glance, these results appear to agree with the claim that females favor standard forms and males do not (Labov 1972). However, following Pessar (1999), the results

yielded for occupation seem to shed light on tendencies revealed by this study. The occupation factor group contains supervisors (growers and actual supervisors), clerical workers such as secretaries and receptionists, and pickers, which includes pickers and janitors. Here, clerks and pickers favor the affricate variant [č] with 98% and 97% respectively, while supervisors favor the fricative variant [š] at a rate of 7%.

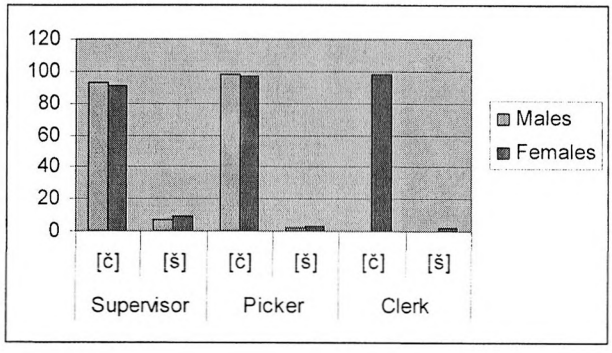

Figure 1. Affricate and Fricative by Gender and Occupation

Figure 1 illustrates cross tabulation results of gender and occupation; pickers and clerks favor affricate variant [č] with 98% and 97% for men and women respectively, while the supervisors favor the fricative variant with 7% and 9% for men and women, respectively. As explained above, the mushroom production process requires specific knowledge and entails great responsibility at every step. The supervisor division is comprised of supervisors who oversee harvesting the mushrooms and growers who prepare the compost and oversee watering the spawn on the beds. All of these processes are crucial to yield good crops (Bastalick 1982). One supervisor states in the interview that, "you have to water correctly the beds to allow the mushroom to grow; either too much water or too little water might damage the product". The fact that supervisors offer the highest percentage of occurrence of the fricative variant might attest to a relationship between the importance of the job held on the farms and the fricative variant.

Considering that there are more men than women in the whole sample, seventeen males versus ten females, a subgroup of twenty informants was formed to corroborate the claim that the production activity might shape their speech. In this case, the cross tabulation shows equal percentages for female and male pickers for the affricate variant, 97%, and for the fricative variant 3%; however, the percentage of occurrence increases to 10% for males in the supervisor position and decreases to 7% for females for the fricative variant. In Gilbert's words (2003:17):

> The individual's place in society, relationships to others, and outlook on life are shaped by his or her work experience. More specifically, those who occupy a similar role in production are likely to share economic and political interests [and speech patterns].

The supervisors might also be considered '[the] innovators of change ... [who are the] more prestigious, centrally located members of local society' (Labov 2001:244).

The age factor group divides the population into three groups: group I (20 to 34), group II (35 to 54), and group III, 55 and older. There are eight speakers in the first group, thirteen in the second, and six in the third. Age group I has five women and three men, two women and eleven men form age group II, and age group III is composed of an equal number of men and women. Age group I favors the affricate variant [č] with a frequency of 97%, while age groups II and III favor the fricative variant [š] at a rate of 5% and 6%, respectively. The results for the cross tabulation of gender and age group indicate that females throughout the three generations use the affricate variant more often, 99% for age group I and 96% for age groups II and III. Males in groups II and III favor the fricative variant with 8% and 6%, respectively. These figures are presented in figure 2 and contrast sharply with Cedergren's (1973) and Jaramillo and Bills' results[6] (1982); young males utter more frequently the fricative variant (55%) than do young females (34.3%) though their age group division differs from this study.[7] Most of the males in groups II and III seem to hold supervisory positions, and this might further prove the impact of their job on their speech. It could be that the fricative variant functions as an identity marker in this community (Milroy 1982). Moreover, these men have no doubt already built their own identity within the community: they are supervisors who are crucial to production (Peltz 1998).

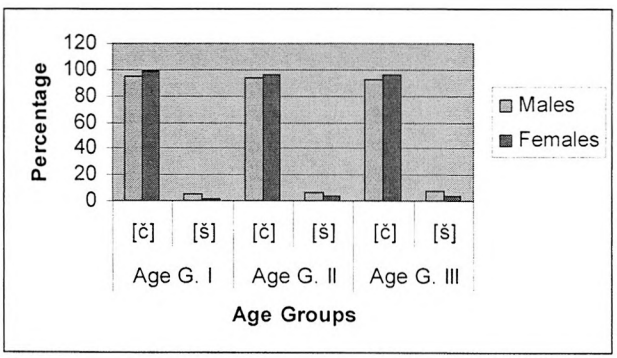

Figure 2. Affricate Variable by Age Group and Gender

The education factor group was discarded by the binominal run of the program. Interestingly, other studies referred to here report its importance in the utterance of either variant. Serrano (2000) observes a higher frequency of fricativization among higher levels of education, i.e. university level. Nevertheless, Jaramillo and Bills (1982) report a decrease in the fricative variant if the informants have been exposed to a college education.

The remaining two significant factors are origin and language spoken in the work place. In the first factor group, people from small towns or hamlets favor the affricate variant at a rate of 96%, yet people from cities favor the fricative variant at a rate 7%. In the last factor group, people who speak only Spanish in the work place use the affricative variant more, 96%, and informants who

speak more Spanish-English at work utter the fricative variant at a rate of 7%. When combined in a cross tabulation, as seen in table 1, urban informants who speak Spanish and English in the work place favor the fricative variant with 12%, the highest percentage yielded by the statistical analysis. There is really no difference among the rest of urban and rural informants.

Table 1. Affricate and Fricative by Origin and Language Spoken at Work

		City		Town		Total	%
Spanish	[č]	352	96%	357	97%	709	96
	[š]	16	4%	11	3%	27	4
		368		368		736	
Span-English	[č]	122	88%	351	96%	473	94
	[š]	16	12%	16	4%	32	6
		138		367		505	
Total	[č]	474	94%	708	96%	1182	95
	[š]	32	6%	27	4%	59	5%
		506		735		1241	

To further prove the claim of the fricative as a social marker, table 2 shows the results of the cross tabulation of occupation and language spoken at work. Here, supervisor offers the highest percentage of occurrence uttering the fricative variant with an overall result of 7%. However, when this occupation combines with English and Spanish spoken in the work place, the fricative variant reaches a rate of 9%. Thus, the highest percentages of occurrence for the fricative variant belong to supervisors, urban speakers who use English and Spanish in the work place.

Table 2. Affricate and Fricative by Occupation and Language Spoken at Work

		Supervisor		Picker		Clerk		Total	%
Spanish	[č]	304	94%	359	98%	46	100%	709	96
	[š]	18	6%	9	2%	0	0	27	4
		322		368		46		736	
Span-English	[č]	292	91%	46	100%	135	98%	473	94
	[š]	29	9%	0	0	3	2%	32	6%
		321		46		138		505	
Total	[č]	596	93%	405	98%	181	98%	1182	95%
	[š]	47	7%	9	2%	3	2%	59	5%
		643		414		184		1241	

It is interesting to note that clerks, all of whom are women, offer a low percentage of

occurrences in spite of the fact that three out of four of them interact with English speakers. This might suggest that English does not cause these speakers to incorporate the fricative variant in their speech. Results yielded by the subgroup of speakers formed earlier might clarify these figures. A cross tabulation of occupation and language spoken at work indicates that supervisors continue uttering the fricative variant more often, with an overall percentage of 10%. When combined with either of the languages spoken at work, the highest percentage is for the speakers who use both English and Spanish. Nevertheless, supervisors who speak only Spanish at work show a percentage of 7%. This result contrasts with the 3% occurrence rate for clerks who speak English and Spanish at work.

Since language contact may entail the use of two languages by the same person, every worker who asserts that he or she uses both languages in the work place should use the fricative variant in the same proportion. Nevertheless, they do not. One possible explanation suggests the importance of occupation in the work place. The supervisors' prestige seems to be status and identity oriented (Milroy 1982).

Table 3. Affricate and Fricative by Occupation and Language Spoken at Work

		Picker		Supervisor		Clerk		Total	%
Spanish	[č]	356	97%	128	98%	46	100%	530	96
	[š]	12	3%	10	7%	0	0	27	4
		368		138		46		552	
Span-English	[č]	46	100%	121	88%	134	97%	301	93
	[š]	0	0	17	12	4	3%	21	7%
		46		138		138		322	
Total	[č]	402	97%	249	90%	180	98%	831	95%
	[š]	12	3%	27	10%	4	2%	43	5%
		414		276		184		874	

Production has become the center of social life (Gilbert 2003) to such an extent that it has influenced their speech. The fricative realization of /č/ is not attested in these informants' places of origin and its presence here might be related to their importance in the mushroom production process. Once again, this community has created a badge of honor that distinguishes them from other migrant workers from Mexico.

Notes

1. Bastalick (1982) indicates the use of horse manure. However, chicken manure is currently being used due to the high temperatures that it reaches.

