ACALPA 24

Actes du 24^{ième} Colloque annuel
de
l'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques

Université de Moncton
Moncton, Nouveau-Brunswick, Canada
3-4 novembre 2000

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PAMAPLA 24

Papers from the 24th Annual Meeting
of the
Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association

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Rédaction/Edited by
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PERIPHRASES AND IDIOLECTS: SOME STRATEGIES IN REPLYING TO A DIALECT ATLAS QUESTIONNAIRE

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ABSTRACT

Among the replies to the questions in the *Atlas linguistique du vocabulaire maritime acadien* is a small set of items which were constructed on the spot by the fishers-subjects and which form a separate category referred to as periphrases. Quantitative analyses reveal several associations among the question types, the semantic themes in the *Atlas* and the morphosyntactic structures which characterize these periphrases. The spatial distribution of these items shows considerable intersubject variation with only a small degree of geographic regularity. These findings suggest that the periphrases are idiolectal and that strategies used to produce them are shared across the geographic regions covered in the *Atlas*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Many of the replies by 54 senior fishers to the 354 questions of the *Atlas linguistique du vocabulaire maritime acadien* (Péronnet et al.1998) are described in terms of simple lexical categories, compounds and short phrases. These include :

Nouns	*écume* for foam
Verbs	*décharger* for unload
Adjectives	*sablonneux* for sandy
Adverbs	*mal fait* for badly made
Compounds	*coton laine* with a noun + noun structure; this refers to oakum, a rope used in caulking boat seams
	pêche coques with a verb + noun structure; this refers to a plunger used to fish clams
	mare d'eau with a noun + complement structure; this refers to a puddle
Short Phrases	*saint-pierre* with an adjective + noun structure; this refers to a butterfish
	palourde noire with a noun + adjective structure; this refers to a black clam.

In addition to replies in keeping with these categories, some fishers answered with sequences of words which were generally longer than those found in the categories mentioned above. We refer to these sequences of words as periphrases.

Our use of the term periphrase follows definitions given in various sources, including Arrivé et al (1986), Dubois et al (1999) and Ducrot & Todorov (1972). The definitions emphasize both the circumlocutionary nature of these expressions and the fact that they are interesting with respect to their syntactic composition.

There are two types of periphrases in our data. The first type contains lexical entries that are found in dictionaries; for example, *aller à la pêche* (to go fishing) and *lever l'ancre* (to pull up an anchor). The second type consists of individual descriptive responses such as *criard pour la brume*, a periphrase given instead of the lexicalized compound *corne de brume* for foghorn.

One hundred and ninety-two periphrases of this second type are studied in this paper. They are analyzed as replies to approximately 80 questions covering the following semantic themes : maritime geography, fishing boats, fishers' clothing, fish physiology, names of fish and mammals, mollusks , invertebrates, seaweed, seabirds and fishing gear. The corpus contains a total of 241 tokens.

In this paper, we present a linguistic profile of the periphrases, an analysis of their geographic distribution and a multivariate statistical analysis of associations among the linguistic and geographic features of these items. The paper concludes with several research questions that flow from this preliminary descriptive analysis.

2. LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE PERIPHRASES

The periphrases occur as responses to three broad classes of questions. The first class seeks a nominal type of response, the second a verbal response and the third an adjectival (or descriptive) response. Not surprisingly, the majority of periphrases are replies to questions that seek a nominal type response (58% of the tokens). Nevertheless, both verbal and adjectival type periphrases are fairly frequent (respectively 15% and 27% of the tokens). All tokens were classified according to these three classes of question category.

For the purposes of this study, the periphrases were also coded for their morphosyntactic structures. By way of note, the morphosyntactic categories as presented here are descriptive, somewhat informal and subject to reanalysis; other researchers may propose different representations of the morphosyntactic structures that are in line with different linguistic theories. The following list illustrates the classifications of periphrases in terms of question category and morphosyntactic structure that are used in this paper.

Category 1 :	replies to questions seeking nominal types responses
(nde)	noun + *de* + article + noun — as in *devant du bateau* (the stem or front end of a boat)
(nn)	noun + preposition other than *de* + article + noun — as in *butte dans la mer* (a sandbar)

(nv) noun + preposition + infinitive — as in *ligne pour pêcher la truite* (a trout line)

(nrel) noun + relative — as in *chemin qui descend* (a descending path)

(adj) noun + adjective — as in *meilleur pêcheur de l'année* (champion fisher of the season)

(adv) adverb + verb participle as adjective — as in *(noeud) mal fait* (badly made knot)

Category 2 : replies to questions seeking verbal type responses

(vp) verb + infinitive complement — as in *rentrer comme un bourreau* (to come back with no catch)

Category 3 : replies to questions seeking adjectival type responses

(adv), (adj) — as *être plus heureux* (to have had a good catch)

The frequencies of occurrence of the morphosyntactic structures are given in Table 1. The frequencies show that the periphrases tend to have a regular structure; that is, they all fall neatly into one of the seven morphosyntactic structures. Each structure occurs in at least nine different periphrases.

Table 1 : Frequency of Occurrence of Morphosyntactic Structures

Structure	**Examples of periphrases**	**Frequency of Occurrence**	**Percent**
nde	*bord de la côte* (beach)	60	31.25
nn	*bateau à la rame* (rowboat)	25	13.02
nv	*ligne à pêcher* (fishing line)	19	9.90
nrel	*panier qui est trouquée* (fish holding tank)	9	4.69
adj	*petit vent pas fort* (light wind)	9	4.17
adv	*(pêche) pas fructueuse* (no catch)	30	15.63
vp	*mettre à l'ancre* (to anchor a boat)	40	20.83
	total	192	

The breakdown of the 192 periphrases according to their frequency of occurrence is given in Table 2. The results show that a very large majority of the periphrases (86.46 %) occur only once and are thus likely to be idiolectal, that is, on the spot "lexical formations" by individual fishers. If we include periphrases with two or three occurrences, the cumulative total of low-occurring periphrases is over 97%.

Table 2 : Occurrences of Periphrases Studied

No. of Periphrases	No. of Occurrences	Percent
166	1	86.46
16	2	8.33
5	3	2.60
1	6	1.04
1	8	0.52
1	9	0.52
1	11	0.52
192		

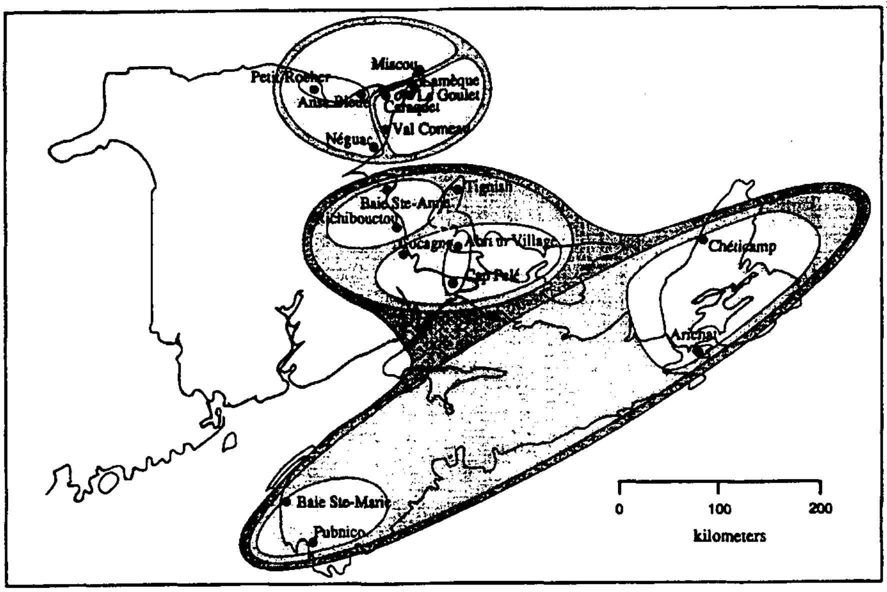
It seems reasonable to propose that periphrastic data in a geolinguistic survey that have relatively high frequencies -- say 6 or more occurrences as shown in Table 2 -- might be considered for inclusion in a dictionary. Low-frequency periphrases can be listed in an annex as data for further study since it is unlikely that they are candidates for entries in a dictionary.

In conclusion to this brief section about the linguistic profile of the periphrases, we observe that many are responses to nominal type questions, that they tend to have a regular morphosyntactic structure and that the vast majority have very low frequencies of occurrence.

3. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE PERIPHRASES

First we look at the groupings of Acadian French localities based on the overall distribution of lexical items in the *Atlas*. Figure 1 provides a geographic representation of these groupings and is taken from dialectometric analyses of the type published in the *Atlas*.

Figure 1 : Geolinguistic Structure of Acadian French Maritime Vocabulary (Babitch, Cichocki & Péronnet 1994: 9)



As Figure 1 shows, the maritime vocabulary of Acadian fishers is structured into three main groupings which correspond closely to geographic regions. The regions are : northeast New Brunswick, southeast New Brunswick to which one part of Prince Edward Island (Abram Village) is attached rather closely and another part (Tignish) less closely, and Nova Scotia.

To study the geographic profile of the 241 occurrences of 192 periphrases, we have broken down the occurrences according to four regions, which are the three regions noted in the overall analysis and Prince Edward Island, which has a dual position. This geographic profile is given in Table 3.

Table 3 : Geographic Distribution of Periphrases

Region	No. of Localities	No. of Fishers	Occurrences of Periphrases	Average No. of Periphrases used by Individual Fishers
neNB	8	24	118	4.9
seNB	4	12	64	5.3
PEI	2	6	18	3.0
NS	4	12	41	3.4

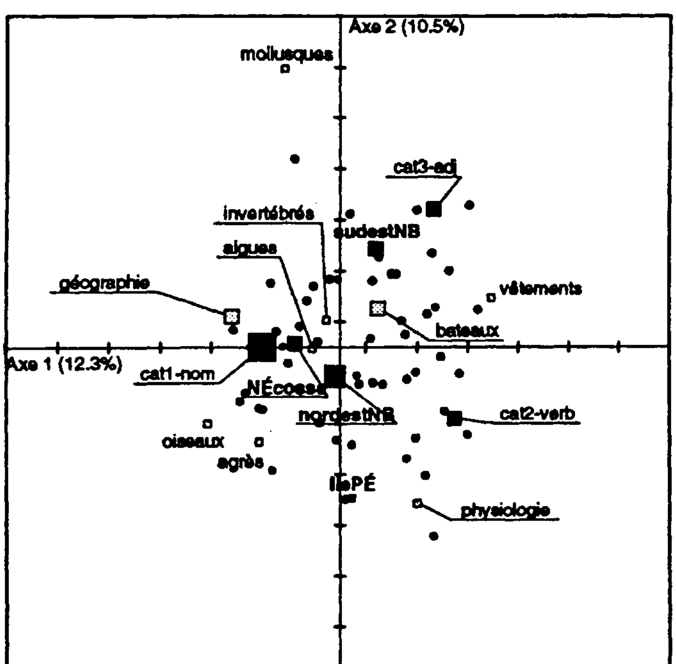
Table 3 suggests some small regional differences in the average number of periphrases used by individual fishers in each region. However, post hoc statistical testing with ANOVA ($F(3,50)=1.693$, $p<.18$) indicates that these regional differences are not significant. Indeed, within a single locality fishers can differ among themselves greatly. The range of the number of periphrases used by individual fishers is 0 to 15, with a mode of 3.

In sum, there appears to be no significant geographic patterning of the periphrases with respect to their frequency of occurrence. We suggest that individual differences among fishers -- likely due to idiolectal differences -- are the reason for the lack of significant regional differences in the number of periphrases per individual fisher. A more elaborate study of geographic patterning follows next in the context of our multivariate statistical study.

4. ASSOCIATIONS AMONG LINGUISTIC AND GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF PERIPHRASES

The next stage in our analysis examines associations among the linguistic and geographic features of the periphrases. We use a quantitative analysis based on Correspondence analysis (Benzécri et al.1981), a multivariate statistical technique which is appropriate for the study of categorical data. The *Sphinx Lexica* software was used to generate the analyses and the spatial representations of the associations among the features. Figure 2 is a graphical representation of the association among the three question categories, the nine semantic themes (these are the series in the *Atlas*) and the four geographic regions.

Figure 2 : Associations among Question Category, Semantic Theme and Geographic Region

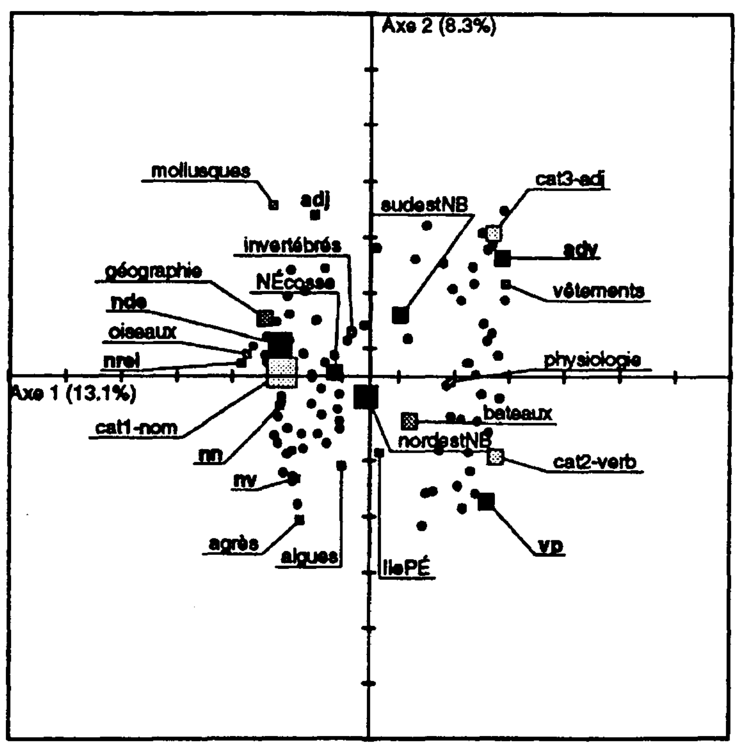


Based on Figure 2 and on accompanying descriptive statistics, the main associations found are :

1. Category 2 (verb) is associated with the theme fish physiology (*physiologie*), and there is a geographic association with Prince Edward Island;
2. Category 3 (adjective) is associated with southeast New Brunswick; there is no association with semantic theme;
3. Category 2 (verb) and Category 3 (adjective) are associated with the theme fishers' clothing (*vêtements*); there is no association with geographic region;
4. Category 1 (noun) and the theme geography (*géographie*) are associated; there is no association with geographic region.

The next step in the quantitative analysis is the inclusion of morphosyntactic structures in the Correspondence analysis. Thus, associations among four different factors are being analyzed : question category, semantic theme, morphosyntactic structure and geographic region.

Figure 3 : Associations among Question Category, Semantic Theme, Morphosyntactic Structure and Geographic Region



The spatial representation in Figure 3 provides a view of several regular associations among the linguistic and geographic features of the periphrases. Table 4 summarizes the associations found in Figure 3; significant associations are presented horizontally in the table.

Table 4 : Summary of Associations among Question Categories, Semantic Themes, Morphosyntactic Structures and Geographic Regions

Question Category	Theme	Morphosyntactic Structure	Geographic Region
Category 3 (adjective)	clothes and geography (*vêtements géographie*)	adv	seNB
Category 2 (verb) and Category 3 (adjective)	clothes (*vêtements*)	adv and vp	none
Category 1 (nominal)	geography (*géographie*)	nde	none
Category 2 (verb)	fishing gear (*agrès*)	vp and nv	none

There are a number of regular patterns of association among question category, theme and morphosyntactic structure. However, the column "geographic region" shows that there is a relative absence of regular geographic patterning in the data. These observations lead us to suggest that the periphrases are characterized by intersubject variation and that the strategies used to produce the periphrases are shared across the geographic regions studied in the *Atlas*.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our results show that there is a general absence of strong geographic patterning of the periphrases, and that there are a number of close associations among question category, semantic theme and morphosyntactic structure. While there exists considerable individual variation both with respect to the number of periphrases used by a fisher and the actual periphrases produced, there also exist shared strategies among the fishers in their formulation of the periphrases. Quantitative analysis has shown that these shared strategies tend to be semantic and morphosyntactic.

In a recent article entitled "The Role of The Individual and Groups in Earlier African American English", Wolfram & Beckett (2000) state that "Descriptions that ignore the individual — theoretically, descriptively and methodologically — cannot provide an adequate explanation of synchronic and diachronic sociolinguistic variation". The present paper, in keeping with Wolfram's and Beckett's challenge, has emphasized the importance of the individual in the analysis of periphrasal variation. Our methodology has centered on the study of individual fishers as well as on individual periphrases.

A related issue that this study can address is the status of so-called personal-pattern variation within a general theory of linguistic variation. This kind of variation differs from free variation, which has no linguistic conditioning, and from sociolinguistic variation, which demonstrates patterns which are linguistically and socially well conditioned. In her study of fishing communities in the East Sutherland region of Scotland, Dorian (1994) observes many words and constructions which demonstrate individual patterns which do not correlate with social groupings or with prestige norms. She suggests that individually patterned variation is likely to be common in small, isolated communities but that it has often gone unrecognized by fieldworkers due in part to fieldwork traditions. The morphosyntactic and semantic regularities as well as the interindividual differences noted in the Acadian French periphrasal data suggest that this type of variation merits further exploration.

Another avenue for further study of the periphrases found in our corpus might be found in how they relate semantically to the questions asked. A first observation would be that all the fishers have the same conceptual information with which to reply to the questions. Neurocognitive theory (Lamb 1998) focuses on the brain and is interested in the mental structures and processes underlying language. It holds that the linguistic system is not one but several interconnected linguistic subsystems that work together.

If we take the case where two fishers both know the meaning of a "foghorn" but answer differently, neurocognitive theory claims that knowledge of a foghorn is present in each fisher's brain in an information system with its specific network comprised of hundreds or thousands of nodes including a visual subnetwork for the visual features of a foghorn and an auditory network for its sound. The fisher who replied that a foghorn was a *corne de brume*, in activating all the connections necessary to reply, had accentuated the connections in his visual subnetwork whereas the fisher who answered *criard pour la brume*, in activating his reply, had accentuated the connections of his auditory subnetwork. Thus, even though the concept of a foghorn was present in the information system of both fishers, each gave a separate answer based on individual perception, the one being shape the other sound. Further exploration as to how neurocognitive theory could offer additional explanations about the idiolectal periphrases in our data offers a topic for a future paper.

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L'ORIGINE DES "NORMANNISMES" DANS LE FRANÇAIS CADIEN DE LA LOUISIANE

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RÉSUMÉ

Le premier traitement de l'histoire de la langue acadienne (Massignon 1962) met en valeur la contribution du dialecte poitevin et traite dans un moindre dégré l'apport lexical normand, qui est commun à de nombreux autres dialectes coloniaux français. Enquêter ce lexique-ci peut révéler des contacts entre les dialectes de France à l'époque post-médiévale et avant celle de l'émigration vers le Nouveau Monde ou bien des contacts continus entre les dialectes coloniaux par voie du français maritime (thèse avancée par Hull, 1968, 1970). La présente étude est une enquête sur les lexes français d'origine scandinave, soit la base du dialecte normand français, dans une première tentative d'établir les relations entre dialectes médiévaux et coloniaux; s'appuyant sur DeGorog (1958) et le *Anglo-Normand Dictionary* (1977-92), elle documente le lexique sans pouvoir conclure à la datation de ces contacts.

L'emploi du vocabulaire maritime, d'origine normande, est un trait saillant du français cadien comme dans l'acadien des Maritimes, trait remarqué dans le premier ouvrage sur ce dialecte louisianais, de Fortier (1891). Vue l'origine commune des deux variétés, je les regroupe, faisant abstraction des différentes évolutions qui datent de l'époque qui succède à leur séparation au 18e siècle.

La question de l'utilité de cette sorte d'analyse linguistique se pose toutefois: pourquoi enquêter sur les origines dialectales d'une langue? Dans l'absence de données concrètes antérieures aux siennes, Massignon (1962) a cité la généalogie des premiers Acadiens pour appuyer une thèse linguistique, conjecturant un bilan de dialecte d'après la représentation des origines provinciales des colons (Massignon 1962). En dépit des objections méthodologiques postérieures, son modèle explique bien la présence des traits poitevins qui caractérisent le phonétisme de ce dialecte du Nouveau Monde. Ce modèle, fondé sur le mélange d'ingrédients de diverses origines, est d'un intérêt plus large, car ce brassage est un trait constant de la communication. Toutefois le modèle ne représente-t-il pas la contribution d'autres dialectes, y compris le normand, dialecte qui passe pour être la base du français maritime, registre en contact avec les parlers coloniaux français? La présente étude analyse la survivance du lexique normand dans l'acadien, puisque c'est un lexique identifiable, grâce à sa littérature médiévale, tandis que d'autres dialectes qui ont contribué au français colonial du Nouveau Monde sont moins connus.[2]

La phonologie du français maritime a été analysée par Hull (1968, 1970) dans des études des variétés françaises du Nouveau Monde, variétés qui présentent de nombreux points communs sur les plans phonologique et lexicologique. La thèse d'un registre qui aurait disséminé des traits particuliers est bien fondée, car un complexe de traits revient à travers de vastes espaces coloniaux allant de Haïti au Canada, dont l'affrication des palatales /ʃ/ et /ʒ/, la permutation des sibilantes avec des sibilantes palatales dans un même mot, la prononciation de /h/ forte,[3] la confusion des voyelles nasales, la confusion de /ar/ et /ɛr/, l'affrication des consonnes dentales suivies de semi-voyelles, et l'emploi dit "abusif" du langage maritime. [4]

Quant au cadien louisianais, Fortier a relevé bien des exemples lexicaux du français maritime en 1891: e.g., *aller au large*, *mettre à la voile* ('traverser les prairies'), *île* ('bois isolé'), *côte* ('terrain uni au bord de l'eau'), *hucher* ('appeler'; inusité), *crier pour la pirogue* ('crier au secours'), et *câler*, mais ce sont des expressions communes aussi au français colonial dit louisianais, et recueillies dans la Paroisse de Saint Martin, paroisse civile d'une forte concentration de planteurs, voire de riches. Plus au sud, d'autres expressions s'ajoutent au lexique foncièrement cadien: *anse*, *plonger*, *haler*, *agrès* ('harnais de cheval'), *garocher* (dér. *garochoir*, 'cordage'), et *virer de bord.*

Un siècle plus tard, mes enquêtes relèvent les mêmes expressions, exceptés *hucher* et *anse* ('éclairci dans un bois'), aujourd'hui périmés, mais ajoutant aussi *naviguer* ('trouver son chemin'; 's'orienter dans le noir'; 'voyager'; 'voyager de longues distances'), *amarrer* ('lier, attacher'), *gréyer* ('orner'; 'préparer'), *arrimer* ou 'arranger' (calqué sur *arrimer,* 'mettre en bon état'), *godron*, *bord* ('côté,' sens général*)*, *l'autre bord*, ('à l'étranger'), *héler* ('crier, attirer l'attention de qqn.'), et *voyager* ('hisser,' ex. un drapeau), entre autres. Étant donné que mon questionnaire relève en partie des données du Fichier du français acadien du Centre d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton, il est normal qu'il révèle des notions que les deux dialectes ont en commun.

Revenant à la thèse de Hull, il faut noter que le lexique hérité du français maritime n'est pas recensé systématiquement dans les créoles et les variétés qu'il cite. L'existence de ce registre est reconnu surtout à la force des évidences phonologiques et historiques. Ce dernier travail, qui reste à faire, serait d'une importance capitale dans la localisation des centres générateurs de ce registre. Par ailleurs, d'autres thèses énoncées dans les articles de Hull ne sont pas à retenir.[5] Par appuyer continuellement le rôle francisant du registre maritime normand, Hull néglige l'influence historique du dialecte normand qui, paraît avoir influencé le registre national depuis longtemps.

1. L'ÉLARGISSEMENT SÉMANTIQUE

Si les parlers acadiens ont emprunté un vocabulaire maritime dans un contexte au-delà du maritime, le même processus d'élargissement sémantique s'opère dans le langage populaire vis-à-vis du dialecte normand depuis le Moyen Âge. Nombreux sont les emprunts normands dans le français national, tels les exemples suivants, facilement reconnus par les Acadiens et par les médiévistes :

agrei 1.'équipement, matériel' 2. 'Défense, soutien'
att. 12e s. *Brendan*, remplacé dans le manucrit picard (Waters 1926: 398-9)
att. 12e *Vie de S. Clément; Horn, 4 Livres Reis (Anglo-Normand Dictionary [AN Dico]* 1:17)

écraser (DeGorog 250)[1]

équiper, équipe industriel ou sportir < *eschiper* 'apareiller un navire, l'équiper d'hommes, arrimer'
< vieux scan. *skipa* 'arrimer, équiper d'hommes' (DeGorog 37)

gréer 1. Mar. 'Préparer, équipper un navire' 2. Fig. 'S'habiller, s'équipper; 3. Adj. 'Préparé'
< v. scan. *Greida* 'faire les noeuds dans une seine' att. 12e s. *Miracles Nostre Dame; Vie de S. Gile; Ancren*; att. 1716 Acad. Fr. 'préparer, équipper'

(Directif dans un livre de piété: "Quand vous êtes tout agréez [préparé], arrosez-vous d'eau bénite")

guerre < germ. **werra* 'confusion, désaccord, opposition' att. 12e s: *Chanson de Guillaume, Gormont et Isembart; Voyage de S. Brendan*; v. 1048 'confusion' *Voyage de Saint Brendan* (Waters 1927: 343). Dial. norm. 1730: 'opposition, résistance'

espar (Mar.) 'Longue pièce de bois de métal ou de plastique du grément d'un bateau' (*Petit Larousse Illustré* 1991: 544) <. vfr. *esparre* 'poutre'

jauger < (Mar.) 'Jauger, estimer la capacité de qqch.,' 'jauger un bâtiment', fig. 'Estimer ou apprécier qqn., le juger à sa valeur' (*Petit Larousse Illustré* 1991: 544)

joli < vfr. *Jolif* 'plaisant, accueillant' < v.scan. *jol* 'fête du mi-hiver' (De Gorog 242)

aller à large (vnorm) 'sortir, aller à l'extérieur' (*AN Dico* 3: 379)
'(il) N'ose *aller à large* pour doubte d'emprisonnement,' */sic/ Lett. et Pet.* 347

bord, à bord, bâs-bord < vnorm. *Bord* 'planche de navire,' < vscan. *Bord* 'planche' (DeGorog 1958). Cadien: 'chambre;' 'côté' (de n'importe quoi); *l'autre bord* 'Europe'

gare 'rivage clos de rivière ou canal'< v.scan. *Vorr* 'point d'embarcation clos par barrières' (DeGorog 62)

sigler 'naviguer en bateau, à la sigle (voile)' < vnorm. *Cingler* < v.scan. *Sigla* (DeGorog 21)

2. LES LEXES RESTÉS COURANTS DANS LA LANGUE NATIONALE

appât < vfr *bet, abet* 'appât pour poissons' < vnorm *baite, bète, bèque* < v.scan. *Beita* (DeGorog 75)

bidon, 'can, oil-drum, canteen, belly' < v.isl. *Bida, byda* 'petit vaisseau en bois' (DeGorog 7)

brayer 'godronner, y appliquer du pois' < v.scan *Braeda*, att. 13e s.; ALF 1054 /bré/, /bra/(DeGorog 11)

bréchet < vfr *brichet, bruchet* < vnorm. *Bruquet, briquet, bréquet*, 'os pectoral de volaille' < v.dan. **briusk*, v.isl, *bryôsk* 'cartilage.' Dérivés répandus en Normanie, Anjou, Poitou, Maine, Vendôme (DeGorog 114)

bru < v.norm. *Bru*, 'nouvelle mariée,' < v.scan *Brud-r* 'mariée, nouvelle mariée' att. 1521. (DeGorog 122)

duvet 'duvet,' < vfr *dum*, att. 12e s. < v.norm. *Dum, dun*< v.scan *Dun-n* dér.s: *édumer* 'élaguer,' ou 'enlever les petites branches qui poussent le long du tronc'; (mfr.) att. 16e s. *duveteux* 'qui a beaucoup de duvet' (DeGorog 104) *écraser* < v.norm. *acraser* 'craqueler,' < v.scan. *Krasa* 'craqueler,' v.scan. *Krossa* 'écraser'; att. Huguet (17e s.); (DeGorog 250)

èdredon< vfr. *èdre, plume d'èdre, èdredon*, att. 13e-16e s.. < v.scan *Aedr* 'canard à èdre' (DeGorog 105)

homard < vnorm. *homard, houmar* < v.scan *Humar-r* 'homard' (DeGorog 38)

quille 'quille de bateau,' att. 1382 Rouen. < v.scan *Kilir, kjol-r* 'quille' (DeGorog 44)

ras de marée 'courant violent' < v.scan *Ràs* 'cours d'eau, chenal, courant' (DeGorog 40)

rifler < rifler 'toucher (une voile), ariser' < *ris* < v.scan *Rif 'reef' (DeGorog 48)

rogue < v.dan. **Rogn*, v.isl. *Hrogn* (DeGorog 41)

sombrer 'fonder, caler,' att. 1680 <. v.scan *Sumla* (câler, sombrer) (DeGorog 51)

3. LA RESTRICTION SÉMANTIQUE

Pourtant, les développements sémantiques entre variétés de français se sont très souvent opérés dans le sens contraire de la restriction sémantique ou la spécialisation d'emploi; encore là, les exemples sont nombreux:

afflouer < norm. *Flouée* 'marée,' (Rouen 1604) < . v.scan. *Flot, flod* 'inondation'
dér.s: *reflotter* 'remettre à flot,' *reflouement, renflouage, afflouage* 'faire flotter un vaisseau en panne'

arrimer 'enmagasiner, charger' att. 1898 (Bloch) < v.scan *ryma* 'faire (encore) de la place'
dérivés: *désarrimage* ('déséquilibrement de la cargaison'), *désarrimer* ('défaire une cargaison') *réarrimage* (re-charger un vaisseau) (DeGorog 3)

barate (à beurre, à crème) < vfr 'confusion' < v.scan. *Baratta* (combat, bataille)

bardeau (à toit) < vfr. 'Petit rateau de bois flottant' < v.scan. *Bardi* 'navire' FEW I, 253 a, cité dans DeGorog (5)

dalle 'pavé, tuile' < v.dan. *dala, v.isl. *Daela, Dallr* 'petite cuve' (DeGorog 17)

étrave 'stem-post' < v.scan. *Stafu* (stem of ship) (DeGorog 38)

flot 'onde' < v.scan. *Flod* (inondation) (DeGorog 39)

flotte 'flotille' < vfr *flotte* 'en radeau' < v.scan. *Floti* 'ce qui flotte'
att. 12e s. *Chanson de Guillaume*; 17e s. Cotgrave, '*flotte de marrein*'

harnois < vfr *herneis, harnois* 'armure, équipage d'une homme d'armes,' < v.scan. **Hernest* 'Provisions d'armée', v.isl. **vegnest* ('provisions de voyage') att. 12e s., *Couronnement de Louis* "*suer dans son harnais*" ('être mal à l'aise dans ses vêtements'), "*blanchir sous le harnois,*" ('vieillir dans le métier d'armes'), "*endosser le harnais*" ('prendre la profession d'armes') (DeGorog 223)

havre < vfr *hable, havle* < vnorm. *Havene* < v.dan. **Hafn*, v.isl. *hafn* 'poste, bâton' (DeGorog 38)

mare 'étang' < v.norm. *mare* < v.scan. *Mar-r* 'mer' (DeGorog 44)

marin varech (att. Brendan, 12e s.) > v.scan. **Wreki* 'ce qui est rejeté aux côtes' (Waters 1928: 129)

(Se) mâter, se remâter 'cabrioler, faire rétif'

matelot 'marin' < v.scan. *Motunaut-r* 'compagnon de repas' moyen néer. 'Homme attaché à un autre et avec qui il partage son hamac.' DeGorog (136) note que l'attestation française devance la néerlandaise d'un siècle.

ragréer (sa réputation) 'rénover sa réputation, la restaurer' att. Acad. Fr. 1718.
1762, Acad. Fr. 'Nettoyer (les briques, e.g., d'un mur, d'une façade)' (DeGorog 1)

sonde 'sounding-head,' att. 12e s. < v.scan. *Sun*, 'sound, strait, swimming ' (DeGorog 68)
att, 1382, Rouen: *sonder* 'sonder;' (se dit d'une baleine)
dér. *Sondage*; 17e s., Furetière: *sondeuse* 'appareil de sondage'; 1769, *sonder*.

virer, virage < vieux norm. *Virer* 'Tourner à volte-face' (Waters 1928: 101)

Les listes précédentes ne comptent même pas le corpus technique maritime qui provient des sources scandinaves, et qui est passé dans la langue nationale. Les étymologistes sont d'accord pour trouver leur provenance dans le vieux scandinave d'abord pour leur forme mais aussi à cause de la prédominance des Normands dans les métiers maritimes pendant l'époque médiévale entière, développement dû sans doute à l'emplacement de ce groupe à la bouche du fleuve qui contrôlait le traffic maritime entre la capitale parisienne et l'étranger.

En haut, je cite seulement une partie du lexique maritime qui est d'origine scandinave. Les références suivantes, par contre, ne sont pas forcément acadiennes mais font partie du langage technique spécialisé du français et auraient pu entrer dans le français acadien d'antan ou d'aujourd'hui. Encore une fois, la source est DeGorog, à moins qu'une autre soit notée: *bâbord* (4), *bitte* (bollard, 37), *boeline* (10), *bôme* (*P.Lar. Ill.* 1991: 143), *ca(r)lingue* (14b), *cocagne*, mât de cocagne (*P.Lar.ill.* 1991: 607), *dalot de pont* (17), *écart* (de charpentier, 19), *écore* (81), *écoute* (de voile), *écoutillon* (booby-hatch), *havenet* (seine à crevettes, 38), *hel* (42), *hune* (haut de mât, 40), *jas* (barre transversale d'une ancre, *P. Lar.ill.* 1991: 543), *jaume, jaumière* (41), *run* (fond de câle, 49), *tanguer* (stopper une fuite, 52), *vergue* (espar cylindrique placé en travers d'un mât, *P. Lar. Ill.* 1991: 1013).

