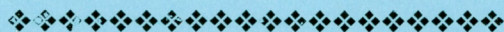# PAMAPLA 20

Papers from the 20th Annual
Meeting of the
Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association

*Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada
8-9 November 1996*

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ACALPA 20

Actes du 20ième Colloque annuel
de l'Association de linguistique des Provinces atlantiques

*Fredericton, Nouveau-Brunswick, Canada
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Edited by / sous la direction de
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Endangered Languages

Langues menacées

Integrated Education and the State of the Maliseet Language: Revitalization or Linguicide?

Andrea Bear Nicholas
St. Thomas University

Abstract
This paper summarizes the results of a recent survey on the state of the Maliseet language in the Fredericton area, and correlates the statistics to the program of integrated schooling in New Brunswick. It then evaluates current Provincial educational policy using recent research on the effectiveness of education in the mother tongue both for the maintenance of a minority language and for the improvement of academic achievement levels in people of linguistic minorities.

Two years ago I received a small SSHRC grant to assess the state of the Maliseet language in the Fredericton area. What I have learned is disturbing, but not surprising. In spite of two decades of considerable activity aimed at saving the Maliseet language, the reality is that it has gone into a steep and unprecedented decline in those same decades.

This study began as a survey intended to provide parents and leaders in the three Maliseet communities with information that would graphically illustrate the rapid decline of their language. It was expected that this information would arm those interested in addressing the problem with needed statistics and, at the same time, wake up those who have become complacent about the state of their language. Now that the study is done it is clear that it has met at least the first objective of providing the needed and very dramatic statistics illustrating a tragic decline in the Maliseet language.[1]

The Statistics and Aims of the Study

A preliminary and random survey carried out in two of the three Maliseet communities in the Fredericton area in late 1995 showed disturbing results which prompted a more complete survey in the Spring of 1996. This time the surveyers interviewed the head of nearly every household at Kingsclear, St. Mary's, and Oromocto, and asked each one to rate the level of Maliseet language proficiency for every resident of the household as either very fluent, fluent, partially so, or not at all. This survey also inquired as to the level of schooling, on or off reserve, and the years of language classes taken at school, as well as patterns of language learning and use for every resident in each household. While the survey was primarily dependent on self-reported answers, the three surveyors were fluent speakers and members of the communities they surveyed.[2]

It is expected that the full results of this survey will be published elsewhere in a more complete form. For now it is the matter of fluency that concerns us. The following are the tabulated fluency rates by age group drawn solely from the numbers recorded as "fluent" and "very fluent" in each community:

Maliseet Language Fluency Rates in the Fredericton Area

Age groups	71-80	61-70	51-60	41-50	31-40	21-30	11-20
Oromocto	100%	100%	67%	57.5%	0%	0%	0%
Kingsclear	100%	100%	85.5%	50%	17%	6%	0%
St. Mary's	100%	100%	68%	26%	2%	0%	0%

According to the above tabulation fully 100 percent of Maliseet elders interviewed over 60 years of age were found to be fluent speakers. In the 50 to 59 age range between 67 and 86 percent were fluent speakers, and in the 40 to 49 age range between 26 and 56 percent were found to be fluent. The first noticeable decline appears in the 50 to 59 age group (born 1935-45), where the fluency rate drops by approximately one-third in two of the three communities. In the 40 to 49 age group (born 1945 to 1955) the decline is sharper still with only one-quarter to one half of all people in this age group able to speak the language. In the under 40 group (born after 1955) we begin to see no fluency at all in one community (Oromocto), and in the under 20 group (born after 1975), no fluency at all in any of the three communities. In the space of two generations fluency has dropped 100 percent.

This shocking decline is not only sharp but telling. What stands out graphically is (a) that inter-generational transmission of the language has dropped off most sharply between the over 50 group and the under 30 group, and (b) that there have been virtually no child users of Maliseet in the Fredericton area for nearly thirty years. These are perhaps the most significant and worrisome findings of the survey. They attest to the fact that the Maliseet language is dying and that we are all virtually witnesses to that death.

In relation to the state of Native languages across the Americas this survey shows little that is new or different. As far as indigenous languages are concerned, Maliseet and the related Passamaquoddy are in approximately the same situation as most other Aboriginal languages across the Americas. In Canada, for example, only four out of fifty to sixty indigenous languages are expected to survive into the next century. They are Ojibway, Cree, Dakota, and Inuktitut, and not Maliseet. On a scale that measures the viability of languages from "verging on extinction" (fewer than ten speakers) to having "excellent chances of survival" (more than 5000 speakers), Maliseet-Passamaquoddy falls in a middle category of between five-hundred and 1,000 speakers, with a viability assessment of "endangered." Its use, at least in the Fredericton area, is limited to informal settings, and its transmission across generations was seriously interrupted thirty to forty years ago, leaving people under 30 with virtually no fluency. On another scale ranging from "flourishing," "enduring," "declining," and "obsolescent," to "extinct," Maliseet would have to be defined as "obsolescent."[3] According to one study, obsolescence is characterized by the following:

1. Only adults speak the language in a pattern that declines with age.
2. It is not taught to children in the home.
3. Number of speakers is rapidly declining.

4. Though population is bilingual, English is preferred in most situations.
5. The language is inflexible, no longer adapting to new situations.
6. There is no literacy.[4]

Where the Maliseet language is concerned, these criteria are generally applicable except for the matter of literacy which presents an unusual situation. While there is no standard Maliseet orthography and virtually no accessible literature for adults, the publication in the last twenty years of a handful of children's books in the language has brought some degree of literacy to the under 20 age group,[5] but this is the very group that is clearly non-fluent or only partly so at best. In the case of Maliseet the relation of literacy to fluency appears to be a negative one.

Reasons for the Decline

Although other indigenous languages in North America are in similar or worse condition one must not be so naive or complacent as to believe that this is just the way things naturally occur and that no human agency is implicated. To believe this does not provide much hope for any endangered language. Unless one can begin to identify the human factors, ie., the elements that can be changed, then there is little hope. Hence, while there may be some natural forces at work in the decline of Maliseet, it is the factors most amenable to being changed that this paper will address.[6]

According to our survey, one factor above all appears to be strongly implicated in the decline of our language. It is the factor of public school or integrated education, which is the practice of sending Aboriginal children to schools run by the immigrant society. Integration began slowly in the Fredericton area nearly fifty years ago during a period of increasing criticism of residential schools, and growing racial strife in the United States. By the early to mid-1960s integration had become a matter of public policy.[7]

Although some Maliseet people had been sporadically educated at day schools and/or residential schools for nearly a century prior to the 1960s, and although these schools undoubtedly had a detrimental effect on the health of the Maliseet language,[8] there is no prior evidence of such a sharp decline in fluency as that which has occurred since the institution of integrated education more than thirty years ago. As our study has shown, the level of fluency declines not only with decreasing age, but also with increasing levels of integrated education. When plotted on a graph the statistics show up as a perfect "X" for all three communities in the Fredericton area, ie., those with the least formal education are the most fluent, and vice versa.[9]

Had integration proven successful in every other way perhaps language loss might have been considered by some to be a necessary price to pay. The problem is that integrated education has also had other enormously detrimental effects for Aboriginal People. A growing body of research has indisputably correlated "submersion" or English-only education for minority language groups, as in integrated education, with a low degree of success in school.[10] In the Fredericton High School, alone, the dropout rate for Aboriginal students in Grades 7 to 12 stands at 16%, about five times the rate for all non-Native students in the same grades.[11] It is also well-known that the self-esteem level

of Aboriginal students in public schools is notoriously low, while the suicide, alcoholism, and incarceration rates of the same population are notoriously high.[12] Recognizing that these statistics are a consequence of the failure of integrated education, and not the fault of Aboriginal People, or their culture or language, is the first step in recognizing the need for alternatives.

While not everyone may accept the thesis that integrated education could be the cause of language loss, as obvious as it is, most people, ironically, have no problem believing the thesis that integrated education is the only hope for fulfillment or success in life, no matter what the cost to Aboriginal cultures or languages. That the first thesis is doubted and the second held as gospel truth, especially by educators and "educated" people, illustrates the powerful human factors working against indigenous language survival. It is the power of such beliefs that hinders even many Aboriginal communities from entertaining thoughts of any kind as to alternative systems of education for their children. [13] It is for this reason that most Aboriginally controlled schools simply duplicate the education offered in the public school system (including even the use of non-Aboriginal teachers and curriculum), rather than develop their own models.