2. The mushroom industry refers to "mushroom houses" for the greenhouses where the mushrooms grow.

3. Thirty interviews comprise the complete sample. The remaining three speakers not included here do not utter the variant enough to be included in this analysis.

4. The fricative realization of the dependent variable /č/ is notable and frequent in the northern and northwest states of Mexico such as Michoacán, Colima, Jalisco, Nayarit, Durango, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Baja California (Moreno de Alba 1994).

5. The informants here are from Almoloya, Toluca and Tunancingo (Estado de México), Moroleón and Yuridia (Guanajuato), Mayanalán and Tierra Colorada (Guerrero), Pozontepec and Texmelucán (Puebla) and Reynosa (Tamaulipas).

6. Jaramillo and Bills' (1982) breakdown of age groups is as follows: group I from 17 to 30, group II from 31 to 50, group III older than 51.

7. However, in Age Group II, 88.8% of females utter the fricative variant as compared to 73.1% of males. In the 51+ group, there is a minimal difference of 78.9 [š] for females and 74.4% for males.

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A Basic Morphological Parser for Discourse Information Grammar

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Abstract

Though many view the fundamental nature of language in terms of abstract rules applied to yield grammatical sequences, with meaning added in later, it is also possible to view language from what could be called the inverse perspective. In this perspective, the fundamental nature and purpose of language change from a rule-based approach to an information-based approach, where the fundamental purpose of language is to send, receive, store and represent information. Viewed from this perspective, grammar rules become over learned patterns and storage structures, the results of emergent properties of information accumulation and storage processes. In order to study language from this perspective, detailed attention must be paid to the lexicon: its nature, structure, content and role. This paper describes initial work undertaken toward analyzing language from an information-based approach.

1. The Problem

The fundamental goal underlying the research work reported in this paper is simple to state, but not simple to achieve: to build a formal model which can effect a feasible imitation of what humans accomplish when they process a text and attain a 'comprehension' of it. The work to be described in this paper constitutes a preliminary stage to addressing semi-formally what is involved in formally mimicking text comprehension.

Of course, the problem of modeling text comprehension is not new. At base, there are two current major approaches to dealing with it: rule based grammar and probabilistic reasoning. Both have made significant inroads into specific problems of text comprehension, however, neither of them seems near to a satisfactory solution as of yet. We will leave aside the statistical method of modeling comprehension in this paper, to concentrate rather on approaches within the rule-based paradigm. Abstracting, one could say that essentially one approach attempts to derive meaning from a text through the process of inferential and/or deductive forms of analyses. We could crudely label this method the directly analytical approach (DAA). The second generic approach assumes that a properly formed text has both meaning and purpose. The problem lies here not in inferential and/or deductive analyses, but in asking the question 'What is basically needed to mimic textual generation, representation, storage and comprehension?' Thus, this approach could be crudely labeled the information based approach (IBA). Though each approach to the same problem follows widely divergent pathways, in the long run, each should yield fairly homogeneous models that presumably will be encodable in a lexicon and grammar suited to formal representation. At this point, it is too early to be able to decide if either approach or possibly neither approach is correct. Each definitely leads to different questions and different projects. That being said, this report falls in the IBA camp.

Five immediate questions arise when text is analyzed formally from an information perspective:

a) What constitutes information generated through natural language processing?
b) How can this information be represented?
c) How can it be used to arrive at text comprehension?
d) What could be a semi-formal working definition of 'comprehension'?
e) What is the place and role of grammar in this model?

It is not possible to review all the work we have accomplished toward answering these questions, but this paper does touch upon each question. Interim summary observations can be read in the final part of this report.

2. Chosen Approach: Discourse Information Grammar

A preliminary step toward attaining these goals seemed to require that we develop a lexicon designed for semi-formal representation. A number of possibilities currently exist ranging from Horn clauses (Lenat and Guha 1989), computational methods (Sowa 1991, Allen 1995, Roche and Schabes 1997, Smalley 2004), various logical notations such as first-order logic (Pereira and Grosz 1994, Saint-Dizier and Viegas 1995, Allan 2001, Kempson et al. 2001, Portner and Partee 2002, Brachman and Levesque 2004, Nirenburg and Raskin 2004), complex feature systems such as those used in HPSG (Pollard and Sag 1987), generative lexicon (Pustejovsky 1996) or those developed in Carpenter (1992, 1997). We made a decision to use a simplified version of complex feature structures with default minimal specification of feature values. For examples, see section 3 below. Also, for the time being, we have concentrated on a limited subset of the posited lexicon. In this talk, we will use examples limited to nouns, verbs, articles and adjectives. This will enable us to work through an example in considerable detail as well as illustrate what our interim parser can do. Eventually, we expect to deal with arbitrary texts, including punctuation. In the long run, we will work in the capability for processing spoken language as well.

The reasons we have decided to concentrate initially on the lexicon are two-fold:

a) To view everything going on in natural language processing as an incremental accumulation of information rather than as the generation and application of 'dis-semanticized' grammar rules to stretches of speech;

b) To mimic what we posit actually occurs in the mind of the learner, especially the child who is acquiring a first language: namely, learning to cope with information situations and from these, acquiring linguistic information which is then stored as mostly fixed, over learned patterns and lexical entries.

This approach does go counter to many current theories in linguistics, but then these theories are based on structural observations of grammar rules, with little or no emphasis put on meaning. This is tantamount to claiming that humans are 'hard-wired' in some way to respond to grammar rule recognition and/or formulation from a severe poverty of stimuli. Our claim is that the new learner is 'hard-wired' to respond, organize and store information in three basic types of data structures: i) hierarchical lists; ii) record or template structures and iii) dynamic patterns both of the linear and the network sort. From these, via emergent properties, grammar becomes a by-product, rather than being the generator which makes it all possible. Information structures, rather than grammatical rules, are the true stuff of human language. Of course, this begs the question: what sort of 'information' is involved? This now takes us to our next step: the lexicon.

2.1. The Basic Structure of the Lexicon

In order to remain true to our fundamental working hypothesis that information processing rather that abstract rule-based generation is the primary function underlying natural language processing, we need to begin developing a lexicon tailored to the needs of enabling a semi-formal description and representation of processes which underlie natural language processing. To date, we have developed a rudimentary and incomplete parser, written in Perl which is capable of the following activities:

a) Tokenizing the words in a short text;
b) Breaking these words into their morphemic constituents;
c) Lexicalizing these tokens by attaching lexical information, described below.

For the present, let us examine the structure of the lexicon and the current basic functioning of the parser. Detailed illustrations are provided in the walkthrough section that follows next.

Each entry of the lexicon consists of complex feature structure with fixed fields for the different parts of speech. As with all other aspects of the DIG parser, the number of fields can be altered should the situation being processed warrant it. Lexical entries contain information related to part of speech, structure type, functional roles, and semantic features. The default is non-specification except for situations where such information is 'hard-wired', that is, the specified values are context independent. For instance the pronoun *she* is by default marked [+feminine], [+singular] although there are cases in English where the referent may be an inanimate object such as a ship. In such cases, the default specification may be overridden and edited as the information situation requires. Psychologically, this mimics the correction which a person learning English will register upon being told that ships are referred to as *she* and not *it*. Again, in French, the definite article *la* is marked [+feminine], [+singular] and [+definite]. In this language, these specifications will not be overridden but that is simply a part of the intrinsic nature of that language. Still, situations can occur, notably when two dialects meet, where there can be editing. It is an important part of DIG that specifications can always be overridden should the current context require it.

Following are partial schematic representations for nouns, the definite article, verbs and adjectives, presented here because they will be used later in the examples. It is to be noted that these schemas are incomplete. For one thing, languages differ on some of the fields. For instance, Algonquian languages do not mark for gender; rather, they mark for the feature ANIMACY. Thus, these templates are editable according to the needs of a given concrete language. The schemas are also incomplete in the literal sense that there are more fields than indicated here, but these will not be addressed in this short talk. A few of the missing fields are LOGIC-TYPE, DISCOURSE-TYPE, DISCOURSE-LEVEL (to handle embedded relations due to various forms of subordinations, etc.)