4. LES LEXES DIALECTAUX : ACADIENS ET CADIENS

D'autres normannismes encore ne sont pas entrés dans le lexique courant du français et sont restés au stade de particularités linguistiques du français cadien et acadien ou des dialectes normands:

canif 'couteau à poche' < v.norm. *Canivet*, att. 12e s. < v.scan. *Knif-r* 'couteau' (DeGorog 212)

dalle 'goutière' < v.dan. **Dala*, v.isl. *Daela*, v.isl. *Dallr* 'petite cuve' (DeGorog 17)

falle 'jabot des oiseaux' < v.norm. *Fallu* 'Jabot, gorge, estomac des oiseaux,' < v.scan. Fal-r 'societ of spear-head.' *Falle* norm. att. 16e s.
dial. norm. "*Il a du jabot*" 'il fait l'important'; *défaller* (découragér qqn) (DeGorog 115)

frimasser 'faire une brume fine' < v.scan. *Hrima*, att. Normandie 16e s., *rimasser* (DeGorog 295)

gouïne 'femme de mauvaise vie' < v.scan. *Kvinna* 'femme' (DeGorog 129)
dér.s: *guénille, guénillon, guénipe* 'torchon, prostituée'; *guénon* 'singe femelle,' *guénuche* 'femme de mauvaise vie.'

grigner, grincher, gricher < vnorm. *Greine* 'expression de mécontentement, ou grincement des dents,' att. 12e s., *Voyage de S. Brendan*, v. 1487; *Tristan* ; Godefroi : *graigne* 'hostilité' (Waters 1928: 127).

hangar 'petite bâtisse de service agricole' < v.dan.**Hems-gard-r*, v.isl. *Heimis-gard-r* 'habitation agricole'

héler 'attirer l'attention de qqn. en criant' (cadien, rare)

hucher 'appeler qqn.' (acadien; disparu en fr. cad.)

ripe (n.f. bois éripé) < v.scan. *Rispa* 'égratigner' (DeGorog 47)

5. CONCLUSION

DeGorog ne récense pas plus de 300 lexes d'origine scandinave qui soient passés dans la langue française de toutes les époques; au premier abord, le nombre paraît insignifiant. La comparaison de cette source avec le *Dictionnaire Anglo-Normand* révèle un grand nombre d'autres qui ne sont plus courants dans le français moderne, qui relèvent et des structures sociales et des technologies qui sont propres au Moyen Âge et qui donc ont été abandonnées au cours du temps. Ces lexes ne sont pas d'origine anglo-saxonne et ils font souvent partie des langues anglaise et française modernes, relevant tous deux d'un superstrat normand mais à un siècle et demi de différence l'un de l'autre. Une fois assimilés au système linguistique du français normand, et par là, au français francien, les lexes scandinaves auraient, eux aussi, subi les diverses évolutions sémantiques du lexique général, y compris la perte d'un bon nombre d'entre eux. Cette évolution est peut-être la preuve la plus voyante de l'influence primitive de l'apport normand des 9e au 10e siècles.

Pourtant, une comparaison des lexiques de quelques oeuvres normandes ou anglo-normandes au XII^e s. et au XIV^e s., soit à deux siècles de différence, fait voir une assimilation progressive du français normand au français francien, en dépit de l'énorme influence de la cour anglo-normande. La cour anglaise était francophone depuis la conquête normande du onzième siècle et jusqu'au début du quatorzième, quand le nationalisme croissant a eu raison de la coutume linguistique. Le français national, pour sa part, a poursuivi sa propre évolution nationale, et les changements politiques se reflètent peut-être plus concrètement dans la linguistique, sous plusieurs aspects: (a) dans la perte de /h/ dit 'germanique' en initiale parmi des lexes qui sont conservés jusqu'à nos jours; (b) dans la préférence pour des formes françaises dans un contexte là où la forme anglo-normande l'aurait emporté deux siècles avant; (c) dans des cas de collision homonymique, là où le lexe francien est retenu plutôt que le lexe normand; (d) dans des cas où le lexe normand n'a pas pu s'imposer au dépens du mot francien. Dans tous ces aspects, je vois agir une sorte de rélexification à la française, comme si la langue du siècle de la Guerre de Cent Ans essayait de compenser pour le dessus linguistique qu'avait eu la littérature anglo-normande du douzième siècle.[6]

Mes constatations sont assez simples : 1) Le taux d'attrition des normannismes de longue date paraît être comparable à celui du français francien; beaucoup de lexes se périment car ils ne correspondent plus aux technologies ni aux faits sociaux en vigueur plus tard dans l'histoire de la langue. (2) En ce qui concerne les emprunts qui survivent jusqu'au présent, ils s'organisent en trois groupes: (a) Certains font toujours partie du fonds de base lexical de la langue, tels "guichet" et "équiper", qui expriment des notions fondamentales et de longue vie. (b) D'autres normannismes se cachent dans un vocabulaire technologique, voire un vocabulaire de métier; ce registre est d'ailleurs bien représenté dans la série des *Atlas Linguistiques de France par Régions*, car il forme des vocabulaires qui ne sont pas complètement à la portée de la langue nationale normée. (c) Une autre classe de vocabulaire familier fait partie d'un discours plus privé que public et résiste mieux à l'assimilation aux normes nationales que bien d'autres registres.

Je conclus en constatant l'importance du registre normand pour les parlers acadiens. Son influence paraît être de longue date dans la mesure où le registre francien a aidé à la diffuser. Par ailleurs, le langage maritime qui est propre à l'acadien et aux dialectes normands mais non pas au français normé paraît montrer un taux faible d'attrition. Le travail reste essentiellement à faire, et ceci à partir du français régional.

NOTES

[1] Les références tirées de DeGorog 1958, *The Scandinavian Element in French and Norman* sont numérotées d'après la numérotation de la source.

[2] Brunot écrit : "Un grand nombre de ces émigrés (au Nouveau Monde) savaient tant bien que mal le français–un français patoisés s'étend... Où ils l'avaient appris, nous l'ignorons du reste," (1935:1056-7), cité dans Hull, 1968 (p. 255). Dauzat 1922 (*Les Patois)* traite plus amplement de la question.

[3] Trait négligé par Hull mais bien attesté dans les parlers canadiens, caribéens, et louisianais.

[4] Nous ne voyons pas d'objection à l'emploi de cette terminologie pour désigner l'extension sémantique bien au-delà de son domaine original, procédé linguistique normal, comme le procédé inverse, la restriction sémantique. Massignon (1962) sera la première à analyser le premier trait dans le parler acadien.

[5]Prétexter un isolement hermétique des populations françaises et patoisantes à la fin du Moyen Âge est un non-sens. Nous n'appuyons pas la théorie selon laquelle le français maritime aurait été le véhicule d'apprentissage du français par les Poitevins et les Méridionaux, grâce aux bons services des marins qui visitaient les côtes ouest et sud de la France. Dans les faits une occupation française de cinq siècles (à partir de 1260) y a suffi.

[6]Ce n'est pas sans raison que le catalogue des "premiers" de la langue française littéraire se récapitule dans l'ouvrage de Howlett (1996), réclamant les origines de la littérature française pour l'Angleterre. Même si sa thèse reste douteuse, toute une série de "premières" littéraires apparaît en langue française en Angleterre : premières lois, "Premiers écrits sur histoire, premiers romans, premier témoignage oculaire, première propagande pseudo-historique, première hagiographie en vers et en prose, première collection de miracles de la vierge, premières oeuvres dramatiques, premier narratif d'aventure, premiers lais, premières fables, premier fabliau, premières gloses sur un texte biblique, premières adaptations de textes bibliques, première traduction d'une règle monastique, première littérature scientifique, premiers traités technicaux, premiers glossaires multilingues, premiers textes en rimes hexasyllabique ou heptasyllabique ou octosyllabique". La réponse est peut-être à chercher dans l'explosion de l'écrit, développement dû à la chancellerie anglo-normande et la culture, particulièrement litigieuse, qu'elle a formée, thèse de la phonologue anglaise M.K. Pope (Maitland, *History of English Law,* I, cité en Pope 1944: 6).

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THE DIRECTIONALITY OF VOWEL ELISION IN PICARD

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ABSTRACT

This paper offers an analysis for the domain-sensitive process of Vowel Elision in Picard, whose directionality depends on the interaction of a variety of phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic factors. By adopting the framework of Optimality Theory, I propose an analysis in which constraints are decomposable into their domain-specific counterparts. The main advantage of such an approach to domain-driven phenomena is its intrinsic assumption that only one grammar (or constraint ranking) is responsible for domain-driven variation cross-linguistically.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present investigation proposes an analysis for the process of Vowel Elision and its directionality in Picard. Vowel Elision results whenever two underlyingly illicit vowels concatenate (e.g. (a) /t$\boxed{\text{y}}$ a̲ʒut/ → [.ta.ʒut.] 'you add'; (b) /di̲ $\boxed{\text{e}}$l/ → [.dil.] '(I) say the', where "." marks syllable boundaries). More specifically, the paper investigates the directionality of the phenomenon in the language: depending on the interaction of a variety of phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic factors, either the left or the right vowel in a vocalic hiatus can be subjected to deletion in the language.

The goals of this research are two-fold. Firstly, it contributes new data and analysis to the study of domain-sensitive phonological phenomena, which in turn promotes and refines the discussion of the domain-specific constraint approach. Secondly, this study provides an analysis of the domain-sensitive phenomenon of Vowel Elision in Picard, which will serve as support for the aforementioned approach. In order to account for the directionality and the idiosyncrasies found in the process of Vowel Elision in Picard, I adopt the well-established positional and semantically motivated constraints MAX-Lex and MAX-MONOSEGMENT which, concomitantly with the domain-specific constraint approach, adequately capture the phenomenon in Picard.

This paper is organized in the following way: in Section 2, I introduce the relevant data upon which I will base my investigation. In Section 3, I discuss the problems that the data would encounter if they were to be analyzed within a version of Optimality Theory that does not recognize the decomposition of domain-sensitive constraints. Finally, in Section 4, I present viable solutions to the problems presented in the investigation.

2. THE DATA

The data for this investigation come from the Picard variety spoken in the village of Nibas, located in the Picardie region in Northern France. Picard is a Gallo-Romance dialect spoken not only in the Picardie region in France, but also in North-Eastern Normandy and in some areas of Belgium.

Observe in (1) that in the context of an underlying sequence of two contiguous vowels, that is, a vocalic hiatus, one of the two vowels undergoes deletion in Picard.

(1) Vowel Elision in Picard (i.e. / V V / → [V])

a. / ty aʒut /	→	[ta.ʒut]	*[ty.a.ʒut]	'you add'	(/y/ = ø)
b. /di el /	→	[dil]	*[di.el]	'(I) say the'	(/e/ = ø)

The data in (2) show the morphosyntactic contexts in which Vowel Elision applies. Note in (2A) that it is the first vowel (V_1) that deletes in the context of a function word (Fnc) followed by a lexical word (Lex), while in the context of a lexical word followed by a function word (i.e. the reverse situation), it is the second vowel (V_2) that undergoes deletion, as illustrated in (2B).

(2) Applicability of Vowel Elision:

A. Function Word (Fnc) + Lexical Word (Lex) sequences (V_1 Elision = $V_1 \rightarrow ø$)

/ ty ekri /	→	[te.kri]	*[ty.ekri]	'you write'
/ ty aʒut /	→	[ta.ʒut]	*[ty.a.ʒut]	'you add'

B. Lexical Word + Function Word sequences (V_2 Elision = $V_2 \rightarrow ø$)

/ di el /	→	[dil]	*[di.el]	'(I) say the'
/ ekri el /	→	[e.kril]	*[e.kri.el]	'(I) write the'

The data in (3), on the other hand, illustrate the morphosyntactic contexts in which Vowel Elision does not apply; as a consequence, the two underlying vowels involved surface. Observe that the process is inoperative (a) word-internally, (b) in compounds, (c) in prefixation and (d) in higher morphosyntactic contexts. Finally, Vowel Elision does not apply in cases in which one of the two vowels in the vocalic hiatus is a monosegmental morpheme. This is illustrated in (3e).

(3) Inapplicability of Vowel Elision:

(a) Word-internally[1]

/ noel /	→	[no.el]	*[nel], *[nol]	'Christmas'
/ ʒue /	→	[ʒwe]	*[ʒe], *[ʒu]	'to play'

(b) In Compounds

/ sezi arɛ /	→	[se.zi.a.rɛ]	*[_a], *[i_]	'garnishment'
/ tisy epɔ̃ʒ /	→	[ti.sy.e.pɔ̃ʒ]	*[_e], *[y_]	'sponge-cloth'

(c) In Prefixation

/ mi avril /	→	[mi.a.vril]	*[_a], *[i_]	'mid April'
/ semi arid /	→	[se.mi.a.rid]	*[_a], *[i_]	'semi-arid'

(d) In Higher Morphosyntactic contexts

/ ʒezy ɛm /	→	[ʒe.zy.ɛm]	*[_ɛ], *[y_]	'Jesus loves'
/ ʒoli aʒ /	→	[ʒo.li.aʒ]	*[_a], *[i_]	'beautiful age'

(e) When the Function Word is a monosegmental morpheme

/ ʒu a /	→	[ʒu.a]	*[ʒa], *[ʒu]	'(I) play (at)'
/ i ɛm /	→	[i.ɛm]	*[im], *[ɛm]	'he loves'

To summarize, we should conclude that Vowel Elision applies in Lexical Word plus Function Word sequences and in Function Word plus Lexical Word sequences when the Function Word is not a monosegmental morpheme. The additional data in (4) and (5) confirm our previous observation that the direction of Vowel Elision is determined by where the underlying vowels are located at the morphosyntactic level. As previously shown, only the vowel in the function word can be deleted, while the vowel that belongs to a lexical category is always preserved in the output.

(4) Left Vowel (V_1) gets deleted (Fnc + Lex): $\boxed{V_1 \rightarrow ø}$

a. / ty aʒut /	→	[ta.ʒut]	*[ty.a.ʒut]	'you add'
b. / ty ekri /	→	[te.kri]	*[ty.ekri]	'you write'

(5) Right Vowel (V_2) gets deleted (Lex + Fnc): $\boxed{V_2 \rightarrow ø}$

a. /di el /	→	[dil]	*[di.el]	'(I) say the'
b. / ekri el /	→	[e.kril]	*[e.kri.el]	'(I) write the'

3. THE PROBLEMS

In this section, I present the problems of an analysis using primitive Optimality Theory tools, without the adoption of the domain-specific constraint approach and other relevant positional and semantically motivated constraints.

For the analysis of the Picard data, I use the framework of Optimality Theory. According to the framework: (1) a grammar consists of a set of universal constraints; (2) constraints are violable; and (3) constraint ranking is language-specific, which is how cross-linguistic variation is captured. In the analysis, I make use of standard OT conventions, that is, a solid line in the tableau indicates that the constraints are crucially ranked with respect to each other. The absence of a line indicates that the ranking is indeterminate. The hand on the leftmost column of the tableau indicates the winning candidate or output, that is, the candidate with the fewest violations of highly ranked constraints. Each constraint violation is indicated by an asterisk. An exclamation mark after an asterisk marks a fatal violation, that is, the point where a given candidate loses out to at least one other candidate.

For the process of Vowel Elision, I propose the constraint ranking in (7) composed of Onset, which requires that all syllables have an onset, and MAX-IO, which militates against segmental deletion. Note that constraints are organized in terms of hierarchy, going from highest ranked on the left, to lowest ranked on the right. Double arrowheads indicate that the constraints are crucially ranked and commas indicate that the ranking is indeterminate between the two constraints. The higher ranking of the markedness constraint ONSET with respect to the faithfulness constraint MAX-IO captures Picard's tendency to avoid vocalic hiatus contexts: the language prefers to delete a vowel segment – a violation of MAX-IO - than to syllabify two adjacent vowels in the output – a violation of ONSET.

(6) Relevant constraints for Vowel Elision

(a) ONSET (Prince and Smolensky 1993):	Syllables have onsets.
(b) MAX-IO (McCarthy and Prince 1995):	Every input segment has a correspondent in the output (i.e. No deletion).

(7) Preliminary constraint ranking: Onset >> MAX-IO

3.1. Problem 1

According to the ranking in (7), candidates (b) and (c) in (8) are the optimal forms, since the two candidates only minimally violate the constraint MAX-IO. Candidate (a) is out of contention because it violates ONSET, which is highly ranked in the hierarchy proposed in (7). Notice that of the two selected outputs, only the form in (b) is the correct one in Picard. Similar results are obtained in the second constraint evaluation illustrated in (9), in which the erroneous forms in (b) and (c) are selected. The problem with such an analysis is that the constraints and their ranking predict two optimal forms, one of which is incorrect. Furthermore, the directionality of Vowel Elision is not predictable as a consequence of constraints and constraint ranking.

(8)

(1) / ty aʒut /		Onset	MAX-IO
a. *[ty.a.ʒut]		*!	
b. ✓[ta.ʒut]	☞		*
c. *[ty.ʒut]	☞		*

(9)

(2) / di el /	Onset	MAX-IO
a. *[di.el]	*!	
b. *[del] ☞		*
c. ✓[dil] ☞		*

3.2. Problem 2

The tableaux in (10) and (11) illustrate the morphosyntactic factor at play in the selection of the vowel to be deleted. As we have already seen in the data set in Section 2, Vowel Elision exclusively applies at the domain juncture of a lexical and a following or preceding function word. The constraint ranking in (7) (i.e. ONSET >> MAX-IO), however, selects candidates (b) and (c) in the tableau in (10), one of which is incorrect. Interesting results are obtained in the tableau in (11): notice that in prefixation, only the *incorrect* outputs are selected as optimal.

(10)

/ ty aʒut /	Onset	MAX-IO
a. *[ty.a.ʒut]	*!	
b. ✓[ta.ʒut] ☞		*
c. *[ty.ʒut] ☞		*

} Cliticization

(11)

/ mi avril /	Onset	MAX-IO
a. ✓[mi.a.vril]	*!	
b. *[ma.vril] ☞		*
c. *[mi.vril] ☞		*

} Other domains (e.g. prefixation)

3.3. Problem 3

Finally, the tableau in (12) illustrates a case involving a concatenation of a monosegmental morpheme, the pronoun /i/, and a following lexical word. Observe that the constraint ranking provided in (7) erroneously selects the *incorrect* outputs in (12b) and (12c).

(12)

/ i ɛm /	Onset	MAX-IO
a. ✓[i.ɛm]	*!	
b. *[ɛm] ☞		*
c. *[im] ☞		*

Based on these results, we may conclude that the present version of Optimality Theory is not enough to fully capture the phenomenon of Vowel Elision in Picard. In Section 4, I provide a viable solution to the problems discussed in this section.

4. A VIABLE SOLUTION

A viable solution to adequately capture the first problem, illustrated in Section 3.1, is the adoption of MAX-Lex, shown in (13). This well-established constraint expresses the crosslinguistic tendency for preservation of information contained in lexical words rather than in function words.[2] Consequently, the high ranking of MAX-Lex in the grammar of Picard predicts the directionality of Vowel Elision in the language, which is only possible within a function word. This notion that certain prominent positions maintain contrasts goes back to Trubetzkoy (1939) and has recently received a lot of attention in the works of Steriade (1995) and Beckman (1998).[3]

(13) **MAX-Lex** Every segment in a lexical word has a correspondent in the output.

Ranking: MAX-Lex , Onset >> MAX-IO

Observe in the tableaux in (14) and (15) that the adoption of highly ranked MAX-Lex yields the correct results in Picard. Notice that in the tableau in (14), it is the *first* vowel that gets deleted. In (15), on the other hand, vowel elision applies to the *second* vowel of the hiatus.

(14)

(1) / ty (aʒut)$_{Lex}$ /	MAX-Lex	Onset	MAX-IO
a. *[ty.a.ʒut]		*!	
b. ✓[ta.ʒut] ☞			*
c. *[ty.ʒut]	*!		*

(15)

(2) / (di)$_{Lex}$ el /	MAX-Lex	Onset	MAX-IO
a. *[di.el]		*!	
b. *[del]	*!		*
c. ✓[dil] ☞			*

The second problem, discussed in Section 3.2 and illustrated in (10) and (11), has shown us that the phenomenon of Vowel Elision does not apply whenever two underlying vowels are adjacent to each other. As has been shown, the phenomenon is sensitive to a specific morphosyntactic domain: while it applies in the domain of a lexical word followed or preceded by a function word, it fails to apply in other morphosyntactic contexts.

There are at least two options for dealing with such domain-driven variation patterns. The first option is to assign two different grammars (or two rankings), one for each morphosyntactic domain. The second option is to decompose the relevant constraints into their domain-specific counterparts, and assign a different ranking to each constraint in a single grammar or constraint hierarchy.

The advantage of the second option, the domain-specific constraint approach, is that it presupposes the existence of a single grammar, which is advantageous from the point of view of language acquisition. Also, the decomposition of constraints is required for the analysis of other issues in the phonology of Picard (see Cardoso 1998b, 1999a, 1999b) and several other languages, and it has been claimed essential in Optimality Theory, as can be seen in the decomposition of the Strict Layer Hypothesis, proposed by Selkirk (1997). It can also be found in the alignment constraints, proposed by McCarthy and Prince (1993), and in several other works within the OT framework.

According to the domain-specific constraint approach, instead of the assignment of different grammars (or rankings) to specific prosodic domains, constraints are decomposed into their domain-specific counterparts, each having an independent hierarchical status within a single grammar. For instance, the decomposition of the constraint ONSET, as illustrated in (17), results in a series of domain-sensitive constraints such as ONSET-[Phonological Phrase] ($\text{ONSET}_{\text{PPH}}$), which operates exclusively within the Phonological Phrase domain, ONSET-[Prosodic Word] ($\text{ONSET}_{\text{PWd}}$), which only operates within the domain scope of the Prosodic Word, and so on. For ease of exposition, I will decompose the constraints into PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE (PPh) (e.g. $\text{ONSET}_{\text{PPh}}$), which exclusively operates with the domain of the phonological phrase, and ALPHA (α) (e.g. ONSET_{α}), which applies elsewhere.

(16)

The domain-specific constraint approach (cf. McCarthy and Prince 1993, Pater 1996)

Instead of the assignment of different grammars (or rankings) for specific prosodic domains, constraints are decomposed into distinct *domain-specific constraints*, each having *a different hierarchical status* within a single grammar.

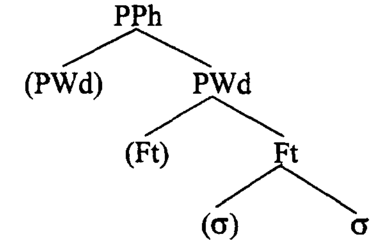
(17) Domain-specific ONSET and MAX-IO:

Decomposition of ONSET:	$\text{Onset}_{\text{PPh}}$, Onset_{α} (i.e. $\text{Onset}_{\text{PWd}}$, Onset_{σ}, etc.)
Decomposition of MAX-IO:	$\text{MAX-IO}_{\text{PPh}}$, Onset_{α} (i.e. $\text{Onset}_{\text{PWd}}$, Onset_{σ}, etc.)

In order to account for the domain of Vowel Elision in Picard, I adopt the framework of Prosodic Phonology. According to the framework, morphosyntactic information is only accessed indirectly by the phonology, which is mediated by a hierarchical constituent structure, the Prosodic Hierarchy, illustrated in (18). In other words, when phonological processes operate, they make references to the elements in the prosodic hierarchy and not to the morphological or syntactic elements of the surface representation.

(18) The Prosodic Hierarchy (cf. Selkirk 1978)

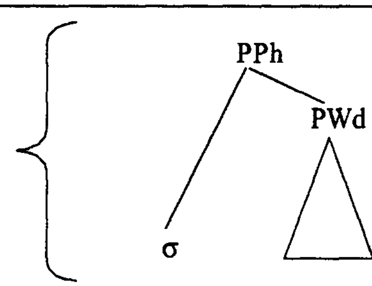
Prosodic Domains	Schematic Representation
Phonological Phrase (PPh)	
Prosodic Word (PWd)	
Foot (Ft)	
Syllable (σ)	



Grounded on the framework of Prosodic Phonology and considering the Picard data illustrated in Section 2, Cardoso (to appear) argues that the patterns found in vocalic hiatus situations are governed by the prosodic status that each word assumes in the grammar. More specifically, I argue that Vowel Elision applies exclusively at the domain juncture of a Prosodic Word and the following or preceding syllable, within the Phonological Phrase domain, as is illustrated below (irrelevant structure is omitted).

(19) Domain of Vowel Elision in Picard

Vowel Elision in Picard (domain PPh)



In (20) through (22), I demonstrate how the domain-specific constraint approach applies to the Vowel Elision phenomenon in Picard. Having in mind that the domain of AWRA is the Phonological Phrase, I propose the decomposition of ONSET and MAX-IO into their domain-sensitive counterparts. Observe that we are now able to account for Vowel Elision in the cases of cliticization, as illustrated in the tableau in (21), and prevent the process from applying in other domains such as in prefixation, shown in (22).

(20) Constraint ranking: Onset_{PPh} , MAX-Lex , MAX-IO_{α} >> Onset_{α} , MAX-IO_{PPh}

(21) /ty aʒut/ = Phonological Phrase (Vowel Elision applies)

/ ty aʒut $/_{PPh}$	Onset_{PPh}	MAX -Lex	MAX -IO_{α}	Onset_{α}	MAX -IO_{PPh}
a. *[ty.a.ʒut $]_{PPh}$	*!				
b. ✓[ta.ʒut $]_{PPh}$ ☞					*
c. *[ty.ʒut $]_{PPh}$		*!			*

Cliticization

(22) /mi avril/ = Prosodic Word (Vowel Elision does not apply)

/ mi avril $/_{PWd}$		$Onset_{PPh}$	MAX -Lex	MAX $-IO_{\alpha}$	$Onset_{\alpha}$	MAX-IO_{PPh}
a. ✓[mi.a.vril $]_{PWd}$	☞				*	
b. *[ma.vril $]_{PWd}$				*!		
c. *[mi.vril $]_{PWd}$			*!	*		

Other domains (e.g. Prefixation)

To exemplify how domain-specific constraints operate, notice in (21a) that the constraint $ONSET_{PPh}$ can only be violated within its relevant domain, that is, the Phonological Phrase. In (22a), on the other hand, the constraint $ONSET_{PPh}$ is not violated because prefixation involves the domain of a Prosodic Word, which is invisible to the constraint. The same rationale applies to the other domain-sensitive constraint MAX-IO.

Finally, the problem involving monosegmental morphemes, discussed in Section 3.3, can be easily accounted for without any changes to the previous analyses presented thus far. As you will recall from the data shown in (3e) and (12), Vowel Elision does not apply in cases in which one of the two vowels is the only element in the two morphemes involved. This behavior has a functional cause: if the only element in its morpheme is deleted, there will be no remaining segmental trace of that morpheme. The obligatory presence of the monosegmental morpheme must be forced by a functional constraint that requires that monosegmental morphemes be preserved in the output. The relatively well-established constraint MAX-MONOSEGMENT (Schuh 1995 and Casali 1997) fulfills such a requirement. Assuming that this constraint is highly ranked in the grammar of Picard, we can account for the absence of vowel elision when monosegmental morphemes are involved.

(23)

MAX-MS	Every input segment that is the only segment in its morpheme must have a corresponding segment in the output.

Observe in the tableau in (24) how the high ranking of MAX-MONOSEGMENT yields the correct results: candidate (a), in which the vocalic hiatus is preserved in the output, is the selected, optimal form. Notice that if it were not for the fact that one of the two vowels is a monosegmental morpheme, Vowel Elision would take place, since the morphosyntactic or prosodic context is appropriate for the process to apply.

(24)

/ i ɛm $/_{PPh}$		MAX -MS	$Onset_{PPh}$	MAX -Lex	MAX $-IO_{\alpha}$	$Onset_{\alpha}$	MAX $-IO_{PPh}$
a. ✓[i ɛm]	☞		*				
b. *[ɛm]		*					*!
c. *[im]				*			*!

In (25), I illustrate the final constraint ranking for Vowel Elision in Picard, which accounts for the entire phenomenon in Picard. In (26), I show the tableau evaluations of some candidates involving the three problems discussed in this paper, based on the assumption that a single constraint ranking, the one depicted in (25), is responsible for the outputs found in Vowel Elision in Picard.

(25) Final Ranking for Vowel Elision in Picard

Constraint Ranking

$\underbrace{\text{MAX-MS} \quad \text{Onset}_{PPh} \quad \text{MAX-Lex} \quad \text{MAX-IO}_{\alpha}}$

>>

$\overbrace{\text{Onset}_{\alpha} \quad \text{MAX-IO}_{PPh}}$

(26) Vowel Elision (final constraint evaluation)

(A) / ty aʒut /	MAX-MS	Onset_{PPh}	MAX-Lex	MAX-IO_{α}	Onset_{α}	MAX-IO_{PPh}
	Lex + Fnc sequences = Application of Vowel Elision					
a. *[ty.a.ʒut]		*!				
b. ✓[ta.ʒut] ☞						*
c. *[ty.ʒut]			*!			*

(B) / noel /	MAX-MS	Onset_{PPh}	MAX-Lex	MAX-IO_{α}	Onset_{α}	MAX-IO_{PPh}
	Word internally = inapplicability of Vowel Elision					
a. ✓[no.el] ☞					*	
b. *[nel]			*!	*		
c. *[nol]			*!	*		

(C) / ʒu a /	MAX-MS	Onset_{PPh}	MAX-Lex	MAX-IO_{α}	Onset_{α}	MAX-IO_{PPh}
	When vowel is monosegmental = inapplicability of Vowel Elision					
a. ✓[ʒu.a] ☞		*				
b. *[ʒa]			*			*!
c. *[ʒu]	*					*!

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, I have presented an analysis for the domain-sensitive phenomenon of Vowel Elision in Picard. More specifically, I have proposed an investigation of the directionality of the phenomenon, which can apply to either the first or the second vowel in a vocalic hiatus context, depending on a variety of phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic factors such as (1) morphosyntactic domain, (2) position of the vowel in a lexical or function word, and (3) whether one of the two vowels is the only morphemic element in the context for elision.

In order to analyze the idiosyncrasies inherent to the process, I have proposed the adoption of the highly ranked constraints MAX-MONOSEGMENT and MAX-Lex. While the former constraint is able to account for why Vowel Elision does not apply when monosegmental morphemes are involved, the high ranking of the latter provides the directionality of the phenomenon.

Finally, in order to explain the domain-driven peculiarities of Vowel Elision, I have adopted the domain-specific constraint approach, whose main advantage is its intrinsic assumption that only one grammar (or constraint ranking) is responsible for domain-driven variation cross-linguistically. In the case of Vowel Elision, the adoption of one single grammar is enough to account for all the idiosyncrasies found in the process in Picard.

NOTES

[1] In the example involving suffixation (e.g. /ʒu + e/ → [ʒwe] 'to play'), observe that the underlying /u/ surfaces as the semivowel [w]. This process is called Semivocalization (see Cardoso 1997, 1998 and 1999 for a detailed discussion of the phenomenon).

[2] Following Casali (1996), I assume that *lex* designates a free root belonging to a lexical category, that is, Noun, Verb, etc., excluding all other non-lexical categories (represented here as *fnc*) such as pronouns, determiners, etc. With regard to word-internal contexts, I treat all roots as lexical and all affixes as non-lexical or *fnc*.

[3] For more information, see Trubetzkoy (1939), McCarthy and Prince (1993) (under Root-Faith >> Affix-Faith), Steriade (1995), Casali (1997), Pulleyblank (1997), Beckman (1998), Cardoso (1999), among others.

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PHONOSEMANTIC FEATURES IN ENGLISH: AN APPROACH TO SOUND SYMBOLISM

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of sound symbolism or phonetic symbolism in language has been noticed by previous writers; sounds that have deducible meanings have been referred to as phonaesthemes. Sound symbolism is interesting because it violates the principle of the separation of sound and meaning in language: in Saussure's terms *l'arbitraire du signe*. This paper reports the results of a method of analyzing sound symbolism in English, in which the rimes of one-syllable words are analyzed for common semantic themes. It is found that some rimes are of arbitrary semanticity, whereas others show one or a limited number of semantic themes. It is proposed that the theoretical framework known as construction grammar can be useful in understanding this sound symbolism. A concept of phonosemantic feature is put forward, which refers to dimensions of meaning which help to structure the lexicon. Phonosemantic features are analogous to the distinctive features of phonology in that, although not units of meaning in themselves, they constitute a set of dimensions which can underlie the more specific meanings of lexemes. Phonosemantic features also function in constructions rather similarly to derivational morphology in that they help structure the lexicon for purposes of production, storage and comprehension.

1. INTRODUCTION

Linguistic theory has traditionally operated under the assumption that language is patterned on the level of sound units, on the one hand, and larger meaningful units, on the other. Meaning is generally said to reside in morphemes, or lexemes, and by some theorists, in grammatical relationships. Recently, lexical semanticists have maintained that all meaning is contained in lexemes. Structural linguists have argued that structures must be understood on their own levels, and not as a function of lower, or higher, levels of analysis. Saussure's principle of *l'arbitraire du signe* is generally accepted as a fundamental property of human language. All of these positions would seem to be in agreement that sound has no necessary relationship to meaning in language.

However, linguists have noted often that there are instances in which the principle of the separation of sound and meaning is violated. Textbooks tend to dismiss this non-arbitrariness as "onomatopoeia" or "iconism " (O'Grady and Dobrovolsky 1996: 134-135, 587-588), and suggest that it is very limited, occurring usually in words with sounds imitative of natural phenomena (e.g., "bow-wow"). Other writers admit to a somewhat more widespread occurrence, found in the case of certain combinations of consonants, which convey semantic themes. For English, combinations of phonemes, such as initial /gl/, which occurs in words referring to shining or flickering (*glitter*, *glimmer*) or initial /sn/ (*sneeze*, *snuff*, *snort*) appear to have a meaning on a non-morphemic level. These writers have used terms such as phonetic symbolism, or phonaesthemes, for this phenomenon.

In the present paper it is suggested that the association of sound with meaning in language is quite consistent with linguistic theory, and that "phonetic symbolism" is one manifestation of this natural tendency of language. It would be expected that sound symbolism is quite widespread in English and other languages; exactly how widespread is an empirical question that must await more systematic research. I propose the term phonosemantic feature to describe this phenomenon, by analogy with the distinctive features of generative phonology. Further, I suggest that the framework called construction grammar is the most helpful in understanding and describing the phenomenon.

2. A CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR THEORY OF SOUND SYMBOLISM

2.1 CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

A useful approach to the analysis of sound symbolism is the theoretical framework known as "construction grammar" (Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor 1988). This is an approach to language structure that has been applied so far mainly to the analysis of idiomatic phrases or unusual constructions (Goldberg 1995), but it is recognized by its proponents and others that it has potentially a much wider application in linguistics (Workshop on Construction Grammar 1998). The basic postulate of construction grammar is that language consists of sound units that are put together in constructions, and that all meaning is inherent in these constructions (Round Table on Construction Grammar 1992). At first this idea may seem inconsistent with the notion of sound symbolism, but it is not. The postulate was originally formulated in this way as a challenge to lexical semantics. However, in its most general form, construction grammar admits the semanticity of the lexeme (!). Constructions are of several types, but basically they can be classified into lexical, sublexical, and supralexical. A lexeme is a word the meaning of which must be learned. All constructions, however, are patterns of assemblage of sounds and other constructions that must be learned with their associated meanings. Supralexical constructions consist of inflections, clitics and phrases, all of which have a specified make up with specified meanings. So-called grammatical words or particles also have more generalized or less referential meanings and have marking functions within constructions.

Sublexical constructions consist of derivational morphemes and phonosemantic features. Since it is the lexeme that has a definite referential meaning, we must observe that the meanings of derivational morphemes and phonosemantic features tend to consist of more general dimensions of meanings that analytically can be shown to underlie and contribute to the meaning of the lexeme. As an example, take the English word "zinger", which, if my slang is up to date, can refer to a trenchant one-liner. "Zinger" is a lexeme that must be learned in its entirety with associated meaning. However, its meaning seems sensible and memorable in light of the meanings of the morphemes /ziŋ/ and /-ə r/, where "zing" refers to something peppy or spicy, and "-er" is the agentive suffix. Another sublexical aspect of the meaning of "zinger", however, is the combination of sounds in the root "zing", in which the initial and unusual voiced sibilant combined with the rime /-iŋ/ seem to suggest something peppy and active. (Compare with words like "zip" or "zest", and words such as "bing", "fling" and "sting".) Both phonosemantic features and derivational morphemes, then, are types of construction the meanings of which must be learned, and which give clues as to the meaning of the lexeme of which they are a part. However, both phonosemantic features and derivational morphemes fail to precisely specify the referential meaning of the lexeme, which must also be learned as a unit.