Language Revitalization Experiences and Studies

What is little known is that not all Aboriginal communities are bowing to these beliefs. A significant number of communities have succeeded in revitalizing their languages precisely by rejecting the very beliefs upon which integrated education is based.

Many of the successful language revitalization efforts, including that of the Mohawks of Kahnawake, have been in existence for many years, even decades.[14] From these examples it is known, first of all, that the only place where a language can be effectively revitalized is within those speech communities to which the language belongs. In other words, there is little to be gained, in the matter of language survival, from teaching a language to people living outside of a particular speech community. It is also evident that successful revitalization requires far more than simply teaching the language as a subject, even within an affected speech community. It means restoring the language as a means of communication in a community context, and this means using the language, itself, as a means of teaching or learning. It means the immersion approach. Indeed, it is probably safe to say that there are no successful programs in language revitalization that do not include immersion education.[15]

This prescription for language revitalization, however, is not enough if the community, itself, is not motivated or empowered to support and undertake language revitalization in a conscious and collective way. One source of motivation and empowerment comes from knowing that other Aboriginal communities have been able to do it successfully.

Another source of community motivation and empowerment comes from knowing that there are very positive and inspiring research results coming out of Native language immersion programs. Some of the more striking are the following:

a) Aboriginal students who learn their mother tongue to the point of proficiency, i.e., understanding, speaking, reading, and writing, are better equipped to learn any other language well.

b) Aboriginal students educated in their mother-tongue as the medium of instruction do as well or better in English than their peers educated in total English.

c) Fully bilingual individuals have heightened cognitive or thinking abilities.

d) Aboriginal students in Native language immersion programs have a heightened sense of self-esteem compared to Aboriginal students in English-only programs.

e) Educational programs aimed first at mother-tongue proficiency and secondarily at bilingualism have been demonstrated to promote high academic achievement and success in school.

f) A firm foundation in one's language, culture, and identity, as provided by immersion schooling at least through the elementary years, is essential for success in any school

g) Success in school is a strong indicator of satisfaction in life after school.[16]

Forces Leading to Language Death

Yet another source of community motivation and empowerment comes from understanding why one's language became endangered in the first place. This means identifying not only the obvious factors, but also the larger forces that lead to language decline and death.[17]

1. The Ideology of Imperialism and Colonialism

The most important of these larger forces is the ideology of imperialism or empire-building, which originally justified the extension of European power and control over increasingly distant people, lands, and resources in order to enrich European monarchs. Colonialism, or the process of establishing colonies in distant lands, was merely a strategy of imperialism. It is also important to note here that imperialism, together with colonialism, is not just a historical process, but an ongoing reality, today most apparent in the continuing economic and political domination of indigenous communities world-wide. It may be seen in the fact that most indigenous people have been stripped of all access to their own lands and resources, and consequently they generally occupy low socio-economic classes and struggle daily with the realities of poverty, unemployment, appalling living conditions, poor health, high dropout rates, and an overwhelming sense of powerlessness. Predicated as it is on the creation of powerlessness in dominated groups, imperialism ensures that dominated peoples will lack the resources both for an adequate standard of living and for the means to counteract or lessen the impact that this domination has had on their way of life. Imperialism is the ideology that spawns racism, which is essentially a belief in the superiority of a colonizing culture

and race. And it is the racism of imperialism which lies behind all of the forces that work to destroy indigenous cultures and languages.[18]

It is racism which lies behind the world-wide drive to destroy diversity and to homogenize the peoples of the world. It is well-known that this homogenization occurs through the imposition of dominant values and customs on the peoples of diverse cultures. The process is known as "oppression," and the institution that most concerns itself with this project is the institution of formal education, which accomplishes its goal most directly by displacing parents and elders as the primary educators of young people. In effect, formal education attacks, or at least seriously curtails, the natural processes of intergenerational teaching and learning by which all cultures reproduce themselves.[19]

Historically in North America it has been teachers from the immigrant society who have been charged with this duty of replacing one culture and language with another, [20] but increasingly now, it is indigenous people, themselves, who are trained and indoctrinated in immigrant schools, to carry on this work, literally to participate in their own destruction. For the most part, this work goes on with the support and consent of Aboriginal communities and their leaders who have been educated to believe that there are no alternatives, that such an education is their best hope for the future. [21]

This is not to undermine the value of education per se, nor the sincere good intentions of educators, Aboriginal or otherwise, who are caught in these processes. Rather, it is to emphasize that formal education has served, and continues to serve despite its claims to the contrary, as the prime tool through which the larger assimilative forces in society continue to work.

2. The Genocidal Nature of North American Society

In their drive for mastery over the North American continent British, and later Canadian and American, authorities engaged in a multitude of genocidal practices from outright war and scalp bounties, to residential schools and repressive laws such as the Dawes Act and the Indian Act. So great has been the colonial ambition to dominate in what is now Canada that authorities here routinely violated their own laws, particularly the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which, among other things, declared that the only land the immigrant society could settle, claim, and exercise jurisduction over was land which the Aboriginal People had ceded or sold to the immigrants. In spite of this law, it has been estimated that over 60 percent of the land now claimed by Canada was obtained through the willful violation of this law and its proscriptions against taking Aboriginal lands without consent. In the analysis of scholar Dr. Bruce Clark, it was the subsequent usurpation of jurisdiction and authority over Native people and their lands that caused "serious mental and bodily harm," which is one category of genocide under the UN covenant on genocide. Considering the pervasiveness of the violations, the magnitude of laws broken, and the high positions of the people breaking them, it is therefore impossible to exonerate Canada from "complicity" in the genocide that has resulted and remains ongoing. [22]

The form of genocide that is most practiced in North America today is cultural genocide, or the killing of cultures. The reality of this form of genocide is visible in the grim statistics. The mental harm can be seen in the many manifestations of economic, political, spiritual, psychological, and social dysfunction, high dropout rates, and our statistics on the Maliseet language. The bodily harm which ensues, generally as a consequence of the mental harm, includes drug and alcohol abuse, family violence, suicide, high incarceration rates, and low life-expectancy, among other indicators. So horrendous are the consequences of cultural genocide for Aboriginal People that one could say it is just as effective as old-fashioned genocide, or the outright killing of a people. [23]

To reach the understanding that these conditions are not consequences of Aboriginal genetics or culture, but consequences, rather of deliberate cultural genocide, is an important first step in the empowerment of Aboriginal People. Empowering in two ways, this knowledge helps, on the one hand, to remove the paralyzing burdens of shame and guilt, and on the other hand, to appreciate the importance of cultural and linguistic revitalization as important keys in liberating Aboriginal People from the horrendous conditions created by colonialism. [24]

3. Linguicism

The one aspect of cultural genocide that is of most concern is "linguicism" or "linguicide", which is the practice of imposing one language (unilingualism) and literally killing minority languages. Linguicism is generally one manifestation of a racist ideology on the part of an imperial or colonial authority, whose real interest is exploiting people and land for its own benefit. Whether by force of numbers or military power, or through political and economic strength, imperial powers seek to acquire dominance and they generally do so by imposing one culture and one language on peoples of differing cultures and languages. In the matter of language, linguicism is generally rationalized through the erroneous belief that the colonizer's language is superior, and that the dominated languages are somehow primitive, inadequate, and neither viable nor economically worthy. In North America it is Anglo culture and/or language that has been generally imposed on all others. [25]

One of the prime indicators that Canada does, in fact, practice linguicism is that not all minority language children are allowed to become competent in their mother tongue. In fact, most are not, and where Aboriginal languages are concerned, the unequivocal aim of the Canadian state has been to promote Anglo-conformity and to destroy Aboriginal languages as efficiently as possible, primarily through formal schooling. This goal has been effectively accomplished by instilling shame in children for speaking their mother tongue.