Lexical schema 1: Noun entry

NAME: < >
TYPE:
INDEX: GENDER: [ ]
NUMBER: [ ]
PERSON: [ ]
STRUCTURE-TYPE:
F-ROLE:
TOPIC:
SEM{ ... }

Lexical schema 2: Definite article entry

NAME: <the>
TYPE: Definite article

INDEX: GENDER: [ ]
NUMBER: [ ]
PERSON: [ ]

STRUCTURE-TYPE: Nominal structure
HEAD:
F-ROLE: Signals a nominal structure
TOPIC:
SEM{ ... }

Lexical schema 3: Verb entry

NAME: < >
TYPE: LINKING [ ]
AUXILIARY [ ]
MODAL [ ]
INTRANSITIVE [ ]

TRANSITIVE [ ]
DITRANSITIVE [ ]
F-ROLE:
ARG-STRUCTURE (...)
SEM: ARG-1: { ... }
ARG-2: { ... }
...
ARG-n: { ... }
TENSE:

Lexical schema 4: Adjective entry

NAME: < >
TYPE:
HEAD:
INDEX: GENDER: [ ]
NUMBER: [ ]
PERSON: [ ]
STRUCTURE-TYPE:
F-ROLE:

TOPIC:
SEM{ ... }

It is a claim of DIG that humans are hard-wired to be responsive and receptive to this sort of information (as well as to a number of parameters not dealt with here) and that they use this sort of information to form information structures which are referred to in DIG as localized information contexts. A second claim is that what have traditionally been called syntactic patterns are not the result of abstract grammar rules as such, although these can certainly be formulated as part of a post-facto, meta-level of description of language structure, but that they are in reality results from completing information structures and combining them with further information structures as these become processed. The gist of the claim being made here is that humans are hard-wired to generating additional information from these combinations, information which captures functional roles, semantic (in)consistencies, logical development, etc. An interesting corollary to the DIG approach is that the paucity of data and the theoretical problems which it generates largely disappear because information structures are highly homogeneous, highly repetitive and extremely frequent. Once they are grasped and used thousands of times, they yield semantic memory which translates into, among other things, over learned patterns, enriched lexical entries and personal or localized databases of world knowledge as well as sets of exceptionalities of various kinds. Given the tens of thousands of times such information structures occur, it is not surprising to observe that they become rapidly fixed in the mind. Also, since these patterns become fixed because of constant, repetitive exposure and use and become deeply entrenched subconscious habits, we have a strong indication here as to why it is difficult for most adults exposed to another language to feel comfortable, initially

at least, with new patterns for organizing essentially the same information structure.

2.1.1. A Brief Reflection on the Basic Nature and Purpose of Language

From the perspective of Chomsky's theory (Chomsky 1986, 1995) of a language organ and a universal grammar hard-wired into every normal person, the work being done in DIG research could very well turn out to be complementary because from that perspective, the efforts of DIG research are focused primarily on exploring concretely how a universal grammar and an initial state could be modeled. Such research may be dealing with individual language idiosyncracies, but such work is necessary if we are to get beyond pure speculation and connected with actual problems faced by the individual acquiring a first language. Just exactly what is it that is being acquired? Why is there so much homogeneity among the world's several thousand languages? It may be that the abstract rules facility precedes concept building and information accumulation, but it seems more likely that concept acquisition and information accumulation are at least co-eval with abstract rule formulations. Even more interesting is the complex interplay between such rules and information accumulation. Chomsky has been known to say that the primary business of language is to allow a person to talk to himself/herself. That may very well be so, but during that self-conversation, isn't it the case that information is being processed, stored, represented and sent from/by the individual to himself/herself? Even here, the business of language is to receive, store, represent and send information.

2.2. Brief Description of our Parser So Far

At this stage, our parser is quite modest. It is capable of the following activities:

a) Parse a simple sentence using white spaces as token separators, and indexing each token sequentially from the first to the last.

b) Once the text has been tokenized and indexed, each token is broken down into its morphemic structure. In order to achieve this analysis and lexicalize an incoming token as much as possible, our system makes use of three types of tokens which the parser might pick up: a bare morpheme, a standalone allomorph or a construction of the two. The token-string is passed to the lexicon where as many as three searches may be performed in order to retrieve all the data related to the word from the lexicon. These three searches are as follows:

i. Search for a match of the full token in the morphemes database;
ii. If it fails to find a match, the parser will then search the allomorphs database;
iii. Should this also fail to yield a match, a third search will be triggered: this search works by removing letters from the end of the token and repeating searches (i) and (ii). This process continues until a match is found or the token is reduced to zero, in which case the token falls into one of two categories: a) nonce form or b) a new form. The parser cannot decide this

and will trigger a question asking for human help. Eventually, the database should include all known words.

c) Once a token has been matched and morphemically analyzed, it is lexicalized and becomes a word. Part of the lexicalization includes specifications of (some of) the features which make up its lexical entry.

d) At this point, the parser moves on to the next token.

e) Once the input reaches an end, the parser stops.

3. Worked Example

We will now walk through a detailed example to illustrate the points described in section 2.3. First, we will take the test sentence:

(1) The cats are big.

First, our parser scans and indexes each token, using white space to separate tokens. This will yield:

(2) The-1 cats-2 are-3 big-4 ##

where the symbol '##' is used to signal end of input.

Next comes the lexicalization of each token. As noted above, this process is more involved. First, the token 'the-1' is examined. A first search in the morphemes database locates the entry *the*. Since there is a match, *the*-1 is lexicalized and acquires the information captured in the following lexical entry schema.

(3) NAME: <the>
TYPE: Definite article

INDEX: GENDER: [ ]
NUMBER: [ ]
PERSON: [ ]

STRUCTURE-TYPE: Nominal structure
F-ROLE: Determines and signals a nominal structure
TOPIC:
SEM{[+definite}, ... }

At this point, token *the*-1 has become the word *the*-1{} where the symbol '{}' represents schema (3) above. It is to be noted that all the information accumulated so far can be described as follows:

1. A nominal structure (conceptually a name of some sort) has been initialized.
2. The impending nominal structure is marked [+definite].
3. The first word in the nominal structure is the definite article *the*.

Unknown so far are the gender, the number, the person, the functional role of the developing nominal structure, it semantic field and its topic value (usually a subset of the semantic field)

From the point of view of natural language processing, we are in the situation where the speaker or writer has initiated a thought and stopped at '*the* ...' where the suspension points indicate hesitation. What we know follows from the recognition of the word *the*. Virtually all else remains to be processed. Another way of putting it, is that if the writer/speaker were to be whisked off at this point and someone were to ask what he said, one would be able to answer that he/she was going to say something about something (and not some activity, for instance) but was prevented from completing his/her thought.

The parser now continues with the next token: '*cats*-2'. A first search through the database fails to yield a match. A second search through the allomorphs database still finds nothing. This will trigger the third search. First, the final's' is removed from the token '*cats*-2'. This yields the token '*cat*-2'. A first search through the morphemes database locates the entry *cat*. At this point, the parser will lexicalize the token '*cat*-2' and yield the following information:

(4) NAME: <cat- >
TYPE: common
INDEX: GENDER: [neuter]
NUMBER; [ ]
PERSON: [3rd]
STRUCTURE-TYPE: nominal structure
F-ROLE:
TOPIC: cat
SEM{[+concrete], [+animal], [+feline], [+animate], ... }

At this point the text has become:

(5) the-1{} cat--2{} are big ##

Note that the schema (4) does not yet contain information pertaining to definiteness nor to number. All nouns are third person by default, although this can be overridden should the context require it as in the case of address, for instance. Note also that the TOPIC field has been specified as 'cat'. That means that the person referred to above, could now answer something like: the speaker

was going to say something about a cat or possibly cats in general (and not some activity, for instance) but was prevented from completing his/her thought.

At this point, the parser will unpack a special string entitled 'valid allomorphs' which is included in every morpheme database entry. Basically, the set of valid allomorphs consists of every allomorphic form which may combine with the entry in question. In the case of *cat*, the following allomorphs, among others, can occur: {*-s*, *-'s*, *-s'*, *-ted*, *-ting*, ...} Since '*-s*' is a valid allomorph, the word *cat* becomes '*cat#s*' and the lexical information entry is modified to indicate plural specification, as indicated in (6).

(6) NAME: <cat#s >
TYPE: common
INDEX: GENDER: [neuter]
NUMBER: [+plural]
PERSON: [3rd]
STRUCTURE-TYPE: nominal structure
F-ROLE:
TOPIC: cats
SEM{[+concrete], [+animal], [+feline], [+animate], ... }

In schema (6), we use the symbol '#' to indicate morphemic boundary.

At this point the text has become:

(7) the-1{} cat#s-2{} are big ##

The parser now moves to the next token: '*are*-3'. It will take the token *are* and search for a match in the morphemes database, and will not find anything. It will then search the allomorphs database and find a match. Every allomorph entry (that can exist as a standalone allomorph: our example "s" from earlier need not concern itself with this issue since "s" by itself is not a word) has a particular field in which it specifies its associated morpheme and this cross-references the morpheme and extracts its semantic content. In our case the associated morpheme is "(to) be" and its semantic content is retrieved by the database. The token *are* is then understood to be an allomorphic instance of the morpheme *to be* that conforms to the syntactical requirements of the sentence. The token '*are*-3' is now lexicalized and yields schema (8) below.