2.2 PHONOSEMANTIC FEATURES IN CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

Construction grammar theory suggests that patterns of sound combination tend to develop associated meanings. Phonosemantic features are patterns of sound occurrence and combination that contribute to the form of lexemes and to their meanings. The term phonosemantic feature is used because it is analogous to the distinctive features of generative phonology; that is, although the phoneme is the basic unit of sound, phonemes consist of features that define it and its place in the phonological system. Phonosemantic features are analogously sublexical, and convey only dimensions of meaning. Formally, the phonosemantic feature is a construction consisting of a phoneme and/or a combination of phonemes and its place of occurrence in the lexeme. Thus, a phonosemantic feature could be an onset, nucleus, or coda and could consist of one or several phonemes. The feature would also have a learned semanticity associated with it.

3. RESEARCH PLAN

Since most previous writing on the subject of phonetic symbolism has been concerned with syllable onsets, I decided to look at rimes in English words. The study has been restricted to ordinary English words of CVC form or containing initial consonant clusters, but no final clusters. Final C's thus can consist of stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals or liquids. Syllable nuclei can consist of lax or tense vowels or any of the three diphthongs, /ɑ u/, /ɑ i/ or /ɔ i/. For us, then, the rime consists of the nucleus plus the final consonant in a one-syllable lexeme. Words with no initial consonant are also included. The dialect of English considered in the analysis is generally my own (North American, somewhere between mid-western American and Nova Scotian). I have included /hw/ in contrast to /w/, even though that contrast is not general in Nova Scotia. I have collapsed what in my speech are the two low back rounded vowels /ɑ /, and /ɔ /into /ɒ /, which is typical of the speech of most Nova Scotians.

The words for study are restricted to lexemes, thereby excluding inflected forms; the words are also generally monomorphemic, of course. Names are excluded, as are unadapted foreign words, archaisms, dialect forms, recent slang or obscure technical terms or lexemes from other specialized registers. Lists of lexemes were produced, generally those known to the writer, by trying all combinations of onsets for the given rime. These lists may not be complete, I am sure, but there is no reason they should be unrepresentative. When the lists were established, each list of rimes was examined for common semantic themes, and their number and approximate meanings were noted.

4. RIMES OF ENGLISH MONOSYLLABIC WORDS

When we examine the lists of rimes, it is very evident that some rimes have many examples and some have few or none. For example, words with the rime /-ir/ are extremely numerous; 27 different lexemes were included for this rime, out of approximately 50 possible onsets. (Some of these were homonyms, such as "shear" and "sheer", or "deer" and "dear".) By contrast, rimes with codas in /i g/ or /æǰ/ were rare. It is also the case that for some rimes, it was easy to detect underlying semantic themes, and for others, the themes were scattered or less evident. The themes discovered did not pertain, as one might expect, to specific referents (such as "animal"), but more to general emotional moods, directions of motion, and so on. Some rimes were homonyms, i.e., represented more than one construction; for example, /æš / had a meaning of "rapid movement", as well as the unrelated meaning of "left-overs", and /ɛ r/ could mean either "scarcity" or "location".

Altogether, 86 rime constructions were found; that is, there were 86 instances in which a rime had a discernable meanings or meanings. Of these 86, 13 constructions involved the same rime as another one. In other words, 73 combinations of nuclei and codas had at least one discernable meaning. To put this in perspective, there are 266 possible rimes, when all the possible nuclei are matched with all possible codas, and of these 73 (or 27 per cent) have constructions associated with them. The constructions having the most lexemes are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Rime Constructions with Most Lexemes

rime	meaning	examples	lexemes
ɪp	short, quick movement	(flip, tip, slip)	13
ɪt	small thing	(bit, chit, zit)	12
æg	move with interference	(lag, drag, wag)	10
iŋ	tension and movement	(spring, wing, fling)	10
ɒ p	descent, careless movement	(flop, drop, lop)	9
ɑ ut	negative, human	(lout, tout, doubt)	8
ik	short, quick movement toward object	(click, pick, flick)	8
æš	rapid movement	(dash, brash, flash)	8
ʌ m	negative	(glum, dumb, bum)	8

5. RIME VERSUS NUCLEUS AND CODA

In order to confirm our hypothesis that rimes play a part in meaning, we must ask the question, is it the rime as a whole which manifests meaning, or could it be that separate symbolisms of the nucleus and coda are involved? I have examined sets of rime constructions corresponding to each nucleus. In the case of the 11 constructions involving a nucleus /ɩ /, there does appear to be a meaning underlying several of the constructions that implies small size or quick, small movements. Four of the other nuclei appear to have partially shared meanings: /ɒ / "low, repelling", /ɑ i/ "extra movement", /ʌ / "softness, low", and /e/ "negative". However, the other seven nuclei involved in rime constructions appear to share no common meanings.

Several of the codas also appear to share common meanings in their rimes. /b/ as a coda is represented in /æb/ "flat thing" and in /ɒ b/ with a meaning of "round thing". It may be possible to assign /b/ as coda a meaning, then, of something like "large or heavy thing". /ŋ/ tends to have a meaning of "noise or movement" in the three constructions in which it appears. Several, but not all, of the constructions with /s/ have meanings relating to beauty and adornment. Two of the three rime constructions with /z/ have to do with personal comfort, and /v/ tends to stand for separation. Constructions with /č / tend to stand for work or goal fulfillment. However, 14 of the 19 codas by themselves have no distinctive meanings apart from the rimes of which they form a part.

6. CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR AND RITUALIZATION

The theory that human language is the product of ritualization can explain sound symbolism in the context of construction grammar (Cosper 1997). Animal communication tends to evolve in such a way that signals and combinations of signals come to take on new meanings as they are repeated (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1975; Hess 1965; Lorenz 1966; Tinbergen 1964). The form of the communication becomes stereotyped, and new meanings emerge on higher levels (Cosper 1983). This is what happens in human language as repeated combinations of sound come to take on new meanings in the context of syllabic structures as well as larger units, such as morphemes, lexemes and phrases (Haiman 1994). Repeated patterns of combinations of phonemes are considered constructions on various levels. It is on the level of the lexeme that precise referential meaning occurs. At the sublexemic level, dimensions of meaning structure the lexeme in the form of phonosemantic features (in rimes, as well as onsets, nuclei and codas). The meaning contributed by higher level constructions (phrases, inflectional morphology, clitics) is more relational. The use of ritualization as a mechanism of explanation helps explain the phenomenon of language change: a fundamental trait of language not easily handled by synchronic theories (such as structural, functional or generative grammar).

In its application to phonosemantic features, viewing constructions as the product of ritualization shows how new meanings develop for sublexemic constructions as usage and change shift the balance of occurrences of sounds and morphemes in specific situations. On higher levels, this version of construction grammar easily handles features of change at higher levels, such as lexicalization and grammaticalization.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Theories of language generally adopt the principle of the separation of sound and meaning, only assigning meaning to morphemes, lexemes and phrases. They tend to ignore or explain away trivially the obvious presence of sound symbolism. In this paper, I approach the question from the perspective of a theory that would predict that sound symbolism would be a fundamental tendency of language. Through ritualization, constructions arise which involve combinations and placements of sounds in words and syllables, and which develop associated meanings. To some extent these meanings help generate lexemes, and to some extent they are generated by lexemes. That is, meaning can be produced from the bottom up or the top down.

More specifically, the paper has yielded considerable evidence that rimes of syllables can convey meaning. Some rimes represent constructions, some represent more than one construction, while some have no apparent meaning at all. In some cases, the meaning of the rime is predictable from the meaning of the nucleus or the coda, and in other cases the meaning of the rime is unanalyzable into components. In general, the meanings of rime constructions are dimensional rather than referential, and for this reason, we can speak of them as phonosemantic features.

This version of the theory of construction grammar has the advantage of explaining phenomena of language change as well as language structure. For too long, mainstream theories of language have considered language exclusively synchronically, admittedly in reaction to earlier work which ignored structure in favor of diachrony. In viewing constructions as the product of ritualization we can see the structure of language as the product of change and at the same time as the engine of change.

The presence of phonosemantic features in language, along with morphology, helps to explain problems of language acquisition and use. Although lexemes must be learned, along with their associated meanings, sublexemic constructions, such as morphology and phonosemantic features, can help to structure the lexicon for purposes of comprehension, access and memory. That is, on the cognitive level, it is possible that such constructions aid in the individual's management of a large and complex lexicon.

Future research could test out the validity of the analysis of rime constructions presented here, by such experiments as presenting native speakers of the particular language with lists of words that do not occur in the language and having them try to guess at their meanings.

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PEER INTERACTION DURING GRAMMAR TASKS: HOW DO LEARNERS ASSIST EACH OTHER?

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents an analysis of assisted performance in pattern drills, where learners practice grammar patterns of Japanese as a foreign language at a university. Results reveal that the method of assistance employed by learners varies with the task in which they are engaged, regardless of the goal of the task. In the conjugation drill, learners used methods of co-construction, next turn repair initiation (NTRI) with repair, and waiting to assist peers. Access to the answers makes it easier for learners to assist other learners when they have difficulty. In the pseudo Question and Answer (QA) drill, learners employed methods of NTRI with repair and waiting, which implies that learners are able to engage themselves in a task without assistance. Learners' behavior toward these drills can differ. The analysis of two tasks shows that learners use different methods of assisted performance, not only in the configuration of the task but also in the nature of the task in learning grammar features of a second/foreign language (L2).

1. INTRODUCTION

Recently, methodological approaches to teaching a second/foreign language (L2) have focused on a learner's communicative competence as well as linguistic competence in the target language. Nevertheless, learners at early stages of language development have been taught the L2 through pattern drills, in order to make the grammar structure familiar prior to the development of L2 communicative skills. In foreign language classrooms, learners may not only do drills introduced in progressive order by the teacher (Paulston 1971), but they may also do drills in which they assist one another. There has been growing interest in the effectiveness of peer interactions in improving learners' performance (Ohta 2001). In Ohta's study, learners helped each other by repairing errors their interlocutors generated, which resulted in their developing L2 linguistic skills.

This paper presents an analysis of methods of assisted performance that occurred in mechanical drills designed for practicing grammar patterns of adjectivals in a beginning university-level Japanese classroom. For learners of Japanese, it is not easy to acquire the rules of adjectival negation because of their complex conjugations. It is, however, essential to learn them. Analysis reveals that learners are able to provide various methods of assistance in the classroom setting to practice conjugations of adjectival negation. The results suggest that depending on the type of drill, the different methods of peer assistance may have varying success in improving the learner's performance.

2. BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON ASSISTED PERFORMANCE

This paper began as an investigation into the role of peer interaction in classroom learning. Peer learning makes it possible for learners to share their strengths and weaknesses with others. While learners may not be able to complete a task individually, they can produce L2 utterances with assistance. According to Ohta (2001), there are several methods of assistance that occur in classroom peer interaction. As shown in Table 1, methods of assistance occur not only while a student is struggling, but also when the student makes an error.

Table 1: Some methods of assistance occurring during classroom peer interaction

Methods	Description
1) When the peer interlocutor is struggling	
Waiting	One partner gives the other, even when struggling, time to complete an utterance without making any contribution.
Prompting	Partner repeats the syllable or word just uttered, helping the interlocutor to continue.
Co-construction	Partner contributes a syllable, word, phrase, or grammatical particle that partially completes the interlocutor's utterance.
Explaining	Partner explains in English.
2) When the peer interlocutor makes an error, partners use the above methods (waiting, prompting and co-construction) as well as the methods listed below	
NTRI (w/o repair)	Partner indicates that the preceding utterance is somehow problematic.
NTRI (provide)	Partner initiates and carries out repair.
Asking	Peer partner notices their interlocutor's error and asks the teacher about it.

(Ohta 2001)

When a student is struggling to produce an utterance, the partner may use the methods of waiting, prompting or co-construction. Other than these methods of assistance, the partner may use next turn repair initiation (NTRI) without repair, employ next turn repair initiation with repair, or ask the teacher to help the student who is having trouble. With these methods, the learner plays an important role as a listener and a speaker while practicing the L2. In this way, both linguistic and communicative skills of the target language are developed.

When learners cannot produce L2 utterances themselves, they may be able to do so with assistance in peer interaction. For child development, Vygotsky (1986) defines the zone of proximal development (ZPD) as the "discrepancy between a child's actual mental age and the level he reaches in solving problems with assistance" (p.187). Vygotsky's idea of the ZPD has been applied to research in L2 acquisition and development by many linguists. For instance, Ohta (2000) examined the learner-learner interaction in which learners provided appropriate assistance during peer interaction, finding that the partner provided less assistance as the learner became able to solve problems himself or herself. In this view, peer learning settings allow learners to increase their abilities to produce L2 utterances when being assisted by other learners.

Ohta (2001) notes that the listener as well as the speaker plays an important role in L2 development. The listener projects what the speaker is going to say (Levinson 1983), which enables both speakers to co-construct the conversation. In a similar way, learners try to understand what has been said, spontaneously project what comes next, and "mentally map along with the utterance" (Ohta 2001: 78). What learners know and what other learners produce may not be the same. Through selective attention, listeners may notice discrepancies between their own knowledge and a peer's production (Gass 1991). Ohta (2001) states that this enables a listener to use various methods of assistance when a speaker has difficulty or makes an error. By applying these natural conversation rules to L2 learning, learners can provide appropriate assistance to their peers in classroom settings. In this way, learners develop the L2 not only by uttering language but also by providing assistance to other learners while listening.

2.2 TEACHING GRAMMAR IN THE CLASSROOM SETTING

In general, many language teachers who teach beginning learners use drills to make them familiar with new L2 grammar structures. For learners, drills have played an important role in practicing and developing L2 skills. In her study, Paulston (1971) re-examined the role and function of structural pattern drills in language learning, and suggested that various classifications of drills should be introduced in progressive order for learners to develop both linguistic and communicative skills. Paulston defines three types of drills: mechanical drills, meaningful drills, and communicative drills. Mechanical drills require one correct answer, and a learner does not have to understand the context of the drill in order to complete the task. The understanding of lexical meaning is not important in mechanical drills. The learner practices only the grammatical structure taught. The difference between mechanical and meaningful drills lies in whether the learner needs to understand the drill in order to complete it. Meaningful drills provide the learner with more control of his or her answers than mechanical drills. Paulston points out that some meaningful drills may be used for checking a learner's utterance so that the teacher may know that the student really understands the pattern of the grammatical feature, whether or not the teacher has an anticipated answer. In communicative drills, which are different from the other two types of drills, the learner's answer is not anticipated, and there is more flexibility in the responses.

A review of commonly used Japanese language textbooks reveals that pattern drills--like mechanical, meaningful, and communicative drills--are used for learners to practice the grammatical structure of the target language. Lee and VanPatten (1995) claim that most textbooks follow the particular grammatical sequence as suggested by Paulston. These include mechanical drills, meaningful drills, and then communicative drills to help learners become fluent in the target language. For example, the Japanese textbook *Situational Functional Japanese* (Tsukuba Language Group 1991) provides drills to teach grammar features of the L2 in progressive order. Jordan's (1987) *Japanese: The Spoken Language* has drills with accompanying tapes. The goal of these drills is to help students to produce the target structure promptly and accurately without reading the textbook. These drills require learners to memorize grammar patterns and apply them to given contexts. In this approach, learners may produce L2 utterances without understanding what is produced. For language instructors, it is important to know the purpose of drills in textbooks, even though frequent use of pattern drills may only facilitate the automaticity of grammatical features for foreign language beginners.

In foreign language classrooms, language instructors also use drills when teaching L2 grammar structures. For instance, at the university where I teach, instructors use drills when a textbook does not contain enough exercises to introduce a new grammar structure. In particular, instructors who teach beginning learners employ more drills than those who teach advanced learners, since beginning learners need more practice of L2 grammar patterns through conjugation and substitution exercises. After this, more meaningful drills, such as sentence completion practice, may prompt learners to construct sentences in which they use grammar structures taught in the previous practice drills. Beginning learners especially benefit from using them, because these drills help them to understand L2 grammar features. These drills also promote automaticity of grammatical features. Drills alone may not allow learners to become communicative in the L2 but may prepare them to participate in more meaning-focused practice after they become comfortable with the mechanics of a new form.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 THE DATA

Data were collected in a 50-minute first year university-level Japanese class. Three student volunteers who participated in audio recording wore clip-on microphones to record their talk, so that both parties' utterances were recorded in each pair. A detailed transcription was made from one of the tapes. The instructor who taught this class was a female native speaker of Japanese. She was teaching the class as a teaching assistant (TA). I was present during the recording, observing the class and taking notes. One of the student volunteers, Kelly (a pseudonym) was selected as a target student for this analysis, because her utterances were clearly recorded. Analysis of the data for tasks focuses on Kelly and her partner Helen (also a pseudonym). They were in the same group in one of the tasks, and they worked together on the other task.

3.2 THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CLASS

Eighteen students were enrolled in the class but there were some absences. The TA employed a variety of activities, including listening practice, pair work, and group activities in order to practice past negative forms of adjectives and adjectival nouns. Both the present affirmative form and the negative form had already been taught in the prior quarter.

3.3 ADJECTIVAL NEGATION RULE IN JAPANESE

Tasks used for this analysis were designed to help students learn adjectival negation. There are two grammatical classifications of adjectivals that are conjugated differently in Japanese: adjectives and adjectival nouns. Table 2 shows how the past negative is formed:

Table 2: Adjectival negation of past form in Japanese

Type of adjectival	Negation rule	Example
Adjective	1. drop "-i", add "-ku" 2. add "arimasen deshita" or "nakatta desu"	akai (to be red) -> • akaku arimasen deshita • akaku nakatta desu
Adjectival noun	1. add "ja" 2. add "arimasen deshita" or "nakatta desu"	hima (to be free)-> • hima ja arimasen deshita • hima ja nakatta desu

For adjectives, the negative past form is made by adding the affix *-ku* to the adjective's stem, along with the past negative form *arimasen deshita* or *nakatta desu.* Adjectival nouns are negated by adding *ja* (or *dewa*) to the adjectival noun, adding the past negative form *arimasen deshita* or *nakatta desu.*

There are some reasons why learners have difficulty learning adjectival conjugation. For example, Japanese adjectivals have verbal inflection; therefore, suffixes of adjectives and adjectival nouns must change according to tense. Furthermore, some adjectival nouns end with *i*, for example, *kirei* 'beautiful' and *yuumei* 'famous,' giving them surface resemblance to adjectives. When learners encounter these types of adjectival nouns, they tend to treat them like adjectives, mis-conjugating them.

With respect to the present methodology of teaching adjectivals, it is interesting to note that Makino and Tsutsui (1995) use different terminology to imply adjectives and adjectivals: *i*-type adjective and *na*-type adjective. Students in this analysis were taught adjectival negation, using the terminology that is mentioned by Makino and Tsutsui.

3.4 PROCEDURE

Students utilized two drills to practice the past negative form of adjectivals. These were the conjugation drill and the pseudo Question and Answer (QA) drill. I have called this task "pseudo" QA, because learners do not actually need to listen to the question in order to respond to it. Since the phrases needed to make the answers were already given on the handout, it was possible for students to answer each question without understanding it.

For the conjugation drill, the instructor provided students with a stack of flash cards, one side of which listed the present affirmative form in polite form, and the other side of which listed the present negative, past affirmative, and past negative forms of the adjectival. The purpose of this task was to formulate present negative, past affirmative, and past negative forms of adjectivals. The instructor asked the students to form groups of three or four and gave each group a stack of flash cards. She then explained the task in Japanese, also providing English instructions on the overhead projector. To do the task, one of the group members first read a present affirmative form of an adjectival, which was on top of the stack of flash cards. The student conjugated it into the present negative, past affirmative, and past negative forms of the adjectival, without reading the back of the card. Next, another student in the group checked the answers, by reading the back of the card. If the first student correctly conjugated the adjectival, she kept that flash card. Otherwise, the student had to put the card back in the stack. The students took turns, and whoever had the most cards at the end won. While students were engaged in the conjugation drill, the instructor circulated, helping them when they needed assistance.

In contrast, the purpose of the pseudo QA drill was to construct questions using past affirmative adjectivals and to respond to them including the adverbs, *totemo* and *amari,* both of which can be translated as 'very.' The teacher provided students with a handout, on which the instructions and practice were written in Japanese in order for students to complete this task.

Preceding the pair work, the teacher explained the task of the pseudo QA drill in Japanese, and students in turn had access to examples of the task on the handout. She also demonstrated examples, with an explanation of sentence structure, and told students to practice the exercise in pairs. She emphasized that students had to formulate adjectivals, including choosing the appropriate adverb. To do the task, one student made a question, using a past affirmative adjectival. The partner responded, using a past affirmative form adjectival with *totemo* 'very' or a past negative adjectival with *amari* 'very,' as explained in the instructions. For example, the instruction listed following words in Japanese: *suupaa* 'supermarket,' *ookii* 'big,' *hai* 'yes.' A student constructed a question with the previous two words, such as *suupaa wa ookikatta desuka?* 'Was the supermarket big?' and her partner answered, *hai, totemo ookikatta desu* 'yes, it was very big.' If a negative answer was expected, the student responded as *iie, amari ookiku nakatta desu,* or *ookiku arimasen deshita* 'no, it was not very big.' While students were engaged in this task, the instructor circulated in the classroom, which made it easy for students to ask her questions.

3.5 ANALYSIS OF DATA

Methods of conversation analysis were used to transcribe the data (see Appendix B for transcription conventions). Assisted performances in utterances were coded according to the categories of methods of assistance occurring during classroom peer interaction (Ohta 2001). I used the categories that were quoted by Ohta (2001) and did not have to add more categories, since these were adequate for the data I analyzed. Abbreviations were used in English glosses to indicate Japanese function words and affixes (see Appendix A). In the following section, I will analyze the assisted performance that occurred in the process of practicing the grammatical pattern, and I will discuss how this assistance is related to the nature of the tasks, with regard to the occurrence of peer support.

4. ANALYSIS

In the data being analyzed, learners used the following methods of assistance while they were engaged in the conjugation drill: waiting, co-construction, and NTRI with repair. In the pseudo QA drill, learners employed methods of waiting and NTRI with repair to assist each other.

4.1 WAITING

As referred to earlier, waiting is a method through which one student gives time to the interlocutor's utterance without making any contribution. In the following two examples from the conjugation drill and the pseudo QA drill, the learners self-repair linguistic errors while their partners wait. In the conjugation drill, Kelly self-repairs her utterance while her partner Helen waits:

Example 1

1 K: Hai. (...) Um: isogashi katta. (.) isogashika-(.) isoga- wait(.)
Yes. (...)um busy COP-past. Bus- (.) bu- wait(.)

2 isogashii(.) kuwana (.) i desu. (.) Isogashiku nakatta desu.
busy (.) -neg ((error)) COP. (.)Busy past neg COP.

Kelly has difficulty formulating the present negative form of the adjective *isogashii.* While she conjugates the past affirmative form and the past negative form of the adjective correctly, the conjugation of the present negative form is partially unsuccessful. In line 1, she formulates the past affirmative form correctly, but after a brief pause, she struggles to make the present negative form. Before completing her utterance, Kelly utters the word "wait" in English. Here she uses English to keep the floor while she attempts to find the right answer without being assisted.

With her effort to construct the present negative form, Kelly finally makes the correct form *isogashiku wa nai desu.* Note that while she constructs the present negative form correctly in Example 1, the usual form taught is *isogashiku nai desu*, and the conjugation made by adding *wa* after the adjective stem *isogashiku* has a slightly different meaning. This excerpt shows that students can recognize their own erroneous utterances and consequently fix them without assistance from other participants. This finding is also consistent with Ohta's (2001) study of learners' use of repair. While Kelly's conjugation is partly unsuccessful and considered an successful example of assisted performance, she finally constructs the present negative form correctly, and continues. In this excerpt, the learner self-monitors her own utterance and self-corrects it while her partner is waiting, which is partially successful.

In the pseudo QA drill, a learner employs the method of waiting to give time to her peer who is engaged in formulating the correct conjugation of the adjectivals. In the following example, Helen notices her error and corrects the past negative form successfully as Kelly waits:

Example 2

1 H: Nihongo no sensei wa ii-, um(..) yokatta desu ka?
Japanese NOM teacher TOP good((error))-, um (..) good INT?

2 K: Hai (.)yokatta desu.
Yes. (.) Good-past COP.

In line 1, as Kelly waits, Helen completes the sentence. Helen notices and self-corrects her wrong conjugation of the adjective *ii* 'good.' Helen first says the present affirmative form of the adjective written in the sentence prompt. This adjective conjugates irregularly: the stem also changes from *i-* to *yo-*, adding "-ku" to the stem when the present negative form of the adjective is formed. For this, the process of forming the appropriate conjugation is more difficult. After Helen says the form without conjugating it, she pauses briefly. Then she finally formulates the past affirmative form correctly, and this is a successful example of assistance. Helen has difficulty conjugating this irregular adjective, but she notices the problem and corrects it herself.

These examples, in which learners self-repair their own problematic utterances while their partners wait, show that learners can self-monitor and correct their own performance without being helped by the teacher or by other learners. As Ohta (2001) states, learners acquire the skill of self-monitoring and self-correction in peer learning settings while one learner waits for another to continue. Kelly and Helen, in Examples 1 and 2, produce erroneous utterances that they successfully self-corrected, because their partners allow them the time to do so.

4.2 CO-CONSTRUCTION

Different from the method of waiting, co-construction is a method by which a partner contributes a syllable, word, phrase, or grammatical particle in order to complete the interlocutor's utterance. This method appeared only in the conjugation drill. In the next example, one of the group members helps the other by partially providing the ending of the adjective *akarui* 'bright.' Grace (a pseudonym) has difficulty formulating the past negative form of the adjective:

Example 3

1 G: .. ((coughs))Akaru:- (.)u:m katta desu.(.) Akaruna- (.)akaru um
..((coughs))Bright:- (.)u:m past COP. (.) Bright –neg (.) bright um

2 (.)nai desu. Akaru- (.)um (.) aka- (.)akaru- (..)
(.) neg COP. Bright- (.)um (.)br- (.) bri-(..)

3 K: ku na
((completes the stem))

4 G: ku nakatta desu.
past neg COP.

Here, instead of saying the entire sentence *akaruku nai desu* 'it is not bright,' Grace stops after partially uttering the first word of the sentence. In line 3, Kelly's assistance in completing the conjugational ending partially allows Grace to work out the sentence which she has been struggling with in line 2. After being helped by her peer, Grace finally completes the past negative form of the adjective in line 4. Given access to the answer on back of the flash card, Kelly might have read it when Grace had difficulty formulating the past negative form of the adjectival. Given part of the conjugational ending of the adjective by Kelly, Grace finally formulates the conjugation she left incomplete, and this assistance is successful. Co-construction is also evidence that a learner has a high level of attention to what has been said and what follows next, in that Kelly initiates the repair of Grace's sentence, and Grace completes the repair by herself. As Ohta (2001) notes, co-construction occurs when the attentional resources of listeners are focused on understanding the interlocutor and projecting what might come next, which establishes the competence of the L2 in peer settings. Co-construction engages both learners in producing utterances collaboratively and also helps the partner to move ahead.

4.3 NEXT TURN REPAIR INITIATION (NTRI) WITH REPAIR

The last method that occurred in my data was NTRI with repair. In this method, a partner initiates and carries out repair either fully or partially. Learners used NTRI with repair while they were practicing adjectival conjugation in the conjugation drill and the pseudo QA drill. Example 4 shows that Kelly notices Helen's erroneous utterance by saying *e^?* and provides the correct form fully in line 2:

Example 4

1 H: ..um uh^ yuumei(.) <u>katta desu.</u> (.) Yuume-
..um uh^ famous (.) past COP ((error))(.) Famou-

2 K: e^? yuumei <u>deshita</u>.
e^? famous COP-past.

3 H: Oh yuumei- yuumei <u>deshita</u>.
Oh famous- famous COP-past.

4 K: Uh huh.
Uh huh.

Helen produces the past affirmative form of the adjectival noun incorrectly in line 1 because she has applied the adjective conjugation rule to an adjectival noun. She does not seem to have noticed the misconjugation. Helen, however, continues to work on conjugation of the adjectival noun. In line 2, Kelly notices that Helen's utterance is problematic. According to Ohta (2001), the NTRI shows the learner that there is something wrong with the utterance by indicating the error. In this example, it is possible that Kelly might have read the correct form on the back of the flash card that lists the answers of conjugation, and that might have helped her to notice the discrepancy between her knowledge and her peer's production. Kelly initiated and completed the other-repair, which was successfully done. In line 2, Kelly's utterance was recast to reformulate the erroneous utterance produced by Helen in line 1. After Kelly fully repairs Helen's incorrect utterance, Helen repeats the corrected form in line 3.

NTRI with repair is also used when a learner makes an L2 pronunciation error, as in the following example from the pseudo QA drill, where Helen repeats the corrected pronunciation after her partner Kelly responds to her in line 3:

Example 5

1 H: Iie (.)um: (.)taihen ja naku- (.)ja- janakatta desu. (.)Um byooin wa (.)
No (.) um:(.) difficult neg COP ((error))(.)past neg COP(.)Um hospital(.)TOP

2 um roppo deshita ka?
um splendid ((error)) past COP INT

3 K: Hai (.)rippa deshita.
Yes (.) splendid COP-past

4 H: *rippa*
*splendid **

In line 2, as Helen asks a question formulating the adjectival noun, she mispronounces the adjectival noun *rippa* 'splendid' and says *roppo.* In Kelly's answer to Helen's question, she recasts the mispronounced adjectival noun in line 3. Helen whispers the corrected pronunciation in line 4. Kelly's line 3 NTRI functions both to complete her own utterance and to initiate repair of the partner's utterance. This also serves as recasting to correct Helen's mispronounced utterance in line 2. Helen notices the discrepancy between what she produced in line 2 and what Kelly uttered in line 3, and whispers the adjectival noun correctly in line 4. As it is shown in Examples 4 and 5, a partner's recasting helps the learner notice and correct her erroneous utterances after the other-repair, and examples of NTRI with repair were successful. However, the learner may not always repeat corrected forms as shown in my data (Ohta 2001). Even when learners have noticed their erroneous utterances after partner's recasting, they may not always produce corrected utterances. However, learners who have not repeated corrected forms may also have noticed the difference between what they produced and what the partner repaired.

5. OCCURRENCE OF METHODS OF ASSISTED PERFORMANCE

I have already discussed how learners used methods of assisted performance that occurred in the conjugation and the pseudo QA drills. In this section, I will discuss the frequency of occurence of these methods that took place in both tasks. Table 3 shows the total number of times assisted performance occurred. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of times learners were successful in self- and other-repairing in peer interaction. Assisted performance occurred a similar number of times in both the conjugation drill and the pseudo QA drill. In order to categorize the data, I have considered examples that were correctly conjugated to be successful, and examples that were erroneously formulated to be unsuccessful.

Table 3: Number of assisted performances and numbers of successful examples (in parentheses)

	1.Waiting	2. Co-construction	3.NTRJ with repair	Total
Conjugation drill	4 (2)	1 (1)	3 (3)	8 (6)
Pseudo QA drill	8 (7)	0	2 (1)	10 (8)

In the conjugation drill, learners used a similar number of waiting and NTRIs with repair and used the method of co-construction once. They successfully self-repaired their utterances while their partners were waiting. NTRIs with repair were nearly always successful as learners assisted each other to point out errors, and in almost all cases, other learners initiated and completed repairs because they were able to readily give verbal clues. After the repair completion, learners repeated corrected utterances either partially or fully. Their peers who were not engaged in adjectival conjugations might have had an opportunity to read correct answers in the back of flash cards, and consequently, all other repairs were successfully done.

In the pseudo QA drill, the most frequently used type of assisted performance was waiting. While learners, prior to the pseudo QA drill, had already practiced adjectival conjugation in the conjugation drill, they still seemed to have difficulty formulating adjectivals correctly, consequently self-repairing their errors. Learners had their own tasks to complete during the drill, and it is possible that they may not have listened to each other. This may be why learners did not correct their partner's errors. The prevalence of waiting may be due to the nature of the pseudo QA drill. Since each learner worked on the drill independently without having to listen to the other, they had to solve their problems themselves. For this reason, partners provided each other with ample time to self-monitor and repair their own utterances efficiently. In this way, the method of waiting seems to promote assistance to each other. Even though partners did not help verbally, they allowed time for the partners to fix their own problems. This allowed them to notice their own problems and form a correct structure of the target language themselves. Thus, waiting is an efficient method to help learners to correct their own erroneous utterances.

6. CONCLUSION

The analysis of two different task types has shown that learners use different methods to help each other, and these methods are successful for the learners in practicing L2 grammar structures. While the goal of both tasks was to practice past negative forms of adjectivals in Japanese, the method of assistance provided by the learners varied somewhat for the different tasks. In this study, I have used examples of data, mostly from Kelly and Helen, to compare their contribution to both tasks.

Learners' behaviors in each drill may be different because the task for each student varies. In the conjugation drill, one student works on adjectival conjugation while the task for other students is to listen to answers, and they are able to assist their partners by accessing the right answers on the back of the flash cards. In the pseudo QA drill, learners spontaneously construct their own sentences in order to complete the task. As a result, the learner waits without providing assistance while her partner has difficulty. These findings show that learners' behavior during these drills appears different. These differences are reflected in how they assist each other when their partners are struggling. As I have discussed prior to my analysis, it is not easy for learners to acquire negation rules of adjectivals in Japanese because of the complexity of conjugation rules. However, it is shown that learners are able to form adjectivals correctly with assistance.

Both tasks are mechanical drills, and the learners are not expected to acquire communicative skills through these drills. However, it is important for L2 learners who are at early stages of language development to do mechanical drills because these sorts of drills help students to practice grammar structures. These drills may also develop learner's linguistic skills as a foundation for the development of L2 communicative skills. In this way, learners' previous knowledge of the L2 may allow them to self-monitor their utterances and self-repair their own erroneous utterances, along with developing linguistic skills.

Since my data were collected from one lesson, and the data analyzed was only a portion of the lesson, there was not a sufficient period to observe learners' L2 development. However, my data show that the learners collaboratively engaged in these mechanical drills in which they used different methods of assisted performance. The challenge for language teachers is to make the use of drills meaningful and useful for learners and to provide learners with an environment where they can learn the L2 collaboratively.

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APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATIONS USED IN WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATIONS

NOM	nominative marker (*ga*)
TOP	topic marker (*wa*)
COP	copula (*da/desu, etc*)
INT	interrogative marker (*ka*)

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

.	Falling "completed" intonation
,	Rising "continuing" intonation
*	Reduced volume - whispered
(.)	Short pause
?	Rising "question" intonation
^	Glottal stop
:	Elongation of a syllable
-	False start
Underlining	Portion discussed

IS IT A CLASSIC IF NO ONE READS IT? RELEVANCE THEORY AND THE CANON

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ABSTRACT

Most of the current debates about the canon stem from negative attitudes that have to do with the shaping of the canon; the notion of the canon; and whether it is possible to read any text except through the prism of ideology. However, the nature of canons and canonical works in non-literary disciplines such as linguistics or sociology has been largely overlooked, as have the cognitive principles that influence the selection of canonical works in any discipline. Relevance theory permits a description of non-spontaneous interpretation which permits us to argue that a given text is or is not a literary work. However, the inclusion of a work in the canon of any discipline is not necessarily a function of its being "literary", but rather of the degree to which it forms a highly salient or necessary part of the context in which current works are intended to be interpreted. I conclude that literary classics, at least, must be read in order to qualify as canonical.