When these children become adults they, in turn, seek to shelter their children from the shame they were made to feel by teaching their children to speak only English. In effect, they have internalized the linguicidal values they were taught, and seek to escape their oppression by becoming more like their oppressors. While the linguicism of the Canadian state is now supported by the internalized linguicism of many adults in Aboriginal communities, the state continues to practice its linguicism by imposing English on second generations which may no longer speak the mother tongue of their communities. In doing so, the State is "blaming the victims" of earlier linguicidal policies that

imposed on the parents of those children not only English, but also the erroneous belief that speaking a Native language would constitute a handicap. By imposing English on these children the schools arrogantly assume the mother-tongue of such children to be English, when in fact, the mother tongue of all such children is the language of their community elders.[26]

Whether Aboriginal children enter school speaking English or not, and whether or not they want instruction in English, they are routinely given no alternatives but to accept instruction in total English where they are expected either to "sink or swim." This is generally referred to as a "submersion" or "subtractive language learning situation" whereby any proficiency in the mother tongue is completely punished or destroyed.[27]

4. The ideology of integration/multiculturalism as a means of assimilation

The concept of integration was first promoted in Canada in the late 1940s as an antidote to the notorious church-run and government-supported residential schools. That the intent of integration was pure and simple assimilation was made crystal clear in the "The Hawthorn Report" of 1966, which blamed the academic failure of Native children on Native culture, and called for their cultural differences to be eliminated.[28] This assimilationist ideal appeared again in the infamous 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy which openly called for Aboriginal People to become citizens of their respective provinces, and for their treaties to be terminated.[29]

In response to the sharp reaction of Aboriginal People to the White Paper and the assimilationist trend, the Liberal government introduced a new policy in the early 1970s that that was designed to move Canada in the opposite direction from assimilation -- the policy of multiculturalism. Unfortunately, passing legislation and changing public thinking were two different matters. The ideals of Anglo-conformity and assimilation were still very prevalent behind "the veil of multiculturalism." Recently the federal government has admitted that the goal of multiculturalism is to promote integration, not diversity, and a recent government decision to cut all language programs from the Federal Department of Heritage and Multiculturalism beginning in 1997 demonstrates clearly that multiculturalism is not intended to promote just integration, but also assimilation. [30]

As assimilation in disguise, multiculturalism promotes the ongoing colonial or imperial design of the Canadian state to control all people within its borders. Multiculturalism never respected Aboriginals as distinct peoples who, for the most part, never surrendered their sovereignty, including their land and their authority to govern and educate themselves.[31] Instead, multiculturalism has persisted in viewing Aboriginal People as just another minority or ethnic group to be controlled and integrated into the immigrant society largely through the means of education.[32] For any Aboriginal communities to surrender their authority to educate their children (through tuition agreements) fits perfectly well with the multicultural philosophy of integration/assimilation insofar as it constitutes a surrender of sovereignty over culture and education.

Indeed, it is the multicultural philosophy that also rationalizes the appropriation of Native culture and language into the service of assimilation through education. This is not to suggest that Native language and culture classes are not helpful in the overall struggle for language survival, or that language teachers are not knowledgeable, well-meaning or dedicated individuals. It is just that they, too, are exploited by those who benefit from the integration project, for the language classes in public schools are little more than window-dressing used to lure Native People to the idea of integration.[33] We already know that these classes are far from enough. We know that the Maliseet language has continued on a path of steep decline in the very years that such language classes have been implemented in the public schools, and the logical conclusion is that the language classes, as they are at present, have accomplished nothing in terms of fluency. The very fact that language and culture has become a subject to be taught rather than a medium for learning demonstrates what our people have internalized -- that our culture and language are no longer valid ways of learning, but curiosities at best to be studied along the way to "real" learning. In effect, the existence of culture and language classes conceals the fact that the real business of formal schooling is still to eradicate Aboriginal cultures and languages.

One standard response of the New Brunswick education system to this concern and to the continuing reality of an abysmally high Native drop-out rate has been to offer the perennial "sensitivity training" sessions for teachers to learn about Native culture and learning styles, presumably so they can ease the transition of Aboriginal children from one cultural system to another.[34] Unfortunately, the racism that such sensitivity training is intended to address is only the personal variety, not the structural or institutional racism of Anglo-conformity which the sensitivity training actually promotes.[35] Unfortunately, all this tinkering with attitudes will never be enough, for it, too, is just so much window-dressing designed in the end to promote the greater business of integration, thereby hastening the disappearance of Aboriginal culture as anything more than an academic subject. The fact is that after more than thirty years Maliseet children are still failing miserably, and Maliseet people are still experiencing both serious cultural erosion and high rates of poverty, despondency, and suicide. Clearly, integration has not worked, except to push the Maliseet people, culture, and language to the brink of extinction.[36] Can't anyone see that the king has no clothes?

How has it happened that integration has become such a powerful means of assimilation? Indeed, how did the idea of integration for Aboriginal People come to be so widely accepted? Originally integration had been a fundamental goal for American Blacks in their struggles for liberation during the 1950s. Following a Supreme Court decision striking down the "separate but equal" principle of segregated schooling for Black children, integration for Blacks became the law of the land in the United States. In due time humanitarians on both sides of the border began agitating for the integration of Native Peoples, whose struggle seemed to have many parallels to that of the Blacks, insofar as they suffered from massive poverty and insofar as they were routinely educated separately from the mainstream.

While integration may have been a powerful, though flawed solution for Black education, it was anything but a solution for Aboriginal People, even though many in the immigrant society did, indeed, see it as a promising resolution to the perennial "Indian Problems" of poverty and generally

wretched social conditions. Integration, however, was not a solution for Aboriginal People because the principle struggle for them, from the very moment of European arrival, had been cultural survival and the preservation of access to their sources of life in the land. To the extent that integration has been intended to expose Native children to the immigrant culture, to teach them to become Canadian or American citizens, and to live like non-Natives in cities far away from their sources of life, it actively served to destroy Aboriginal culture. Hence, it was anything but a solution as far as Aboriginal Peoples were concerned.[37]

It is instructive to consider also the ways in which integration was instituted. So convinced was the federal government that it knew what was best for Aboriginal People that it instituted, no imposed, integration everywhere it was possible. It did so with an enormous outpouring of money to "convince" all parties involved. Immigrant society schools, both public and parochial, were given library grants and paid in advance for student space or for a good portion of capital expansion, as much as $100 per student per year for twenty-five years. This was in addition to large tuition fees equivalent to, or more than, the average estimated cost to educate any child. Although Aboriginal People were not party to the early tuition agreements between federal and school authorities, Aboriginal parents were strongly "persuaded" to quietly acept integration by federal promises to cover clothing allowances, optical and dental care, and lunches only for those children who were sent to public schools. And an all too prevalent manner of "convincing" Aboriginal chiefs was to extend private contracts to them to buy buses and provide the busing. For no communities is there any substantial record of public meetings or debate on the matter, and most opposition was effectively silenced by government largesse that had the effect of bribery.[38]

In spite of adament government assertions that assimilation is and never was the intent of integration and multiculturalism, it still clearly is. How could it be otherwise in a society where Anglo-conformity is the norm and where education is offered primarily in English (or French as the case may be)? For Aboriginal people this unilingual policy has been doubly effective in reinforcing what has been imposed on, and internalized by, generations of Aboriginal people -- that English and, to a lesser extent, French, are the only valid languages.

To point to the fact that non-English-speaking immigrant groups in North America have maintained their languages in spite of a unilingual policy is to ignore the cumulative effects on Aboriginal People of the centuries-old campaign to annihilate their languages. It is also to ignore the fact that non-Anglo immigrants have been able to preserve their languages because they are always able to replenish their stocks with new immigrants from their countries of origin. Aboriginal People have no other country.

Without an understanding of the dynamics of linguicism and the ways in which integrated education has contributed to it, there can be no understanding of the ways in which education could be designed to counteract the effects of linguicism, or to bring about any sort of liberation from the evils of colonialism.[39]

5. Internalized Colonialism and Neocolonialism

So powerful, in fact, has been the assimilative influence of all the above forces through the medium of education that most living Aboriginal adults who attended either church, provincial, or federal day and residential schools have been indoctrinated to some extent to accept the belief that their cultures and languages are of little practical value. To make matters worse, many of these indoctrinated individuals now hold leadership roles in their communities precisely as a consequence of the immigrant society belief they have internalized, that only "educated" individuals are capable of being leaders; and it is precisely because of their "education" that this class of Aboriginal People is generally the most willing to collaborate with the immigrant society to promote the colonial values they have internalized.