(8) NAME: <be>
TYPE: LINKING [+linking]
AUXILIARY [ ]
MODAL [ ]
INTRANSITIVE [ ]
TRANSITIVE [ ]
DITRANSITIVE [ ]
INDEX: GENDER: [neuter]

NUMBER: [+plural]
PERSON: [3rd]
F-ROLE: PREDICATES: links argument 2 and argument 1; argument 2 modifies argument 1
ARG-STRUCTURE (nominal structure = 'the cats', nominal structure/adjective structure, {modifiers})
SEM: ARG-1: { ... }
ARG-2: { ... }
...
ARG-n: { ... }
TENSE: [+present], [+indicative]

Thus far, the text has become:

(9) the-1{} cat#s-2{} are-3{} big-4 ##

Remarks on the verb schema:

1. The expression nominal structure/adjective structure indicates that the second argument can be either a nominal structure or an adjective structure. There are more elegant ways of indicating this, but for now this is sufficient.

2. Though our parser does not assign functional roles as yet, the necessary feature compatibilities are present for argument-1 to be assigned to 'the-1 + cats-2'

3. The expression 'the-1 + cats-2' uses the symbol + to indicate that 'the-1' combines with the word 'cats-2' via feature unification to yield a nominal structure. In DIG, nominal structures assume the individual feature complexes of the elements which combine to build them up. How this is done, is temporarily beyond our current parser and will be built into it in the near future.

4. Note that the second argument and any modifiers are still pending.

5. Note also that our current parser handles only minimal semantic values. These will be built into the parser during phases 3 and 4.

6. The feature TENSE has been specified as [+present], [+indicative]. Detailed discussion of aspect and temporality falls outside the scope of the present paper.

After yielding (8) and (9), the parser moves on to '*big*-4'. During the first search, it will locate the entry *big* and lexicalize '*big*-4' to yield:

(10) NAME: <big>
TYPE: adjective:descriptive:size
HEAD: cats
INDEX: GENDER: [+neuter]
NUMBER: [+plural]
PERSON: [+3d]
STRUCTURE-TYPE: nominal; adjective
F-ROLE: MODIFICATION: SIZE
TOPIC:cats
SEM{[+definite], [+size], [+comparison], [>average], ... }

After this, the text has become:

(11) the-1{} cats-2{} are-3{} big-4{} ##

Remarks:

1. Note that many of the feature specifications, especially the INDEX and STRUCTURE-TYPE values have been taken from the HEAD of the nominal structure. This is normal since the HEAD acts as the core for the structure. Also, the features attached to 'big{}' are also unified with the specifications for 'cat#s' since 'cat#s' is the HEAD of the nominal structure which 'big{}' modifies. This also is normal since the main function of adjectives is to add features to nominal structures. In DIG, features accumulated by adjectives modifying a common HEAD are collected in a container called TEMP and attached to the HEAD as soon as information accumulation renders such feature unification possible. After unifying with the HEAD, TEMP is reset to empty. This is meant to mimic that we are always able to accumulate a string of adjectival features without confusing the several strings of such features which occur regularly in ordinary writing and/or spoken discourse. Though our parser currently lacks this capability, we schematize the effect of TEMP in schema (12) below for the sake of illustration.

(12) NAME: <cat#s >
TYPE: common
INDEX: GENDER: [neuter]
NUMBER: [+plural]
PERSON: [3rd]
STRUCTURE-TYPE: nominal structure
F-ROLE:
TOPIC: cats
SEM{[+concrete], [+animal], [+feline], [+animate], [+definite], [+size], [+comparison], [>average] ... }

2. As information accumulates, the SEM{...} expands and incorporates more information via specified features. This mimics the fact that our initial conceptions (usually) become richer and less hazy as information flows in. Though our parser still lacks the capability to monitor for semantic inconsistencies, such a capability will eventually be built into it.

At this point, the parser encounters end of input, symbolized as '##' in this example, and terminates.

4. Work To Do

In the previous sections we have briefly described a parser which we are developing at McMaster. It is a modest beginning, but we are confident that it will become powerful enough to mimic human natural language processing in an accurate and convincing manner. There remains much work to do, as we pointed out during our discussions. Currently, we are planning on five stages of development which, once achieved, will enable the DIG parser/generator to deal with any text, including corrupted texts, and even inconsistent texts.

This initial stage was designed to deal with two fundamental phenomena which we suspect are part of human natural language processing. First, by grouping allomorphic word forms together as dynamic strings of entries rather than creating new entries for all possibilities, the program not only reduces memory storage requirements, but it also speeds up access times, an absolute necessity if we are to mimic natural language processing in real-time. Second, we have modeled information accumulation on the 'network' idea of memory. This enables us to represent a surprising amount of information from just a small number of parts which are combined cumulatively to yield complex information structures which are built and stored on the fly. Because of their networked structure, these (partial) accumulations of information lend themselves to virtually instant partial current status snapshots, a capability meant to mimic the human ability to be able to generate partial information from incomplete texts/utterances. Since we can report partial information on the fly, we need to be able to model this. Waiting for a structure to be 'complete' will not allow us this ability. While we have not yet given our parser the ability to represent information in a more complicated way than as a string of features, we have nevertheless developed a way of representing how basic feature interaction can work efficiently. For instance, the token *are* as an instance of *to be*, extracted from the allomorphic set {*be, am, is, are, was, were, been, being*} and combined with its lexical entry information, becomes a feature command which says the features of subject and object should be unified. Again, the features of the word '*big*{}' are unified with the features of '*cat*{}' (i.e. above average physical dimensions for cats) due to the argument requirements of the verb '*be*{}'. The adjective features are added to those of the noun it modifies and not the other way around since nouns normally do not modify adjectives. This yields a semi-formal definition of the process of adjectival modification. The verb dictates the type of interaction the features can undergo and then the parser effects the unifications specified. In this manner, we have begun to provide a semi-formal definition of the concept(s) included in the term 'meaning'.

In terms of future development, the parser has been designed with modularity in mind—that is, to add (or remove) future functions will require a minimum rewriting of the existing code. As much as possible this parser has been designed with future functions and additions in mind. Concretely, we know the parser will require several more searching mechanisms whereby, for example, allomorphs can be strung together into constructions. It will also require a similar search-based system to recognize valid prefixes and other allomorphic transformations a word might undergo while retaining its original semantic content. This second consideration is taken in light of examples such as *reply* and *ply*, which are what the parser might mistake for a valid allomorphic prefix + morpheme pair ('*re#ply*' as opposed to '*reply*') when this is plainly not the case. As in the case of our encoded string for valid allomorphs and valid forms, which is our final check in determining the legitimacy of a construction of morpheme with an allomorphic ending, this system will require some sort of validation. This system will, in time, be capable of automatic lexicalization and be able to mimic the way a human being can effortlessly deal with new word creations. For example, suppose we did not explicitly include *breathless* as a valid construction in our lexicon. The machine could be programmed to automatically lexicalize the word according to the two parts it would recognize, *breath* and *less* (*-less* as an allomorphic form, not as a word in itself) and this would also help in some cases where a writer invents a compound word which strictly speaking does not exist, but whose meaning is clear from its composition. These are all additions that could readily be made given the framework we have already created.

Complete lexicalization is still several steps away from the end point of the research described in this paper. Indeed as we have seen, complete lexicalization in the ultimate sense is only possible with a complex context buffer and a system for polysemic resolution. However, we have taken several steps towards a lexicon which is capable of interacting with a parser in a maximally underspecified environment. This is the beginning of a left-to-right time-linear processor based on the design of DIG.

In addition to the developments discussed, we are currently contemplating the following immediate steps. In the next stage, the following capabilities will be added:

1. Assign and define functional role information to each word and each homogeneous group of words (= endomorphic structures);
2. Generate localized contextual information structures;
3. Handle punctuation;
4. Handle embedded structures and relations up to a level of three.

A third stage will add the following capabilities:

1. Handle logical structure;
2. Handle simple corrupted texts;
3. Handle linking expressions, notably conjunctive constructs, subordination, prepositional phrases;
4. Check for semantic inconsistencies;

5. Monitor for certain errors.

The next two or more stages will deal with more complex issues including discourse structures, multi-sentence texts up to paragraphs along with inter-sentential connections. All along, we will continue to explore and develop our lexicon until it contains the information necessary to enable our parser to analyze normal texts.

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A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Use of Color Terms

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1. Introduction

Color terms are universal in the sense that every language has a certain number of lexemes that are used to refer to colors in that culture. However, not only do languages vary in the number of basic color terms they have, but also in the use of those terms in metaphors, as well as the symbolic association that they have in the culture. Even languages within the same language family may differ greatly in their metaphoric use of color terms. In some cases, the metaphors are identical in terms of the color term used, but communicate a totally different meaning.

Languages vary in the syntactic category to which color terms belong. Although in many languages, as in English, they are adjectives, there is at least one language in which they have an adverbial function and others where they are verb derivatives. They are also commonly used as nouns, particularly in Indo-European languages.

This paper will attempt to illustrate these features of color terms with examples from English, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, and Tikar, a Benue-Congo language spoken in west-central Cameroon.