1. INTRODUCTION

The canon is a culture's projection of itself. As a reflection of what a culture considers excellent, or indispensable for the educated mind, the canon is worth arguing over. But in the absence of generally accepted criteria for determining the content of the canon, most of the current debate about the canon focuses on three major areas: the notion of the canon; the shaping of the canon; and whether it is possible to read any text except through the prism of ideology. In these debates, the nature of the canon in non-literary disciplines such as linguistics or sociology has been largely overlooked. The possibility that cognitive principles influence the selection of canonical works - in any discipline - has also been ignored. My research in linguistic pragmatics leads me to believe that there *are* principles which underlie the canon. These principles suggest that there are two kinds of classics, and two kinds of texts.

At any given time, there are bound to be works which are called "canonical" but which no one ever reads - at least, not for the reasons the writer intended, or in the way that she intended.[1] Sometimes books fall permanently into this category. The fact of "unread classics", and the disparity between literary and non-literary texts raise interesting questions. Newton's *Principia* and Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* are classics in their fields; but mathematicians don't need to read the *Principia*, and linguists don't need to read *Syntactic Structures*. But no literary scholar could not read at least some Shakespeare. Can a work be a "classic" if it loses its original value, and is read as a cultural artefact or historical curiosity, and not as poetry or drama or fiction? Are classics necessarily literary? What constitutes a classic in non-literary disciplines and in the sciences?

I want to sketch the principles on which I am considering these questions, and indicate the directions of my research. My answers may, like the canon, be provisional, but the underlying principles are not.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF CANONICAL WORKS

There is a general intuitive agreement about the characteristics of classics in non-literary disciplines, such as linguistics and sociology. A classic is highly salient in some ways, and conveys, either originally or with peculiar felicity, ideas or procedures central to the practice of a field, relevant for readers significantly removed in time from the audience envisaged by the writer. Significantly, many classics in other disciplines are often also regarded as literary. But classics in non-literary fields differ from literary classics in fundamental ways. Non-literary classics "offer *standards of excellence*" (Baehr and O'Brien 1994: 57); literary classics do not. Non-literary classics "provide a discipline ... with vital perspectives and methods which facilitate the ... research process"; they furnish norms by which individuals and schools of thought can be "legitimated"; and they offer "a sense of *historical continuity*" within a discipline (Baehr and O'Brien 1994: 59-60). Literary works do none of these things. Nevertheless, all classics - literary and others - do *something* that other works do not. We continue to believe that there are "properties which ostensibly make a text classic" (Baehr and O'Brien 1994: 82).

Attempts to define classics in sociology have recently been made; they capture important intuitions about all classics:

- A classic plays a central role in the development of a discipline or tradition (Thomas 1992, cited in Baehr and O'Brien 1994: 82);
- a classic contains an account of the way things are that determines the views of subsequent generations;
- a classic is the foremost example of a certain category of thought;
- a classic is capable of frequent reinterpretation, and richly rewards it (Thomas 1992, cited in Baehr and O'Brien 1994: 83);
- a classic is relevant beyond the time of publication to the present. (Adapted from Levin 1973, cited in Baehr and O'Brien 1994: 84)

These descriptions assume "that all classics ... become classics for the *same* reasons" (Baehr and O'Brien 1994: 85) - that there is some textual quality common to all classics. But under a relevance-theoretic approach, it is the *process of interpretation* which determines - or perhaps reveals - which works will become classics, and which will fade away. Classics are works whose relevance - in the technical sense - not only endures but increases.

But here we have a problem. Many non-literary classics, particularly in the physical sciences, are hardly ever read. Are they still classics? Is it a classic if no one reads it? Are literary works "classics" if no one reads them any more? Let's consider what happens in the process of interpretation.

3. RELEVANCE THEORY: AN OVERVIEW

When a student claims that the poem *To An Athlete, Dying Young* is about an old man looking back on the glories of his youth, we reject his reading. The fact that we make this judgement indicates that we recognize the writer is trying to convey some meaning, and that we have a criterion for deciding what it is. Relevance theory, developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995), is a theory about this criterion, and an explanatory hypothesis about the nature, use and workings of context.[2] Let me begin with a brief overview of relevance theory.

Every utterance has a variety of possible interpretations, all compatible with the information that is linguistically encoded. However, not all these occur to the reader simultaneously, for some take more effort to think up than others. Readers are equipped with a *single, general, exceptionless* criterion for evaluating interpretations as they occur. This criterion is powerful enough to exclude all but *at most* a single interpretation, so that having found one that satisfies it, the reader can stop, for there is *never* more than one.

Every utterance starts out as a bid for the reader's attention, and so creates an *expectation* of relevance. The criterion for evaluating hypotheses about the utterance is built around this expectation. The hearer will choose the interpretation which best satisfies his expectation of relevance. For this criterion to be meaningful, relevance must be quantifiable - and it is.

Relevance is defined in terms of contextual effect and processing effort. Contextual effects are obtained when new information interacts with a context of existing assumptions in one of three ways.

(1) (a) It strengthens an existing assumption;
(b) it contradicts and eliminates an existing assumption; or
(c) it combines with an existing assumption to yield a contextual implication not derivable from either the new or old information alone.

All three types of effect contribute to relevance, and the more contextual effects an utterance achieves, the more relevant it will be. But these effects cost some cognitive effort to derive, and the greater the effort needed, the lower the relevance will be. Relevance, then, depends on contextual effects and processing effort. The *more effects*, the *more relevant* an utterance is; the *greater the effort*, the *less relevant.*

The fundamental assumption of relevance theory is that every aspect of communication and cognition is governed by the search for relevance. In communication, we have an expectation of relevance which is precise and powerful enough that if the reader finds an interpretation that satisfies that expectation, he can be sure it is the only one that will do so. This is not the same as claiming that it will always be correct - i.e., one the writer had in mind. The reader may overlook what the writer thought would be obvious, or pick up on a hypothesis the writer had overlooked.

I characterize literary texts as communication, and there is no principled reason not to do so. In a relevance-theoretic framework, the text is regarded neither as the site of "unbounded play" nor as a coded message decipherable only by an ideal reader. Instead, the text provides the reader with the evidence he needs to construct the intended interpretation - including the intended context. This brings *authorial intention* back into questions of interpretation - indeed, makes it central. The notion of "intention", though, is quite specific in relevance theory; it does not mean what literary theorists usually assume it does.

Authorial intention has been taken to mean that the writer has a single, highly determinate interpretation in mind. There is no reason to accept this as true, and relevance theory in fact rejects this notion of intention. Instead, the writer's intention consists of a range of assumptions along a continuum from strongly-implicated to weakly-implicated. Towards one end of this continuum, an utterance may convey a single, highly determinate proposition - a very *strong* implicature - which is manifestly what the speaker intended. At the other extreme, we may have a large set of very *weak* implicatures, consisting of a very wide range of weakly communicated implications, and shading off into implications which the text makes possible, but which the writer manifestly never intended.

Any text can communicate a very wide range of implicatures. Not all are intended by the author, but the *author* takes primary responsibility for the strongest implicatures, while the *reader* takes major responsibility for interpretations which rely heavily on weak implicatures. Relevance theory claims that any reader will, at any given time, recover only some subset of the set of assumptions which the writer has structured her text to make manifest to him. Only an adequate subset is aimed at in the process of interpretation, and this adequacy will differ from one reader (and writer) to another, from one text to another, and from one reading to another.

4. RELEVANCE THEORY AND NON-SPONTANEOUS INTERPRETATION

What does this have to do with the canon? Let's begin by considering the *literary* canon, which consists at least of texts that have been judged as having particular merit. My research has led me to conclude that relevance theory can describe what a *literary text* is by way of describing what a *literary interpretation* is. Recall the brief overview of relevance theory, and that communication is described as governed by the search for an interpretation consistent with the Principle of Relevance. While relevance theory was developed to account for spontaneous interpretation - the kind of thing everyone does, all the time, whether reading a newspaper or watching *The X-Files* or catching up with a friend over the telephone - I, and others, have applied it to what we call "non-spontaneous" or *literary* interpretation.

A literary interpretation is one that is consistent with the Communicative Principle of Relevance, but with an important difference. Normally the interpretive process is driven by the demand to arrive at an interpretation of an utterance (or text) quickly, and usually in the flow of events; as a result, both speaker and hearer have very low expectations of relevance. In effect, the utterance (or text) is low enough on the "effort" side of the relevance equation so that it makes what are really minimal claims on the hearer's cognitive resources. At the same time, the hearer's interpretation may go beyond what is merely adequate, but not beyond what the speaker has made manifest. That is, the "effect" side of the balance is always sufficient for whatever cognitive effort is expended in order to achieve the expected degree of relevance - or to stop as soon as the expected level looks unattainable. That's how things usually go: we pay attention, but not a great deal, and we expect that the speaker will give us enough to make it worth our while to keep on listening, and automatically processing whatever utterance she produces.

When we are engaged in "non-spontaneous" interpretation, however, the situation changes in two ways. First of all, our expectations of relevance are raised enormously - otherwise, who could get through *Finnegans Wake*? - and so we are prepared to expend a great deal of cognitive effort in deriving an interpretation. Secondly, the goal of interpretation changes. Instead of aiming for an interpretation that is relevant ***enough*** - given our situation at the time - we are explicitly and consciously aiming at a particular kind of interpretation. Furthermore, when we interpret literary texts, we are also engaged in a meta-interpretive process so to speak, constructing what Clark (1996, 1997) calls "global inferences". These constitute a core set of assumptions which are highly salient in the context we construct in the interpretation of every part of the text.

In relevance theory terms, a reader who is constructing a spontaneous interpretation of a text may achieve one that is relevant enough to warrant the effort he is prepared to expend on it, but this effort may not be enough to achieve an optimally relevant interpretation of the text *as a whole*. He will take the most immediately accessible context, but will not search in any systematic way for connections between the passage he is currently reading and previous ones; at least, not in any except the most superficial way (keeping track of characters, plot, setting and so forth).

On the other hand, the reader aiming at a non-spontaneous - or literary - interpretation will try to arrive at an optimally relevant interpretation of the whole text. The goals, and hallmarks, of the literary interpretation are ***exhaustiveness, plausibility***, and ***unity***.

Exhaustiveness involves making sure that all elements of the text are used, and that no gratuitous effort is demanded of the reader. The reader aiming at a literary interpretation will make a conscious effort to integrate what he is currently reading with the interpretations of previous passages; his ultimate goal is to account for all the evidence that the text presents.

Plausibility can be analysed in terms of the manifestness of the writer's intention (recall the notion of strong and weak implicatures). The reader aiming at a literary interpretation will aim for one warranted by the text, and by any other evidence that he can discover. [This is where historical information will come in, favouring some interpretations and eliminating others.] The stronger the evidence, the more manifest the writer's intentions, and the more plausible the interpretation.

What I call ***unity*** is often called cohesion or coherence. The reader aiming at a literary interpretation spends considerable cognitive effort setting up large, complex contexts. The "cashing-out" of these efforts is directed in a particular way: the resulting effects must interact with one another. A text organized to produce these effects will allow the reader to strengthen the same core set of assumptions, which will be part of the context in which virtually every part of the text will be processed. We call these core assumptions *global inferences*. These global inferences reinforce the other two goals of literary interpretation. The *plausibility* is strengthened since all the evidence points toward this same set; and so is the *exhaustiveness* of the interpretation, since one test of global inferences is that all parts of the work can be processed in a context in which they are highly manifest.

Non-spontaneous interpretation requires a significant investment of cognitive effort. Only if this effort is adequately repaid can the text be said to support this kind of interpretation, to be "literary" or "classic". Artistic texts (poems, plays, fiction) explicitly invite the reader to engage in this kind of interpretive activity (whether or not they succeed), but there are non-artistic texts which support it as well. Indeed, there are works in all disciplines which are considered classic, quite independent of their literary qualities. This suggests that there are real distinctions between literary and non-literary works, and that there is more than one criterion for inclusion in the canon. If my line of reasoning about what makes a *literary work* a classic is to have any merit, it should shed some light on what makes a classic in the social and physical sciences as well as the humanities and literature.

5. THE ROLE OF CLASSICS IN CONTEXT CONSTRUCTION

I propose that all classic works are recognized *as* classics in *at least* one of two ways:

(1) (a) they support non-spontaneous interpretations; or
(b) their content, effects, even their very existence, are indispensably part of the context required to interpret subsequent works.

Works can be considered classic, then, on the grounds of their intrinsic qualities, or, in the terms I've been developing, the degree to which they support literary interpretations by a heterogeneous audience over a period of time. But they can also be classics if they provide indispensable contextual assumptions for the non-communicative relevance of other works. In the first category we find *Don Quixote* and Plutarch's *Lives*; in the second, *Principia* and *Das Kapital*.

The notion of a literary text that I have been developing is in many ways synonymous with intuitions about what makes a work "classic". Ultimately, I suggest, the canon of a discipline includes two *kinds* of works:

(3) (a) works which continue to support non-spontaneous interpretations; and
(b) works which must be read, or whose implications must be incorporated into the global inferences of a discipline, in order to work in that field in the present.

The canon's relation to any work is precisely the relation between those assumptions best (or only) available through the interpretation or effects of canonical works, and the assumptions the writer presumes are highly accessible and highly relevant to her audience. To include a work in the literary canon is to argue either that present readers can construct non-spontaneous interpretations of the text, or that it is crucial in understanding other works which support non-spontaneous interpretations. A non-literary text is a classic when its implicatures are necessary to read currently relevant work, or to produce new work in that discipline. In both cases, classics furnish premises necessary for the construction of the intended context.

So, *is it a classic if no one reads it*? The answer is yes, and no.

A non-literary text can be a classic, even if it is not read, if and only if its propositions, methodology, or approach have become central to the construction of context in a given discipline. In fact, most classic non-literary works will not repay the effort it takes to read them - that is, they will not be relevant - precisely because their most relevant aspects have become incorporated into the body of the discipline itself. Only the rarest of non-literary works continue to be read for their non-literary contextual effects, such as Plato's *Republic*, or Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

On the other hand, literary works that are not read are not classics. In the absence of readers to make interpretations or of writers to make use of earlier texts for the construction of a context in which the reader can arrive at the intended interpretation (ie, intertextuality), we can't tell if these works still support non-spontaneous interpretation, one way or another. Unlike non-literary classics, which live on in the disciplines they found or influence, literary classics must be read, because literature does not develop by using the past works to redefine the discipline through the introduction of new foundational premises.

6. CONCLUSION

There are interesting implications that follow from these claims. We can argue that there are principled differences between literary and non-literary texts - that literary works do something quite different from non-literary ones. This approach makes clear that arguments over the canon are not "academic": canonical works are part of the contexts in which other works are read and written. And since context is central to interpretation, then it should also be central to questions of assigning canonical status to a given work.

NOTES

[1] Following the practice established by Sperber and Wilson and followed in most relevance theory literature, ``she`` is used to refer to the communicator, and ``he`` to the audience.

[2] Relevance theory, though new to most readers, has been actively expanding over fifteen years. The following works give some idea of the development of relevance theory over that time: Sperber & Wilson (1987); Wilson & Smith (1992, 1993); Spencer & Wilson (1995).

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HOW AUXILIARIES BE/HAVE IN ACADIAN FRENCH

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ABSTRACT

This article is concerned with auxiliary selection in varieties of Acadian French spoken in Atlantic Canada. Our results confirm those of earlier Acadian studies, i.e. use of *avoir* "to have" is near categorical. One exception is passive constructions, where *être* "to be" is the only auxiliary used, as in all varieties of French of which we are aware. Our research does reveal significant variation where competing constructions, rather than competing auxiliaries, are at issue: *avoir mouri* versus *être mort* "to die" and *avoir été né* versus *être né* "to be born". We show that these instances of variation do not reveal style shifting towards the standard, i.e. *être mort* and *être né* are shown to be vernacular variants, possibly of long duration.

1. INTRODUCTION

Like all colloquial varieties of French, Acadian French makes widespread use of the auxiliary *avoir* "to have" with those verbs which, according to the prescriptive rules of Standard French, must be conjugated with the auxiliary *être* (e.g. *partir* "to leave", *tomber* "to fall", *sortir* "to go out", etc.). Examples of both the *avoir* and *être* variants functioning as auxiliaries in our corpus of Acadian French with so-called *être* verbs are presented in (1) and (2):

(1) a. Toute la famille **a venu** dans quatre-vingt-deux, on a tout été à Florida.
"All the family came in '82, we all went to Florida."
b. Les gros fermiers d'en dehors **sont venus** prendre les petites fermes.
"The big farmers from outside came to take over the little farms."

(2) a. Ils **ont parti** vers, vers six heures là pour la côte, ils passont la nuit là, en dehors.
"They left around, around six o'clock for the shore, they spend the night there, outside."
b. (Interviewer: Est-ce tu lis en français beaucoup?)
E: Pas beaucoup, depuis que je **suis parti** de Montréal.
(Do you read in French a lot?)
"Not a lot, not since I left Montreal."

As Sankoff and Thibault (1977) point out, analysis of the *avoir/être* alternation must begin with defining the variable. In our study, we considered first of all the sixteen verbs conjugated with *être* in Standard French but which exhibit auxiliary alternation with *avoir* in a number of studies of colloquial French varieties, including Montreal French (Sankoff & Thibault 1977, 1997), Ottawa-Hull French (Willis 2000), Ontario French (Canale *et al.* 1977), and Vermont French (Russo & Roberts 1999). We also included pronominal verbs, including reflexives and reciprocals, conjugated with *être* in Standard French but shown to be subject to auxiliary alternation in Ontario French (Canale *et al.* 1977). Finally, we included *mourir* "to die", shown to be subject to auxiliary + past participle alternation in other varieties of Acadian French (Gesner 1978; Péronnet 1991) and *naître* "to be born", for which similar alternation obtains in our own corpus but is previously unreported in the literature.

It should also be pointed out that we have excluded a number of structures from our analysis of the variable. Since passives take *être* in all French varieties of which we are aware, including Acadian French, e.g. *Son père a été tué dans la guerre* "His father was killed in the war.", there is no variaiton to be investigated. We also excluded *avoir/être* alternation which does not involve instances of the variable: (a) constructions describing states resulting from actions, which take the copular verb *être* rather than an auxiliary, e.g. *Ils peuvent pas le faire quand leurs parents sont partis* "They can't do it when their parents are gone."; and (b) transitive constructions involving a subset of the so-called *être* verbs listed above, which take *avoir*, e.g. *Ils avont sorti leurs hardes d'hiver* "They got out their winter clothes." We also excluded ambiguous tokens, where there was insufficient context to distinguish auxiliaries from copular verbs, e.g. *Les maîtresses vouliont savoir qui ce qu'avait fait ça après qu'ils étiont venues back à l'heure de dîner* "The teachers wanted to know who did that once they had come back?/were back? at dinner time."

2. History of the Alternation/Results of Previous Studies

Despite the fact that Standard French categorically prescribes the use of *être* with a select list of intransitive and pronominal verbs, this list of *être* verbs varies from one prescriptive grammarian to another, thus confirming its somewhat arbitrary nature (Sankoff & Thibault 1977). Furthermore, prior to the seventeenth century, a considerable amount of variation in choice of auxiliary actually existed in France, but purists of that time period strove to eliminate such variation from the standard language. When considering present-day colloquial usage, then, it is important to keep in mind that some degree of variation has a long history in the language, and that present-day variation should not necessarily be viewed as cases of recent levelling of categorical distinctions.

The *avoir/être* alternation in the *passé composé* and other compound tenses has been examined in a number of studies of present-day colloquial French, both in Canada and in Europe (cf. Pooley 1996 for a study of the French of the Lille area). The findings of these studies reveal widespread use of *avoir*, but also reveals a great deal of variation according to which verb is at issue. Some verbs are almost categorically used with *être*, others almost exclusively with *avoir*. In addition to individual verb, variation is conditioned by a number of linguistic and social factors.

For example, in their study of Montreal French, Sankoff and Thibault noted a considerable range of frequency of *avoir* use from verb to verb, with this frequency being anywhere from 0.7% (*aller*) to 90% (*passer*). Furthermore, it was found that verbs with a transitive counterpart most strongly favoured *avoir* (e.g. *sortir, partir, descendre, monter*). A number of social factors were also shown to correlate with the linguistic variation. For example, speakers who had more formal education and who were highly integrated into the linguistic market used more of the standard *être* variant.

Variation in auxiliary selection has also been studied in minority language settings. Russo and Roberts' (1999) study of Vermont French documented variation according to verb and found that the presence of a transitive counterpart favoured *avoir*. As for social factors, they found that no social factors emerged as significant, which they attribute to lack of sociosymbolic meaning attached to the alternation in the minority setting. On the other hand, Beniak and Mougeon (1989) did find a correlation between auxiliary use and language use restriction in their work on Ontario French, namely, that *avoir* usage increases with language use restriction.

3. PEI DATA AND OVERALL RESULTS

Our data come from oral corpora for two Acadian communities, Abram-Village and Saint-Louis, Prince Edward Island. Locally, Abram-Village is a majority French and Saint-Louis is a minority French community. The data were gathered via sociolinguistic interviews with ten speakers from each community, a subset of our sample, with interviews conducted in each case by community residents. The speakers vary according to age, sex, and position in the linguistic marketplace.

In (3), we give examples of *avoir* usage in the P.E.I. corpus with intransitives:

(3) a. J'**ai parti** en 1960 puis l'électricité **a venu** après.
"I left in 1960 and the electricity came after."

b. Ils **avont sorti** par la porte en arrière.
"They went out by the back door."

c. Ils **aviont tombé** à l'eau.
"They had fallen in the water."

The examples in 4 present instances of *avoir* with reflexives/pronominals:

(4) a. Je **m'ai tout dégreyé**.
"I got all undressed."

b. Pour commencer, quand on **s'a marié** on a resté à St-Gilbert, su mon père.
"In the beginning, when we got married we stayed in St-Gilbert, at my father's."

c. Il **s'avait couché** puis il **s'en avait endormi.**
"He had gone to bed and then he had fallen asleep."

It is important to note that use of *avoir* with pronominals is rare or non-existent in other varieties of Canadian French (c.f. Beniak & Mougeon for Ontario French, Sankoff & Thibault for Montreal

French, Willis for Ottawa-Hull French, Hallion for Manitoba). Indeed, the claim is often made that only in the first person singular is selection of *avoir* even possible with pronominal verbs.

Table 1 presents the overall results of previous quantitative work on this variable.[1] Our own results are presented in the final row:

Table 1: Overall Results of Studies of Auxiliary Alternation

Study	% *avoir*	% *être*
Unrestricted Ontario majority community (B & M 1989)	32	68
Unrestricted Ontario minority communites (B & M 1989)	34	66
Semi-restricted Ont. minority communities (B & M 1989)	47	53
Restricted Ont. minority communities (B & M 1989)	46	54
Vermont French (Russo & Roberts, 1999)	50	50
Montreal French (Sankoff & Thibault, 1980)	34	66
Ottawa-Hull French (Willis, 2000)	66	34
P.E. I. Acadian French (King & Nadasdi, 2000)	99*	1*

(* excludes data for *mourir* and *naître*)

Table 1 reveals a clear split between Acadian French and other Canadian (and one U.S.) varieties which have their origin in Quebec: use of *avoir* borders on categorical in the P.E.I. corpus, while considerable variation remains in other varieties. Since our previous research has documented an array of morphosyntactic differences between Acadian and other varieties of Canadian French (cf. King and Nadasdi 1996, 1997, 1998), this particular result does not come as a great surprise.

Table 2 presents a comparative breakdown by verb. This table displays considerable variation according to verb in non-Acadian varieties. For example, *arriver* has 43% *avoir* in Ottawa-Hull, 60% in other Ontario communities, 31% in Vermont, and 6% in Montreal. However, a verb such as *rester* has a high frequency of *avoir* in most corpora. Note, however, that variation of these sorts do not obtain in the data contained in the last three columns of the table. Here we see that our study confirms the results of previous work on Acadian French, that of Gesner (1978) for Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia Acadian and Péronnet (1991) for southeastern New Brunswick Acadian. Both of these studies involved quite small samples, mainly consisting of older speakers, while ours involves a much larger and more representative sampling. Looking just at the three Acadian columns, we see categorical or near categorical use of *avoir* for most verbs. On the basis of the near-identical results of the three studies, we are confident in generalizing across Acadian.

As for those tokens which actually do involve *être* in the P.E.I. corpus, involving the verbs *partir* and *venir*, we note that one involves quoted speech contained within a folktale, one is used by a speaker who had lived in Montreal for a number of years and thus had significant contact with speakers of that variety and the remaining tokens were from speakers higher on the marketplace scale. The fact that middle-aged and younger speakers from one of our communities, Abram-Village, have been educated in French-medium schools reveals that school French has not made inroads with this particular variable. This is perhaps a little surprising since in previous studies we have identified cases where French language education has been an important factor in these communities, with those having higher levels of French language education making greater use of standard forms (cf. King and Nadasdi 1998). We have explained such findings by the fact that in Acadian schools, instruction is through the medium of the standard language. Obviously, the tendancy to use *avoir* as an auxiliary is so strong that it is resistant to any influence from the standard.

4. *AVOIR MOURI* VS *ÊTRE MORT*

We turn now from looking at the choice of auxiliary alone to the use of particular constructions involving different auxiliaries. In Acadian French, as in a number of colloquial varieties (cf. Frei 1971), there is a constrast between "being dead" and "dying", exemplified in (5):

(5) Il **est** [copula] **mort** asteure. Il **a** [auxiliary] **mouri** avant.
"He is dead now. He died before."

Further examples of *avoir mouri*[2] from the PEI corpus are given in (6):

(6) a. Il **a mouri** de vieillesse.
"He died of old age."
b. J'**ai** bien proche **mouri**.
"I almost died."
c. Ils ont dit qu'il **a mouri,** je crois, en allant...en allant à l'hôpital.
"They said that he died, I believe, going...going to the hospital."

However, we also encounter clear cases of actions (rather than states) with *être mort*, shown in (7):

(7) a. Il y a trois qui sont morts, tous les trois. Un **est mort** à St-Jean. Un autre **est mort** à Bradford, Ontario. Un autre **est mort** à Toronto.
"There are three who are dead, all three. One died in Saint John. One died in Bradford, Ontario. Another died in Toronto."

b. Il **est mort** en '60, il avait 80.
"He died in '60, he was 80."

In these examples, the temporal specifications clearly force an action reading, i.e. in these cases, *être* is unquestionably an auxiliary and not a copula.

The data were coded for a variety of linguistic factors culled from the literature, and for the social factors mentioned previously, but no significant results emerged. Thus it is important to note that while usage in (7) is homophonous with Standard French usage, we cannot appeal to factors such as French language education or high marketplace ranking to explain the variation: indeed, some of our most exclusively vernacular speakers used several *être mort* tokens. This is evidence that in Acadian French, *être mort* is not a standard form. If it were, the same correlation that we have found with other standard variants in these same speech communities would be expected to obtain.[3]

A close examination of all of its occurrences reveals one particular fact about *être mort*: it tends to occur in utterances which we have come to informally refer to as "death reports", i.e. they are favoured when specification of place or time of death is made, which contrasts with what we find in (6), where *avoir mouri* occurs. This specification of time and place of death is what we see in the examples in (7) and indeed variable rule analysis showed this factor to strongly promote *être mort*, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: *Avoir Mouri* vs *Être Mort*

Distinction	*avoir mouri*	*être mort*
specification of time/place	7/43 (16%) FW: .306	36/43 (84%)
absence of such specification	17/28 (61%) FW: .778	11/28 (39%)

FW = factor weight; Input value = .306

Thus specification of time/place does seem to matter, although some caution is needed given the small number of tokens. However, these results do seem to indicate that the *avoir mouri/être mort* alternation is marking an aspectual contrast, at least for some speakers.

As the data in Table 2 reveal, use of both the *avoir mouri* and *être mort* constructions was found in the two previous Acadian studies, though given the exceedingly small number of tokens, earlier researchers were unsure as to the status of the *être mort* data, i.e., whether they involved style shifting or not.[4] We have shown here that in the Prince Edward Island case, style shifting is not involved but that variation is internal to the variety.

5. *ÊTRE NÉ* VS *AVOIR ÉTÉ NÉ*

We note a final instance of an alternation, in this case, with the verb *naître* "to be born", in which the *surcomposé*, or "double compound tense", illustrated in (8), and *être né*, the *passe composé*, illustrated in (9), both occur.

(8) a. J'**ai été née** à St-Gilbert.
"I was born in St-Gilbert."
b. Je sais pas quelle année qu'elle **a été née**.
"I don't know what year she was born."

(9) a. Elle **est née** à Maximeville, ièlle aussi.
"She was born in Maximeville, her too."
b. Ils sont morts avant que je **seye né**.
"They died before I was born."

The use of the *surcomposé* here is typically regarded as the vernacular Acadian variant (see Gesner 1978, who suggests that this usage is calqued on English "to be born"). Here as well, variation does not correlate with any social factor, and both high and low marketplace speakers are users of *être né*. We also find a few tokens with *être* in the imperfect, which seem to be straightforward cases of calquing. Here we cannot appeal to any aspectual factor, as almost all tokens involve specifications of time and/or place of birth. We know of no other study which has quantified this variation.[5]

Quantitative results for this variable are provided in Table 4:

Table 4: *Être né* vs. *Avoir été né**

Variants	*Results*
être né	17/61 tokens (28%)
avoir été né	44/61 tokens (72%)

*no significant linguistic or social factors.

Given the small number of tokens, we examined usage in the entire Prince Edward Island corpus and extracted all occurences of *né*. This exercise provided additional evidence that low marketplace speakers make abundant use of *être né*.

6. Discussion

For the verbs studied by other researchers, the situation in Acadian is straightforward, i.e. almost exclusive use of *avoir*. However, when variation involves competing constructions, rather than simply competing auxiliaries, the analysis becomes markedly more complicated. For example, what is it about dying and being born that promotes these particular constructions involving *être*? One way of addressing the question is to reconsider the synchronic data: it turns out that ambiguous cases of *être mort* are much more frequent than ambiguous cases of *être* with other past participles, such as *être parti*. Ambiguous examples are illustrated in (10):

(10) a. Ma soeur était marié avec Camille. Et puis euh, lui *est mort*.
"My sister was married to Camille. And uh, he died?/is dead?"

b. ...l'homme le plus fort qu'a jamais marché à Tignish. Il est mort. Il s'a fait mal.
"The strongest man who ever walked to Tignish. He died?/is dead? He hurt himself."

c. Il y avait un homme across du chemin, il est mort, un Arsenault.
"There was a man across the road, he died?/is dead?, an Arsenault."

In both corpora, ambiguous cases make up 28% of the data for *mourir*, while they account for only 8% of tokens with *partir* and *venir*. The breakdown is given in Table 5:

Table 5: Comparision of *mourir*, *venir* and *partir* when used with *être*

	Auxiliary	Copula	Ambiguous
mourir	62/130	32/130	36/130 (28%)
venir	12/28	11/28	5/28 (15%)
partir	7/43	35/43	1/43 (2%)

One might argue, then, that the high frequency of *être mort* tokens for which it is not immediately obvious that an action rather than a state is intended may have been the path by which this use of *être mort* entered the variety. However, another analysis is equally plausible: the high number of ambiguous tokens may simply reflect the fact that it is only with this construction that there is any real alternation (i.e. *partir*, etc. do not provide ambiguous data because there is hardly any alternation to begin with). Therefore, quantititative differences in ambiguity may be epiphenomenal. In order to sort out this question, we plan to compare rates of ambiguity in a corpus of non-Acadian Canadian French where several verbs allow auxiliary alternation, to varying degrees.

To turn to a diachronic view of the alternation, the classic grammatical works on the history of the French language do not provide detailed discussion for these verbs and traditional dialect works typically stop at noting the state vs action distinction for *être mort* and *avoir mouru*, illustrated in (5). Dialect altases such as the *Atlas linguistique de la France* and the more recent *Atlas linguistique du centre-ouest* do not provide relevant data. It is interesting, though, that a recent study of a European variety, Vasseur's study of Vimeu Picard (1996), documents selection of *être* uniquely with the verb *mourir*: "Le participe passé s'emploie toujours avec *avoir* même dans les verbs pronominaux...Un seul verbe fait exception: murir (mourir) qui se conjugue aux temps composés avec *èt*" (p. 52). Similarly, Gautier's 1993 study of the poitevin-saintongeais dialect (the centre-ouest of France was the point of origin for most Acadian settlers) gives both *mort* and *mouri* as past participles for *mourir*. We suspect, then, that there is a history of *être mort* - *avoir mouri* alternation not documented in the most commonly-cited reference works. In a second stage of this study we plan to turn to a consideration of more specialized French dialectal works to investigate further the diachronic dimension.

Table 2: Percentages of *Avoir* by Verb

Verbs	Ottawa-Hull	Quebec City	Ontario	Vermont	Montreal	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	P.E.I.
aller	n.a.	n.a.	22%**	30% (29/97)	.7% (3/404)	*	*	*
arriver	43% 125/294	10%	60%	31% (11/36)	6% (45/426)	100% (5/5)	100% (42/42)	100% (112/112)
déménager	84% 105/125	n.a.	n.a.	73% (16/22)	70% (70/102)	no data	no data.	100% (9/9)
demeurer	89% (16/18)	n.a.	n.a.	85% (17/20)	90% (69/77)	***	***	***
descendre	59% (13/22)	67%	91%	n.a.	50% (8/16)	no data	100% (3/3)	100% (10/10)
devenir	12% (2/17)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	no data	no data	100% (5/5)
entrer	50% (3/6)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6% (1/16)	no data	no data	100% (9/9)
monter	92% (36/39)	33%	100%	78% (25/32)	68% (19/28)	100% (1/1)	no data	(100%) 12/12
partir	66% 84/128	9%	41%	54% (25/46)	36% (54/148)	100% (1/1)	100% (12/12)	94% (34/36)
passer	91% (90/99)	100%	100%	50% (5/10)	90% (92/102)	100% (1/1)	100% (8/8)	100% (43/43)
rentrer	84% (79/94)	50%	83%	55% (6/11)	74% (68/92)	100% (2/2)	100% (8/8)	100% (26/26)
rester	93% (56/60)	33%	82%	71% (24/34)	70% (238/338)	100% (6/6)	no data	100% (97/97)
retourner	60% (24/40)	33%	75%	90% (9/10)	46% (17/37)	no data	no data	100% (6/6)
revenir	24% (18/74)	7%	n.a.	n.a.	7% (4/76)	100% (2/2)	no data	100% (13/13)
sortir	81% (80/99)	29%	74%	75% (18/24)	67% (70/102)	100% (?)	100% (12/12)	100% (35/35)
tomber	88% (50/57)	62%	92%	85% (17/20)	72% (48/67)	100% (1/1)	no data	100% (7/7)
venir	20% 62/309	24%	63%	24% (19/78)	7% (24/341)	100% (19/19)	100% (39/39)	99% (204/207)
reflexive / pronominal	n.a.	6%	31%	n.a.	n.a.	100% (27/27)	100% (103/103)	100% (175/175)
avoir mouri	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0% (0/2)	22% (2/9)	41.5% (34/82)
avoir été né	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	100% (?)	no data	72% (44/61)

* *aller* takes *été*, not *allé*, as a past participle in Acadian French; the verb *être* is conjugated with *avoir*
** no raw numbers given in Canale et al (1977) nor in Beniak & Mougeon (1989) reporting on the same data
*** non-occurring; use of *demeurer* would indicate shift to the standard

NOTES

[1] Here we present the results for Ontario French organized according to Beniak and Mougeon's (1989) discussion of the alternation, though we note that the data, in a somewhat different form, were first presented in Canale *et al* (1977).