The problem this phenomenon presents for indigenous languages is that this class of leader/collaborators also tends to make most of the educational decisions in Aboriginal communities. Now that Aboriginal communities have become party to the tuition agreements, it is this class of "leaders" which promotes and often signs the tuition agreements surrendering community responsibility for educating our children, apparently because they have completely accepted the myths of multiculturalism and integrated schooling. Whether intentional or not, it is they more often than non-Aboriginals, who now carry forward the colonial agendas of unilingualism, monoculturalism, and the continued exploitation and oppression of their own people. In their belief that they are acting in our best interest they are the new colonials or rather, the "neocolonials." [40]

6. Conflict of Interest

a. The economic benefits of integrated education accruing to provincial and federal governments

The first point to be made here is that integrated education is both economically profitable and promising for both the federal and provincial governments. For this reason both governments are in serious conflict of interest when promoting integration for Aboriginal People. For the federal government, which has a fiduciary or legal obligation to operate in the best interest of Aboriginals, the conflict works as follows. To the extent that integration is intended to assimilate Aboriginal People, it serves the interests of the federal government, for the sooner Aboriginal People assimilate and give up their way of life on the land, the sooner their lands and resources will be available for the exploitation and "benefit" of Canadian or multi-national corporate interests. And, the sooner Aboriginal People are assimilated into the immigrant culture, the sooner the Canadian government will be out of the "Indian business." It is the promise here of future economic benefits to the federal government that motivates it to pay the New Brunswick government huge tuition rates of approximately $5,000 per status Indian child per year, an amount which is estimated to be more than twice what is paid to bands for the education of one child educated on-reserve. [41]

Considering also that the not-so-hidden agenda of the federal government, at least since the White Paper of 1969, has been to promote both the downloading of responsibilities for "Indians" to the

Provinces and the integration of status children into public schools, suggests another motive for federal government enthusiasm for integration. It helps to explain the decided reluctance on the part of the federal government to fund existing reserve schools adequately, or to support new schools and immersion programs on reserve. It also goes a long way towards explaining why the federal government has been so willing to train Aboriginal People in immigrant society institutions to teach Aboriginal children the culture and language of the immigrant society.[42]

In addition to the obvious economic motivations of the federal government, there are very clear economic motives for the New Brunswick government, as well, to promote integration. They derive primarily from the dollars paid for student space to cover school construction costs, and the approximately $6 million received for "Indian" tuition fees per annum, not a penny of which has ever been accounted for either to the federal government or to Aboriginal People.[43]

This money received by the province is in addition to other monies received by the province for the education of Aboriginal students. In effect, the province routinely double or triple-charges to cover the cost of education for Aboriginal People. The primary way by which all people in New Brunswick pay for education is through the provincial sales tax. Yet, prior to 1973 and between 1993 and 1996 the province forced "Status Indians" to pay all provincial sales taxes.[44] (Even between 1973 and 1993 it still charged "Indians" the provincial sales tax on cigarettes, liquor, and gasoline.) With the advent this year of the Harmonized Sales Tax the Province will again be in the position of double-billing status Indians for education. A second way that public education in New Brunswick is financed is through equalization payments or grants from the federal government to assist poorer provinces in the capital costs of education and other social services. That these grants are calculated on a per capita basis including Aboriginal populations means the provincial government is paid doubly by the federal government for student spaces for Aboriginal students. Small wonder that the province is such a keen promoter of integrated education for Aboriginal students.

In the interest of maintaining this lucrative system neither government ever considers the huge cost of integration in terms of wasted human lives, ie., the high incarceration, alcoholism, and suicide rates that continue to show up as a consequence of failure in integrated schools.[45] Regarding these obviously damaging consequences that integration policies have had on Aboriginal cultures and languages, it could be said that the integration project has failed by all standards, unless of course, one considers the havoc that integration has wreaked on Aboriginal communities and cultures to be a good outcome. That both governments continue to promote integration, and steadfastly resist any critique of the policy is highly suspect.

When a blatantly racist diatribe on the virtues of assimilation was read recently in the Legislature by a backbencher in the premier's own party, it was understood that the premier had read and allowed it, even though he publicly disavowed the principles it advocated.[46] What could explain this extraordinary behavior other than the real possibility that the provincial government still toys with the idea of assimilation and actually saw in the publication of that racist speech an opportunity to test the water and perhaps garner public support for a more assimilationist government policy?

Considering government fixation on the policy of integration in the face of so many counter-indications leaves only one kind of conclusion -- that the multiple conflicts of interest continue to operate like blinders on a horse perpetually preventing governments from considering any alternatives to integration. It means that there is no incentive, either, for government to consider any kind of programming that would significantly enhance Aboriginal chances at academic success and personal fulfillment while promoting and preserving Aboriginal culture and languages. It means, also, that there is no incentive for governments to empower Aboriginal communities with either the information or financial resources to do it themselves. In the end it perpetuates the colonial interest of keeping Aboriginal communities controlled, dependent, and subservient.

Even if an Aboriginal community knew of the successful programs and the exciting research results regarding immersion education, and even if Aboriginal People were able to throw off the internalized sense of inferiority engendered by the education system, such communities would still be hampered by the huge lack of available financial resources equivalent to what the public schools are provided for the education of Native children. It is a matter of simple mathematics: the more federal money that goes to support integration, the less money is available for on-reserve schools. The less money the reserve schools receive, the less they are able to carry out their primary function of education, much less provide culturally-based education using the mother tongue when their own teachers are trained only to teach in English using an anglo curriculum. Clearly, massive programs are needed to train or retrain our people to teach in our own languages, but the resources are simply not there, and the reasons are obvious.

b. Control of information and research by provincial and federal governments

The second point to be made regarding conflict of interest relates to the way in which information and research on Aboriginal education is controlled. Currently all research on Aboriginal education in New Brunswick is funded and controlled by either the federal or provincial governments, both of which benefit in a huge way from the integration project, and which, therefore, have the greatest stake in controlling information and research. When these governments sub-contract their research projects to individuals or agencies who are either totally or partially dependent on those very governments, these parties, too, are in serious conflict, and their research is automatically compromised. What we find, too, is that a number of the principle researchers were formerly employees of one government or the other. Considering the extent of the conflict of interest in this research it is not surprising why it has been conducted in near total secrecy, even from Native People themselves. And it is not surprising that it avoids even considering immersion education and the remarkable work of pioneers and researchers such as Jim Cummins, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, and Dorothy Lazore, the founder of the Mohawk language immersion program at Kahnawake.[47]

A quick survey of recent government-funded studies on Aboriginal education in New Brunswick suggests some answers for the secrecy. The 1991 study entitled "Closing the Gap," focussed reprehensibly on a comparison of Native and Non-Native achievement test scores.[48] Two 1993 studies, one on "Counselling Native Students" [49] and the other on "Native Learning Styles," suggested, in effect, that integration is necessary and if non-Native personnel could learn more about

Native culture and change their teaching and counselling strategies accordingly, the project of integrated education would be greatly facilitated.[50] The 1994 Denman study on the "Quality of Indian Education in the Provincial Schools" did not investigate at all the impact of integrated education on Aboriginal students as the title implies, but took the opportunity, instead, to advocate the integration and cooption of Native decision-making into provincial government structures through the establishment of a "Native Secretariat" within the department of education.[51] The most recent study by Garrow and Associates and the Rural and Small Towns Program (1996), was ostensibly aimed at "Addressing the Educational Needs of Maliseet and Micmac Students Attending Public Schools in New Brunswick." That it promotes the secretariat idea from beginning to end, illustrates that it was never intended to determine whether or not integration is addressing any needs on the part of Aboriginal students, but rather to promote a secret strategy designed to make integration work more effectively.[52] Considering that the principle authors of both the Denman and Garrow studies were recent and longtime employees of Indian Affairs, the striking similarity in the two studies is hardly surprising.