2. Number of basic color terms

Although every language has color terms, the number of terms varies greatly from one language to another. One of the best-known studies of color terms cross-culturally was done by Berlin and Kay in 1969. Their study of close to one hundred languages revealed that although the number of basic color terms ranges from as many as eleven to as few as two, there is, nevertheless, a systematic pattern to the sequence in which basic color terms are added to a language. If the language has only two color terms, they will invariably be terms for black and white. If there are three basic color terms, the third one will always be red (Berlin and Kay 1969). The research showed that if there is a fourth term, it will be either green or yellow, and if there is a fifth one, it will always be the other of the two, and then the lexemes for blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, and gray will appear in that order.

What needs to be underlined, however, is that whether the language has two, three, four, or however many, basic color terms, the entire spectrum of colors is still covered by those terms. For instance, the Dani language of Papua New Guinea, one of the few (less than 10% of the total number) languages researched by Berlin and Kay which have only two basic color terms, subsumes the entire spectrum of colors under two terms, corresponding to our black and white (Dedrick 1996);

in the Tikar language of Cameroon, as well as in a high percentage of other African languages, as well as in Poma (an American Indian language spoken in California) and several Australian Aboriginal languages (Finegan and Besnier 1989:250), a third color, red, is added to those two universal color terms.

An additional problem that arises is the fact that in many languages, the lexemes that are used to express colors may also have other meanings. For instance, in Tikar, *pean*, the word for 'red' also means 'ripe', and *pwɛbbi*, the word for 'white' can also be translated 'clean' in certain contexts. The third term, *lo* 'black' is also used to mean 'dark', as in describing the absence of light at nighttime. In the Berinmo language of Papua New Guinea, the word for black also has the meaning 'dirty', and the word for white (and all very pale colors) is also used to refer to 'a white-skinned person'. In the Dani language, which, as we have seen, has only two color terms, the term that is normally translated as 'black' also means 'dark-cool' and 'white' has the meanings 'light-warm' (Levinson 2000, Berlin and Kay 1969:46).

3. Syntactic category of color terms

Not only does the range of colors subsumed under a color term vary from language to language, but even the syntactic category of the term may be different. A native speaker of English would undoubtedly automatically assign the category 'adjective' to the basic color terms of the language, and would be right in doing so. However, that would not account for the color words in expressions such as:

1) My account is in the red/in the black

2) He appeared out of the blue

3) the white of the eye

4) the Whites and the Blacks

5) the first gray of dawn

6) the village green

7) His first ball landed on the green.

Similar forms can easily be found in French and in German, as is illustrated by:

8) Laissez un blanc 'leave a blank (lit. 'a white')'

9) un jaune 'a strikebreaker (lit. 'a yellow')'

10) un bleu 'a greenhorn, newcomer (lit. 'a blue')'

11) dans le noir 'in the dark (lit. 'the black')'

12) Je l'ai eu au noir. 'I got it on the black market (lit. 'on the black').'

13) en avoir entendu des vertes 'to have heard some pretty raunchy jokes (lit. 'some greens')'

14) ein Roter 'a redhead; (colloquial speech) a Socialist (lit. 'a red')'

15) ins Schwarze treffen 'hit the bull's-eye(lit. 'in the black')'

16) das Grün 'the (golf) green'

17) das Gelbe vom Ei 'egg-yolk (lit. 'the yellow of the egg')'

In all of these cases the color terms are preceded by a determiner and therefore function as nouns. In German, certain color terms can also function as an adverb, as in:

18) etwas schwarz kaufen/verkaufen 'buy/sell something illegally, on the black market' [schwarz 'black']

19) die Arbeiten lassen wir schwarz machen 'we're going to get the work done by a moonlighter (coll.)'

20) schwarz Straßenbahn fahren 'travel on the streetcar without paying'

In Dutch, there is a similar expression used when someone travels on the public transit system without paying. If, however, the person does actually have a ticket, but not one that covers the entire distance, then he/she is said to be traveling "greyly".

In many West African languages, true adjectives constitute a relatively small closed class of elements, and must be distinguished from what Welmers (1973:250) terms "adjectivals", which although they can be used attributively in relation to nouns, are actually derived from verbs. This is true of the color terms in Tikar where bananas "redden" (a verb with the same root as the color "red") and the sky "becomes black" (from which is derived the color term "black"). At first glance, this may appear somewhat unusual to an English speaker, but a look at a dictionary of the language will show that our color terms can also be used as verbs. One finds "to black out", both in the sense of to lose consciousness, and to darken/cause to receive no light; "to yellow", as in a piece of fabric or paper which turns yellow; "to blue", meaning to use bluing on or cause to become blue; "to green", meaning to become green/make green; and "to gray", meaning to become gray/make gray.

And of course, there is also "to redden", "to whiten" and "to blacken", all of which are derived from the basic color terms.

4. Symbolic association of color terms

Within every culture, there are various meanings associated with each basic color, and these often vary greatly from one culture to another. In all countries around the world, it is probably safe to assume that a red traffic light means "stop", a green one means "go", and a yellow one demands "caution" (although travelers beware – in a number of European countries, a yellow traffic light doesn't just signal the change from green to red, but also appears when a red light is about to turn green!). In other realms of the culture, however, the meaning associated with certain colors is far from being universal. Take, for instance, the color "red". In Chinese and Indian cultures, it is used for celebrations and can symbolize good luck. It is also used in wedding outfits to symbolize purity.[1] If we look at the colors associated with death and mourning, we also find considerable variation cross-culturally. While many Western cultures use black to symbolize death, in many Eastern cultures, people wear white to funerals. And in Buddhist tradition, the name of the deceased is printed not in black but in red (Conaway and Morrison 1998). So, in India, writing a living person's name in red is definitely a no-no.

Colors can be associated with political ideologies and/or nationalism. Green is readily identifiable as the national color of Ireland, but it is also a sacred color for Muslims, and is the color of the Arabic League and many Arabic countries have included green in their national flags as a symbol of their unity.[2] Although green is the Egyptian national color, one must never wrap a package in green paper in that country.[3]

In our culture, to say someone is "yellow" is to imply that person is a coward, but as a color itself, yellow represents joy and happiness. In Asia, however, it represents a sacred and imperial feeling, while in Egypt and Burma, it represents mourning, and in India, it is the symbol for a merchant or farmer.[4]

Even though the English language makes frequent use of colors as symbols for ideas, thoughts, and concepts, it is often done with little logic. Take the color blue, for example. A blue-collar worker is a manual laborer, yet a bluestocking is a female intellectual. A bluenose is a rigidly puritanical person, but a blue blood is one of aristocratic lineage. If you're looking to do some investing, a blue chip stock is good to hold in your portfolio, but unless you're a risk-taker, you probably should avoid blue-sky stock!

5. Metaphoric use of color terms

Languages also vary in the use they make of color terms in metaphors. Even languages within the same language family may differ greatly in their metaphoric use of color terms. In some

cases, the metaphors are identical in terms of the color term used, but communicate a totally different meaning. For instance, if a German or a Dutch person is described as blue, he/she is understood to be drunk, but if an English-speaking individual is feeling blue, it is not because of a state of inebriety (at least not necessarily!). In Japan, and also in France, a "blue" person is someone who is young or inexperienced, but a similar individual in Germany and the Netherlands, as well as here in North America would be said to be "green". In that case, the same meaning is conveyed metaphorically through the use of a different color. In English, fear tends to make one turn white; whereas in French, a person is said to be *vert* 'green' with fear, or to have *une peur bleue* 'blue', and to be gripped by *une colère noire* 'a black anger', or to turn white '*blanchir*', rather than red, as in English, with rage. For us, someone who is "yellow" is afraid, but in German the color "yellow" is associated with envy. A Dutch person is said to be "green with misery", but if he/she is extremely envious, then the term used is "green and yellow with envy", which combines both the German expression and the English term "green", which is used in that context.

Le dictionnaire de la langue verte ('green language') is a dictionary of French obscenities, and "green" jokes are just as off-color in Spanish as they are in English. However, we call a pornographic cinema production a "blue" movie, and "black humor/black comedy" is defined as "humor derived from morbid, grotesque, unpleasant or absurd situations".[5] German also uses the expression *schwartz Humor* 'black humor', in the same sense that it is used in English.

An English-speaking person receives a "black" eye, but both Germans and Dutch people talk about having a "blue" eye, and for a Hungarian, it can either be said to be black or to be red. However, if one thinks about the various color phases that a "black" eye passes through, any one of those colors could be considered accurate, at one point or another!

We beat someone "black and blue"; in German, the colors are "green and blue" or else "yellow". A German who is furious is also said to be "green and blue" or else "yellow".

A "white elephant" is a rare, elephant, pale in color, which is considered sacred to the people of India, Thailand, Burma, and Sri Lanka;[6] whereas in our culture, it is either a possession that costs more than its worth to keep, or else an item that the owner doesn't want but can't get rid of.

It is also interesting to note that there are a number of instances where one language uses a color term to express the metaphor, but the other one doesn't. Some examples of that are:

From French:

21) *noir* du monde 'teeming [lit. 'black'] with people'

22) un vote *blanc* 'a blank [lit. 'white'] vote'

23) avoir une peur *bleue* 'to be very afraid' [lit. 'to have a blue fear']

24) numéro *vert* '1-800 number' [lit. 'green number']

25) un rire *jaune* 'a nervous laugh caused by fear' [lit. 'a yellow laugh'].