[2] While *avoir mouru* is attested in the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada* (1938), it is widely considered as non-occurring in (adult) Quebec French. In his discussion of colloquial European French, Frei (1971) notes *mouru*, not *mouri*, as a past participle, which likewise takes the auxiliary *avoir* when standard past participle *mort* is not used. Gautier (1993), however, gives *mouri* as a past participle in poitevin-saintongeais, spoken in the *centre-ouest* of France (and related historically to Acadian).

[3] This was in fact the case with our study of first person plural and third person plural Acadian morphology (cf. King & Nadasdi 1998).

[4] While we have not examined our Newfoundland Acadian corpus quantitatively, we have noted a few *être mort* tokens. In this variety use of *avoir* as the auxiliary likewise appears close to categorical.

[5] While attested for some younger Monction speakers (Roy 1979), *avoir né* is unattested in our corpus. *Avoir né* is attested in the *Glossaie du parler français au Canada* but considered infrequent.

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APPLYING CRITICAL LINGUISTICS TO LITERARY TEXTS: TRANSITIVITY IN CHARLES G.D. ROBERTS' "DO SEEK THEIR MEAT FROM GOD"

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ABSTRACT

Critical linguistics is perhaps most prominently employed in analyses of non-fiction texts such as newspaper accounts, political speeches, and political propaganda, but the insights of this approach can also be profitably employed in the analysis of the traditional literary genres. In the present paper, I utilize the methodology of critical linguistics, in particular the notion of transitivity, to analyze a short story by Canadian author Charles G. D. Roberts. Although below the level of consciousness of most readers, the variations in the level of transitivity of the actions attributed to the different characters contribute significantly to the 'message' of the story.

In the inaugural issue of *Discourse & Society*, the leading periodical in the field of critical discourse analysis, Teun van Dijk, the journal's editor, provides an overview of what CDA is and how it arose (van Dijk 1990: 5-16). Reviewing the history of what he calls 'the new cross-discipline of discourse analysis', van Dijk acknowledges classical rhetoric as one historical antecedent of modern discourse analysis. In van Dijk's words, "Its crucial concern ... was persuasive effectiveness. In this sense, classical rhetoric both anticipates contemporary stylistics and structural analyses of discourse and contains intuitive cognitive and social psychological notions about memory organization and attitude change in communicative contexts" (van Dijk 1985: 1). At the same time, he notes that the intellectual progress from rhetoric to modern discourse analysis was not direct. Indeed, critical discourse analysis, which subsumes critical linguistics, bears little superficial resemblance to classical rhetoric, in spite of sharing some its goals. A more contemporary academic antecedent to critical linguistics would be literary stylistics. Paul Simpson highlights some of the common ground shared by stylistics and critical linguistics, noting that "critical linguistics, like stylistics, seeks to interpret texts on the basis of linguistic analysis", and that critical linguistics "expands the horizons of stylistics by focussing on texts other than those regarded as literary" (Simpson 1993: 5).

Erich Steiner credits Roger Fowler (Fowler et al 1979) and Gunther Kress (Kress and Hodge 1979) with being the originators of critical linguistics, defining it as "the application of linguistic methods in the investigation of ideology (i.e. system of beliefs and meanings) underlying a text and reinforced by it" (Steiner 1985: 215). Fowler himself elaborates on the definition of the field:

> Critical linguistics seeks, by studying the minute details of linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, to display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language - and which are below the threshold of notice for anyone who accepts the discourse as 'natural'. (Fowler 1991: 67)

Among the linguistic devices that Fowler includes in his linguistic 'checklist' are lexical processes (word choices), modality (devices that convey a writer/speaker's attitude toward what is being said), transitivity, and syntax (including deletion, sequencing and complexity) (Fowler 1985: 68 - 73 and Fowler 1991). In the sample analysis presented herein, the focus will be on one of these, transitivity, although lexical choices will also have some bearing on the analysis.

This discussion of transitivity draws heavily on the insights of Fowler (1985), Simpson (1993), and Sykes (1985), all of whom employ Halliday's notion of transitivity as something much broader than the traditional notion that a verb can be either transitive (having a direct object complement) or intransitive (having no direct object complement).[1] Within critical linguistics, transitivity is a relative concept, and rather than a clause simply being either transitive or intransitive, it can be judged as being highly transitive, somewhat transitive, relatively low in transitivity, with almost infinite gradations in between. Clauses that are deemed to be the most highly transitive have three main characteristics: an animate subject, who deliberately performs an action, which affects a patient. The transitivity of the clause diminishes as one alters, obscures, or removes any of these three criteria. For example, the following sentence could be judged as being highly transitive:

(1) James Smith stabbed the police officer four times.

It contains an animate subject, James Smith, who deliberately performed an action, stabbing (one stab might have been an accident, but four stabs is almost certainly deliberate), which affects the patient, the police officer.

Example (1) can be rendered less highly transitive in a number of different ways. For example, one could make the sentence passive, as in (2), shifting the agent from subject position into a prepositional phrase, or even deleting it as in (3). Both (2) and (3) give greater prominence to the patient, thus reducing the prominence of the agent (or deleting it entirely).

(2) The police officer was stabbed four times by James Smith.

(3) The police officer was stabbed four times.

Transitivity could also be lowered by describing the same incident using a different, less explicit verb, as in (4). The vagueness of the verb injured leaves open the possibility that the police officer was not seriously injured, as well as the possibility that the injury was inflicted accidentally.

(4) James Smith injured the police officer.

Yet another way to lower the transitivity of the sentence would be to obscure the patient, possibly calling into question whether there really was anyone affected.

(5) James Smith stabbed someone.

(6) James Smith wielded a knife while resisting police.

Simpson (1993) attempts to formalize a transitivity scale by characterizing transitivity in terms of four basic types of processes, listed from highest to lowest levels of transitivity: material processes, verbalization processes, mental processes, and relational processes. According to Simpson, material processes are processes of *doing*, verbalization processes are processes of *saying*, mental processes are processes of *sensing*, including perception, reaction, or cognition, and finally relational processes, which include the processes of *being* and *having*.

A transitivity analysis will now be presented for a literary text, the short story, "Do Seek Their Meat From God", by Charles G.D. Roberts. The story is, in part, an exploration of the classic "Human versus Nature" tension. A young boy finds his way to his little friend's cabin in the woods, only to discover that the friend has moved away and the cabin is deserted. Night falls, and the boy cries out in terror. Hungry panthers out hunting hear the cries and move toward the sound. Simultaneously, a man is walking home from town and hears the cries. At first the man ignores the cries, rationalizing that it is not his child in trouble so he needn't be troubled by it, but then he reconsiders, feels compassion, and goes back, just in time to shoot and kill the panthers who have also reached the cabin at that same moment. The man only then discovers that it was his own child who had been crying out in terror. Meanwhile, with the adult panthers now dead, their two cubs starve, alone in their den.

The following analysis does not account for all clauses in the story, but focusses only on the processes attributed to the major characters. For the purpose of this analysis, the male and the female adult panthers are considered to function as one "character".

Characters	**Types of Processes**					
	Doing	**Saying**	**Sensing**		**Relational**	
			physical	mental	being	having
Adult Panthers	45	4	3	6	8	1
Panther cubs	2	1	1	--	--	--
The Child	11	12	4	3	6	--
The Settler	40	5	4	14	3	1

Doing:

For the three main actors, approximately half of the material process concern perambulation (walking; moving from one place to another) and the related processes of stopping or pausing.

Adult panthers: perambulation - 18; stopping - 5

Child #1: perambulation - 5

Settler: perambulation - 16; stopping - 3

Given that the story traces the movements of the main characters, leading up to the point at which they all converge in one place, the emphasis on verbs of perambulation is not surprising. There are some qualitative differences, however, in the specific choices of verbs:

Panthers: hasten, creep, bound, glide (3x), walk, spring, steal, come, move, mount

Settler: plod, walk, quicken, go, stride, stumble, retrace, step, come, make speed

The panthers' movements are more supple and graceful, the settler's are at times clumsy and ungraceful. Moving through and over the terrain thus seems more natural for the panthers than for the man.

<u>**Saying (Verbalization):**</u>

The story contains little dialogue. The settler talks to himself sometimes, and near the end of the story the Settler and the Child have a brief dialogue. Nevertheless, verbalization is central to the story, since it is the Child's cries which draw both the Settler and the Panthers into the clearing.

Panthers: adults - greet, tell, scream, snarl; cubs - whimper

Child #1: 10 verbalizations involve crying out ; 2x 'said'

Settler: 'said' (2x), mutter, curse, murmur

The verbalizations of the Panthers seem to more closely resemble those of the Child, while those of the Settler are qualitatively different. The verbalizations of muttering, cursing and murmuring connote a lack of harmony within the Settler and perhaps even a lack of harmony with the more primitive and emotive, and less rational verbalizations of the other characters.

<u>**Sensing**</u>:

The Human vs. Nature (Settler vs. Panther) dichotomy is most apparent in the processes of sensing attributed to each. For all the major characters, the physical processes involve verbs of seeing or hearing, with the exception that the cubs suffer, and the physical processes are of the same number (4) for each major character (combining cubs and adult panthers). The difference arises with respect to mental processes. Not only is there a marked difference in the number of mental processes attributed to the different characters, but there is also a difference in the nature of those processes.

Panthers: know (3x), hope, discern, purpose

Child #1: learn, comprehend, know

Settler: choose, realize, remember (2x), call to mind, reckon, hesitate, disregard, loathe, think, not know, cherish, melt, see/look (used metaphorically)

The Panthers are portrayed as having mental/intellectual stability and strength. The Settler, in contrast, carries out more mental processes, but many of them suggest a lack of purpose, direction or certainty. While the Panthers hope, a verb with positive connotations, the Settler loathes and disregards, and as a result of the delay caused by his lack of definite purpose and clear commitment, the Child is almost killed by the Panthers. The Child does not engage in as much cogitation as the Settler, but when he does, the processes more closely mirror those of the Panthers than of the Settler.

Being/Having:

Whereas the Settler is credited with more mental processes than are the Panthers, the Panthers are associated more often with processes of being. Forms of the copula BE are used in presenting attributes, mostly in the form of adjective phrases, that characterize the Panthers (e.g. was ready, were fierce, were simply keen with hunger). In only one case was an adjective phrase used as the complement to BE for the Settler (he was foot-sore as well as hungry). In the other 2 cases, the complement of the copula was a noun phrase, in one case a prosperous pioneer and in the other master of a substantial frame house.

In this story, the classic "Human against Nature" conflict is reflected in the pattern of verb choices, organized according to Simpson's transitivity hierarchy, and in the specific processes attributed to the major characters in the story. The Settler and the Panthers engage in comparable numbers of material and verbalization processes. The Settler engages in more than twice the number of mental process as the Panthers, and the Panthers are associated with more than twice the number of relational processes as the Settler. The Panthers may be said to BE in a harmonic relationship with Nature, and this is reflected in (caused by?) their mental stability and sense of purpose. In turn, this harmony within themselves and with Nature is reflected in the grace and power of their movements.

In contrast, the Settler does not appear to BE, other than to play roles of pioneer and master, roles than are inherently in conflict with Nature. The instability of his mental processes is both a cause of and a symptom of his state of conflict with Nature, and this conflict is further manifested in his muttering, cursing and murmuring to himself, and in the lack of smoothness and coordination in his movements, as compared to those of the Panthers.

Because the Mental processes are higher on the transitivity scale than the being (relational) processes, the Settler is deemed to have greater responsibility for the events in the story than do the Panthers.

The Child is a bridge between the Panthers and the Settler and the processes attributed to him portray him as closer to Nature than the Settler is. He exists, thinks, and verbalizes in ways that are closer to those of the Panthers than to those of the Settler. The boy, then, begins in harmony with Nature, but inevitably will grow into manhood, and will suffer the same alienation as the Settler, unable to function in harmony with Nature. The message of the story is not new, but a stylistic analysis such as the one presented here provides one useful approach for describing how the message is conveyed to the reader.

NOTES

[1] This description of transitivity previously appeared in Lillian 1997.

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L'ANALYSE DES "FAITS SÉMIOTIQUES" INDICATEURS DE LA PRISE DE POUVOIR DANS LES CONVERSATIONS D'ENFANTS DE 6 À 10 ANS

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente une première étape de l'analyse des «taxèmes», faits sémiotiques pertinents, indicateurs de la prise de pouvoir dans les interactions entre enfants de 6 à 10 ans. Notre étude s'inscrit dans les théories de l'analyse conversationnelle et de l'ethnométhodologie qui favorisent l'analyse multidimensionnelle de conversations spontanées. En nous inspirant des travaux de C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni qui prend en compte les niveaux gestuels, verbaux et prosodiques des échanges, nous avons développé une grille descriptive des taxèmes linguistiques et non-linguistiques utilisés par les enfants. Notre recherche nous a permis de déterminer l'importance des taxèmes non verbaux (âge de l'enfant, cinétique, jeux et jouets, expressions gestuelles ou mimétiques) et des taxèmes prosodiques dans les mécanismes de prise de pouvoir des enfants.

Dans toute situation de communication, il existe des relations de pouvoir qui découlent de notre classe sociale et qui sont établies à l'avance entre individus, la relation maître-élève, patron-employé, mère-enfant, par exemple. Mais, il existe également d'autres facteurs qui permettent à l'individu de négocier sa *position*, c'est à dire son degré de pouvoir ou son statut, pendant l'interaction. C'est ce que Burton (cité par Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1991) nomme «battle for dominance» .

Cet article rend compte d'un travail d'observations effectuées sur les stratégies de prises de pouvoir des enfants dans la conversation. C'est une recherche qui s'inscrit dans la théorie de l'analyse conversationnelle et de l'ethnométhodologie. Elle privilégie donc l'étude *multidimensionnelle* et *dynamique* de conversations spontanées.

L'analyse de la prise de pouvoir, qui appartient au plan interactionnel de la conversation, englobe néanmoins toutes les autres structures : la structuration du dialogue; le texte conversationnel et le non-verbal. Chaque action ou décision prise par les participants dans ces différents plans de la conversation, peut modifier leur position sociale ou degré de pouvoir pendant l'interaction. Les stratégies de prise de pouvoir ont déjà été étudiées chez des adultes, en particulier par Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni. Elle a étudié ce qu'elle nomme *la mise en place*, c'est-à-dire la position de pouvoir des participants, et les *taxèmes* de prise de pouvoir. Elle définit les taxèmes comme les «faits sémiotiques pertinents», présents dans la conversation, utilisés de façon stratégique pour influencer la position de pouvoir des participants (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1991).

Cette recherche s'appuie sur la théorie des taxèmes développée par Kerbrat-Orecchioni à partir d'études de conversations entre adultes. Sa grille d'analyse, qui est très complète, prend en compte toutes les structures de la conversation. Notre recherche s'inspire de son analyse pour décrire les taxèmes de prise de pouvoir dans la conversation entre enfants de 6 à 10 ans.

1. CADRE THÉORIQUE

1.1. Grille d'analyse de C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni

Pour Kerbrat-Orecchioni, l'analyse des taxèmes se fait à différents niveaux. Voici le classement qu'elle propose :

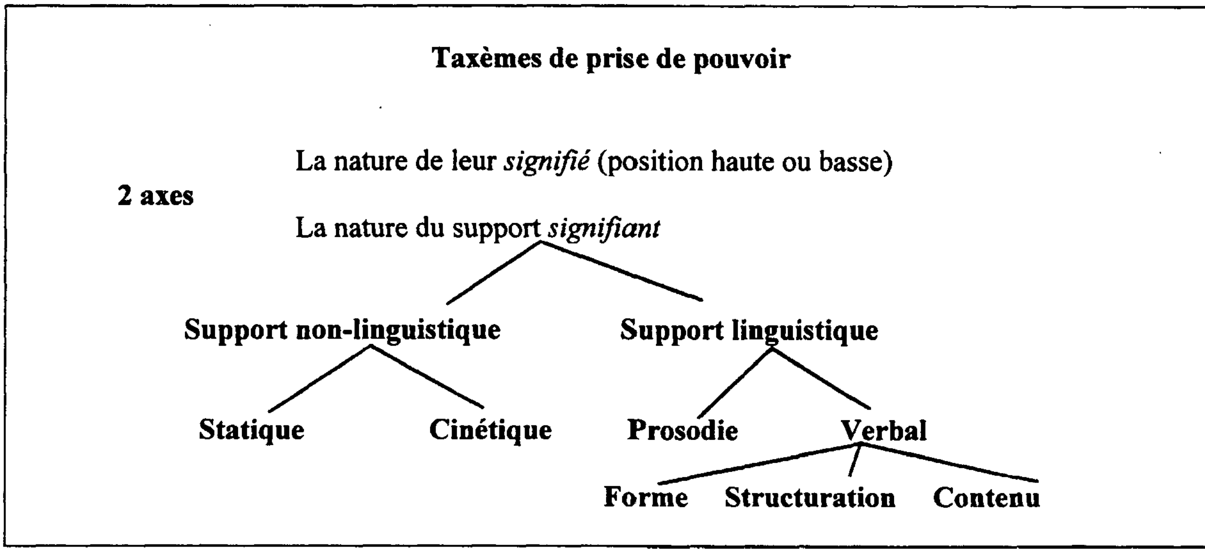

Fig. 1 Le classement des taxèmes de prise de pouvoir selon Kerbrat-Orecchioni.

Elle distingue premièrement deux axes de description :

Axe 1 : l'axe de la nature du signifié
À ce niveau, on réussit à voir si le taxème est de *position haute* (place le participant en position de pouvoir) ou de *position basse* (enlève du pouvoir au participant pour en donner à un autre, donc le place en position de dominé).

Axe 2 : L'axe de la nature du signifiant
Ce sont les supports linguistiques ou non-linguistiques qui permettent de placer les participants de la conversation dans une position de dominant ou de dominé. Les taxèmes non-linguistiques sont les signes qui ne sont ni verbaux, ni vocaux et qui influencent les positions dans la conversation. La stature, la vêture et le "look" des participants sont des taxèmes *statiques*. Les taxèmes qui touchent l'organisation proxémique dans laquelle se déroule l'interaction, la posture des participants et les mimo-gestuels qui accompagnent le discours sont des taxèmes *cinétiques*. Pour ce qui est des taxèmes linguistiques, ils sont soit de nature *prosodique* ou *verbale*.

1.2. La cinétique

Nous nous sommes inspirés des recherches de Jacques Cosnier (1991) pour développer l'aspect cinétique des taxèmes non-linguistiques que Kerbrat-Orecchioni développe moins. En ce qui concerne le non-verbal, Cosnier distingue les *gestes communicatifs* des *gestes extra-communicatifs*.

1.2.1. Les gestes communicatifs

Les gestes communicatifs sont stratégiquement utilisés pour l'interaction : ils sont effectués par le participant dans un sens précis, pour apporter consciemment quelque chose à la conversation. Il y a, premièrement, les *quasi-linguistiques*, qui ont un sens en soi. Ils ne dépendent pas de la parole (le signe même porte le sens, il n'a pas besoin d'être accompagné par la parole), même s'ils peuvent coexister, par exemple, le signe ou geste signifiant «silence» ou «chut!».

Ensuite, il y a les signes syllinguistiques qui sont les mimo-gestuels qui accompagnent la communication verbale lors d'interactions en face à face. Ils peuvent illustrer, connoter ou renforcer le discours verbal. Ils peuvent désigner le référent du discours (montrer du doigt l'objet ou la personne dont on parle), schématiser la structure spatiale (gestes qui accompagnent l'idée de l'escalier), mimer l'action du discours (gestes qui miment escalader une montagne) ou, finalement, schématiser la forme ou certaines qualités du référent (en disant: «un poisson grand comme ça»). Ils incluent également les mouvements phonatoires nécessaires à la communication verbale. Ils peuvent aussi être expressifs. Ils sont alors surtout faciaux et expriment des sentiments (tristesse, joie, colère, etc.) Finalement, ils peuvent être paraverbaux. Ils sont alors liés aux traits phonétiques et syntaxiques du discours verbal. Ils sont des mouvements de têtes et des mains qui soulignent l'intonation ou mettent de l'emphase et ainsi marquent les moments importants du discours.

Enfin, il y a les *synchronisateurs* qui sont les éléments pragmatiques de l'interaction. Les gestes synchronisateurs phatiques assurent le contact (le contact visuel, parfois corporel comme une main posée sur le bras ou l'épaule). Les régulateurs sont des hochements de tête ou autres gestes qui sont effectués par le récepteur et qui indiquent à l'émetteur qu'il est écouté et qu'il peut continuer à parler.

1.2.2 Les gestes extra-communicatifs

Les extra-communicatifs, à première analyse, semblent être indépendants de la communication et des stratégies interactionnelles, mais ils apportent une information qui peut bel et bien influencer le processus (ex : lorsqu'un des participants se met à bailler). Ils ne reçoivent habituellement pas de feed-back et le plus souvent l'autre participant fait semblant de les ignorer bien qu'il les perçoive et en tienne compte. Il y a les gestes autocentrés comme les grattages, les tapotements, les balancements, etc. On observe aussi les gestes ludiques ou les manipulations d'objets comme fumer une cigarette, plier un papier, dessiner ou jouer avec un jouet, et des mouvements de confort comme des croisements de jambes ou des changements de position.

Le non-verbal dans la conversation sert souvent de taxème de pouvoir, surtout si les gestes sont exagérés et fréquents, ce qu'on peut comparer à un haussement de ton au niveau verbal. Ils vont accompagner le discours en l'amplifiant. Le participant qui utilise des grands mimo-gestuels prend plus de place dans l'espace qui est utilisé pour la conversation et prend donc un certain pouvoir.

1.3 Les taxèmes linguistiques

L'intonation, les pauses, le débit et tout ce qui est vocal touche la prosodie. En ce qui concerne le niveau verbal, on distingue trois niveaux de taxème: la *forme*, c'est-à-dire, la langue, le style et le type de l'interaction; la *structuration de la conversation*, c'est-à-dire l'organisation des tours de parole et la structuration hiérarchique de la conversation; le *contenu* sémantique et pragmatique de l'interaction.

Tous ces niveaux qui influencent la position de pouvoir, sont clairement expliqués dans notre analyse ainsi que dans la grille des stratégies de prise de pouvoir d'enfants de 6 à 10 ans, que nous proposons. (Voir ci-dessous)

2. MÉTHODOLOGIE DE LA CUEILLETTE ET DE L'ANALYSE DU CORPUS

Les conversations ont été enregistrées dans des situations spontanées d'interactions entre enfants en jeux libres à la garderie ou à leur domicile. Les enregistrements ont été effectués, le plus possible, sans la présence d'adultes afin de ne pas influencer les positions de pouvoir des enfants. Le seul critère qui a déterminé le choix des enfants est leur âge (6 à 10 ans). Le corpus est composé de cinq enregistrements audiovisuels, d'une durée de vingt à trente minutes, de conversations entre enfants de six à dix ans. L'enregistrement audiovisuel a permis de tenir compte du contexte, des gestes non-verbaux des participants, de leurs expressions faciales et d'autres facteurs linguistiques et non-linguistiques qui peuvent influencer la position de pouvoir.

Pour effectuer l'analyse, les moments de prise de pouvoir ont été repérés avant de procéder à leur transcription à la fois linguistique et non-linguistique, c'est-à-dire au niveau des éléments statiques dans lesquels se déroule l'interaction, au niveau des gestes communicatifs et extra-communicatifs, de la prosodie, de la forme, de la structuration et du contenu de l'interaction.

3. RÉSULTATS

L'analyse de ces conversations, nous permet déjà de dire que la socialisation des enfants est très différente de celle des adultes. Les enfants sont plus directs et semblent plus cruels. Cependant, les remarques qui dérangeraient un adulte n'ont pas nécessairement le même impact chez les enfants.

3.1. La grille descriptive des taxèmes de prise de pouvoir des enfants de 6 à 10 ans

Les taxèmes de prise de pouvoir qui ressortent de notre analyse sont schématisés dans la grille suivante:

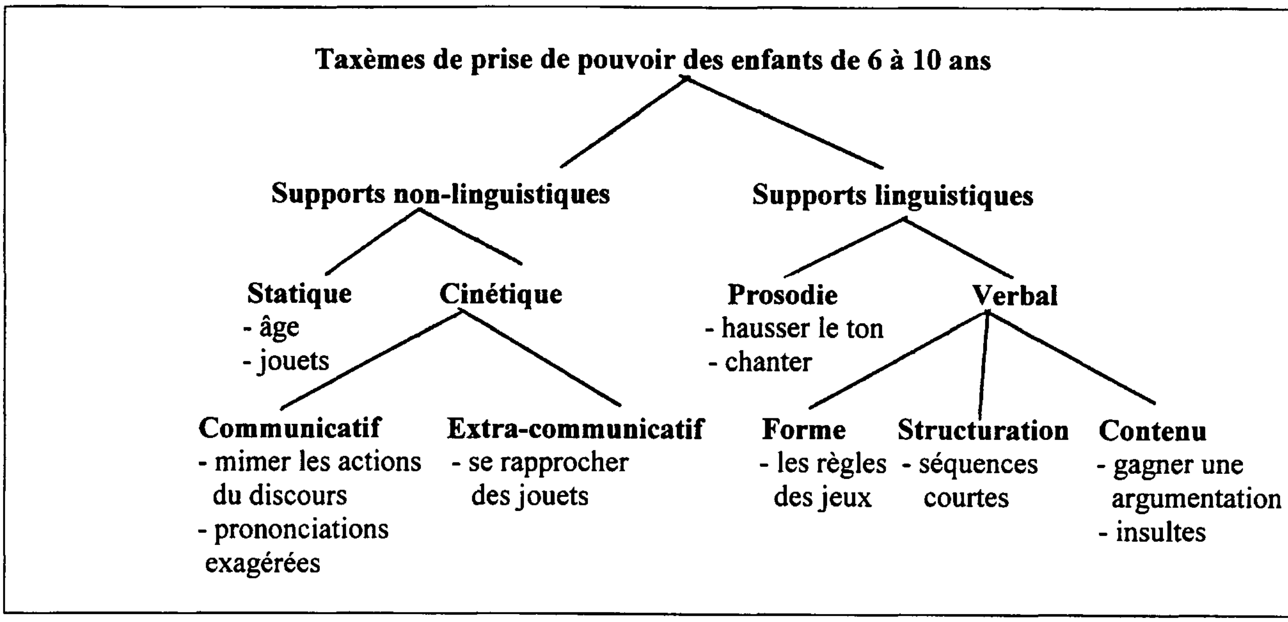

Fig. 2 Grille descriptive des taxèmes de prise de pouvoir des enfants de 6 à 10 ans.

3.2. Supports non-linguistiques

Parmi les supports non-linguistiques, on remarque que certains d'entre eux sont beaucoup plus utilisés et de façon très différente chez les enfants que chez les adultes.

3.2.1. L'âge

Au niveau *statique*, l'âge est très important. Les enfants plus vieux ont une position assez haute et le démontrent bien dans les conversations. Les plus jeunes semblent leur laisser le choix des actions qui influencent le déroulement de l'action dans l'interaction (les règles des jeux, l'octroi des tours de parole ou de jeu etc.). Dans notre corpus, il arrive même, lors d'opinions confrontées entre deux participants, qu'un troisième participant plus vieux impose son opinion malgré le fait qu'il ne faisait pas initialement partie de la confrontation.

3.2.2. Les jouets

Les jouets jouent un rôle important dans la position de pouvoir. Les enfants qui ont les jouets les plus convoités ont le pouvoir puisque les autres veulent avoir la possibilité de jouer avec eux. Les autres participants les laissent donc décider des jeux ou les laissent gagner. Comme exemple, la séquence de notre corpus durant laquelle deux enfants avec des walkies-talkies dirigent respectivement des groupes de 4 à 6 enfants en décidant de ceux qui pouvaient participer au jeu, de l'endroit où ils devaient se cacher, des étapes et du déroulement du jeu, etc.

3.2.3. Le « look »

Pour ce qui est du «look» ou des vêtements des participants, cela ne semble pas influencer les enfants. Ils sont probablement trop jeunes encore pour être influencés par le «look» des autres, à moins que ce qu'ils portent soit un déguisement (chapeau spécial, logos de personnages populaires comme Barbie ou Pokemon) . Ils ont alors la même fonction que les jouets, c'est-à-dire, les autres veulent jouer avec eux et les laissent décider du déroulement des jeux.

3.2.4. Les gestes communicatifs

Au niveau des gestes communicatifs, il y a très peu de *quasi-linguistiques*, qui ont un sens sans nécessiter la parole, sauf quelques signes de «non » ou «oui » qui ne sont pas utilisés comme prise de pouvoir. Les *syllinguistiques* sont très utilisés. Les enfants ont beaucoup d'expressions. Ils vont souvent exagérer les prononciations dans les jeux de rôles. En particulier lorsqu'ils jouent au vilain ou au monstre. Ils vont aussi beaucoup mimer les actions de leurs discours (mimer l'action de manger l'autre pour faire le monstre ou mimer leurs paroles lorsqu'ils jouent à la poupée) ou schématiser la forme des référents. Il peut même arriver qu'ils soient un peu violents ou durs : en jouant avec une voiture, une participante a frappé une autre pour la pousser alors qu'elle faisait semblant de conduire, ce qui constitue une prise de pouvoir très différente de ce que l'on retrouverait chez les adultes. Ils utilisent des signes expressifs (expressions du visage) pour exprimer des sentiments négatifs, la colère surtout.

Les *synchronisateurs* sont peu utilisés et le peu que l'on retrouve dans le corpus sont surtout utilisés pour garder le contact. Il va par contre, arriver que l'on retrouve des «anti-phatiques» : les enfants se bouchent les oreilles ou se tournent le dos pour ne pas écouter ce que l'autre dit.

3.2.5. Les gestes extra-communicatifs

Les extra-communicatifs, bien qu'ils soient assez présents, n'ont pas le même impact dans les conversations d'enfants que dans celles des adultes. Par exemple, un enfant n'est pas dérangé par le fait que l'autre participant joue avec des blocs pendant qu'il lui parle. Cela fait partie du jeu, des règles de la conversation. Les gestes de confort peuvent parfois être une stratégie de prise de pouvoir : lorsqu'un jeune change de position pour se rapprocher d'un certain jouet, cela lui donne une position qui peut lui permettre de mieux diriger la conversation. Il arrive même, comme il a été dit plus tôt, qu'un enfant pousse un autre participant pour prendre sa place.

3.3. Supports linguistiques

Au niveau des taxèmes linguistiques, les enfants ont des taxèmes très différents de ceux des adultes, surtout dans la prosodie.

3.3.1. La prosodie

La prosodie est intéressante chez les enfants. Elle est beaucoup utilisée. Ils vont hausser le ton, même crier, surtout pendant des séquences d'argumentation. Ils vont changer de voix pendant les jeux de rôles, prendre une voix plus grave ou plus haute. Ils vont également souvent chanter des chansons ou dire des bêtises telles que «na,na,nananère». Tous ces actes prosodiques sont des prises de pouvoir.

3.3.2. La forme de l'interaction

En ce qui concerne la forme de l'interaction, la langue n'a pas la même fonction que celle qu'elle occupe chez les adultes. Le niveau de langue n'est pas un taxème chez les enfants. Ils utilisent toujours un style familier. L'utilisation de la langue majoritaire lors de situations de bilinguisme n'est pas, non plus, un taxème. S'il y a plus de deux participants, il y a très peu d'effort effectué par le locuteur pour s'assurer que les interlocuteurs d'une autre langue intègrent la conversation. Ces derniers sont même parfois complètement exclus de la conversation bien qu'ils soient assis juste en face du locuteur. Ce comportement du locuteur est valable quel que soit le statut absolu de la langue utilisée: qu'il soit valorisé ou dévalorisé.

Le style de l'échange peut être un taxème s'il est comique. L'enfant qui fait le clown déclenche l'attention et l'admiration de tous les autres. Le type de l'interaction est choisi par celui qui choisit les jeux. Par exemple, lorsqu'un enfant suggère de jouer à la poupée si les autres acceptent, celui-ci décide les règles qui découlent du choix de ce jeu : rester autour de la maison de poupée, changer de voix pour personifier la poupée etc. Il est placé en position haute, puisqu'il décide ainsi les règles de la conversation.

3.3.3. La structuration de l'interaction

La structuration de l'interaction est assez semblable à celle des adultes. L'attribution des tours de parole (diriger la conversation en choisissant qui va parler) n'est pas une stratégie commune. Les enfants parlent quand ils veulent. Souvent, ils n'attendent pas leur tour. Il arrive, par contre, qu'un des participants dise «c'est ton tour» pour un jeu et donne ainsi la parole. La structuration hiérarchique (ouverture et clôture de conversations ou séquences de la conversation) est intéressante puisque les séquences sont beaucoup plus courtes. Ils passent d'un sujet à un autre très vite.

3.3.4. Le contenu de l'interaction

En ce qui concerne le contenu de l'interaction, nous observons d'abord le niveau du *contenu sémantique*. Chez les adultes, il y a les thèmes et sous-thèmes : un participant est placé en position haute lorsqu'un thème ou sous-thème lui est familier puisqu'il peut donner son opinion et avoir la parole plus souvent. Chez les enfants, ce sont les jeux qui occupent cette fonction. Un participant est au pouvoir si le groupe joue un jeu qu'il connaît bien. Comme exemple, la situation dans laquelle un groupe d'enfants joue aux blocs «Lego». Le meilleur d'entre eux aide les autres en leur expliquant comment faire. Cela lui permet d'avoir la parole plus souvent et de diriger la conversation.

Les signes manipulés ou la situation dans laquelle un participant impose son vocabulaire ou effectue un *soufflage* (lorsqu'un participant cherche un mot et que l'autre le lui dit) est très peu retrouvé dans notre corpus. Par contre, les *opinions confrontées* sont très communes chez les enfants. Elles sont évidemment une bataille pour le pouvoir. Les enfants argumentent beaucoup plus que les adultes. Ils ont souvent besoin d'aide pour régler leurs conflits (ils vont demander l'aide d'un adulte) mais il reste que celui qui "gagne" est au pouvoir. Une séquence de notre corpus illustre bien cela. À la garderie, dans le coin de jeu aux blocs «Lego», un enfant ne veut pas partager à cause d'une argumentation. Le groupe a recours à la monitrice pour régler le conflit. Les autres enfants sont placés en position haute puisque l'enfant en question est amené à partager. Il y a habituellement un consensus assez rapide; parfois, ils ne cherchent pas de consensus, ils changent de sujet et la confrontation s'efface d'elle-même.

Au niveau du *contenu pragmatique*, les stratégies de prise de pouvoir passe par les menaces aux *faces* des participants. La théorie des faces des participants est apportée par Goffman (1973). D'après sa théorie, lorsqu'un participant menace la face des autres participants, il se met en position haute. Nous retrouvons les fondements de cette théorie dans les expressions «sauver la face» ou «perdre la face». Les menaces aux faces des enfants sont vraiment communes, mais il faut dire qu'elles n'ont pas le même impact que chez les adultes. On retrouve des énoncés tels que «Attend, il faut que tu le mettes là» ou «Non! touche pas ça!» qui touche le territoire du destinataire. Il existe également des commentaires tels que «tu n'es qu'un bébé» ou des bêtises qui sont chantées et qui dérangent l'image de soi. Elles semblent être vite oubliées, mais démontrent tout de même une prise de pouvoir.