As a consequence of damaging conflict of interest, not one of the named studies on Native education in New Brunswick could be said to be without serious bias. Much like the Hawthorn Report of 1966, which studiously avoided criticizing integration, and even argued for assimilation, not one of these expensive studies has ever investigated the possibility that integration/ assimilation per se, could be remotely connected to the high dropout rates for Native students. The closest that any of the studies comes to admitting a possible flaw in the integration project is the 1993 study on counselling Native students which states that the "psychological stress related to school integration can be devastating."[53] But even here, the acknowledgement is only lip-service in the greater project of preparing non-Native personnel for the grand project of integration/assimilation.

By not investigating or experimenting with teaching in the medium of Native languages, the Province spends great time and energy looking for the causes and remedies for Native alienation everywhere it is not, ie., in Native learning styles, in the absence of Natives in the school system, in Native culture. By not spending a good portion of the six million in tuition dollars (that it currently pockets) on Native languages the Province willfully ignores also national and international voices calling for substantial state support for indigenous languages.[54]

Still another source of conflict of interest lies in the work of linguists who specialize in endangered languages when they, too, are contracted into the service of the state, which is already in a conflict situtation where Native culture and education is concerned. In such situations linguists may be in multiple conflict, not only from the obvious influence of funds from government sources. There is also the conflict arising from competing with Aboriginal communities for scarce funding, and the conflict that lies in the very nature of their academic work on endangered languages. Linguist Jane Hill has postulated that as the number of speakers of an endangered language declines, the greater the "linguistic markets" for the work of a linguist in that language. The consequence, Hill argues, is that linguists acting naturally in their own self interest may actually tend to resist language revitalization and thereby contribute to the possibility of language death. This is a serious problem, and one which Aboriginal People must be aware of when linguists come calling. While appearing

to act in the interest of our languages, they, like so many government authorities, may actually be working at cross-purposes to the survival of those very languages. [55]

7. Proposed Native Secretariat in the Provincial Department of Education

The final factor to be mentioned here has the potential for a huge negative impact on the survival of the Maliseet language. It is the secret plan now being devised for a Native Secretariat in the Provincial Department of Education, as proposed in the most recent government-funded studies.[56] The plan aims to integrate and coopt Native educators into the structure of the provincial government in the service of integration. The serious problem with the idea is that rather than legitimize community autonomy and the nation-hood status of Maliseet People, the idea will actually consolidate more power over Native education in the hands of the provincial government and a handful of coopted Aboriginal People. These Aboriginals, furthermore, would automatically be in a conflict of interest insofar as they would receive their paycheck from the provincial government to promote provincial government interests in integration as the ultimate solution. Even if their paychecks were to be funneled through the bands, their place of work within the inherently racist system of the provincial department of education would compromise their abilities to be of any real service to the interests of their communities.[57]

The idea for a Secretariat has been around for at least five years having been originally proposed by the Aboriginal consultant to the department of education, and later by the MAWIW Council, a consortium of the three largest Aboriginal communities in New Brunswick, two Micmac (Big Cove and Burnt Church) and one Maliseet (Tobique).[58] That the idea has been kept a closely guarded secret is a measure of the conflict of interest on the part of those involved, the federal and provincial governments, and even the Native individuals, some of whom are presently employed on the project, and therefore, stand a good chance of being employed in the Secretariat, itself.

To hasten this objective both governments are now working furiously with the collaboration of a few of our own people to find a way to finance and establish this secretariat in legislation, behind closed doors and entirely without the knowledge and consent of our communities as a whole. Aside from the very small number of Native individuals involved or interviewed for this recent study, there are probably no Native People who know about either the Garrow study or the secretariat scheme it was intended to rationalize. In fact, a secret steering committee made up of Native collaborators and personnel from the federal and provincial governments to guide the project was established in late 1995, and in early 1996 the committee voted that there be no publicity at all in the matter of the Garrow study.[59] Apart from the obvious conflict of interest, the motive for keeping the whole matter under wraps appears to be precisely to eliminate community discussion until it is a legislated fact, at which point it will be imposed on our communities.

The estimated cost of the Native Secretariat in the Spring of 1996 was 1.5 million, down from $2.5 million the year before.[60] Originally it was expected that the federal government (Indian Affairs) would pay the entire cost. Now it appears that tuition dollars from the federal to provincial governments may be increased and a percentage of the tuition dollars reserved to implement the plan.

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There is no question that the federal government will cooperate with this plan in the interest of fullfilling the 1969 White Paper objective of downloading federal responsibilities for Aboriginal People to provincial governments. With the active representation of the department of Indian and northern affairs on the steering committee to date, the federal government has cooperated so far.

As far as the survival of our language is concerned, the secretariat idea has every appearance of a big nail in the coffin speeding the anticipated demise of our language. Those with the power and resources, including some of our own people, are going about this business of disempowering and obliterating the last bulwark of Native identity, our communities which are also the only entities that could legitimately and effectively carry out a program in language revitalization.[61] It is obvious that any more money paid to the province in tuition fees will mean that much less available for Native comunities to carry out the language revitalization programs that are so desperately needed. That the first six letters of "secretariat" spell the word "secret" is reason enough to be suspicious of the idea, and of steering committee motives for keeping it secret.

Conclusion

It should now be obvious why all recent government research on Aboriginal education has assiduously avoided looking at Native language immersion models and the prolific research results regarding the relation of success in school to mother-tongue proficiency. The available literature on the topic is massive -- yet totally ignored in every federal or provincial study on Native education in New Brunswick to date. To the dispassionate observer this scenario has every appearance of a huge conspiracy against Aboriginal People, culture, and language.

What is needed at this juncture is for Aboriginal parents, elders, and communities as a whole to take a hard look at our current situation, to come to an understanding of the many factors working to destroy our culture and language, and to move towards zero tolerance for these factors. We must recognize that integration, at least at the elementary level, is possibly the greatest threat there ever was to our culture, language, and identity, and we must recognize that a serious revitalization of our language and culture will be the only way for our people to counteract the horrendous effect that colonialism has had on us. In other words, we must take a serious look at immersion models and begin to devise a strategy for developing our own.[62] How can we do any worse than what is being done to us now?

We must also make it clear to all governments concerned that the only appropriate way for those governments to act is to respect and legitimize the autonomy of Native parents, elders, and communities in maintaining and revitalizing their culture, languages and identities through education. For this to happen we must oppose the cooption of our leadership into the service of government designs. We must oppose the secrecy that characterizes government involvement, and we must oppose the plan for a Native secretariat, as it represents all of the above -- secrecy, cooption and the ultimate denial of the authority and responsibility of our communities to make their own decisions and educate their own children.

These issues will not be easy ones for our people to address, but they must be addressed if we really wish to save our language. However depressing the diagnosis of "obsolescent," there is still hope for the Maliseet language insofar as we have many active adults who still speak the language fluently, and we have the inspiring examples of many communities, such as Kahnawake, which have successfully moved to save their languages. Right now, we Maliseets have the luxury of a choice to save our language, a choice that will not exist in another generation or so. What is urgently needed is for our communities to recognize the danger of leaving important decisions regarding language, culture, and the education of our children to others who work in the dark closets of universities, governments, and secret steering committees. There is only one place for this information and decision-making, and that is on the kitchen tables and in the councils of parents and elders in our communities. Only then will there be a chance for our language to survive. It does not need to die.

Notes and References

1. On the impetus for this study see "Native Studies Symposium, St, Thomas University, August 24-25, 1994: Summary of Recommendations/Implications." Fully one-third of the resolutions from this symposium called for drastic action to be taken in part by the universities to halt the decline in the Micmac and Maliseet languages.

2. The preliminary survey was carried out by Glenn Tremblay, a Maliseet speaker from the Tobique Maliseet community who lives in Fredericton. The more detailed survey was carried out by Leonard Atwin of Oromocto, Carol Paul of St. Mary's, and Carolyn Saulis of Kingsclear.