And in German one finds:

26) Er kann warten, bis er schwarz wird. 'He can wait till the cows come home' [lit. 'until he becomes black'].

27) Du bist noch grün hinter den Öhren. 'You are still wet [lit. 'green'] behind the ears.'

28) mit einem blauen Auge davonkommen 'to get off fairly lightly' [lit. 'to come out of it with a blue eye'].

Note: it is interesting here that, in German, the equivalent of the English term "a black eye" is *ein blaues* ('blue') *Auge*. Therefore, one would expect this expression to mean exactly the opposite!

It is interesting to note that Tikar, which as has already been mentioned, has only three color terms – red, black, and white – there are very few examples of metaphors involving colors, and in those, red is the only color used. The only examples found to date are:

29) à cinni ǹlim zwum pèan. 'He is hard-hearted/without pity [lit. 'he has a red heart in (his) stomach'].'

30) pănnzi mɛʔ [lit. 'make eyes red'] – what you say to someone after a death for instance, to encourage them to control themselves

It is not that Tikar does not use metaphorical language to express some of the same things as English and other western languages do, but it is just that it does not make use of color terms in the metaphors. For instance, the Tikar say:

31) ǹlim ta nun waĩ zwum lɛ̀ lwikwæ̌n 'He/she is envious of his/her neighbor [lit. '(the) heart is rising in his/her stomach with (his/her) neighbour'].'

32) à kɛ̀ ǹlim ŋglɔʔ 'He /she stopped worrying [lit. 'he/she put (his/her) heart (on the) ground)'].'

33) à ni ci mɓæn nlim 'He /she is patient [lit. 'he/she is the one who seizes (the) heart)']'.

34) ǹlim ni mùn zwum 'I can stand a lot [lit. 'my heart is in my stomach'].'

It would be interesting to see whether languages that have a minimum number of color terms typically use body parts, rather than color terms, in metaphors that refer to emotions.

6. Conclusion

The diversity of uses of color terms cross-culturally both symbolically, and also in metaphors has implications in a number of domains. One of the obvious ones is that of translation. The previous example is a good illustration of that. Another, perhaps less obvious, but nonetheless very important, area in which one needs to be acutely sensitive to the cultural and iconic meanings of colors is that of web design. In the global community in which we live, website developers need to take into account the cultural differences in how colors are perceived. Otherwise, the usability of the website may be adversely affected. The number of people around the world accessing the World Wide Web is growing every day, and it is important that the colors selected for web pages not only have a broad appeal, but also that they not be offensive. Colors are obviously not the only area in which there are variations from one culture to another and of which web designers need to be aware, but they are certainly not of negligible importance. As a result of globalization, customs, traditions and ideas may become increasingly universal as time goes on, and perhaps this will be true of certain color symbols as well. However, in the meantime, web designers producing a site to appeal to Mexicans or Japanese had better avoid using yellow as a prominent color, since in both countries (as well as in Egypt and Burma), it is associated with death (Wong 1993, Oaks 2002); and if they are targeting an audience in Iran (and undoubtedly other Muslim countries), blue is a no-no for the same reason (Baer (n.d.)). As far as translators are concerned, they need to pay particular attention to metaphorical language. They certainly wouldn't want to tell a Dutch or German audience that someone had been really blue for the past month or so – the European equivalent of AA might show up at their door the next day! And heaven forbid that any of us Westerners ever bring white chrysanthemums as a hostess gift in Japan or even in France – in both places white is associated with death.[7]

Notes

1. Personal communication from professors Dr. Edith Samuel and Dr. Zhan Yang (Moncton, January, 2004).

2. Retrieved Oct. 29, 2004 from http://webexhibits.org/pigments/indiv/color/greens3.html

3. Retrieved Oct. 29, 2004 from http://www.colorconnection.xerox.com/ wwwco578/html/en/tips/i4.html

4. Retrieved Nov. 1, 2004 from http://www.crayola.com/colorcensus/americas_favorites /display.cfm?color=162; Marie Bryne, Culture & Communications: Similarities of Color

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5. The New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language.

6. Retrieved Oct. 29 from http://www.factmonster.com/ipka/A0769383.html.

7. Retrieved Nov. 2, 2004 from http://www.settlement.org/cp/english/japan/health.html.

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Use of British Sign Language on Canada's East Coast

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Deaf people in Canada currently use American Sign Language (ASL) or LSQ (in Quebec), but this has not always been the case.[1] There is widespread evidence that British Sign Language (BSL) was once used in the New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Over time, it evolved into Maritime Sign Language (MSL). In his book, *Deaf Heritage in Canada,* Clifton Carbin, suggests that a regional dialect, perhaps a different signed language is used on the East Coast of Canada. This signed language is linguistically distinct from ASL and its roots lie in BSL. Whether it warrants classification as a dialect or language is yet unresolved. British and American Sign Languages are mutually unintelligible and users need an interpreter to communicate efficiently. This is a preliminary investigation into the historical and cultural aspects of British Sign Language as it was used in the 1800s and the early 1900s, specifically examining how BSL arrived to the region, how educational facilities and the social climate, (despite negative attitudes toward Deaf people), helped to shape a unique ethnolinguistic identity for Deaf people in this region of Canada.

1. Arrival of British Sign Language in Canada

The Deaf population of Canada's East Coast can only be pieced together by way of existing immigration, marriage, death, church, and Census records. Records were not kept in a reliable or consistent manner. Even today, 'not a single, accurate or reliable statistic on Deaf Canadians exists' (Padden and Humphries 1988, Roots 1999:5). There were two main routes through which British Sign Language arrived in Canada. The first is with Deaf people from Great Britain and the second, with Deaf people from the United States, specifically the New England states. Those who came from the United States, appear to have used a similar form of signed language. They were of British origin and had strong loyalist ties to Britain.[2]

In 1758, the Governor of Nova Scotia, Charles Lawrence issued a proclamation inviting people to settle land made available by the expulsion of the Acadians. The first immigrants arrived from Edinburgh, Scotland and from Yorkshire, England. The significance of these places can not be overlooked. The first institution to educate Deaf people was founded in Scotland, in Edinburgh, a 'traditionally strong "Deaf town"' by Thomas Braidwood in 1760 (Ladd 2001:288). Yorkshire had educational facilities for Deaf people as early as 1829. Between the late 1700s and mid 1800s, additional waves of immigration followed from England, Scotland and Ireland, bringing Deaf people and British Sign Language with them.

American immigrants began to arrive at approximately the same time. Convenators, who feared religious persecution, came, followed by United Empire Loyalists. Black Loyalists arrived in an attempt to escape slavery. Conscious attempts to lure people to Canada drew in Planters

(colonists), mainly from the New England states. For centuries, it was difficult to find a person in the Maritimes without family in New England (Wright 1978). Supporters of the British crown left the East Coast of the United States for Quebec and Nova Scotia; over half, 40,000, settled in Nova Scotia. Deaf Nova Scotian, artist Manton Judah Nickerson was a direct descendant of a Loyalist family who came to Nova Scotia from Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Deaf Nova Scotian boxer Osborne Farrell traced his roots back to Black Loyalists (Carbin 1996). Sign language researcher Harlan Lane notes, "The Deaf world has its major roots in a triangle of New England's Deaf community ... that flourished in Henniker, New Hampshire, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts and Sandy River Valley, Maine" (Lane 1984:254). There is evidence of British Sign Language used in the area of Martha's Vineyard as early as 1692, having arrived with immigrants in the 1630s. Called Kentish Sign Language or Martha's Vineyard Sign Language, (MVSL), it is thought to have originated in Great Britain, more specifically from the Weald, a region of Kent (Groce 1985).

> There is a further twist to the Kentish story. Contemporary observers ... have noticed that the local sign variation still contains examples of what we now know are old BSL signs. It seems highly probable not only that these signs originated in Kent and therefore are over 350 years old, but given that they form a part of modern BSL, they suggest knowledge of sign language use may have existed across wider areas than is commonly supposed (Ladd 2001:101).

In 1815, Gallaudet, father of American Sign Language, left the U.S. for England, hoping to study Braidwood's methods of educating Deaf people. Denied access to Braidwood's schools, he continued on to France, where he met Laurent Clerc (1785 – 1869) and studied Early French Sign Language, which later developed into early American Sign Language. Gallaudet and Clerc returned to the U.S. and founded the first American school for the Deaf in Connecticut, in 1817 (Lane 1984).[3] BSL researcher Bencie Woll, has pointed out:

> [t]he absurdity of maintaining that Deaf people of America were sitting meekly, hands by their sides, waiting for Clerc to arrive and teach them sign ... we can assume that Deaf people in America were signing and perhaps finger spelling something before Gallaudet and Clerc imported [Early] French Sign Language and French finger spelling and founded the American School for the Deaf (Loew et al. 2000:254).