4. CONCLUSION

Suite à cette première analyse de notre corpus, il est déjà possible de voir que la prise de pouvoir chez les enfants est faite de façon différente que chez les adultes. En général, on peut noter que les supports non-linguistiques et la prosodie sont beaucoup plus utilisés. Les jeux sont très importants et influencent beaucoup la position des participants. Les règles de politesse ou autres règles sociales ne sont pas importantes pour eux. Tout se déroule plus vite, c'est peut-être pourquoi, au niveau du contenu de l'interaction, les opinions confrontées et les menaces aux faces des participants sont vite oubliées et ont moins d'impact que chez les adultes.

La grille que nous proposons est un outil de catégorisation des taxèmes utilisés par les enfants dans les conversations. Néanmoins, le fait d'utiliser ces taxèmes n'assure pas une position haute au participant. Les taxèmes sont une tentative de prise de pouvoir, mais les autres participants n'acceptent pas toujours de le donner. Ce sont des actes de prise de pouvoir, la position des participants est ensuite confirmée par les réactions des autres participants. De plus, un taxème qui mène à une position haute dans une interaction n'assure pas le statut de pouvoir dans toutes les conversations. C'est pourquoi, au niveau interactionel, la position des participants est en négociation tant qu'il y a interaction.

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LINGUISTIC ARCHAISM IN A MIGRANT COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses morphological and lexical aspects of Mexican Spanish usage in two communities: Moroleón (Mexico) and Kennett Square (the United States). The morphological phenomena exhibit use of [nos] for [mos] as the first person plural verb suffix of the imperfect indicative, *nosotros trabajabanos en el campo* 'we worked in the field' and the use of the auxiliary [ha] in the first person singular of the present perfect indicative, *yo ha ido muchas veces a Moroleón* 'I have gone to Moroleón many times'. The lexical phenomenon refers to use of the indefinite articles *un, una, unos* and *unas* 'a, an, some' instead of the indefinite adjectives *alguno, alguna, algunos* and *algunas* 'a, an, some'. Migratory patterns of the population explain the linguistic archaism in the community. Statistical results suggest an interesting interplay between the migratory patterns and other sociolinguistic factors such as gender, generation, education and origin.

1. INTRODUCTION

Linguistic archaism is generally related to isolated rural areas that have not had the chance to be in contact with the dynamics of evolutionary patterns in the language (Lipski, 1990). This study examines morphological and lexical aspects of Mexican Spanish usage in two communities: Moroleón (Mexico) and Kennett Square (Pennsylvania, U.S.A.). The morphological phenomena exhibit the use of [-nos] for [-mos] as the first person plural verb suffix of the imperfect indicative in sentences like *nosotros no comianos carne* 'we didn't eat meat' and the use of the auxiliary [ha] in the first person singular in the present perfect indicative in sentences like *yo ha trabajado* 'I have worked'. The lexical phenomenon consists of the exchange of semantic values between the indefinite articles *un, una, unos* and *unas* 'a/an, some' and the indefinite adjectives *alguno, alguna, algunos* and *algunas 'a/an, some'*.

I claim that the migration patterns account for the existence of the linguistic archaism in Mexican Spanish usage. Before explaining my claim, the characteristics of Mexican migration should be noted. Migration is a common practice in Mexico; people from *rancherías* 'small hamlets' migrate to big cities or to the United States to improve their standard of living. "What are you going to do on a small hamlet? There is no work!" exclaim the migrant workers. They migrate to Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey, and *el norte,* meaning the United States. This is the normal way to achieve upward mobility and prestige. This practice has existed since before the second half of the eighteenth century (Massey et al., 1987).

Mexican migration is characterized by a strong tendency for migrants to go back to their place of origin and follow a cyclic pattern that consists of alternate working periods in the United States and in their place of origin in Mexico. I contend that the cyclic pattern in migration has promoted and perpetuated the use of archaic forms in the migrants' language, forms that have already disappeared in big cities in Mexico. Migration seems to account for several features found in their linguistic archaism. First, the normal path of migration determines the predominance of the rural origin in the study; the migrant workers move from their small hamlets to the United States to the city of Moroleón in Mexico. This factor group is relevant in the morphological as well as the lexical phenomena studied, here with an average occurrence of

86%. Second, males traditionally migrate to the United States; this accounts for their overwhelming presence in the sample: 75% of the informants who utter non-standard forms are male. As a consequence of having a male microcosm within the mushroom farms in the United States, the social forces compel the few women who interact with men in the work-place to adopt the prevailing usage in Spanish, which in this case happens to be archaic forms. Third, it seems that the underlying relations of power and status between men and women in the work-place as well as family dynamics motivate women who are not from rural environments to give up their use of the standard for the prevailing non-standard use in the community.

I will develop my claim in the following sections. First, I will introduce the sites of the research. Second, I will describe the sample. Third, I will describe each of the linguistic dependent variables. Fourth, I will present the findings that prove my claim. To a great extent, migration patterns will be the linking thread throughout the presentation of the findings.

2. SITES OF THE RESEARCH

The fieldwork was conducted in Kennett Square (Pennsylvania, U.S.A.) during the spring of 1995 and 1996, and in Moroleón (Guanajuato, Mexico) during the summer of 1995 and December 1996. Moroleón is an industrial city in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico. The prevailing economic activity is tailoring. Sixteen *rancherías* ('hamlets') surround Moroleón and rely upon Moroleón economically. The small hamlets sometimes do not have running water. People who live in the small hamlets cultivate the land. They are self-sufficient farmers who raise small quantities of cattle to trade.

Traditionally, people from states in the Mexican plateau such as Michoacán, Estado de México, Hidalgo and Guanajuato, Mexico, have migrated to Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, to work on the mushroom farms for ten months and returned to their hamlets for the remaining two months of the year. Kennett Square is the main mushroom shipping center in the United States; its workers are mainly from Mexico. Most of the informants in Kennett Square work for Kaolin Mushroom Farms and Marlboro Mushroom Farms.

3. THE SAMPLE

Thirty-six out of a total of eighty-three recorded interviews, each thirty minutes long, present the morphological and lexical phenomena studied here. The sample was collected in Moroleón and in Kennett Square following traditional sociolinguistic methodology pioneered by Labov (1984) and later additions to this methodology made by Milroy (1987) in her study of the working class done in Belfast. The Labovian methodology entails the study of groups of informants selected randomly to represent specific strata and groups in society determined by factors such as generation, gender, income, occupation and literacy. Preexisting census data are used to determine factors appropriate for the study and to provide a more complete description of the spectrum of social group membership within the community studied. I employ thematic modules as the basis for sociolinguistic interviews; the modules were developed by a series of questions focusing on education, work, men's and women's roles, and difficulties associated with emigration and immigration.

4. THE LINGUISTIC DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The first morphological phenomenon to be explored is the inflection of the imperfect indicative. In standard Spanish the inflection of the first person plural of the imperfect indicative is formed with the verbal stem plus the first person plural verb suffix [-mos]; as *in hacía[mos] la labor en el campo* 'we worked in the field' or *íba[mos] al pueblo* 'we went to town'. Fifteen percent of the informants in the sample in Moroleón and Kennett Square use the suffix [-nos] for [-mos] to form the first person plural, for example, *hacía[nos] la labor* 'we worked in the field', or *íba[nos] al pueblo* 'we went to town'. The non-standard form [-nos] has the same function as the standard imperfect indicative: it refers to "...perfective actions, the fact that they are expressed in imperfect indicative means that they are repetitive, reiterated and habitual" (Gili Gaya, 1991:161. translated by MM-M).

The literature on this subject points out that the occurrence of [-nos] for [-mos] occurs solely in forms with antepenultimate stress such as the imperfect indicative or subjunctive (Lipski 1990; Rosenblat 1967). In the migrant community, the inflection [-nos] only appears in imperfect indicative. The phenomena have been explained by analogy to the form *vámonos* 'let's go'; the inflection [-nos] is transferred to other forms with the same stress so they come to have a similar structure. Another claim is that the change from [-mos] to [-nos] is due to morphological suppletion (Salterelli 1974:128); a general rule can't be applied to explain the relationship between the verb stem and the form used in the inflection of the verb because the forms involve different rules. The use of [-nos] for [-mos] has been documented in different parts of the United States and Mexico: the Southwest (Saltarelli, 1974), Nuevo México (Rosenblat 1967), St Bernard Parish, Louisiana (Lipski 1981), and Chihuahua and Michoacán, Mexico (Rosenblat 1967).

The other morphological phenomenon is the use of the auxiliary [ha] for [he] 'I have' to form the first person singular of the present perfect indicative: *yo ha trabajado mucho* for *yo he trabajado mucho* 'I have worked a lot'. Thirteen percent of the informants in Kennett Square use the non-standard form exclusively. The function of the present perfect indicative is the same as the standard usage established by traditional grammar: "In modern Spanish the present perfect indicative indicates the past and perfective action that it is related to at the present moment. This action can be real or simply thought by the speaker." (Gili Gaya 1991:159, translated by MM-M). The use of the auxiliary [ha] in the first person singular of the present perfect indicative has been defined as "...characteristic only of archaic rural areas, parts of Mexico and Central America and the most marginal zones of the Canary Islands" (Lipski 1990:34). Modejar (1970) indicates its presence in the Andalucian verb. Although it doesn't seem to be a clear explanation of the origin of this form, the following might explain its existence.

In the development of Spanish from Vulgar Latin to Old Spanish, by the sixth century "The perfect tense became the preterite; the perfect passive participle became the past participle. The perfect tense came to be expressed by compounding *habere* 'to have' with the past participle" (Poulter 1990:52). The form may be traced back to Plautus in expressions of the type *habeo cultrum comparatum* 'I have a knife bought' (Elcock 1975:108). Initially it was only available in cases where the subject was personal and where there was an overt direct object in sentences like *habeo vaccam comparatam* 'I have a cow bought', but by the middle of the sixteenth century the use of *habere* 'to have' as an auxiliary is expanded to intransitive verbs. The evolution of the auxiliary *habere* 'to have' seems to have followed the following changes: *habeo* from the Classical Latin palatalized giving /ajo/ in Vulgar Latin. Following the tendency in some words, the final /o/ is lost by apocope leaving the yod [j] in syllable final position. However, the yod [j] can't occur in syllable final position. As a result of dropping the final /o/ a new diphthong is formed. The diphthong consisting of a front vowel or the low central /a/ plus glide resolves in the reduction of the diphthong to /e/, i.e. *habeo* > /ajo/ > /aj/ > /ai/ > /e/ > *he* (Penny 1997). There seems to have been another resolution for *habeo: Habeo* > /ajo/ > /aj/ > /ai/ > /a/ > *ha*. The first resolution [he] 'I have' characterizes standard Spanish, the second resolution, [ha] 'I have' frequently relates to non-standard or dialectal Spanish.

The lexical phenomenon in this study is the replacement of the indefinite articles *un, una, unos* and *unas* 'a, an, some' by the indefinite adjectives, *algún, alguna, algunos, algunas* 'a, an, some'. Twenty percent of the informants in Moroleón and in Kennett Square make this replacement. The function of the indefinite adjective is to modify the noun whose determination is not relevant to the interlocutor, giving a vague meaning to the modified noun. In (1), (2) and (3) a numeral is used in the noun phrase, giving a degree of determination. The specification of the numeral prevents another modifier like the indefinite adjective from modifying the noun. The most acceptable modifier is the definite article, i.e. it is not possible to eliminate the degree of preciseness established by the numeral. In other words, the indefinite adjective and the numeral cannot modify a noun at the same time.

(1) *Trabajé como algunos dos años porque después me vine paracá..*
'I worked some two years because I came here afterwards.'

(2) *Mi esposa me ayudó mucho, como algunos cuatro o cinco años.*
'My wife helped me a lot, about some four or five years.'

(3) *El avión costaba mucho y el autobús no, el autobús algunos cien dólares en aquel entonces.*
'The plane cost a lot and the bus didn't, the bus cost some one hundred dollars at that time.'

Sentences (4), (5) and (6) were accepted and rejected by different speakers when I tested their acceptability among speakers with a post-secondary level of instruction in Mexico City and the United States. People who accepted them explained that the indefinite adjective implied a certain ambiguity. Their opinion agrees with that of Marza (1983:103), who stated that the use of indefinite article and the indefinite adjective are ambiguous. Nevertheless, if they used the indefinite adjective, it indicated that they already had in mind the specific item they wanted. Looking at the historical development of the indefinite adjective and the indefinite articles, it should be noted that there were no articles in Classical Latin. Vulgar Latin derived the indefinite article from the numeral *unum* and *unam* (Lathrop 1985). The indefinite adjectives derived from the Latin word *aliquis* 'some, somebody'. Vulgar Latin used to combine *aliquis* with *unus*. Then the word developed from *aliquis unus* to **alicunus* to *alguno*, i.e. *aliquis* > *aliquis* + *unus* > *aliquis unus* > **alicunus* > *algunos* (Elcock 1975:100).

(4) *Cuando necesitábanos algunos zapatos, íbanos allí a Moroleón...*
'When we needed some shoes, we used to go there, to Moroleón.'

(5) *Vi la forma...de juntar algunos centavos más.*
'I saw the way to...save some cents more.'

(6) *...y quieren hacer alguna...hacer alguna comida para ese día especial...*
'...and they want to prepare some...to prepare some food for that special day.'

I use seven factor groups to analyze the data; two linguistic and five sociolinguistic. The linguistic factors include whether the illocutionary act is a short or long answer and whether the variable is taken from the beginning or the end of the conversation. The sociolinguistic factors considered are gender, generation, education, origin, and migration patterns. No stylistic trend is found in any of the three phenomena studied here. Only sociolinguistic patterns can be observed in the data. I will present them in the following section.

5. FINDINGS

Out-of the three phenomena studied here, only two non-standard forms coexist with their corresponding standard forms in the informants' speech: the use [-nos] for [-mos] to form the first person plural of the imperfect indicative and the replacement of the indefinite articles by the indefinite adjectives. The frequency of occurrence of non-standard forms sometimes exceeds 50 per cent. Table 1 shows the percentage of occurrence of the linguistic variables under discussion.

Table 1. Morphological and Lexical Phenomena by Percentage of Occurrence

Dependent Variable	Percentage of occurrence
[-nos] for [-mos]	15%
[ha] for [he]	13%
Indefinite adjectives for indefinite articles	20%

The migration patterns mentioned in the Introduction may account for the fact that the informants who use [ha] for [he] in the first person singular of the present perfect indicative never use standard form in their speech. The mushroom pickers migrate from their small hamlets to the United States to the city of Moroleón; this might promote retention of the non-standard form [ha]. First, the use of the auxiliary [ha] has been defined as "...characteristic only of archaic rural areas in parts of Mexico and Central America and the most marginal zones of the Canary Islands" (Lipski 1990:34). Second, living and working on the mushroom farms for ten months of the year without leaving the farms more than once a week to cash their cheques or to go to the mall does not give them the opportunity to be exposed to the standard forms in the language. Third, during their vacations in Moroleón, they only visit with their peers on the mushroom farms. Even though they complain about always being together, it seems that they do not wish to mingle with the rest of society while they are in Moroleón.

There are several possible explanations for their attitude. The migrant workers have a paradoxical existence in the two different environments where they live. On one hand, they feel alienated from the rest of society that does not migrate to make their living in Moroleón, some of whom openly reject and criticize the mushroom pickers. At the same time, the mushroom workers are actually isolated from American society while working on the mushroom farms; they only interact among themselves. Their daily routine consists of going to work, going back home and going to bed. They may take a day off if they wish to do so. However, most of them do not take a day off so they can more quickly save enough money to return to Mexico for a couple of months. On the other hand, men and children in Moroleón who dream of becoming successful migrant workers look up these mushroom pickers. As a consequence, the migrant workers keep their status by isolating themselves from those who admire them and also by avoiding visits with them. All of these circumstances promote their isolation and alienation on the mushroom farms in Kennett Square and, ironically, in Moroleón. Thus, the same alienation and isolation from the rest of society perpetuates and promotes the use of archaic forms in their speech.

Continuing with the migratory movement of the mushroom pickers, some of them move from their small hamlet to the city of Moroleón once they have returned from their first trip to the United States. Living in the city does not seem to affect their choice of standard forms in their speech. Table 2 shows that this group favours the non-standard morphological and lexical forms (up to 65% of occurrences in the sample). However, they seem to influence the people who are originally from the city; some urban speakers use the verbal suffix [-nos] for [-mos], the auxiliary [ha] for [he] and the indefinite articles for the indefinite adjectives up to 33% of occurrences.

Table 2. Morphological and Lexical Phenomena by the Origin Factor

Dependent Variable	small hamlet	small hamlet-city	city of Moroleón
[-nos] for [-mos]	17%	50%	33%
[ha] for [he]	18%	55%	27%
Ind. adj. for indef. articles	6%	65%	29%

Combining the origin and education factors, an interesting case can be observed: an informant with a post-secondary level of education uses [-nos] for [-mos] in the first singular form of imperfect indicative, *trabaja[nos] en el campo* 'we worked in the field'. It obviously contradicts the expected results yielded by the education factor group in that lower levels of instruction favor the non-standard form [-nos] and higher levels of instruction favor the standard form [-mos]. The influence of the linguistic marketplace on the informant with a post- secondary level of instruction may account for his choice of non-standard forms. He owns a small factory; he oversees the production, and, as a result, has direct contact with his employees who have low levels of education and employ non-standard forms in their speech. It may be that the factory owner has been influenced by his employees' speech since he spends most of his time interacting with them.

The influence of the linguistic marketplace is also evident in the presence of women favoring non-standard forms of the language. Few women use the verbal suffix [-nos] for [-mos], the auxiliary [ha] for [he] and the indefinite articles for the indefinite adjectives; the percentage of occurrence goes from 11% up to 25%. This result contradicts the traditionally female tendency to use standard forms in their speech. However, these women have performed masculine jobs throughout their lives in Moroleón and in Kennett Square. They have worked the land in the small hamlets in Mexico, and currently they work on the mushroom farms. Their linguistic preference may be due to the influence of the working environment.

The results show that age is also a factor in use of non-standard forms. It offers an interesting pattern in the population; the second generation of migrants uses more non-standard forms of the imperfect indicative and the phonological phenomena with a percentage of occurrence of over 66%. This age-based pattern suggests the fact that members of the second generation often comply with linguistic and socially established rules because of their responsibility towards their family and society; they have to provide for their family. Members of the second generation know that they must continue with their migration and working patterns. They need their job and cannot foresee alternatives in their lives, i.e. they will continue coming to the United States until they retire or die. Some mushroom pickers affirm that they are forced to come to the United States. They say "Do you think that we like to leave our family and come to work in here; getting up very early in the morning, being cold? No, we don't like it. However, one has children, a wife, and they depend on us, on what we can make to support them".

Another interesting pattern is observed in the use of the auxiliary [ha] for [he] to form the first person singular of the present perfect indicative: it stratifies the population from the youngest generation to the oldest where the youngest favor the auxiliary [ha] for example in *yo ha comido* 'I have eaten' with a percentage of occurrence of 73%, followed by other two generations (See Table 3). The stratification may suggest the continuity and conservation of the phenomena since the youngest generation and people originally from the small hamlets take the non-standard use of the auxiliary [ha] to the mushroom farms to be kept and 'harvested' by the mushroom pickers in the process of harvesting the mushrooms.

Table 3. Morphological and Lexical Phenomena by the Generation Factor.

Dependent Variable	[-nos] for [-mos]	[ha] for [he]	Ind. Art. for indefinite adj.
First Generation	16.66%	73%	35%
Second Generation	67%	18%	53%
Third Generation	16.66%	9%	12%

6. CONCLUSION

The fact that the morphological and the lexical phenomena are mainly present in Kennett Square may suggest a continuous recycling of the mushroom pickers' vocabulary caused by the isolation and alienation in their lives on either side of the border. While working in Kennett

Square they only interact with their peers because of their working schedule. However, they continue this isolation when they visit their relatives in Moroleón; they only interact with their peers from the mushroom farms. Maybe they want to maintain the successful image that people who wish to migrate to the United States have of them. Whatever their motivation may be, their vocabulary is constantly recycled. To some extent, the mushrooms may be seen as a metaphor of their lives; they always live in the darkness and they have a fragile period of life.

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"THOUSANDS OF VENDINGS": LANGUAGES IN CONTACT IN A DANISH TELEVISION SHOW

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ABSTRACT

The North American inclination towards monolingualism is far from the norm, as exemplified by the acceptance of multilingualism in nations such as Denmark, where linguistic pluralism is valued for the versatility it brings to linguistic expression and style. The Danish mini-series "The Julekalendar" is a case study for the kind of language mix embraced and enjoyed by a linguistically sophisticated population. Its uniqueness lies in the linguistic assumptions it makes of its audience by mixing languages, dialects, and language play in the delivery of content, without the aid of subtitles. "The Julekalendar" shows the admirable confidence of the Danish people in their language and its ability to withstand – or incorporate sucessfully – the influences of other languages.

1. INTRODUCTION

Imagine a television show in Canada that freely mixes English and French in some sections, urban Canadian English and a rural Newfoundland dialect in others, and throws a Spanish-speaking character into the melee, just for fun – and all without subtitles. If your imagination can take you that far, imagine this: that nearly 70% of the Canadian population tunes in to watch the show. Unfortunately, while neither imagination nor reality seems likely to take us that far in Canada, the fact is that there are countries in the world where this kind of language mix, between dialects and languages, is accepted. Contrary to what many North Americans may feel, stresses Charlotte Hoffman, "[t]here is no reason to believe that monolingualism is the normal state of affairs in society. At the societal level, multilingualism is quite common" (Hoffman 1991:157).

The small country of Denmark, with a population of approximately 5 million people, is an example of a nation that pays more than lip-service to the value of linguistic pluralism (Vikør 1993:228). In fact, the Danish people not only seem to embrace the opportunity to learn new languages, but take delight in the added versatility and choice this brings to their personal linguistic expression and style. Danes have a high awareness and acceptance of the potentials of multilingualism, and this is reflected in the nature of their radio and television programmes. The Danish mini-series "The Julekalender" (first televised December 1991) encapsulates exactly such a language mix (in a Danish setting) as the hypothetical Canadian show I described above. The difference is that, where such a show would be inconceivable in Canada, it is entirely taken for granted in Denmark. It is my belief that a show like

"The Julekalender" is not only an indicator, but also a product, of the Danish linguistic climate.

2. "THE JULEKALENDER": BACKGROUND

"The Julekalender" (literally, the Yule -- or Christmas -- Calendar) was first shown on TV2 in Denmark, a station that was then the "new" alternative to the long-existing Danish State one (DR TV). In this case, TV2 chose to satirize DR TV's traditional children's Christmas Advent show with its own 12 minute, 24 episode mini-series marking the countdown to Christmas. The first episode aired December 1, 1991, and continued daily until December 24, when Christmas is celebrated in Denmark. The story is a relatively simple one: three elves in search of a life-saving key are led to a rural area in Jutland, or mainland Denmark, where they accidentally crash their plane. They find the key, but must hide in a cave while they make repairs. The language the elves speak is a crazy, invented mix of Danish and English.

Meanwhile, in a subplot we see a Danish couple in a nearby farmhouse, speaking in "Jysk" (the Jutland dialect), and preparing for Christmas. A stranger appears at the farmhouse, seeking shelter – but what he is really hunting for is the elves. The stranger speaks in a working-class Copenhagen dialect to the Jutland pair (while they answer in Jysk), but when he briefly crosses into the elves' presence, he too is able to speak the Elfin "Danglish" code. To add to the linguistic craziness, 3 of the 24 episodes involve an amnesiac elf who can only speak in German, to the dismay of his fellow elves who have to spend a good bit of time trying to figure out what he is saying! And finally, each of the episodes is framed with a summary of the previous episode, spoken by a narrator in the Copenhagen "standard dialect" (Danish Received Pronunciation).

The show's uniqueness lies in the linguistic assumptions it makes of its audience. At no point are subtitles used, so that without a fairly good knowledge of English, standard Danish, working-class Danish, Jysk, and German, whole sections of dialogue are incomprehensible. Despite this, the Danes tuned in to the show in increasing numbers until the final episode, which achieved a 68% viewer rating (Julekalender Site A). Why was the show so popular? The answer no doubt lies in the current linguistic situation in Denmark, as well as in the particular Danish sense of humour which finds great fun in all types of language play.

3. DENMARK, LANGUAGE AND THE MEDIA

Surrounded on the one side by the larger Nordic countries of Norway and Sweden, with which it shares cultural and linguistic ties, and Germany – and the "outside world" – on the other, Denmark is at what might be called a 'linguistic crossroads' to Europe. Danish is the official and national language, to be sure, and spoken by all Danes, but few would expect the rest of Europe to learn it as well. For this reason, the learning of other languages in the school system (English is compulsory, German is the usual secondary choice, and French the third) begins at an early age (Vikør 1993:141-143). It is accepted that all Danes will speak at least one language other than Danish (though they often speak more). Indeed, Danish multilingual versatility is a long-time tradition and has been nicely characterized by a famous verse from 1827, describing the typical (admittedly upper-class) Dane of the century before:

> On paper he wrote only Latin;
> With the ladies French, and German with his dog,
> And Danish he spoke with his servant (Vikør 1993:44).

While this was meant to depict the hierarchies of the various languages in Denmark in terms of prestige (note that Danish has risen considerably since then!), I have often heard it quoted with pride to show basic Danish multilingual fluency.

Danish linguistic pluralism is reflected in the media, where there are multiple language channels available on the cable network. As I remember, in 1991 when I was living in Denmark, language channels <u>other</u> than Danish (of which there are only three) took up most of the available cable selections, and these channels (eg. German, English, Swedish, Norwegian, French, Italian, Turkish, and a "guest" channel, which alternated between Russian, Polish and so on) were televised in the original language, without subtitles. Denmark has a relatively low immigrant population, so these channels were not provided because of mandatory legislation; the conclusion I would draw (while ignoring the financial aspect, which may also be a factor) is that Danes simply prefer to have a greater linguistic/cultural choice in their viewing material.

Further "proof" that Danes (along with their fellow Scandinavians) accept a multi-language variety situation as being perfectly normal can be seen in the extremely popular "Nordic quiz programs where teams from the different countries compete [each in their various Nordic languages]....Such programs are normally neither dubbed nor subtitled" (Vikør 1993: 117). And when Scandinavians choose not to each use their own languages outright, in contact situations, the use of English (the lingua franca outside the Nordic countries) is still shunned. Instead, an adjustment of the three languages (Danish, Swedish and Norwegian) is used, giving rise to what Vikør calls "common Scandinavian" (1993: 129). Danes, then, are skilled at linguistic adaptation, to fit their communicative needs. It is no wonder that they were so ready, in 1991, to accept a show like "The Julekalender". It depicts a situation that, in many ways, they face on an on-going and daily basis.

3. LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CODESWITCHING

In cases of language contact, it is clear that bilingual speakers make use of different strategies when communicating with each other (as the Danes certainly do). In the field of linguistics, a lot of critical attention has centered on the greater code choices, and the particular use of these codes, that are available to these speakers. Indeed, bilingual codeswitching – that is, the use of two different languages within the same speech situation (inter-sentential) or even the same sentence, clause, or morpheme (intra-sentential) – has engendered much discussion in the past few decades. How we examine the various switching decisions depends on the focus of the study; two of the biggest names associated with codeswitching research, John Gumperz and Shana Poplack, approach the field from very different perspectives. "Poplack takes the <u>language</u> as a starting point, whereas Gumperz follows the ethnographic tradition of beginning with the <u>speaker</u>" (Milroy 1987: 192). Both approaches are useful.

Focussing on the language itself can yield profitable insights, though Gardner-Chloros takes issue with the attempt to form rules and constraints for codeswitching while ignoring the inherent creative nature of language itself. "If code-switching is tied up with language change at all, how could that change ever occur if people – in particular young people – did not violate or, better, rewrite the rules by using forms never heard before?", she writes (1991: 66). Her point is a good one, though I would suggest that rules need to be formed first, before we can see whether – and why – they have been violated. It would not make sense to dismiss the attempt altogether. Certainly in "The Julekalender", where much of the codeswitching (entirely designed for the occasion) goes far beyond what we may consider "normal", it would be fruitless to speculate as to <u>why</u> particular codeswitches are made, or to form rules based on them. Meanwhile, whether the intent is serious or frivolous, real or invented, the result is the same: a creative use of language.

To examine codeswitching in its context of bilingual social interaction is also valuable. Codeswitching assumes there are mutual languages (between the addresser and the addressed) and a "common social backdrop of shared views" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 61). A show like "The Julekalender" highlights the nature of the Danish community with its positive attitudes towards this type of linguistic behaviour. Its use of codeswitching and multiple languages and dialects serves as a marker of the Danish "ethnic group membership and identity", which is one of the most important functions Hamers and Blanc believe is served by codeswitching (1989: 151).

Finally, I want to briefly address the issue of terminology when it comes to codeswitching. When we talk about codeswitching, codemixing, borrowing, loans, and so on, the lines between the terms become very blurred. I have chosen so far to keep out of the battle by putting everything under the rubric of "codeswitching". In fact, given the nature of the strange, invented language of the elves, there is another term that would better serve the purpose – a term which is actually used to describe some real-life language contact situations. Gardner-Chloros suggests that in the absence of a "matrix", or base language, a mixed, third system is formed instead. "In such cases", she writes, "the term 'code-switching' becomes inappropriate and a term such as 'mixed discourse' must be used" (1991: 43). Shana Poplack also notes that "conversation full of codeswitching is a mode of speech by itself" (1980: 602). The kind of crazy 'mixed discourse' we see in "The Julekalender" may stretch linguistic rules of language contact, but it is clear that it does not entirely break them.

4. "THE JULEKALENDER": METHODOLOGY

Rather than isolate small phrases (in Danish, "*vendings*", as the title of this paper refers to) in "The Julekalender" as a whole, with the hopes that out-of-context fragments will support my case, I decided instead to look at a 5 minute section of one episode, in order to show how linguistically rich – and humorous – even a small portion of this show can be. To this end, I have chosen the first 5 minutes of episode 20, beginning with the song "Thousands of Vendings" (see Appendix A) and continuing with an Elfin dialogue in which two of the elves congratulate the third, for having carved the propeller their plane needs in order to get them home (see Appendix B). I will not go through the dialogues word by word, since I have already provided this in the Appendices. Instead, I will point to some of the typical kinds of codeswitching from this episode which are found throughout "The Julekalender".

5. THE JULEKALENDER: DATA AND ANALYSIS[1]

I found a number of types of 'codemixing' in this segment, ranging from the smallest word unit to beyond the sentence level. All are examples of real-life switches, and all are, incidentally, examples of the perils faced by students of another language (mistakes guaranteed to get a laugh, even when done unintentionally).

a) "**False Friends**", or words that may look similar in both languages, but are often pronounced differently, and have different meanings. In Appendix B, line 20 (henceforth to be written as B, 20), *<u>første grade</u>* means two different things, depending on how the second word is pronounced (Danish = highest *degree*; English = *Grade* One). This makes what the elves say rather ambiguous, although funny either way!

b) "**Loan Blending**", or "borrowing a word from the lexicon of another language and grammatically adapting it to the language used in the utterance" [Hamers and Blanc 1989: 36]). This lexical phenomenon has also been described as "**Relexification**, [which means]...replacing the vocabulary while maintaining the grammar" (Appel and Muysken 1987: 131). An example of this would be: *Vendings* (= phrases), which uses the English plural marker '-s' instead of the Danish plural marker "-er" (Appendix A, title. Henceforth to be written as A, title, etc.). Another example, which is used in almost every episode (suggesting they particularly liked this one!) can be seen in (B, 15): *snat* (Danish snitte = carve, *snittede* = carved); here, the word is conjugated according to one of the English **irregular** verb tense patterns (cf. **sit, sat**). This is in effect poking fun at the many different rules a second language learner has to know (and must tediously work on, in language classes).

c) "**Calques**", or lexical items are directly translated from one language to another. See, for instance (B, 19), Danish *taknemmelighed* (= gratitude), which is translated directly (morpheme by morpheme) into the rather curious *thank-easy-ness*.

d) "**Idiomatic calques**", or direct translation of whole phrases or sentences. In (A, 7), we see how the Danish idiom *enhver er sin egen lykkes smed* (= everyone is the architect of his own fortune) becomes the incomprehensible *one each is his own luck's smith.*

e) "**Bilingual punning**", or words that are deliberately *mis*-translated when there is a choice of more than one meaning. Thus (A, 9) *painted* mistranslates, from the Danish idiom, the word *malet* (= painted or ground); in this idiom, the correct meaning would be *ground.* David Li points out that this kind of punning is directly aimed at the linguistically more aware (1996: 98).

f) "**Allusion**", or phrases or sentences alluding to things in a bigger, cultural picture. For example, (B, 23): *"I have a dream..."* alludes to a speech by Dr. M.L.King, Jr., whereas (A, 14): *We are alle sammen in the same båd* (Danish *vi er alle i samme båd* = we're all in the same boat, or: we're all in this together) refers to the title of a popular Danish song. The humour in both of these would only work for the culturally aware!

6. CONCLUSION

Kathryn Woolard, in discussing the Castilian comic Eugenio's use of codeswitching (a "promiscuous mix" of Catalan and Castilian [1988:57]), explains how Eugenio humorously "models a fictional world" (71), giving an important social message that different "languages and thus language communities can co-exist and interact peacefully" (73). This is how I see the world of "The Julekalender", where code manipulations present a working multilingual interaction, not just through mixed discourse, but through the use of completely different languages and dialects within the same episodes. As Woolard maintains, the ability to appreciate and use a linguistic mix "affirms participants' claims to membership and the solidarity of the group in contrast to outsiders" (69). This is how it was in Denmark, where watching "The Julekalender" was like being part of a club -- a club to which more and more people wanted to belong.

Analysis of codeswitching in "The Julekalender" does not lead to brand-new discoveries about the nature of languages in contact. The only "why" we can talk about is the humour, although this is not insignificant. After all, it is through this humour that we are able to draw some very general conclusions about Danish culture and linguistic attitudes. Denmark is a small geographic (and linguistic) area in the world, but it has survived the linguistic onslaught of many neighbouring cultures over the years. Danes seem to have a confidence in their language and its ability to withstand – or to incorporate successfully – the influences of other languages, and they enjoy poking fun at these influences. It is no wonder that "The Julekalender" met with such enormous public success. In fact, "The strange language invented for the occasion [i.e. the show] was soon being used by many people in colloquial Danish" (Julekalender Site A). This just proves that there really are times when life imitates art.

NOTES

[1] I would like to thank my husband Bent Nielsen for his enormous help, both with translation and commentary, on "The Julekalender" segment I am discussing.

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Julekalender Sites: A) http://home4.inet.tele.dk/skni/julekalender.html
B) http://www.gilbjerg.dk/playdose/lyd.shtml

APPENDIX A

	THOUSANDS OF VENDINGS	
1	Thousands of vendings kværner round in my head	vendinger = *phrases*, kværner = *grinding*
2	I'm sitting here thinking on what the gammel man said	tænker på (*on*) = *thinking of*, gammel = *old*
3	If you wanna do it you can do it, just keep on	
4	What you can't do i daw maybe you can do i mor'n.	"i daw" (Jutlandian dialect) = i dag = *today*, "i mor'n" = i morgen = *tomorrow*
5	Thousands of vendings kværner round in my head	
6	I'm sitting here thinking on what the gammel man said	
7	My gammel man said one each is his own luck's smith	enhver er sin egen lykkes smed = *everyone is the architect of his own fortune*
8	That's there simplthen overhead not noget to do with..	det er der simpelthen overhovedet ikke noget at gøre ved = *there's nothing you can do about that*
9	The one who first comes to the mill is him who first get painted	den, der kommer først til mølle, får først malet (*painted* or *ground*) = *first come, first served*
10	He also said if you sleep in telt, make sure that it is raintæt.	telt = *tent*, regntæt = *rainproof*
11	Thousands of vendings kværner round in my head	
12	I'm sitting here thinking on what the gammel man said	
13	There are nothing that is so shit that it's not good for noget	der er intet der er så skidt, at det ikke er godt for noget = every cloud has a silver lining
14	Kommer times kommer road we are alle sammen in the same båd.	kommer tid, kommer råd = *good things come to those that wait*, vi er alle i samme båd (title of popular Danish WWII song) = *we're all in this together*
15	The one who first comes to the mill is him who first get painted	
16	He also said if you sleep in telt, make sure that it is raintæt.	