3. Estimates of less than 1,000 fluent speakers of Maliseet/ Passamaquoddy are based on the following estimates in round numbers: Fredericton area 200, Woodstock 25, Tobique 150, Pleasant Point (Maine) 200, and Princeton (Maine) 200. See Federal Register [U.S.]: Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Native Americans, FY 94 Native American Language Grants, Waponahki Language Network, July 21, 1994:7-14. These statistics match an estimate nearly twenty-five years ago of six to seven hundred Maliseet speakers and three hundred Passamaquoddy speakers, over 20 years of age. Chafe, Wallace L., "Estimates Regarding the Present Speakers of North American Indian Languages," International Journal of American Linguistics, 28, 1962:162-171. See for example also Burnaby, Barbara and Roderick Beaujot, The Use of Aboriginal Languages in Canada: An Analysis of 1981 Census Data, Ottawa, Department of the Secretary of State, 1986; Foster, Michael K. "Canada's Indigenous Languages: Present and Future," Language and Society, 7, 1982:7-16; Priest, Gordon E., "Aboriginal Languages in Canada," Language and Society, No. 15, 1985; Dorian, Nancy C., Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; Krauss, Michael, "Status of Native American Language Endangerment," in Gina Cantoni, ed., Stabilizing Indigenous Languages, Center for Excellence in Education Monograph, Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 1996:16-21; Krauss, Michael, "Status of Native American Language Endangerment," in Cantoni, Ibid., pp.16-21; Taylor, Allan R., ed., Language Obsolescence, Shift, and Death in Several Native American Communities, International Journal of the Sociology of Language, vol. 93, New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 1992; Miller, Wick R., "Obsolescing Languages: The Case of the Shoshoni," Language in American Indian Education, Winter 1972:1-14; Contento, Sandro, "Linguistic Genocide: The Killing of Native Languages in Canada," Our Schools/Our Selves,

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4. Bauman, James J., A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention, Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980:6-13.

5. These materials have been published mostly by the Wabanaki Bilingual Education Program, Indian Township, Maine.

6. See Fase, Willem, Koen Jaspaert and Sjaak Kroon, eds., Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages, Amsterdam/ Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1992; Seliger, Herbert W., and Robert M. Vago, First Language Attrition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991; Wurm, Stephen A., "Language Death and Disappearance: Causes and Circumstances," in Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck, ed., Endangered Languages, Oxford, New York, Berg, 1991:1-18; Dorian, Nancy C., Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; Taylor, Allan R., ed., Language Obsolescence, Shift, and Death in Several Native American Communities, International Journal of the Sociology of Language, vol. 93, New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 1992; Dressler, Wolfgang U., "Language Death," in F.J. Newmeyer, Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey, vol. IV, Language: The Socio-Cultural Context, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988:184-192; Contento, Sandro, "Linguistic Genocide: The Killing of Native Languages in Canada," Our Schools/Our Selves, May/June 1993:34-39; McLendon, Sally, "How Languages Die: A Social History of Unstable Bilingualism Among the Eastern Pomo," in Kathryn Klar, Margaret Langdon, Shirley Silver, eds., American Indian and Indo-European Studies, Papers in Honor of Madison S. Beeler, Trends in Linguistics, 16, 1980:137-150; Crago, Martha B., Betsy Annahatak and Lizzie Ninguiruvik, "Changing Patterns of Language Socialization in Inuit Homes," Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 24(3), 1993:205-223; Edwards, John, Multilingualism, London and New York, Routledge, Chapter 4, "Languages in Conflict," 1994:89-124; Miller, Wick, "The Death of Language or Serendipity Among the Shoshoni," Anthropological Linguistics, 13(3), 1971:114-120; Crawford, James, "Seven Hypotheses on Language Loss," in Gina Cantoni, ed., Stabilizing Indigenous Languages, Center for Excellence in Education Monograph, Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University, 1996:51-68; Fishman, Joshua A., "On the Peculiar Problems of Smaller National Languages," in Joshua A. Fishman, Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, 1989:369-375; Paulston, Christina Bratt, "Linguistic Consequences of Ethnicity and Nationalism in Multilingual Settings," Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, Multicultural Education, Paris, Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1987:264-272.

7. "A Review of Activities, 1948-1958, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration," n.d., pp. 23-24; Fredericton Board of School Trustees Minutes, 29 Oct. 1954, 29 Nov. 1954, 28 Dec. 1954, 27 May 1957, 11 June 1957, 4 July 1957, 13 March 1961, 1 May 1961, 24 July 1961, 16 May 1962, 20 June 1962, 16 July 1962; City of Fredericton, Annual Report of the School Trustees, June 1957, PANB, RS 419, H2, and June 1963, p. 7; June 1964, p. 8, June 1965, p.9; New Brunswick, "Annual Report of the Department of Education," for 1964 (1965:126-7, 145), for 1965 (1966:130,147) and for 1966 (1967:141).

8. This is not to dismiss the interlocking effect of multiple factors, such as World War II and the post-war social climate, in the decline of Maliseet. See the longer version of this paper (in progress). On the residential school at Shubenacadie, N.S., which some Maliseets attended, see Knockwood, Isabelle, Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw

Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Lockport, Nova Scotia, Roseway Publishing, 1992; Laskey, Heather, "Hard to Erase Bitter Memories of School Days Filled With Fear, Atlantic Insight, Feb. 1988:21-24. There is some disagreement about the extent of physical and sexual abuse at Shubenacadie, but the consequences for the Micmac or Maliseet languages are indisputable. See also Furniss, Elizabeth, Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at Williams Lake Residential School, 1891-1920, Williams Lake, Cariboo Tribal Council, 1992. See also my larger study (work in progress) for a survey of the history of the Maliseet language.

9. These graphs will be published in my larger work (in progress).

10. Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove, "Multilingualism and the Education of Minority Children," in Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove, and Jim Cummins, Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1988:22-27; Cummins, J., "Underachievement Among Minority Children," in J. Cummins, Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy, Austin, Texas, Pro-ed, 1984:93-129; Cummins, J., "Educational Implications of Mother-Tongue Maintenance in Minority-Language Groups," The Canadian Modern Language Review, vol. 34(3), 1978:395-416; Cummins, Jim, "The Role of Primary Language Development in Promoting Educational Success for Language Minority Students," in California State Department of Education, Schooling and Language for Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework, Los Angeles, National Dissemination Assessment Center, 1981:3-49; Toohey, Kelleen, "Northern Native Canadian Language Education," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 22(1), 1985:93-101; Trueba, H., Raising Silent Voices: Educating the Linguistic Minorities for the 21st Century, New York, Newbury, Chapter 1, "Sociocultural Integration of Minorities and Minority School Achievement," 1989:1-28; Snow, Catherine E. and Kenji Hakuta, "The Costs of Monolingualism," in James Crawford, Language Loyalties: A Source Book on the Official English Controversy, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992:384-394; Ogbu, J.U., "Variability in Minority School Performance: A Problem in Search of an Explanation," Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 18(1), 1987: 312-334; Wax, M., "Oglala Sioux Dropouts and their Problems with Educators," in J. Roberts and S. Akinsanya, eds., Schooling in the Cultural Context, N.Y., David McKay and Co., 1976:216-231; Kramer, Bety Jo, "Education and American Indians: The Experience of the Ute Tribe," in Margaret A. Gibson and John U. Ogbu, eds., Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities, New York, Garland, 1991: 287-307; Philips, Susan U., "Indian Children in Anglo Classrooms," in Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes, Language of Inequality, Berlin, Mouton, 1985:311-323; Cummins, Jim, "The Socioacademic Achievement Model in the Context of Coercive and Collaborative Relations of Power," in DeVillar, Robert A., Christian J. Faltis, and James Cummins, eds., Cultural Diversity in Schools: From Rhetoric to Practice, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1994:363-390; Richards, Julia Becker, "Learning Spanish and Classroom Dynamics: School Failure in a Guatemalan Maya Community," in H.F. Trueba, Success or Failure: Learning and the Language Minority Student, Cambridge, Newbury House, 1987:109-130.