Sociolinguist, Paddy Ladd, has documented 'communities of diasporic features, [where] it [BSL] has migrated from a central point of origin and is now found in countries and continents in culturally mutated forms' (Ladd 2001:218). The roots of the signed languages used by Deaf people in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa trace back to BSL. Ladd has documented remnants of BSL on the Pacific Island of Maui, dating back to its colonization by Britain in the 18th century (Ladd 2001). It is not unreasonable to assume that British Sign Language made its way to the U.S. and to Canada with immigrants from the U.K. and the U.S.

Perhaps the most distinguishable factor between the British Sign Language used in the Maritimes and the American Sign Language used in the U.S. and the rest of Canada is the difference in manual alphabets. ASL uses a one handed manual alphabet; BSL uses a two handed manual alphabet. There is evidence that a two handed manual alphabet was once used in the U.S. as well (Lane 1984). Loew et al., researchers of the two handed alphabet, state:

> British finger spelling could readily have been brought to America with British Deaf immigrants, possibly as early as colonial times or perhaps some of the American children sent to study at the Braidwood School in England in the late 1700s or early 1800s brought it back with them (Loew et al. 2000:255).

A 1916 book published for the Boy Scouts in Ohio, U.S. shows a two handed alphabet used in the U.S. and the quote beside the illustration reads, 'This alphabet is used almost exclusively by the English deaf, but it is being used to some extent in this country [the U.S.], in New England and on the East Coast of Canada' (Loew et al. 2000:254). Use of the two-handed manual alphabet was documented in New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Maine, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. British Sign Language researcher Bencie Woll states, '... there is obviously a historical connection' (Loew et al. 2000:254). A similar, but slightly different version of the same alphabet was also observed to once have been used in a number of other U.S. states, with no apparent geographical patterns (Loew et al. 2000). In most of these places, people expressed not having seen the two handed alphabet in use for a very long time. The difference between this American version and the East Coast version lies in the vowels. The vowels used on the East Coast of Canada and in the New England states are different from the vowels used in other parts of the US. The former are the British version devised by John Wilkes in 1641; the latter resemble the written shape of the vowel (Loew et al. 2000). Loew et al. assert that The School for the Deaf and Dumb in Halifax used British finger spelling and it was passed down through the generations.

> There are still Deaf people in the Maritimes who know the British finger spelling alphabet because they or their parents learned it at school. The [two handed] alphabet seems to have been transmitted within families from Deaf parents to their children and within residential school for the Deaf children. Sometimes Deaf children who learned it in residential school taught it to their families when they returned home (Loew et al. 2000:253).

Carbin confirms the use of a two handed alphabet at the first two Canadian schools for the Deaf, in Montreal and Halifax 'for the first few decades until the single handed method replaced it' (Carbin 1996:321).

Isolated incidents also confirm the existence of BSL and its manual alphabet in the Maritimes. One is the account of a New Brunswick woodcarver, Dismas Bruno Gallant. Educated at the School for the Deaf in Lancaster, New Brunswick, (1914-1918) and the Halifax School for the Deaf (1919-1923), he married a Deaf woman from New Brunswick. Both learned the two handed alphabet at school and are said to have used it to communicate with each other and with their

children. Communication entirely through manual finger spelling is unlikely, especially between two Deaf adults educated at schools for the Deaf. It is more likely what they used was BSL/MSL and BSL finger spelling. It was noted that they were also capable of using the one handed alphabet [ASL finger spelling] to communicate with other Deaf people when necessary (Carbin 1996:340). Another incident that confirms the use of BSL is a visit by George Bateman, headmaster of the Halifax School for the deaf to the U.S., to Philadelphia, in 1919. Bateman was invited to the Philadelphia School for the Deaf to give a talk to the students about the Halifax Explosion (1917). Bateman was hearing but had learned British Sign Language. Born in England in 1875, he had taught at the school for the Deaf in Margate, England for two and a half years and the School for the Deaf in Dublin, Ireland for seven years, before coming to Canada in 1903 (Carbin 1996). He had been headmaster at the school in Halifax for a year before his trip to the States. Since BSL and ASL are not mutually intelligible and Bateman 'not being familiar with *the American Sign Language*', he had to tell the pupils of the Halifax Explosion orally and his talk was interpreted by Dr. Couter, a hearing employee of the host school who knew ASL (Reider 1919:69).

2. The role of education in maintaining BSL

In 17th century Europe, Deaf people lived in isolated, rural communities. In the 18th century, migration to urban areas brought Deaf people together and shaped the beginnings of Deaf education. Initially, education was limited to the children of wealthy individuals who could afford to pay large sums of money to have their Deaf children privately tutored to lipread and speak. The Braidwood School in Scotland was the beginning of a Deaf education for all.[4] After the first school was opened in Edinburgh in 1760, others followed in England and the U.S. By 1883, there were 38 European Braidwood Schools (Bell 1881:6). Braidwood's method of instruction was unique, for it combined the two prevalent trends of Deaf education at the time – "the German Method", based on speech and "the French Method", based on manual signs into what became "the Combined Method", also known as "the English Method" (Kyle and Woll 1985:38).

Education played a significant role in maintaining the use of BSL in Canada. Due to firmly established ties with the U.K., 'records indicate that several [Deaf] children from the Maritimes were sent overseas to Scotland for an education' (Carbin 1996:56). Charles Howe, author of *The Deaf-Mutes of Canada* (1880), estimates that by 1880 between 30 and 40 Deaf pupils from the Maritime Provinces had received a Braidwood education in Europe (Howe 1880:121). The first recorded pupil to receive a Braidwood education is Charles Green, son of United Empire Loyalist, Francis Green, a resident of Nova Scotia, formerly of Boston, Massachusetts. Green attended the Braidwood School in Edinburgh, Scotland from 1780 to1786 (Carbin 1996). In comparison to the rest of Canada, relatively few Deaf pupils from the Maritime Provinces went to the United States for an education. Between 1828-1865, forty-five Deaf students from Canada attended schools for the Deaf in Connecticut, New York and Ohio. Only seven pupils from the Maritime Provinces traveled to the U.S. (Carbin 1996). The preference on the East Coast was for European schools.

In 1884, Nova Scotia became the first province in the Dominion of Canada to 'decree unconditional board and education for all her Deaf pupils' (Carbin 1996:119). Howe says of the school:

> The Halifax School, obscure and humble in its origins was not ushered into existence amid the pomp and circumstance of public demonstration, the smiles of wealth, the patronage of rank and the pandits of enthusiastic multitudes. Small, feeble and insignificant in its beginnings – appealing to none of these influences, in the inception and prosecution of many enterprises, even of as benevolent character, the Halifax Institution for the Deaf and the Dumb has gradually emerged into the light of public favour and attained a position of usefulness and respectability, such as is not sanguire friends could perhaps hardly have anticipated (1880:122).

Each of the Maritime Provinces attempted to establish local schools, New Brunswick (1860), Prince Edward Island (1866), and Newfoundland (1877), but many were plagued with problems (e.g., lack of funding, allegations of mismanagement, low standards and sexual abuse) and some were short lived (Carbin 1996). By 1877, the school in Halifax, Nova Scotia served as the center for Deaf students in the Atlantic Provinces and Newfoundland.

> Nova Scotia, thus appears to claim an early and special connection with the cause of deaf mute education in North America. To Nova Scotia, the smallest of the provinces originally embraced in the Dominion of Canada, we believe belongs the honour of being the foremost among the British colonies, practically to recognize the claims of the deaf and dumb to share in the true educational privileges so long exclusively enjoyed by others (Howe 1880:122).

Books and educational materials for the Halifax school were brought directly from Scotland in 1859 by headmaster, James Hutton. Teachers of Deaf pupils were required to know how to sign, according to the Braidwood Method (*The Silent Worker* 1905:22). Howe confirms the use of Braidwood's method at the Halifax school:

> It is the Combined Method, a system used by Thomas Braidwood in Scotland and England ... There is more of the French or mimetic Method in use than the German Method. And articulation [oral speech and lipreading] is regarded as an accomplishment for the minority, rather than a basis for education for all (Howe 1880:41,125).

Signed language was the main method of instruction. A similar method was employed at schools in New Brunswick. George S. Mackenzie, head of the Maritime Deaf Mute Association read at its first convention in Moncton (1905):

> A system of education combining the oral method with the use of signs is most suited to the great number of deaf. By all means, teach a deaf child to speak and read the

> lips of speakers, but do not confine him to that alone. The mere motion of lips or speakers can not reach the hearts of deaf mutes as the sign language can. Prohibiting him use of the manual alphabet and sign in his education is like prohibiting the child the right of the street and the freedom of a beautiful park. Deaf children have a language of their own when they meet at school and are given the benefit of sign-language in their education. The facts have shown that the combined method is the most beneficial to the deaf in their education. The sign-language is the only means of giving them a full enjoyment of public religious service. We believe in the beneficial combined method (*The Silent Worker* 1905:22).