APPENDIX B

G:	Frits! Hansi! It is finished! The propel is	propel = *propeller*
	finished!	
H:	Let me see, Gynter.	
G:	Look!	
H:	Very good handwork, Gynter. Very –	håndværk = *craftsmanship*
	with holes in the middle, and all – Look,	
	Frits!	
G:	I vidste I could do it.	vidste = *knew*
H:	I think it look fantastic.	
G:	I vidste I could do it.	
H:	Yes, good work, Gynter.	
F:	Good snitter, good work.	snitter = *carver*
H:	Well, Gynter, there comes a time in	der kommer en tid i enhver nisses liv hvor han må stoppe op og skue tilbage (standard intro to Danish speeches celebrating personal achievements)
	every nisse's life where he has to stop up	
	and look back.	
	Well, Gynter. Through whole this	
	julekalendar, you have shown the right	julekalender = *advent calendar*
	spirit and go-on-mode.	gå-på-mod = "*stick-to-it-iveness*"
	When things saw their worst out, you	så værst ud = *looked their worst*
	just snat on. Never thinking: "What can	"snat" (eng. irregular verb form) = snittede = *carved*
	the andre do for me", but "what can I do	andre = *others*
	for the andre?"	(J. F. Kennedy reference)
	Well, Gynter, take this as a synligt bevis	synligt bevis = *visible token*
	on our thank-easy-ness.	tak-nemmelig-hed = *thank-easy-ness*

25 26	Well, now you are snit-nisse of <u>første</u> <u>grade</u>. <u>To luck with that</u>.	snit-nisse = *carving elf* første grad = *first rate,* til lykke med det = *congratulations*
	G: Thank you, Frits, Hansi. I have prepared this *takketale*. "I have a dream...."	takketale = *thank you-speech*, (Dr. M. L. King, Jr., reference)
	H: Yes, yes, Gynter. We have to pack our things so that we can get <u>tilbake</u> with the key to good old Gammel Nok.	til<u>bage</u> (*bake*) = *back*

DESCRIPTION DU PROCESSUS DE STANDARDISATION D'UNE LANGUE RÉGIONALE

LE CAS DE LA PRÉPOSITION *DE* DANS LE FRANÇAIS STANDARD ACADIEN

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RÉSUMÉ

La notion de « langue standard régionale » peut s'appliquer au français soutenu qui est en usage actuellement en Acadie, en situation de communication formelle. Cette variété de langue, appelée le « français standard acadien », est utilisée par des locuteurs instruits, ayant au moins un baccalauréat, et occupant une fonction de cadre (donc étant appelés à utiliser la langue au travail) dans des entreprises ou institutions de langue française, situées en milieu urbain. L'objectif de cette recherche est de décrire le processus de standardisation d'une variété de langue régionale : quels types de traits se standardisent d'abord, lesquels résistent, et dans quel ordre? Nous posons l'hypothèse d'une échelle implicationnelle, c'est-à-dire d'un changement non aléatoire, le même pour toutes les langues et qui s'appliquerait aussi bien au changement allant dans le sens de la standardisation qu'à celui allant dans le sens de la régionalisation (Appel et Muysken 1987; Chaudenson, Mougeon et Beniak 1993).

1. INTRODUCTION

En 1982, Thelander abordait la notion de *standard régional*, qu'il définissait en terme de *variété intermédiaire*. Il s'agit d'une variété, qui se développe en situation de changement linguistique, sur l'axe dynamique de la régionalisation/standardisation. Cette notion de standard-régional servira à développer le modèle théorique pour notre étude du français parlé soutenu, cette variété qui est en usage aujourd'hui en Acadie en situation de communication formelle, et que nous appelons *le français standard acadien* (à l'instar du *français standard québécois*, expression communément acceptée aujourd'hui au Québec). Déjà en 1972, Labov notait le même processus de changement, qui pousse le locuteur, dans certaines situations, à corriger les traits les plus stigmatisés de sa langue, dans le but de s'approcher le plus possible de la norme de prestige.

Cette recherche sur le français standard acadien nous a amenées à poser les questions suivantes : quels types de traits se standardisent d'abord, lesquels résistent, et dans quel ordre? Dans cette communication, nous tenterons de répondre à ces questions, en examinant en particulier le cas de la standardisation de la préposition *de*.

Mais d'abord voici un bref rappel du cadre théorique et méthodologique. Certains aspects qui ont été présentés dans des articles précédents, ne seront pas repris ici, notamment en ce qui a trait à la norme (voir à ce sujet, Péronnet 1996; et Péronnet et Kasparian 1998a et 1998b).

* Nous tenons à souligner l'étroite collaboration de l'assistante de recherche Christine Leblanc Dubé à l'étude présentée ici, notamment en ce qui a trait à l'analyse et au codage linguistique et informatique des données.

2. CADRE THÉORIQUE ET MÉTHODOLOGIQUE

Notre recherche s'inscrit dans le domaine du changement linguistique. Nous étudions plus spécifiquement un cas de standardisation d'une langue régionale.

La notion de *standard régional* semble contenir des termes contradictoires : d'une part le terme "standard", exprimant l'homogénéité, l'uniformité; et d'autre part le terme "régional", exprimant la particularité, la différence. Dans l'optique où cette notion définit une nouvelle variété de langue, appelée *variété intermédiaire*, cette apparente contradiction doit être interprétée comme étant l'expression de la tension qui existe entre les deux tendances opposées qui constituent la dynamique de toute langue, tendance à la régionalisation ou tendance à la standardisation, selon que les forces en présence tirent plutôt dans une direction ou dans l'autre (Schogt 1968 et Calvet 1981). La *variété intermédiaire* appelée *standard régional* représente le point d'équilibre qui est atteint entre les pôles de tension, en situation de standardisation linguistique.

Afin de décrire cette variété de langue intermédiaire qu'est le français standard acadien, nous avons constitué un corpus à partir d'entrevues de type formel. Ces entrevues ont été réalisées dans les trois grandes régions de langue française de la province du Nouveau-Brunswick, auprès de jeunes cadres (30-40 ans) ayant effectué des études universitaires (au moins un baccalauréat) et occupant actuellement des postes de responsabilité dans des entreprises et institutions de langue française (où la langue française est utilisée à plus de 50% du temps). De manière à obtenir l'échantillon le plus représentatif possible de l'usage étudié, nous avons choisi des localités comparables, soit les trois centres urbains de chaque région : Bathurst pour la région du nord-est, Edmundston pour la région du nord-ouest et Moncton pour la région du sud-est. Pour le moment, 18 entrevues de 30 à 45 minutes ont été réalisées, 6 par région.

Pour l'analyse de ce corpus, nous nous inspirons notamment des recherches de Appel et Muysken (1987) et de Chaudenson, Mougeon et Beniak (1993). Ces recherches nous ont permis de formuler l'hypothèse suivante, à savoir que les changements menant à la standardisation d'une langue se font par étapes successives, en suivant un certain ordre, selon ce qu'on appelle une *échelle implicationnelle.* Les étapes sont appelées *seuils*, pour exprimer l'idée de progression. Par exemple, telle catégorie grammaticale, ou sous-catégorie, aura tendance à se standardiser avant telle autre, selon un modèle préétabli (qui serait universel). Dans le cas des recherches citées, le changement observé concerne des langues en voie de régionalisation. Nous proposons d'élargir le modèle pour l'appliquer aussi bien au changement allant dans le sens de la standardisation qu'à celui allant dans le sens de la régionalisation, avec cependant une différence fondamentale dans la définition des étapes selon la direction du changement. En principe, et c'est notre hypothèse, les étapes du changement seront inversées selon qu'il s'agit d'un changement allant dans un sens ou dans l'autre. Pour les besoins de notre recherche, nous avons donc construit une grille qui prend en compte ces adaptations.

Grille de classement

Seuil 0	Traditionnel acadien	(O)
	Traditionnel régional	(OR)
Seuil 1	Nouvelle variété d'acadien	(1Ac)
	Emprunt au québécois	(1Q)
Seuil 2	Standard-approximation	(2Ap)
	Standard-hypercorrection	(2H)

Cette grille permet de classer les traits du français standard acadien selon trois *seuils*, sur un continuum qui part du français traditionnel (Seuil 0 : point de départ du changement) pour aller vers le français standard officiel, qui est pris comme modèle formel de standardisation. Deux seuils (Seuil 1 et Seuil 2) ont été identifiés le long du continuum. Ces seuils peuvent se subdiviser en plusieurs sous-catégories (la grille en présente deux par seuil). Le premier seuil demeure régional, mais il s'agit d'un régional renouvelé et plus large; le deuxième seuil se rapproche du standard officiel, sans encore l'atteindre tout à fait.

Exemples pour chaque seuil :

Exemple du Seuil O : Traditionnel acadien (trait commun à plusieurs régions)
(1) *I font* ***touT [tut]*** *ça.*

Exemple du Seuil OR : Traditionnel régional (trait propre à une région en particulier)
(2) *C'est pas toujours évident,* ***à moins qu'y a*** *une fracture.*

Exemple du Seuil 1Ac : nouveau trait acadien (le trait traditionnel serait *iоù ce que*)
(3)*Tu sais pas* ***où ce que*** *tu seras dans dix ans.*

Exemples du Seuil 1Q : traits empruntés au québécois (en acadien *Viens-tu ?I vient-ti?*)
(4a) *Tu viens-**tu**?*
(4b) *I vient-**tu**?*

Exemple du seuil 2Ap : trait standard-approximatif
(5) ***C'est du travail qui aura des agents*** *qui vont se rendre là.*

Exemples du seuil 2H : traits d'hypercorrection
(6a) *Finalement les années* ***se sont passées*** *pis j'ai eu des entrevues ....*
(6b) *I vont* ***s'organiser à venir.***

3. ANALYSES PRÉLIMINAIRES

Dans un premier temps, nous avons analysé en priorité l'aspect morphosyntaxique du corpus. Après avoir identifié les différents traits, nous les avons classés en divers seuils, selon la grille présentée.

Les premiers résultats de l'analyse morphosyntaxique nous ont permis de voir quelques grandes tendances dans l'évolution du français parlé au Nouveau-Brunswick en situation formelle : 1) Le taux de traits traditionnels est encore relativement élevé, en particulier dans la région de Moncton, ce qui signifie que le processus de standardisation n'est pas encore très avancé; 2) On relève un grand nombre de traits approximatifs et d'hypercorrection, en particulier dans certaines catégories (par exemple les prépositions), ce qui montre que la langue étudiée est en pleine transformation, même dans la région pourtant plus conservatrice de Moncton; 3) On note relativement peu de nouveaux traits régionaux stabilisés, sauf dans la région de Moncton; 4) Les régions de Bathurst et Edmundston se démarquent de Moncton, Bathurst par l'emprunt de traits au français québécois et Edmundston par la conservation de traits régionaux propres.

Rappelons que ces tendances dans l'évolution du français parlé, en situation formelle, dans les trois grandes régions du Nouveau-Brunswick, ont été analysées et commentées plus en détails dans deux articles précédents (Péronnet et Kasparian 1998a, 1998b).

Lors de l'analyse générale des traits morphosyntaxiques, la catégorie des prépositions est apparue comme étant l'une des catégories intéressantes à étudier de plus près, ne serait-ce qu'en raison du nombre élevé de traits identifiés (voir les tableaux présentés dans Péronnet et Kasparian 1998a et 1998b) et de leur classement en divers seuils.

Le tableau qui suit présente les résultats de l'analyse des prépositions selon les seuils, pour chaque région.

TABLEAU 1

Co-occurrences des variables Préposition/Seuil, par région

Catégorie / Seuils		Edmunston	Bathurst	Moncton
Prép	O	40	38	52
Prép	1Ac	18	21	54
Prép	2Ap	42	42	49

On note que les prépositions non-standard sont en distribution relativement importante dans les trois seuils. Le nombre de variantes dans le Seuil 2 est presque égal à celui du Seuil 0, ce qui signifie que, contrairement à d'autres catégories, par exemple la catégorie des pronoms relatifs qui évolue peu et lentement (voir Péronnet et Kasparian 1998b), cette catégorie est en pleine évolution. Par ailleurs, ce tableau des prépositions confirme les résultats de l'analyse globale des variantes (Péronnet et Kasparian 1998a), à savoir que la région de Moncton est non seulement caractérisée par la tendance à conserver les variantes traditionnelles (Seuil 0), mais également par la tendance à développer de nouvelles variantes régionales (Seuil 1Ac).

Suite à cette étude générale des prépositions, nous avons décidé de poursuivre avec une étude détaillée de chaque préposition. Nous avons commencé par *de*, qui est la plus fréquente.

4. ÉTUDE DE LA PRÉPOSITION *DE*

Jusqu'ici nos analyses ont porté sur les traits non-standardisés du français acadien étudié. C'était là une étape nécessaire, mais une première étape seulement de notre étude. Avec cette analyse-ci, nous passons à l'étape suivante, qui a pour but de mesurer le degré de standardisation de ce français régional. Il s'agit de comparer le taux d'utilisation de chaque trait non-standard identifié avec le taux d'utilisation de la variante correspondante en français standard normatif. Cela ne peut être fait que cas par cas, en étudiant séparément les différentes fonctions de la catégorie morphosyntaxique soumise à l'analyse. Par exemple, pour connaître le taux de standardisation de la préposition "de" comme "marque d'appartenance", il faut relever toutes les occurrences de cet emploi précis (Ex. le ballon *de* Philippe) et les mettre en rapport avec les occurrences de la préposition "à" utilisée pour ce même emploi (Ex. le ballon *à* Philippe). Or, pour dresser la liste des *de* d'appartenance, puisque rien ne différencie formellement ce *de* des autres structures de *de*, il faut commencer par balayer tous les *de* du corpus (800 environ), ainsi que les *de* dans les formes contractées *du* et *des*, qui viennent doubler les occurrences.

Nous avons identifié 4 structures principales, pour lesquelles le français étudié s'écartait traditionnellement du français standard :

Structure A : **Verbe + *de* + ...**
Structure B : **Nom/adjectif + *de* + ...**
Structure C : **Verbe + *(0)* + ...**
Structure D : **Locution prépositive + *(0)* + ...**

En analysant les quatre structures identifiées (A, B, C, D) du point de vue du processus de standardisation, on a vite perçu une nette différence entre les structures A et B d'une part et les structures C et D d'autre part. Dans le cas des structures A et B, lors du processus de standardisation, il y a remplacement d'une préposition par une autre. Par exemple avec le verbe *dépendre*, la préposition *sur* est remplacée par la préposition *de* (dépendre *sur* ça / dépendre *de* ça) ; et avec le nom *cours*, la préposition *en* est remplacée par la préposition *de* (cours *en* sociologie/cours *de* sociologie). Dans le cas des structures C et D, le processus de standardisation se traduit par l'omission de la préposition traditionnellement en usage dans la variété de langue régionale. Pour cette raison, il a paru nécessaire de former deux catégories distinctes de structures :

Catégorie 1 (Structures A et B) : **Remplacement d'une préposition par une autre**
Catégorie 2 (Structures C et D) : **Omission d'une préposition**

Lors du dépouillement du corpus, il a été nécessaire de subdiviser chaque structure principale en sous-structures (A1, A2, etc.), de manière à ne comparer que le comparable. Le plus souvent, il a fallu partir d'un verbe précis ou d'un nom précis. Par exemple, pour ce qui est de la structure **verbe + de**, on a examiné quel emploi de la préposition était fait avec le verbe *dépendre*, en comparant la structure standard à la structure régionale (*dépendre + de* en standard / *dépendre + sur* en acadien). De même, pour le verbe *essayer* (*essayer de* en standard / *essayer à* en acadien), etc. Voici quelques exemples de structures étudiées :

Exemple de la structure A : **Verbe** + ***de*** (standard : *dépendre* ***de*** ... /acadien : *dépendre* ***sur)***
(7a) *Je savais qu'ils dépendaient* ***sur*** *moi pour ces choses-là*

Exemple de la structure A : **Verbe** + ***de*** (standard : *essayer* ***de*** .../acadien : *essayer* ***à)***
(7b) *J'ai essayé à trois reprises* ***à*** *faire de la collection, pis...*

Exemple de la structure B : **Nom** + ***de*** (standard : *des cours* ***de*** /acadien : *des cours* ***dans***)
(8a) *J'ai pris des cours* ***dans*** *la sociologie*

Exemple de la structure B : **Nom** + ***de*** (standard : *la chance* ***de*** /acadien : *la chance* ***à)***
(8b) *On a la chance* ***à*** *se faire connaître*

Exemple de la structure C : **Verbe** + ***(0)*** (standard : *aimer* ***(0)*** /acadien : *aimer* ***de)***
(9) J*'ai tout le temps aimer* ***de*** *faire ce travail*

Exemple de la structure D : **Loc. prép.** + ***(0)*** (standard : *à part* ***(0)*** /acadien : *à part* ***de)***
(10) *à part* ***de*** *ça...*

Voici les résultats de l'analyse qui a été effectuée pour chacune des structures de la préposition ***de*** relevées dans notre corpus, regroupées en deux catégories différentes (voir les tableaux 2 et 3).

Comme le montre le tableau 2, la plupart des structures de type A, **Verbe** + ***de*** **+ ...** , sont très fortement standardisées. On ne relève que peu d'écarts, un ou deux par structure en moyenne. Certaines structures ont pu être mieux vérifiées que d'autres, le corpus ayant fourni un grand nombre d'exemples. C'est le cas des structures A4, A2, A5. On note que la structure A1 n'est qu'à moitié standardisée : il faut préciser qu'il s'agit d'un écart plus récent (un calque de l'anglais) et non d'un écart traditionnel. Globalement, cette structure de type A est standardisée à 91,3% (105 occurrences standard sur 115 occurrences).

On constate que la standardisation des structures de type B, **Nom** + ***de*** **+...** , est également importante. On relève trois écarts maximum pour chacune des sous-structures. Cependant, le corpus ne fournit pas autant d'exemples de chaque structure que dans le cas de la structure de type A. On note que la standardisation est moindre notamment avec les structures B6 et B9. Dans l'ensemble, cette structure est standardisée à 80% (56 occurences standard sur 70 occurrences).

À l'intérieur de la catégorie 1 (qui comprend les structures A et B), on constate donc que les structures verbales (A) se standardisent à un rythme plus grand (à 91%) que les structures nominales (B), dont la standardisation se situe à 80%.

TABLEAU 2

Catégorie 1 (Structures A et B) : Remplacement d'une préposition par une autre

STRUCTURE - STANDARD	*NO. D'OCC.*	*STRUCTURE NON-STANDARD/ET SEUIL*	*NO. D'OCC.*
Structure A :			
Verbe +DE + sn/pron./inf.			
A1. dépendre de + sn ou pron. (coi)	4	pour / 1 Ac sur / 1Ac	2
A2. parler de + sn ou pron. (coi)	19	Ø /2 Ap	1
A3. entendre parler de + sn ou pron. (coi)	1	Ø / 2 Ap	1
A4. essayer de + inf. (cod) *essayer de faire*	51 8	à / O	1
A5. c'est de + inf. (attr.)	11	Ø / 2 Ap à / 2 Ap	2
A6. sn + être de + inf. (attr.)	4	à / 2 Ap	1
*A7. parler de + ...** (coi)* *essayer de + ...*** (cod)	3 4	Ø / 2 Ap à / O	1 1
Nombre total d'occurrences	**105**		**10**
Pourcentage de standardisation	**91,3 %**		

STRUCTURE - STANDARD	*NO. D'OCC.*	*STRUCTURE NON-STANDARD/ET SEUIL*	*NO. D'OCC.*
Structure B:			
Nom/adjectif + DE + sn/pron./inf.			
B1. cours de + sn/pron. (compl. nom) *cours de... (compl. nom)*	13 1	Ø / O dans O	2
B2. protection de + sn/pron. (compl. nom)	6	à / 2 Ap	1
B3. opportunité de sn/pron. (compl. nom)	2	à - 2 Ap	1
B4. firme de + sn/pron. (compl. nom)	1	à / O	1
B5. demande de + sn/pron. (compl. nom)	14	Ø / 2 Ap	1
B6. chance de + inf. (compl. nom)	7	à / O	3
B7. choix de + inf. (compl. nom)	4	à / O	1
B8. plaisir de + inf. (compl. nom)	1	à / O	1
B9. plaisir de + inf. (compl. adj.) *difficile de + inf. (compl. adj.)*	4 3	à / 1AC à / O	1 2
Nombre total d'occurrences	**56**		**14**
Pourcentage de standardisation	**80 %**		

Comme le montre le tableau 3, la standardisation de la structure C, **Verbe + *(0)* +...**, est nettement moins avancée (65 % : 17 occurrences standard sur 26 occurrences) que celle des structures A et B de la première catégorie.

Dans le tableau 2, on ne relève aucun cas de standardisation (zéro occurrences de structures standard sur 26 occurrences) de la structure D, **Locution prépositive + *(0)* +....** Cette structure demeure régionale à 100%. Il faut cependant noter que le corpus ne fournit qu'un cas en particulier, celui de la locution prépositive *à part* (standard) / *à part de* ou *à part de d'* (régional acadien).

À l'intérieur de la catégorie 2 (qui comprend les structures C et D), on constate donc que les structures grammaticalisées (C) se standardisent à un rythme nettement plus grand (65%) que les structures lexicalisées (D), qui ne montrent aucune standardisation (0%).

TABLEAU 3

Catégorie 2 (Structures C et D) : Omission d'une préposition

STRUCTURE - STANDARD	*NO. D'OCC.*	*STRUCTURE NON-STANDARD/ET SEUIL*	*NO. D'OCC.*
Structure C: Verbe + Ø + inf./adv. de lieu/nom			
C1. aimer + Ø + inf.	8	de - O	6
C2. verbe + Ø + là-dessus	7	de - 1AC	1
C3. verbe + Ø + là-dedans	2	de - 1Ac	2
Nombre total d'occurrences	**17**		**9**
Pourcentage de standardisation	**65 %**		

STRUCTURE - STANDARD	*NO. D'OCC.*	*STRUCTURE NON-STANDARD/ET SEUIL*	*NO. D'OCC.*
Structure D: Locution prépositive + Ø (+ Ø) + Nom/infinitif			
D1. à part + Ø + ça	0	de - O	15
D2. à part + Ø + Ø + ça	0	de - O	7
D3. à part + Ø infinitif	0	de - O	4
Nombre total d'occurrences	**0**		**26**
Pourcentage de standardisation	**0 %**		

5. CONCLUSION

Au terme de cette analyse portant sur la standardisation d'une variété de langue régionale, en particulier sur les structures morphosyntaxiques, et notamment sur la préposition *de*, qu'est-il possible de conclure ?

Dans les limites du corpus étudié, cette étape de notre recherche fournit déjà des éléments de réflexion, sinon de réponse, permettant de poursuivre la vérification de l'hypothèse de l'échelle implicationnelle, telle que posée par Appel et Muysken (1987) et reprise par Chaudenson, Mougeon et Beniak (1993), à savoir que les changements linguistiques se font par étapes successives, en suivant un certain ordre. Si on se fonde sur les résultats de l'analyse présentée ici, il est déjà possible de percevoir un ordre dans le processus de standardisation étudié : on constate que, quelle que soit la catégorie (1 ou 2), les structures les plus grammaticalisées ont tendance à se standardiser plus rapidement que les structures les moins grammaticalisées. Dans le cas de la catégorie 1, les structures verbales (**Verbe + *de* +...**) se standardisent avant les structures nominales (**Nom** + ***de*** +...) ; et dans le cas de la catégorie 2, les structures verbales (**Verbe + *(0)* + ...**) se standardisent avant les structures lexicalisées (**Locution prépositive** + *(0)* + ...).

Ces conclusions préliminaires sont actuellement en cours de vérification, au moyen d'une analyse statistique portant sur des données plus larges que celles utilisées pour la présente étude.

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STRUCTURES SYNTAXIQUES CHEZ LES JEUNES ACADIENS DE LA NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE

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RÉSUMÉ

L'objet de notre étude est de préciser le fonctionnement langagier du jeune Acadien de la région de Clare en Nouvelle-Écosse. À l'aide d'une enquête linguistique portant sur une narration orale à l'aide d'images, nous étudierons les productions attestées en fonction de l'âge des sujets. Nous nous centrerons plus précisement sur l'aspect syntaxique de la langue et analyserons les formes que prend la phrase relative dans un contexte minoritaire. Nous en concluons que c'est en 6e année, c'est-à-dire vers 11 ans que les jeunes Acadiens commencent à employer certaines formes de relatives standard complexes. (Nous présentons une perspective qui pourrait permettre au professeur d'introduire à l'élève dès son jeune âge l'observation comparée de deux systèmes de langues).

La recherche proposée vise à cerner les stratégies langagières syntaxiques en milieu minoritaire francophone. Le travail fait suite à une vaste étude des processus linguistiques, cognitifs et communicatifs menée en milieu majoritaire à partir d'une narration (Berman et Slobin 1994).

Tout le projet s'insère dans le cadre global des Actes du Langage (Bernicot 1992) où les fonctions de communication sont essentielles dans un discours. L'approche théorique est fonctionnaliste telle que la définissent Givon (1990) et Bamberg, Budwig et Kaplan (1991). La communication linguistique n'est pas un ensemble de règles mais «un réseau complexe de correspondances entre formes et fonctions» (Kail & Fayol 2000 : 11). Nous travaillerons donc sur un corpus réel de langue parlée en contexte. Les formes syntaxiques et discursives seront sélectionnées à partir des choix expressifs des locuteurs dans un contexte de situation. Afin d'examiner les processus d'acquisition des formes syntaxiques sur le plan du développement cognitif, il nous semble pertinent de contextualiser une tâche et d'observer le langage spontané d'enfants de trois groupes d'âge différents. On peut dès lors supposer que les choix expressifs de nature syntaxique seront plus variés selon les étapes d'acquisition de la langue. Ils pourront de même être plus variés selon les options syntaxiques du milieu. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'un milieu possédant un vernaculaire dialectal bien distinct de la langue de référence, les formes syntaxiques acquises peuvent relever de la langue régionale ou de la langue standard.

La Nouvelle-Écosse a une situation fortement minoritaire. D'après Flikeid (1984), la Nouvelle-Écosse est une région où 5% des habitants sont de langue maternelle française. Les francophones sont répartis en petites concentrations de part et d'autres de la Province «formant de véritables isolats linguistiques».

Dans certaines régions, les Acadiens francophones et les anglophones ont eu des terres côte à côte tandis que dans d'autres, le peuplement s'est fait de manière plus uniforme, notamment dans la région où notre étude s'est déroulée. Nous présentons donc ici la première étape de notre travail, une pré-expérimentation portant sur une structure de syntaxe seulement, les relatives attestées sur un corpus de 24 élèves. Les sujets sont tous de parents francophones et fréquentent une école de la région de Clare en Nouvelle-Écosse, La Baie Ste Marie.

1. VOLET THÉORIQUE

Les relatives

La relative étudiée par Gadet (1995) constitue un des éléments de syntaxe particulièrement révélateur de l'émergence des structures standard et non standard. Les types de relatives que l'on retrouve dans un récit spontané sur images sont spécifiques à la tâche. Les principaux types standard sont les relatives de discours général (présentatives) et les continuatives introduites par des relatifs simples et complexes en *qui, que, où, duquel, auquel, sur lequel,* etc. Certaines relatives standard telles les relatives en *que* présentent un degré de complexité formelle plus grand que les relatives en *qui* car elles introduisent une inversion dans l'ordre des mots. Les relatives sujet et objet en *qui* et *que* sont invariables. Deux types de relatives sont empreintes de régionalismes. Ce sont les relatives locatives en *où (oùsque)* et les relatives complexes en *duquel, auquel, sur lequel* décumulées en une particule *que* suivie d'une préposition colorée du type *dessus* ou *avec* ou d'une préposition incolore du type *à* et *de.* Les prépositions incolores disparaissent en général en fin de phrase car elles sont plus petites.

Exemple :

1. *Pendant ce temps, le chien a fait tomber le nid d'abeille qu'il jouait avec (Justine, 6e année)*

Nos hypothèses sont les suivantes :
- Les élèves manifesteront des écarts de langue au niveau syntaxique liés à la langue régionale;
- Les élèves se serviront davantage de relatives sujets présentatives que de relatives objets et complexes au deux premiers niveaux d'âge;
- Les structures complexes présenteront en majorité des décumuls;
- Les élèves manifesteront des écarts de langue non standard liés à la langue parlée dans leur région.

2. VOLET EXPÉRIMENTAL

Echantillon, matériel et procédure.

Les données consistent en des monologues narratifs constitués à partir d'un livre d'images divisé en épisodes (Mayer 1969). Le livre contient 24 images sans texte. Les images racontent les aventures d'un garçon et de son chien à la recherche d'une grenouille qui prend la fuite. L'enquêteur montre les images du livre au sujet. Il explique que l'histoire porte sur une grenouille et il lui demande de bien regarder les images. Le sujet raconte ensuite l'histoire et celle-ci est enregistrée.

Le corpus porte sur un échantillon de 24 enfants de 2^e, 4^e et 6^e année. Il concerne trois années de scolarité afin de réunir un échantillon valide, de fixer les catégories et de procéder à un aperçu longitudinal des énoncés en fonction de l'âge. Les enfants sont de parents de milieu francophone vivant dans une région à la fois rurale et touristique (très visitée l'été), la région acadienne de Clare en Nouvelle-Écosse. Les Acadiens de cette région tentent de conserver leur langue en dépit d'une inquiétante assimilation due au milieu majoritaire anglophone de l'ensemble de la Province.

Bien que notre étude ne vise pas à faire ressortir le lien entre le milieu socio-culturel et le langage utilisé, nous avons décidé d'administrer le bref questionnaire de Godin et Renaud (1989) dans l'intention de mieux connaître le milieu. Les questions posées portent sur le lieu de naissance des parents, la langue d'usage à la maison du père et de la mère, la langue parlée entre frères et soeurs ou avec les amis, la langue parlée dans les activités culturelles, en écoutant la radio, la télévision ou la musique (cassettes vidéo, disques compacts), en lisant des livres et dans leurs activités sportives. Cette brève enquête met en évidence la situation linguistique des enfants de cette région et précise la langue utilisée dans différents contextes.

Les résultats semblent montrer un certain bilinguisme soustractif du fait qu'un très faible pourcentage de sujets admettent avoir des activités et des conversations dans une seule langue. 50% des sujets répondent qu'ils parlent les deux langues à la maison avec leurs parents et 70% avec les amis. Les activités de loisir se passent majoritairement en anglais.

Toutefois, 90% des répondants souhaitent continuer à fréquenter l'école francophone pour des raisons d'appartenance. Souhaitant limiter nos données à l'étude de langue, nous laisserons aux sociolinguistes le soin de tirer des conclusions plus globales sur le type de bilinguisme de la région. Le tableau I montre la répartition des sujets en fonction de l'âge.

Tableau 1 : Répartition des sujets en fonction de l'âge

Âge moyen des groupes	Nombre de sujets
7 ans 6 mois	8
9 ans 5 mois	8
11ans 4 mois	8

Les sujets ont été choisis de manière aléatoire et sur une base volontaire avec le consentement des parents. La passation des épreuves est individuelle. La consigne est claire et identique pour chaque sujet. L'expérimentateur prévient le sujet que son histoire est enregistrée mais qu'elle demeure confidentielle.

Après la transcription du corpus, nous avons séparé chacune des phrases en fonction de l'image correspondante en les numérotant.

3. EXPOSÉ DES RÉSULTATS

Les données brutes sont transcrites du point de vue syntaxique, en fonction du nombre et du type de structures. Le tableau 3 indique la fréquence des phrases par catégories (présentatives, continuatives), par fonction pour les continuatives (sujet, objet et complexes) ainsi que le stade de développement.

Tableau 2 : Types de structures et fréquence des relatives en fonction de l'âge

Nombre	Année	Présentatives		Continuatives				Total
				simples			complexes	
24 élèves		C'est qui C'est que X qui	Y'a qui Y'a que	qui	que	où oùsque	que + Préposition	
8	2^e	3	3	1	0	0	0	7
8	4^e	0	4	1	1	1	0	7
8	6^e	1	3	5	3	4	2	18
Total		4	10	7	4	5	2	32

Les résultats indiquent:

- une plus grande variété de relatives en 6^e année qu'en 2^e et 4^e année (surtout dans les trois positions sujet, objet et complément)

  2 . *Pis i se tient sur les petites branches qui coupent (Logan, 6^e année)*

- des structures présentatives caractéristiques de la narration à tous les âges

  3. *C'est une grenouille qui s'a sauvé de la bouteille (René, 1re année)*
  4. *Y'a une petite souris qui est sortie du trou (Colin, 4^e année)*

- une coexistence des relatives régionales et standard *oùsque-où* en 6^e année

  5. *Pis il est en train de hucher pour le crapaud mais il savait point oùsqu'il fallait aller pour le trouver (Suzanne, 6^e année)*

6. L'hibou commence à s'endormir proche de la roche où il a trouvé un renne (Justine, 6e année)

- l'emploi des relatives complexes décumulées non standard *que+ prép* colorée exclusivement en 6e année

7. Pendant ce temps, le chien a fait timber le nid d'abeille qu'il jouait avec (Justine, 6e année)

4. ANALYSE

La pré-enquête corrobore deux hypothèses émises dans nos recherches antérieures (Picolet-Crépault 1997), c'est-à-dire une variété croissante de structures en fonction de l'âge et la constance de la structure présentative liée à la fonction narrative. Cependant, l'hypothèse concernant les écarts spécifiques à la région étudiée n'est pas corroborée. Il semble donc que les enfants de la Nouvelle-Écosse comme ceux du Nouveau-Brunswick opèrent des écarts similaires de syntaxe en fonction de l'âge. La relative standard objet et complexe ne se retrouve qu'à deux reprises en 6e année seulement. La difficulté des formes reconstituées par les grammairiens de la France du XVIIe siècle en *dont*, avec *lequel, sur lequel, duquel*, *auquel* reste entière dans un milieu traversé par des courants anglophones et francophones. Les formes décumulées, manifestations de la langue orale sont employées majoritairement.

5. CONCLUSION

Notre étude ouvre des perspectives comparatives intéressantes : en fonction narrative, l'utilisation de la relative standard complexe en milieu minoritaire francophone est peu fréquente. À l'instar des jeunes Acadiens de la région de Moncton (Picolet-Crépault 1997), le français non standard reste la norme. L'analyse auprès d'une population adulte dont l'âge moyen est de 26 ans se poursuit ainsi qu'une validation de la pré-expérimentation sur un échantillon plus vaste de jeunes en Nouvelle-Écosse. La préparation d'un matériel pédagogique sous forme de disquettes ou de livres tenant compte des deux systèmes de langues (standard, non standard) semble indispensable pour permettre à l'enfant francophone des Provinces de l'Atlantique de prendre conscience de son plein potentiel linguistique.