11. New Brunswick Department of Education, Research and Planning Branch, February 1997. In another calculation 68 percent of grade nine Aboriginal students dropped out of school between 1985 and 1990 before graduating. Minister of Education, "Policy Statement on Maliseet/Micmac Education in New Brunswick," 1991. The dropout rate for non-natives in 1993-94 in grades 7 to 12 for 1991-92 was 3.4%, and for 1992-93 and 1993-94 it was steady at 3.6%. New Brunswick Department of Education, Research and Planning Branch, Education: Student Flow Statistics, 1991-92, Fredericton, January 1993:5-6, and Education: Dropout Statistics 1992-93, Fredericton, December 1993:3,6. See also New Brunswick, "The Public School Education of New Brunswick's First Nations Students," enclosure in Memo of Byron James to District Superintendents, 6 February 1995. See also Frideres, James, "Indians and Education: A Canadian Failure," Manitoba Journal of Education, 7(2), 1972; Ron Mackay and Lawrence Myles, "A Major Challenge for the Education System: Aboriginal Retention and Dropout," in Marie Battiste and Jean Barman, First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds, Vancouver, UBC Press, 1995:157-178; Ward, Carol, "American Indian High School Completion in Rural Southeastern Montana," Rural Sociology, 60(3), 1995; Steomnerg, L., P.L. Blinde, and K.S. Chan, Dropping Out Among Language Minority Youth: A Review of the Literature, Los Alamitos CA, National Centre for Bilingual Research, 1984; Statistics Canada, 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey: Language, Tradition, Health, Lifestyle and Social Issues, Catalogue No. 89-533, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Post Censal Surveys Program, 1993; Hull, Jeremy, "An Overview of the Educational Characteristics of Registered Indians in Canada," The Working Margins Consulting Group, for Indian and Northern Affairs, Winnipeg, 1987; Armstrong, Robin, Jeff Kennedy and Peter R. Oberle,

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The Big Cove Headstart Immersion Program

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Background

The Big Cove Headstart Program was implemented in 1987 with a staff of one Supervisor and three Child Care Workers, and an enrollment of fifteen children. At that time, Micmac was to be used as the main language of instruction, and English was to be used with nursery rhymes, stories, and songs, and to prepare children for school entry.

In the Fall of 1990, I was hired as the Director of the Program. Having little background in Early Childhood, I let the staff continue on with the way they had been operating in the past, observing and learning from them.

I don't even know how or when it happened, but as time went on English was being used more and more. I began to notice that each year more and more children were coming to the Center speaking English. And so to accommodate them I guess, we started talking to them in English more and more. It was so easy and natural for us to do so. We just slipped right into it. When I think about it now, it seems strange that when we, the staff and I, talked to each other we would talk to each other in Micmac, but when we talked to the children we would talk to them in English.

How and When Immersion Came About

It has only been in the last few years that we have tried to turn things around. We've brought in more Native materials and started making our own materials, but each year we always slip back into using English again. No matter how much we say that we are only going to use Micmac this year, we always end up using English with the children. Each year we start off speaking Micmac to the children. If a child speaks to us in English we repeat what they say in Micmac and we answer them in Micmac. But English is always there.

With the increasing number of English speaking children, not only in the Headstart Program but in the Community, I knew that we were losing our language. I just didn't realize how bad it was until July 1995, when I attended the Native Language Immersion Workshops in Fredericton, Tobique and Pleasant Point, Me. I started thinking about the children I meet on the street or at the school, my nieces and nephews and cousins, and realized how true this was in Big Cove. We are losing our language. And if we didn't do anything about it now, how long would it be before we lose it completely.

That's when I became more determined than ever to have our Headstart Program delivered in the Micmac language. How hard could it be! After all, our program is primarily activity based. All we

would have to do would be to put the focus on the language. And where better to start than in the early years. A time when children are so eager to learn. They are like sponges, absorbing all kinds of information. A time when children like to repeat and imitate the adults around them.

How hard could it be to do the same program that we have done in the past. All we would have to do would be to use Micmac instead of English. If all the staff could do this then we would be all right. (But isn't this what we have said at the beginning of each year? How different was it going to be this year?) Well, we were about to find out.

On Monday, August 28, 1995, when the staff returned to work, they were told that this year the Headstart Program would be conducted totally in Micmac. Children would be spoken to, read to, and sung to in Micmac only. Everything in the Center would be labelled in Micmac. Children's actions would be described in Micmac. And instructions would be given in Micmac. It would still be the same program, only it would be done in Micmac.

During that first week, the staff and I started working on our new Program. We had to have enough materials ready by September 5, the following week, to last us the whole month of September. We started translating nursery rhymes and stories, and started practicing them right away. As long as we could sing a few songs and could tell a story or two in Micmac we would be all right for September.

That is how we worked at our Program throughout that first year, planning and developing enough materials one month at a time. If we had time at the end of each day, we would come together and discuss what needed to be done. But most of the work was done on Friday afternoons. If we couldn't translate any of the materials, we made up our own version.

So far, we have introduced three new songs or nursery rhymes each month and the staff have been telling stories in Micmac. They are getting to be real pros at it. When we started in September 1995, I translated the stories and put the translations in the story books over the English. The staff were a little intimidated by this because they couldn't read in Micmac. So I stopped doing this. Now they do their own translations orally.

To keep the parents up-to-date, we have been sending home our Micmac songs, nursery rhymes and fingerplays in the Headstart Monthly Newsletter, along with the English translations. I know that most of the parents can't read in Micmac, but I think that if they did see the English translation, they would be able to identify some of the Micmac words to the songs. And during their monthly visits to the Center, we try to do three or four songs while they are there. That way they get to hear how the songs go and when their children ask them to sing one they will be able to. And they tell us that they have been asking. Parents have been asking us to send home recordings of our songs, but we have not been able to do that yet.

How is it Going?

I wish I could say that by the end of the year all the children in the Headstart Program were speaking Micmac, but I can't. Children were still speaking English. And even though it felt like we were getting nowhere, we kept our resolve and continued to speak to them only in Micmac. And whenever we did our little songs, they were more than ready to join in.

We still make slips every now and then but we do correct ourselves. My staff deserve a lot of credit. It would not have been possible without them. I know it hasn't been easy, but they worked hard all year to make the program a success. They have come a long way. When we started, they would ask what the Micmac word for an English word was, or how do you spell this Micmac word? Now they are asking me, "Is this the way this word is spelt?" When we get together on Fridays for our planning sessions, we discuss their ideas about new songs, nursery rhymes, fingerplays, stories, vocabulary and activities that we can do. Everyone contributes.

This year has not been as difficult. We are using the materials that we developed last year and are still developing new materials. Three regular staff and two supply teachers are taking the Immersion Training Course with me so they are more into it this year.

Whither Welsh? Strategies for Survival

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> A people can create even a new homeland, but never a new language; when a language has died on the lips of a people, the people are also dead. But if a human heart shudders before the killing of a single transitory human being, what then should it feel, making an attempt upon the life of the age-old historic personality of a people,this greatest of all creations on earth? (Dzyuba 154; in Betts 190)

This quotation from Dzyuba's Internationalism or Russification forms the epigraph to the final chapter of Clive Betts' Culture in Crisis: The Future of the Welsh Language, where he presents his agenda for the saving of Welsh. Although Welsh is the most vigorous of the surviving Celtic languages, its situation is precarious. Since the ten-yearly census of Welsh speakers began at the beginning of the century, both the number and the percentage have declined significantly. Whereas in 1901, 49 per cent of the population of Wales spoke Welsh, by 1991 the proportion had dwindled to a mere 18 per cent. However, the decline that became increasingly steep in the middle of the century has slowed down, and there are some encouraging signs. The drop in the proportion of Welsh speakers between 1981 and 1991 was less than 1 per cent, and the total number of speakers had increased by about 2000. What, then, is the prognosis for the future?

I approach this question as an anglophone who was brought up in Wales and acquired a certain intimacy with the language without ever becoming a Welsh speaker. When I was exposed to Welsh in the forties and fifties, it was the object of a good deal of social prejudice among complacent anglophones as a language of the margins.

At the present time, not only is the Welsh language threatened, but there is a widening gulf between the Welsh of the professional class and that of the rest of the Welsh-speaking population. Modern communications and population movements have eroded the grass-roots foundations of the language, and popular Welsh has been massively invaded by anglicisms. At the same time, since the seventies a more aggressive nationalism has helped to promote the use of "good" Welsh among the middle class. The Welsh of this group is conditioned by a written standard which popular Welsh ignores.