The Halifax School traditionally imported headmasters and teachers directly from the U.K., breaking this tradition only in 1939. The first headmaster, James Hutton (1859-1878) came from the School for the Deaf in Ulster, Ireland. He employed George Hutton, his father, as a teacher (1860-1870); prior to that his father had taught at the Braidwood School in Edinburgh. Albert Woodbridge of Scotland (1878-1882) followed Hutton as headmaster. He was followed by James Fearon, (1882-1894) (1896-1918), who had taught in Portadown, Ireland and Birmingham, England. The last in the line of U.K. headmasters was George Bateman (1918-1939). Bateman, formerly of schools for the Deaf in Margate, England and Dublin, Ireland, headed the Halifax school for 21 years (1918-1939), until Cornelius Van Allen took over in 1939. Van Allan was the first headmaster not educated in the U.K., rather in Canada and the U.S. (Carbin 1996).

3. The social life of Deaf people, in spite of prevailing negative attitudes

An atmosphere of religious fervor accompanied early immigrants to Canada. Deaf people were perceived to be unable to communicate with God and thus, alienated from the church. 'We possess no records for the congenital deaf mute who by his own unaided effort has found the being of a God or discovered the fact of his own immortality' (Howe 1880:42). Religious leaders perpetuated negative ideas about Deaf people. Bishop Thurwall of Newfoundland published the following in the local paper, Times and General Commercial Gazette, 'Without an education, the deaf mute can have no better prospect than that of neglect and a situation of wasted facilities and a stunted moral and intellectual growth, of a joyless, stagnant and hopeless existence' (Carbin 1996:65).

Science wasn't on the side of Deaf people either. A Darwinian paradigm, based on Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection, dominated medical, scientific and psychological fields. Darwin used Deaf people as an example to outline his theory of microevolution, how small bodies become separated from the main body of the species. Darwin is quoted as saying Deaf people 'may fancifully be called living fossils [and] will aid us in forming a picture of the ancient forms of life' (Ladd 2001:117). He claimed signed language was 'primitive' and 'akin to savages' (Bayton 2002:17). He described it as having 'more in common with brute creations, [whose] pantomimes are no more like words than is the chatter of birds or the grimaces of a monkey' (Howe 1880:26).

In the same year that the East Coast Association for the Deaf called for teachers to have knowledge of signed language, the International Congress on the Education of the Deaf, in Milan, Italy (1880) banned the use of signed language in favour of oralism – speech. Although oralism 'proceeded to sway across the planet for half a century' (Ladd 2001:318), it had a slower and lesser influence in geographically isolated locales, such as Northern Ireland and Scotland and Canada's Maritime Provinces. But it was not without some influence. One active advocator of a strict oralist education for Deaf people was the affluent, influential and part-time resident of Bell Bras d'Ors, Cape Breton Island, Alexander Graham Bell. Bell, a regular visitor to the Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb contributed to the perpetuation of negative beliefs.[6] Bell promoted an educational policy of decentralization, isolating Deaf children from all other Deaf children. He avidly opposed the intermarriage of Deaf individuals with one another and suggested the forced sterilization of Deaf people, fearing they might produce Deaf offspring. He said, "The production of a defective race of human beings would be a great calamity to this world" (Ladd 2001:118). Bell visited the Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb between 1891-1918, during which time he attempted to convince educators that oralism was preferable (Bell 1890). His ideas, particularly pertaining to the likelihood of Deaf offspring, were publicly refuted by Albert Woodbridge, headmaster of the Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, in 1890 (*The Silent Worker* 1890). In Woodbridge's rebuttal to Bell, he asserts "deafness and dumbness doesn't appear to necessarily be hereditary" (Howe 1880:126). Woodbridge reported that in the 20 intermarriages between Deaf people in Halifax, Nova Scotia and of the 34 children these marriages had produced, only a single child had been born deaf.[7]

Despite the stigmas which stemmed from ignorance, Deaf people in the Maritime Provinces formed a Deaf collectivity. The residential schools provided not only an educational centre, but a centre for socialization - an opportunity to connect, communicate and interact with other Deaf people. Friendships formed at school often lasted for life. The horrors of residential schools are frequently documented, but:

> They [also] include positive experiences rarely portrayed in the literature ... – a sense of self and community, resistance to the hearing influence, the joys of signing and strategies devised to sign despite oralism, teaching sign language to others, school as a primary family, storytelling and mentors (Ladd 2001:297-310).

Affiliated with the schools, were newspapers published for Deaf people, the Deaf-Mute's Journal (1878-1935), The Institute News (1898 – 1914) and The School News (1915-1961) (Carbin 1996). In the U.S. and the U.K., residential schools were the crucible of Deaf community and culture. One can assume the Atlantic Canadian residential schools were no different in this sense.

Many Deaf people lived in rural areas, working as farmers or fishermen. Publications were a popular form of information and communication. The largest and most popular publication was *The Silent Worker*, published from 1891-1929 (in the U.S.). It was distributed in the Maritime Provinces and featured regular columns titled, "Eastern Canada", "From Canada" and "Canada". As well, there were feature articles about Deaf issues, people and events in the Maritimes. Information was largely of a social nature, including births announcements, deaths, illnesses, marriages, accounts of visits,

returns from visits, gifts given and received, awards, sports events, social gatherings, club activities and profiles of members of the Deaf community. This publication confirms ties between Deaf people on Canada's East Coast and those on the East Coast of the U.S., announcing marriages, visits, exchanges of religious clergy and invited conference guests and speakers (*The Silent Worker* 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1917).

Connections amongst Deaf people led to the establishment of numerous regional social clubs for Deaf people: a Bible Reading Club (St. John, NB, 1906), the St. Johns Deaf Association (Newfoundland, 1907), The Forrest Club (Nova Scotia, 1919), The City Club for the Deaf (Moncton, NB, 1924) and The Loyalist Club for the Deaf (Lancaster, NB, 1926) (Carbin 1996). In 1904, The Association for Deaf-Mutes was formed in New Brunswick. A year later, it became the Maritime Deaf-Mute Association. This organization held yearly conferences (1904-1928), discussing the work of the association, issues in Deaf education, school expenditures, the hiring of new staff in the schools; it reviewed school reports, featured guest speakers and discussed employment opportunities for Deaf people. The association also conducted various social events.

4. Conclusion

An examination of Canada's East Coast Deaf population might tempt one to conclude that users of British Sign Language people formed 'a community' or that their community had its own cultural features, but the terms 'community' and 'culture' as they are associated with Deaf people today may not have been applicable then. These terms may be specific to settings and time periods. 'More research into ... Deaf cultures is required before one can assess the advisability of attempting cross-nation generalizations about the term "Deaf culture"' (Ladd 2001:406). What is evident is that immigrants from Great Britain brought BSL to Canada and immigrants from the U.S. brought a similar form of a signed language with them. By maintaining educational ties to Great Britain and creating a social environment, through residential schools, Deaf clubs, associations and publications, despite the negative attitudes of the larger society toward Deaf people, these users of BSL, formed an ethnolinguistic group. Ladd (2001) calls attention to the fact that little research has been done involving Deaf minority groups. Much remains to be investigated – how BSL in the U.S. differed from BSL in Britain and Canada, when and why BSL ceased to be used, the connection between BSL and Maritime Sign Language and the connection between Maritime Sign Language and ASL. A recent resurgence of interest in Deaf history may shed light on some of the historical, cultural and linguistic aspects of signed language and its use on the East Coast of Canada.

Notes

1. Deaf with a capital 'D' refers to cultural Deafness, while deaf with a small 'd' refers to the physical, audiological condition.

2. Only in 1817 was American Sign Language (ASL) or French Sign Language, as it may then have

been called, introduced (Bayton 1998).

3. The Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons was the first American school for the Deaf. (The terms 'dumb' and 'mute' are no longer used in reference to Deaf people).

4. This period of time in Deaf history was known as 'the era of the Braidwood Dynasty' (Kyle and Woll 1985:38).

5. There is an ongoing debate as to who founded the school. One historical account suggests that in 1856, a Deaf man from Edinburgh Scotland, George Tait opened the school. Since he wished to continue his employment as a cabinetmaker, he hired an unemployed acquaintance to teach, a Deaf man named William Gray, a tailor whom he knew from Edinburgh. Tait made the school's furniture. A second historical account maintains that Gray tutored two Deaf pupils in 1855 – 1856 and in 1857 decided to open a school for the Deaf. Tait, an acquaintance appeared on the scene in 1858. A third version maintains that both men were co-founders of the school, although both claim to be the sole founder of the school (Carbin 1996).

6. In 1864, headmaster James Hutton changed the name of the school from 'The Institution for Deaf Mutes' to 'The Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb' (Carbin 1996).

7. Woodbridge's opinion was confirmed by the scientific advancements of Gregor Mendal (1822-1884) in genetics. Mendal's work already existed at the time Bell was promoting his ideas and traveling to Martha's Vineyard in search of a genetic deaf link. Mendal's work would prove applicable to human beings and deafness (Lane 1993) that H Deaf parents rarely produce Deaf children.

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