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INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN MAINE (SJV) FRENCH

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ABSTRACT

Lambrecht (1994) proposes the existence of a component of grammar, which he calls information structure, that determines the appropriate lexicogrammatical structure of pragmatically structured propositions. Working within this framework, this paper will explore the status of nominative clitics, left and right detachment, and Pro-drop in the (Acadian) French spoken in Maine's St. John Valley. Data are taken from a small corpus of speech samples gathered in Madawaska and Fort Kent.

1. INTRODUCTION

A brief overview of the theory of INFORMATION STRUCTURE and its application to informal spoken French as explained in Lambrecht 1986 and 1994 will be presented below, followed by a look at examples from Maine French. The data for this study are taken from three hours of recordings made in Madawaska and Fort Kent in northern Maine's St. John River valley (SJV) in 1995 and 1998. The examples were selected from the speech of four individuals ranging in age from early teens to mid forties.

2. LAMBRECHT'S THEORY OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE

Lambrecht 1994 expands upon an analysis of topic and focus in spoken French first presented in his dissertation titled, *Topic, focus and the grammar of spoken French* (1986), by developing a theory of information structure which he then applies to English, Italian, and German, as well as French. Information structure and grammatical structure are interdependent. As defined below, information structure is a part of the grammar of any language, and different languages have different means of matching lexicogrammatical structures with the mental status of referents.

> Information structure: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts. (1994:5)

Information structure is, furthermore, a part of pragmatic structuring. Information itself does not involve meaning, nor does it have truth value. It does, however, in Lambrecht's terms, 'influence the hearer's mental representation of the world'.

Included in this theory is what Lambrecht terms the PRINCIPLE OF THE SEPARATION OF REFERENCE AND ROLE, which comes into play in spoken language to the advantage of both speaker and hearer. For the speaker, construction of a complex sentence is facilitated when an inactive lexical referent is introduced in a separate clausal unit from that of its syntactic role in the structure of the sentence. By the same token, it is easier for the hearer to interpret a message about a topic if determining the topic referent can be done independently from decoding the speaker's message.

The requirements of pragmatics relating to accessibility of mental referents within the discourse are such that certain types of topics are more acceptable than others, the most easily accessible being the most acceptable. Lambrecht (1994:164) proposes a scale of acceptability that is reproduced in (1) below.

(1) TOPIC Acceptability Scale

active	most acceptable
accessible	
unused	
brand-new anchored	
brand-new unanchored	least acceptable

An ACTIVE topic requires the least effort on the part of the hearer, and the preferred topic expression is an unaccented pronoun. According to Lambrecht, this accounts for the Preferred Clause Structure in French: The lexical NP identifies the topic, and the pronominal NP indicates its role in the grammatical clause structure. An ACCESSIBLE topic requires increased processing, such as remembering, inferring, or determining the referent. An UNUSED topic is identifiable but inactive. Least acceptable among topics are BRAND-NEW ANCHORED and BRAND-NEW UNANCHORED topics. Because they are unidentifiable, brand new topics fall at the bottom of the scale and are least acceptable, yet anchoring a brand-new topic by linking it to an identifiable referent within the discourse increases slightly its acceptability.

Lambrecht discusses topic, focus, and the mental representation of referents. The following sections summarize the key points of his theory as they pertain to TOPICS (TOP) and ANTITOPICS (A-TOP) in spoken Standard French. A discussion of TOP and A-TOP in Maine follows this summary.

3. INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN FRENCH

According to Lambrecht, the canonical sentence structure SV(O) of Standard French is rare in spontaneous spoken discourse and, in fact, within the framework of information structure is unacceptable. In its place, he proposes the following preferred grammatical clause structure: [(QU-) pro-Verb (X)]. The corresponding preferred construction for topic and focus in information structure is [(F) t Verb (F)].

Only topical expressions, lexical constituents that appear to the left of the Preferred Clause in spoken French, can establish a new topic or mark a change in topic. TOP constituents have the following properties.[1]

(2) Properties of Topics

(a) TOPs can be omitted without affecting grammatical well-formedness;
(b) They have no case marking;
(c) There is no predictable semantic relation to the predicate;
(d) TOP phrases do not require an anaphoric link to argument positions in the predicate;
(e) Double topic constructions are possible;
(f) If there is more than one topic, their order is free;
(g) They occupy fixed sentenced-initial position;
(h) They can be separated from the predicate by one or more intervening clauses;
(i) A constraint on embedding means they do not occur freely in all types of subordinate clauses;
(j) TOP phrases cannot be indefinite, though a generic TOP expression is acceptable.

Lexical constituents that occur to the right of the Preferred Clause are antitopics. Their properties are listed below.

(3) Properties of Antitopics

(a) A-TOPs are clause constituents without being arguments of the verb;
(b) They must appear immediately after the predicate with which they are associated;
(c) They are syntactically omissible;
(d) A-TOPs are bound by their pronominal anaphor and cannot be unlinked;
(e) They can be overtly marked for case;
(f) Like topics, they cannot be indefinite, but a generic A-TOP is acceptable.

Spoken French exhibits a high frequency of the occurrence of detached lexical NPs and pronouns (Barnes 1985), a phenomenon which has been present in the language for some time. Lambrecht (1988) points out Bauche's observation in *Le langage populaire* (1929) that the use of left detachment in the spoken language is frequent and enhances its expressive nature as compared to the strict SV(O) order of written French. His own analysis of the François[2] corpus indicates that less than 3 percent of clauses contain lexical subject NPs.

The results of a preliminary study of the phenomenon as found in Maine French are outlined below.

4. TOPICS AND ANTITOPICS IN MAINE FRENCH

Because this variety of French is strictly a spoken language (education in French as anything other than a foreign language having been outlawed in the 1920s[3]), one might expect to find a high frequency of detached NPs. However, the frequency of both left and right detachments is, in fact, considerably less than that of the variety of spoken Standard French studied by Lambrecht and Barnes. Although definitive statistics are not available at this time, for one pair of speakers, left and right detachments occur only approximately 18 times over the course of a conversation lasting 25 minutes, far less than the 92% rate that Lambrecht found in the François corpus. This begs the question, do TOP and A-TOP expressions in Maine French share the properties of their counterparts in spoken Standard French outlined in (2) and (3) above and do they have the same function?

In the following examples the TOP expressions and corresponding anaphor, if there is one, are indicated in boldface print.

(4) TOPIC

a. **Not' terre nous-aut'** comment ça fait d'années que **c**'est sumé aux patates là?
Our land us how many years has it been that it's been planted in potatoes?
'How long has our land been planted in potatoes?'

b. **La fournaise al** a de l'ouvrage à faire ...
The furnace it has some work to do ...
'The furnace has some work to do ...'

c. **Moi, j**'y vas certain.
Me I'm going for sure.
'I'm going for sure.'

d. **Eux-aut' l'mone du Québec qui alle manger au Saint-Hubert**, c'est, c'est un luxe pour **eux-aut'**.
Them the people from Quebec who go to eat at St. Hubert, it's, it's a luxury for them.
'For the people from Quebec who go to eat at St. Hubert, it's a luxury.'

e. **Jean M., lui là mon beau-frère là, i** peut boire ça.
Jean M., him there, my brother-in-law there, he can drink it.
'My brother-in-law Jean M., [he likes it so well] he could drink it [the gravy from St. Hubert] .'

f. **Une petite pluie** de temps en temps, **c**'est mieux.
A small rain from time to time it's better.
'A fine rain from time to time is better.'

The conversation in which (4a) occurs takes place between a married couple. The husband works for his brother, a potato grower, and the context for this token is a discussion about his brother's fields and crop rotation involving potatoes and oats. In this example, the wife introduces a new topic, their own fields, with the lexical TOP expression *not' terre nous-aut'*. While their land is an unused TOP at the point at which it occurs in the conversation, it is easily accessible in that it entails a simple identification of the land in question, a task that is made all the easier by the double possessive link (*not'* and *nous-aut')* to the speech participants. Any topic that is linked to the speech participants is highly accessible.

The example in (4b) is taken from the same conversation, and the context here is an exchange about the weather in general and the previous winter in particular. In talking about the frigid temperatures and the cold drafts in buildings, the speaker introduces the furnace (*la fournaise*) as a new topic. As in the previous example, this referent is unused: It is inactive though identifiable within the context of the conversation.

The token in (4c) comes from a different conversation that includes a father, his son of 13 and daughter of 9, and their friend, who is the wife mentioned in the preceding conversation. His wife is also present, but she is too far from the microphone to be understood easily. The father is asking the children whether or not they're going to accompany him on a trip to Quebec that coming Saturday. The question is formulated in the singular, and it is not clear whether he is addressing one child or the other. The boy replies, stating that he is definitely going to go when he says, '*Moi, j'y vas certain*'. In this token, the pronominal TOP is accessible in that it refers to one of the speech participants and can be considered an active referent, especially since it is a response to his father's question.

The discourse about the upcoming trip to Quebec and a visit to St. Hubert, a popular take-out restaurant, continues with a rather lengthy discussion of the quality of the chicken and gravy served at St. Hubert. As in (4a-c), the TOP expression in (d) is brand-new anchored. In fact, the pronominal TOP *eux-aut'*, which by itself would be brand-new unanchored, is linked in two ways to the TEXT-INTERNAL WORLD; first, by the reference to Québec contained in the utterance, and second, by the reference to St. Hubert, both of which make the new TOP more acceptable.

The token in (e) is especially interesting because the referent is represented by three different topical expressions: The first is the individual's name followed by a second, pronominal expression that adds emphasis, and third, for further clarification, an identification of the referent as the speaker's brother-in-law. And as was seen in (a), the link made by the possessive adjective, in this case *mon,* further enhances the accessibility of the new referent. It is possible that the third clarification was added for the benefit of the visiting friend or, perhaps, even for the interviewer, who is not a member of the community and does not know the individual in question.

The last of the TOP expressions presented here under (f) illustrates an example of a generic referent in the form of an indefinite lexical NP. The context in which it occurs is one of a discussion of heavy rains that had fallen recently, washing away dirt in the ditches, and the speaker says how a fine rain is better, especially when the weather has been very dry.

Judging by these examples, it is clear that the properties Lambrecht proposes for topics in spoken Standard French obtain in Maine French, as well. Each of the TOP constituents above can be omitted without affecting the grammatical well-formedness of the sentence. They show no case marking, and there is no predictable semantic relation between them and their predicate. In other words, it is not possible to predict the syntactic role as subject or object of their pronominal anaphor in the predicate. As one would expect, all the TOP phrases occur in sentence-initial position, and in the case of (d), there is an intervening relative clause that separates the TOP phrase from its predicate, which is allowable according to the parameters listed under (2) above.

Will examples of antitopics reveal the same adherence as the topics to the properties put forth by Lambrecht? Discussion of A-TOP in Maine French follows the examples shown in (5).

(5) ANTITOPIC

a. I **n**'a qui sont vieux assez pis i **n**'a qui sont pas vieux assez **l' sophomores**.
There are some of them who are old enough and there are some of them who aren't old enough the sophomores.
'There are some sophomores who are old enough and some who aren't.'

b. **I** vont s' mett' à rougir **eux-aut' là**.
They're going to start to turn red them.
'They're going to start to turn red.'

c. On **i** parle français **à lui**.
We him speak French to him.
'We speak French to him.'

d. **Tu** donnes-tu des kiss **toi**?
You give [INTERROGATIVE] some kisses you?
'Do you give kisses?'

e. Oùsqu'**i** est **son chalet**?
Where it is her camp?
'Where is her camp?'

The first example is taken from the conversation between the father and the friend, and their dialogue about whether or not his son is old enough to work in the potato fields. High school sophomores are mentioned in the sentence immediately preceding this token, and so this A-TOP, *l' sophomores,* does not represent a change in topic or the introduction of a new topic. In addition, it appears immediately after the predicate, is syntactically omissible, and is bound by its anaphor, though it is not marked for case, which in this instance, were an anaphor to appear, would be the preposition *de*. Recall that case marking is optional for A-TOP phrases.

The example in (b) takes us back to the first conversation between the husband and wife. In talking about the arrival of autumn, the wife says that she thinks the leaves are beginning to change color. The husband talks about the role of the first frost in connection with the leaves' changing color and then says (b), '*I vont, i vont se mettre à rougir eux-aut' là.*' Like the A-TOP lexical NP in (a), all the criteria for A-TOP are met by this antitopic.

Returning now to the conversation with the father, his children, and the friend, the context for the example in (c) entails a series of questions addressed to a toddler for whom the mother babysits and who is playing on the floor. This statement is actually a verbatim repetition of a previous statement by the father, with the exception of the addition of the A-TOP pronominal phrase *à lui*. The preposition *à* copies the dative case marking of the anaphor *lui*. Conversation surrounding the toddler continues, with the occasional question addressed directly to him. It includes what words he is able to say and what he's looking at, and in (d), the father asks him whether he gives kisses.

Looking at (e), we find that as in all the preceding examples of A-TOP, this token does not introduce a new referent. The context for the question was introduced several turns earlier when the friend asked whether or not the father had seen Marie's house. The friend later refers to Marie's house as *son chalet*, which is then repeated in the father's question in (e), asking where the camp is located.

Each example of A-TOP presented in (5) exhibits the properties for antitopic constituents listed under (3) above. An additional example of A-TOP appears in (6) below, and is included in the discussion of PRO-DROP in the following section.

(6) PRO-DROP

a. J'ai parlé avec Carol D. pis a m'a dit qu' [Pro] avaient vraiment, vraiment ben fait **eux-aut'** c'tte année en tourisme.
I talked with Carol D. and she told me that [Pro] had really, really done well them this year in tourism.
'I talked with Carol D., and she told me that they had done really, really well in tourism this year.'

b. [Pro] Va en avoir comment du mone qui va travailler pour lui?
[Pro] Is going of them to be how many people who are going to work for him?
'How many people will there be working for him?'

c. ... mais [Pro] faulait attendre qu'a seye, qu'a seye mûre assez ...
... but [Pro] was necessary to wait until it was, it was ripe enough ...
'... but it was necessary to wait until they [the oats] were, they were ripe enough ...'

d. [Pro] Y a pas d'soin après ça.
[Pro] Is no care after that.
'You don't have to take care [of the ground] after that.'

e. Jusqu'asteure [Pro] sont pus belles dans c'friche-là.
Until now [Pro] are more beautiful in this fallow land.
'So far they're better in this fallow lot.'

Lambrecht proposes that within the framework of information structure, PRO-drop is not unusual because it occurs only when an A-TOP is present, and the subject is recoverable due to the high degree of accessibility of the referent that is concomitant with A-TOP expressions. The first example of PRO-drop under (6a) includes the A-TOP expression *eux-aut'* and the missing subject is, accordingly, easily recoverable: It refers to the anaphor *a,* that is, the individual named Carol D., and her husband, owners of a local business.

Because no subject pronoun other than *il* can be used with the impersonal expressions *il faut* and *il y a*, the syntactic subject of the sentences cited in (b), (c), and (d) is predictable. While the structure of these examples violates the premise that A-TOP is necessary for PRO-drop, the high recoverability of the subject *il* in each case obtains. It is not unusual in spoken Québécois French to find that *il* is dropped from these expressions (Léard 1995), and in this respect, these examples from Maine French do not differ from other non-normative varieties of French.[4]

The example of PRO-drop in (e), however, is problematic from the perspective of the parameters proposed by Lambrecht, because it contains no A-TOP expression, and unlike the examples in (b-d), it does not involve the recoverability of an easily predictable subject like impersonal *il*. It is difficult to hear this sentence clearly on the recording, and whether or not the pronoun is actually present remains to be verified. Personal communications from two native speakers of Maine French indicate, nonetheless, that this sentence would be acceptable either with or without the feminine subject pronoun *a* for *les patates* 'potatoes'. The utterance that precedes this statement contains a question about whether or not the potatoes are better *(p(l)us belles)* this year, which makes the referent and, therefore, the subject of this sentence highly accessible.

Proper names used as subjects of a sentence differ from lexical NPs in one significant way. They are deictic in nature and so their topicality is higher. Lambrecht states that people who are mentioned by first name only tend to be family members or close friends of the speaker or hearer and so are "'mentally present'" (1986:332) in the conversation. This bears out in the data from Maine French. In each of the examples below, the individual named as subject is a relative of both the speaker and the hearer: The first is the hearer's brother and the speaker's brother-in-law; the second, the hearer's son and the speaker's stepson.

(7) PROPER NAMES

a. Mais Gérard va-ti couper pour d'aut' mone c'tte année?
But Gerard is going [INTERROGATIVE] to cut for other people this year?
'But is Gerard going to cut for other people this year?'

b. Ross va-ti encore avoir sa job mais qu'i ervient?
Ross is going [INTERROGATIVE] still have his job when he comes back?
'Is Ross still going to have a job when he gets back?'

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

In summary, this initial probe into the nature of information structure in Maine French has revealed similarities with the topical and antitopical expressions of spoken Standard French as presented in Lambrecht 1986 and 1994. TOP and A-TOP do occur, and their properties are the same as those of spoken Standard French. The differences between these two varieties of French, however, are, in fact, more interesting than their similarities. First, the occurrence of PRO-drop in the third person singular and plural sets Maine French apart from spoken Standard French, though it does seem to support Lambrecht's theory that the referents of missing pronouns can be easily recovered because of their high accessibility in the discourse. Second, the data collected so far show no evidence of the presentational *il y a* cleft that is sometimes used in spoken Standard French to introduce new topics. Third, the frequency of TOP and A-TOP is substantially lower in Maine French.

The latter two differences raise intriguing questions for future research into information structure in Maine French. What lexicogrammatical structure replaces, for want of a better term, the presentational *il y a* cleft and the high frequency of TOP and A-TOP of spoken Standard French? One possible answer lies in the frequent use of *là*. Over the course of the same 25- minute conversation referred to above in which there were only 18 tokens containing TOP or A-TOP expressions, *là* appears 90 times following a noun or verb. This figure excludes any occurrence as an adverb of place or purely demonstrative suffix. Further investigation will explore *là* to determine whether its function is that of topic or focus marker, or whether it serves some other pragmatic function. Another possible explanation for the significant differences between these two varieties of French lies in the possibility that Maine French shares some of the features of English information structure.

NOTES

[1] For a full explanation of the syntactic properties of TOP constituents, see Lambrecht 1981 and 1986.

[2] Lambrecht (1986) used the François (1974) corpus as the basis for his analysis of spoken French.

[3] A highly successful, 2-way bilingual immersion program in French and English is currently in place for kindergarten through eighth grade in Madawaska and Van Buren (School Administrative District No. 24). It was implemented several years ago with federal funding from the U.S. Government and now continues without federal support as an integral part of the curriculum.

[4] Smith (1994) reports that *il* is dropped from these expressions in Cajun French.

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A MORPHOSYNTACTIC CHANGE IN PROGRESS: ENGLISH NOUN-INCORPORATING COMPOUND VERBS

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ABSTRACT

The first English-speaking describers of Amerindian languages were struck by a common morphological process which incorporated nouns, usually Direct Objects, into the verb. Little did they know that such a process would eventually become an integral part of English grammar. According to most textbooks, compounding in English is a process which creates nouns and adjectives, but not verbs. Cases such as *to babysit* are considered exceptional, and marginal since they are backformed from compound nouns such as *babysitter.* Such descriptions may have been correct two or three decades ago, but nowadays the use of compound verbs such as *to fund raise, to revenue share, to guest conduct,* backformed from nouns or adjectives, has become so common that it seems strange for linguists to continue to ignore it. Like any other productive linguistic process, backformation in this case follows specific steps and patterns, which in turn provide models for what appear to be new creations. This evolution currently in progress in English gives linguists a wonderful opportunity to observe the conditioning and the development of the noun-incorporating process, as well as to confirm the constant tension in the language between the two opposite tendencies of synthesis and analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

As a non-native speaker and continuing student of English, I have observed with interest the growing trend towards what can only be called compound verbs in contemporary English: ex. *to fund raise*, *to guest conduct,* etc., a trend which seems to have accelerated over a number of years. Until recently, I did not pay more than casual attention to this phenomenon, my major professional interest being the description and potential relationships of the Tsimshianic family of languages, spoken on the Northern B.C. coast and probably related to the Penutian "phylum" of western North America (Tarpent 1997). But these two interests are not totally distinct from each other after all: noun-incorporation, which results in compound verbs, was formerly thought to be a defining characteristic of North American native languages, and it is indeed very productive in the Tsimshianic languages. This "exotic" process is now vigorously and independently taking hold in English.

2. NOUN-INCORPORATING VERBS IN SOME AMERINDIAN LANGUAGES

Some typical examples of Amerindian incorporation of nouns into verbs are found in Nisqa'a[1] (a Tsimshianic language) and in Takelma (a Penutian language formerly spoken in Southern Oregon).

2.1. Nisqa'a

Nisqa'a has two major kinds of compound verbs, both designating *habitual actions* on *generic objects*: in both cases, the incorporation of the Object noun produces an Intransitive verb (Tarpent 1982; 1989). There is a meaning as well as a formal difference between *unmediated* and *mediated* compounds, the latter requiring a linking suffix between verb and noun.

2.1.1. Unmediated compounds

A Transitive verb is followed immediately by a Direct Object noun. Unmediated compounds typically designate actions which require the active involvement of the Agent and proceed uninterruptedly until completion:

(1)	a.	yó?oks+nó?oL	'to wash dishes'
		wash.s.+dishes	(= all the dishes that need to be washed)
	b.	q'úL+hó:n	'to cut fish [prior to smoking, etc]'
		cut.s.+fish	(all the fish caught have to be done rapidly)
	c.	q'úts+sku:sí:t	'to cut potatoes [for cooking]'
		cut.s.+potatoes	

2.1.2. Mediated compounds

An Intransitive verb (usually Detransitive or Antipassive) is linked to the Object noun by the Linking suffix *-m* (also used in other contexts). Mediated compounds typically designate actions which apply to an indefinite number of objects, which may be interrupted for long periods or done at intervals, which may take an indefinite amount of time, or require supervision rather than active involvement. Such verbs may also imply that the Object is of unknown availability. English equivalents for such meanings are *to go ...ing, to do some ...ing, to do a bit of ...ing.*

(2)	a.	?í:ts'a?-m+hó:n	'to fry fish, do a fish-fry'
		fry.DETRANS-LINK+fish	(pieces of fish, not a precise number)
	b.	simiy'é:n'iskw-m+hó:n	'to smoke fish'
		smoke.ANTIP-LINK+fish	(= mostly supervising from time to time)
	c.	kíl'skw-m+má:y'	'to pick berries, go berry-picking'
		gather.ANTIP-LINK+berries	(berries are not always available, and not all are necessarily picked)
	d.	si:lín'skw-m+mú:s	'to go moose-hunting'
		hunt.ANTIP-LINK+moose	(no guarantee of successful hunt)

Bilingual speakers of Nisqa'a and of other languages with compound verbs (or English speakers from the same communities) carry over this feature of their language into local English:

(3) [Nisqa'a speaker]
We have to be careful when we **mushroom-pick**, there are bears around.
[≠ English speakers : ... *when we pick mushrooms/go mushroom-picking* ...]

(4) [Lushootseed (Salishan): (The people used to dig for roots, such as fern roots)]
They **root-dug** for this bracken. (Bates et al. 1994: 47)
(example in Lushootseed dictionary, left unchanged by editors)

2.2. Takelma

Noun-incorporation proceeds rather differently in Takelma. According to Sapir (1922:64-65), the Takelma verb stem is usually preceded by one or more lexical prefixes, mostly nominals:

- in position 1: incorporated **objects**, especially body-parts (e.g. *?i:-* 'hand')
- in position 3: incorporated **instrumentals** (e.g. *p'i:-* 'fire'):

(5)	a.	?i:-p'i:-nó:kwa-?n hand-fire-warm.[self]-I [2]	'I warm my hands [at the fire]
	b.	?i:-?o:diní-?n hand-hunt.for-I	'I hunt for it with the hand' (= I feel around for it)

Commenting on the above examples, Sapir remarks that "it is certainly preferable, from a native point of view, to translate [them] ... as:

I hand-fire-warm(-as-regards-myself)
I hand-hunt-for-it " (p. 65)

that is, as English compound verbs, even though these are of necessity nonce forms.

2.3. Nisqu'a and Takelma

Nisqu'a and Takelman display general characteristics of noun-incorporating compound verbs: the incorporated noun is used generically, and most often it is the Direct Object of the verb, or used adverbially.

3. ENGLISH VERBAL COMPOUNDING

3.1. Traditional analysis

According to most analyses of English, the language has compound nouns and adjectives, but not compound verbs, apart from a very few exceptions which rarely deserve systematic analysis. Linguists who do mention compound verbs emphasize the fact that they are back-formed from nouns, e.g. *to babysit* from *babysitter* , but do not pay much attention to their actual use.

3.1.1. Testing for compounds

Compound words are distinguishable from syntactic combinations of the same constituents through several tests, but basically, a compound behaves like a single word, whatever the origin of its individual components:

1. There is one primary stress per compound, while a similar phrase may have two, as in

(6) the **Whíte House** (≠ a whíte hóuse)

2. The components cannot be individually modified:

(7) a. a large **maple+leaf** (*a maple large leaf)
b. a **long-haired** boy (*a very long-haired boy; *a long-, brown-haired boy)

3. Nor can the non-final components be inflected:

(8) They **kick-started** the campaign (*kicked-start (ed))[3]

4. Components which are normally irregular may become regular within the compound, hence sometimes alternate forms:

(9) a. the Toronto **Maple+Leafs** (≠ maple leaves = leaves of the maple tree)
b. best-known > **most well-known** (≠ does best /*does most well)

3.1.2. "Verbal compounding"

For most linguists concerned with compounding, the phrase *verbal compound* usually refers not to actual compound verbs but to compound nouns or adjectives which include a verb (e.g. Katamba 1993:283-4). Affixes which normally derive nouns or adjectives from verbs are also used in N+V combinations which are not themselves verbs: at least in Standard English, they cannot be used as finite verbs, nor in the infinitive, nor after modal verbs.

The fact that the *-ing* morpheme can form a present participle or a noun creates ambiguity as to the precise nature of the compound in actual use:

(10) a. My neighbour is a **truck-driver** (= a person who drives a truck)(noun)
b. He set a **truck-driving** record. (adjectival use)
c. *He **truck-drives** for a living (*compound intransitive verb)

(11) a. My neighbour is a **birdwatcher** (= a person who watches birds)(noun)
b. He goes **bird-watching** every week-end. (non-finite form in verb phrase)
c. *He **bird-watches** every weekend (*compound intransitive verb)

A few verbs such as *to babysit, to dry-clean, to waterproof* are exceptions to this rule. But since they are backformed from nominal or adjectival compounds, they are often dismissed as of no particular significance:

(12) a. I am taking my coat to the **dry cleaner**. (agentive nominal)
b. They do dyeing and **dry cleaning**. (nominalization)
c. They use a non-toxic **dry cleaning** process. (nominalization in NP)
d. > You can't wash this coat, you have to **dry clean** it.
(modified transitive verb)

(13) a. She is a good **babysitter**. (a person who sits *with* a baby)
b. > She **babysits** for us every week-end. (intransitive verb)
c. > She **babysat** our little son last year. (transitive verb)

3.2. Toward true compound verbs in English

In fact, the "exceptions" are becoming the rule. More and more "verbal compounds" are being used as sentential verbs. As with other compounds, individual components cannot be modified, extracted, etc. The creation and use of compound verbs are not haphazard, but obey specific patterns of back-formation and usage extension. Particularly interesting are patterns of Object-incorporation into originally Transitive verbs, which remain Transitive with a different Object.

3.2.1. The incorporated noun is not a Direct Object

The vast majority of compound verbs involve a transitive verb preceded by a noun which is NOT a Direct Object, but is originally part of a prepositional phrase or otherwise used in a modifier role: this noun could be omitted from the sentence without loss of grammaticality, although with semantic loss. Even though in these cases the noun and verb are often written separately, obscuring the compound nature of the N+V combination, tests such as those for other compounds show that these are indeed compound verbs: stress is on the first element; verbs are inflected for 3rd person singular or Past tense; modifying elements cannot intervene. In most of these cases, the incorporated noun is an inanimate one indicating location, manner or instrument; in a few cases, an animate noun indicates equivalence or resemblance to a generic prototype.

3.2.1.1. Incorporation of inanimate nouns

The incorporation of inanimate nouns is especially common in technical and professional contexts:

(14) [from a commercial greenhouse]
a. (Our sprouts are **lab-tested**)(= tested *in a lab*)
b. > We **lab-test** our own sprouts.

(15) a. Fiberglass is not **machine washable** (= washable *in a machine* or *by machine*)
b. > Do not **machine wash** fiberglass materials.
c. They should be **hand washed.** (= washed *by hand*)
d. > You should only **hand wash** them.

(16) [care instructions on a leather jacket]
Professionally **leather clean**
(= Clean this garment *by methods appropriate for leather*)

(17) [CBC interview: archaeologists found ancient caribou droppings in permafrost]
We **radio-carbon-dated** them (= dated them *by the radio-carbon method*)

(18) [CBC interview with former rock band member]
a. I was the **road manager.** (= managed the band while *on the road*)
b. > I was **road managing** the band.

3.2.1.2. Incorporation of animate nouns

Incorporation of an animate noun indicates equivalence or resemblance: again, this is common in technical or professional contexts:

(19) a. Maestro X was **guest conductor** for the last concert (= conducted the orchestra *as* a guest)
b. > Maestro X **guest conducted** the orchestra.

(20) a. X hired a **ghost writer** to write his autobiography
(= a writer who acts *like* a ghost - by remaining invisible)
b. > X's autobiography was **ghost written.**
c. ? > I want Y to **ghost write** my autobiography.
d. ? > Y **ghost wrote** X's autobiography. (cf Y **co-wrote** ...)

3.2.2. Back-formation from agentive verbal compounds: The incorporated noun is a Direct Object

3.2.2.1. V +DO *> IntransV

The logical outcome of back-formation from an agentive compound such as *truck-driver* would seem to be a compound Intransitive verb such as *to truck-drive* , but this apparently CANNOT be formed in Standard English: [4] the direct object is not available for incorporation into the verb: cf. examples in 3.1. above:

(21) a. (=10c) *He **truck-drives** for a living.
b. (= 11c) *He **bird-watches** every weekend.

3.2.2.2. V + GenDO > TransV (+ SpecDO)

However, where the direct object is a *generic* noun, it can become part of a compound Transitive verb, which can itself have a *specific* noun as an Object: in other words, the generic direct object noun is available for incorporation into the transitive verb, freeing the direct object slot for a specific Object. In the resulting sentence, the incorporated noun could be omitted without loss of grammaticality, although with a semantic loss: the incorporated noun now behaves as a Modifier, as in 3.2.1.:

(22) a. We needed to **raise** ***funds*** (generic Obj)
b. We launched a **fundraising** campaign for a million dollars.
c. Our **fundraiser** raised half a million dollars.
d. ? We **fundraised** successfully. (compound intransitive verb)
e. > We **fundraised** ***half a million dollars***. (trans. vb, specific Obj)

(23) a. The feds and the provinces have agreed to **share** ***revenue*** (generic Obj)
b. **Revenue-sharing** is the buzzword in federal-provincial politics these days.
c. > We are not going to **revenue-share** ***tuition*** with the departments [heard from academic administrator] (= share part of our *revenue* [generic object], namely *tuition* [specific Obj])

The case of *to babysit* is a little more complex since the original verb *sit* is intransitive. However, once the verb has been backformed from the compound noun *babysitter*, it is free to behave as a transitive verb, regardless of its history.

(24) (cf. (13 a-c))
a. She is a good **babysitter** (a person who sits *with* a baby)
b. > She **babysits** for us every week-end (intransitive)
c. > She **babysat** ***our little son*** last year (transitive incorporating generic Object, used with specific Object)
d. > She is **babysitting** ***an old lady*** now (specific Object now more distantly related to the incorporated generic Object)

3.3. Conclusion on English Noun-Incorporating verbs

These verbs share some features with other compounds, including taking on a life of their own as separate verbs, but they have specific features related to the unique role of the verb. The creation of these verbs adds flexibility as well as compactness to the already considerable morphosyntactic resources of the English language. Most of the examples in this section come from oral sources, such as radio interviews, fewer are from printed sources, and those are mostly from ads or technical directions. This is to be expected since changes are likely to occur first in the spoken language, rather than in the written language, where time for reflection might cause writers to self-edit such forms.

4. CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

4.1. Increase in compounding through tendency to prepose modifying elements

1. Older pattern: **Adj+N-*ed***

(25) the **Red-headed** League (Conan Doyle)
(= having/characterized by red (-haired) heads)

2. Newer pattern: **N+Passive**: an incorporated noun is used instead of a Prepositional Phrase:

(26) a. [a patent medicine]
Doctor recommended! (= recommended *by* doctors)
b. Our legal will kits are **lawyer approved**. (= approved *by* lawyers)
c. These kids were **gang involved** (= involved *with* gangs)
d. [job ad]
You will facilitate the implementation of a **community generated, volunteer driven** strategic plan.

(These patterns do not - at least not yet - generate compound verbs).

4.2. Increase in functional shift Noun > Transitive Verb

The increasing use of nouns as transitive verbs also blunts the difference between Adjective, Adverb and Prepositional Phrase:

1. Older type (still very productive): **plain Noun > TransV**

(27) a. We need to **house** the homeless.
b. How long has Oprah been **hosting** her show?
c. We are going to **review** the proposals at the next meeting.
d. It takes a little while before you can **sex** kittens (= determine their sex)
e. When we **aged** the specimens ... (= determined their geological age)(CBC)

2. Newer type: **combinations N+N, Adj+N, P+N, PP+N > TransV**

(28) a. You just have to **eyeball** them. (CBC)
b. The birds were so close we had to **naked-eye** them. (CBC)
(= instead of looking through binoculars)
c. They **outsource** the work instead of hiring their own employees.
(= give it to an outside source to perform)
e. We are not going to **in-depth-review** these proposals yet [academic administrator] (= submit them to an in-depth review)

5. GENERAL CONCLUSION

The compounding possibilities of English, already considerable for nouns and adjectives, are being extended to verbs. This new development should not be surprising since it results from the convergence of several tendencies which have long been at work in the language. The blurring of lines between nominal and verbal *categories* (as opposed to nominal and verbal *functions*) encourages the extension of nominal compounding possibilities to verbal forms, while the general tendency to prepose modifying elements fosters the preposition of generic Object nouns to Transitive verbs. The distinction between *generic* and *specific* Objects and their differential treatment does seem to be a new and unforeseen development.

However, these developments, which are relatively new in English, are well-established in some Amerindian languages. This gives Americanist linguists a wonderful opportunity to study the possible origin of these established phenomena, as well as allowing English specialists to make informed guesses about future developments in English.

Even though Noun-incorporation is now known to be neither typical of all Amerindian languages, nor restricted to them, its unrelated emergence in English once more confirms that specific language structures are not confined to any one type of society or culture.

NOTES

[1] *Nisqa'a* is the professional spelling for the language of the people now officially known as Nisga'a, inhabiting the Nass Valley of British Columbia. The name was previously spelled Nisgha, Nishga, and other variants.

[2] Modernized spelling and analysis of Takelma.

[3] Actually, *kick* here is not the verb but the noun: *to kick-start = to start sthg <u>with</u> a kick.*

[4] However, there is some indication that this possibility exists in some dialects (Walt Wolfram, p.c. at the conference), as in :
(i) They **deer-hunt** in the fall.

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