There has always been a tradition of literary Welsh, with roots going back to the early Middle Ages. In 1588, the translation of the Bible into Welsh provided the language with a literary standard, and assured its status as the vehicle of religion, although since the Act of Union in 1536 it had been barred from administration and law. In the nineteenth century, the use of Welsh was reinforced by the spread of Nonconformism in the developing industrial towns and villages, and the proliferation of Welsh Nonconformist chapels. However, the implementation of universal education did more to undermine Welsh than to support it. Many regarded the Welsh language as a bar to educational

improvement. The Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, in 1847, pronounced:

> The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to overestimate its ill effects .... It dissevers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilisation, and bars the access of improving knowledge to their minds. (Reports of the CISEW 309; in Thomas 255)

Although this attitude persists in a few quarters, and is widely remembered, it has been largely reversed, so that nowadays a knowledge of Welsh is a boost up the economic and social ladder -- a state of affairs which creates another set of problems.

Last summer, on a visit to North Wales, I questioned several people on the changing use of Welsh. I asked them to talk about the circumstances in which they used and heard the language, and what changes they had observed over the years. My informants were Welsh and English speakers from Ruabon, a now heavily anglicised area close to the English border, Bangor, a university town surrounded by the Welsh heartland, and the island of Anglesey, across the Menai Strait from Bangor. Though these people would not be hard to identify, I will call them "A," "B," "C," etc. "A" is in her eighties, brought up in the Ruabon area when the villages were still largely Welsh. Cefn and Acrefair, where she lived, were about 90 per cent Welsh-speaking, she said, and if you didn't speak Welsh you were out of the picture. But even then, during and after the First World War, most people were bilingual. It was not as when George Borrow, whose Wild Wales records his walking tour in the 1850's, reached Cefn, was met with "Dim Saesneg" ("No English"), and felt that he had really arrived. "A" still uses Welsh to talk to a few friends -- those who can respond, receives the occasional letter in Welsh, and reads Welsh books from the library. She referred to "good" Welsh, by which she meant the dialect of the North rather than the South, and, especially, of those areas which had been insulated from contact with English. She mentioned Anglesey specifically -- which, incidentally, has been conservative since Roman times, when it was the last bastion of the Druids. Interestingly, "A" did not speak her first language to her daughter because her husband couldn't speak it readily, although he understood it. Welsh was reserved for communications she didn't want her daughter to understand. After her husband's death, though, she took her daughter to chapel to benefit from the Welsh service.

"B," in her sixties, is also a first-language speaker of Welsh. She spent the first half of her life in Anglesey, and then, after her marriage, moved to Llangollen, a town on the edge of the Welsh heartland, but also on the main tourist route. Her husband is an anglophone, and her Welsh has become rusty. When she first came to Llangollen she would speak to the shopkeepers and be answered by them in Welsh. They wouldn't initiate Welsh conversations. Now, she said, she didn't do that any more. But there were a lot of people in Llangollen who knew Welsh and didn't use it. "B" was self-deprecating: "My Welsh is hopeless .... I use English words. if you ask me the meaning of a big word in Welsh, I won't know." Like "A," she equated good Welsh with linguistic purity. "They use good Welsh in Bala [a small town further up the river valley, further into the

heartland] -- use all Welsh words." There were Welsh books around when she was a child, but she wasn't interested; the main thing was to be proficient in English.

"C," "A"'s daughter, has a good knowledge of Welsh, but it is not her first language. More analytical than "A" and "B," she filled in her mother's gaps. In the past, "People who wanted to get on would do best to forget their Welsh." Welsh died out a lot among her generation, but now new shoots are appearing. Children are learning Welsh as a first language, and that will increase. The difference is that now parents are making a conscious effort to speak Welsh, whereas it used to be done unconsciously. "C" noted that now there is quite a thriving Welsh middle class; knowing Welsh is definitely an advantage if you want a good job. When she was a child, people like her mother might have a feeling their children should learn Welsh but leave it to outside agencies -- school and chapel. The closing of the Welsh Nonconformist chapels -- Cefn used to be full of them --, a consequence of the general decline in religious observance, dealt a body blow to the Welsh language. But now there is a resurgence. Signs, advertisements, and official publications are bilingual. People who a generation ago would have had no interest in Welsh are taking it up eagerly. "C" mentioned as an example the daughter of a half-Spanish, half- Irish friend, a young woman with no Welsh in her home background, who has chosen to specialise in the language, teaches it, and is dedicated to promoting it.

"D" was less wholeheartedly optimistic. A first-language speaker from the heartland, and an academic at the University of Wales, he was, not surprisingly, my most informed informant. Like "C," he commented on the change in the social status of Welsh. Before the fifties, members of the professional middle class (doctors, lawyers, teachers) wouldn't have dreamed of speaking Welsh to their children. But more recently Welsh has been increasingly associated with a "professional, self-perpetuating Welsh-speaking class" -- to which, of course, "D" himself belongs. He has heard two predictions, from equally informed sources: 1) by 2050 over half the population of Wales will speak Welsh; 2) by 2050 no one will speak Welsh. He realises that Welsh-language schools are only a partial solution. There's nothing to do in Welsh after school, and the children go back to an English world. They used to go to chapel, but no more. And they are reluctant to speak Welsh at school, though given every encouragement; they keep wanting to speak English. "D" sees some problems in the increasing identification of Welsh with education and the professional class: "The sociological history of Welsh can be summarised in three words: 'Up and out!'"

Unlike "A," "B," and "C," "D"'s attitude to the language is consciously political. He was understandably bitter about the situation in his town: "English people can come to live and work in Bangor and they can continue living in their own colonial world." Although he speaks Welsh all the time at home and around the college without thinking about it, he does usually switch to English if asked to. "That's my weakness." When I told him about "B"'s apology for her "Cymraeg yr aelwyd" ("Welsh of the hearth"), he said, "Welsh people are full of apologies because they're not politically mature. They're not a self-governing people; they have no tradition of defending themselves."

"E" is a 60-year-old anglophone with a knowledge of Welsh, who lives in Anglesey. Like "D," although from a more dispassionate point of view, she saw some problems in the promotion of

Welsh by the members of the professional class. She commented on the appearance in her local community of a doctor from Liverpool, Welsh, but not a native speaker; he had learned Welsh as an adult. "He comes down here with his posh Welsh and goes into the little shops, and they can't understand a word he's saying!"

Finally, "F": an anglophone in his eighties, resident in Bangor for fifty years and resolutely non-Welsh-speaking -- one of the colonists that "D" referred to. "F" protested that he refused to learn a language you couldn't look up in the dictionary -- a reference to the mutation of word-initial consonants, which seems normal enough to anyone brought up in Wales, but can certainly throw the uninititiated for a loop. As "D" pointed out, the mutations are really only an excuse. "F" would have learned Welsh if he had had to. But when he was young, the language was regarded as socially inferior. "F" was dismissive about the capacities of Welsh, which, he said, simply lacked the vocabulary and the diffusion to be used as a language of science or technology.

From these various views of the language, it is clear that Welsh is developing in divergent directions. As Alan Thomas says,

> The vernacular language has undergone a process of massive relexification from English which has been only marginally recognised by the written standard .... [Loan words and calques] regularly attract the wrath of the literary establishment .... They are, however, a fact of life ... and must in some way be accommodated if the language is to survive as other than an elitist phenomenon. (267)

Thomas also remarks on the abandonment of the complex numeral system in favour of English for higher numerals, along with the devising of a simplified numeral system for teaching purposes; the reduction and simplification of mutations; and the elimination of marked forms for feminine and plural adjectives.

It was her use of anglicisms that "B" deprecated when she said her Welsh was "hopeless." "E" observed the gulf between literary and colloquial Welsh widening to the point of incomprehensibility. "D" acknowledged the danger of "pure" Welsh becoming like Latin in the Middle Ages - nobody's native tongue, but a language used as the mark of an educated elite class.

Despite Thomas's insistence on dealing with the spoken language as it exists, it must be admitted that a language can tolerate only a certain level of foreign influence before it is simply abandoned in favour of the dominant language. "Mae pawb yn leicio fish" is arguably still Welsh, but *"Everybody yn like fish" becomes no more than a dialect of English marked by interference from another language. Robert Owen Jones, in a study of a Welsh community in Patagonia where "changes initiated at a lower socio-cultural level are gradually spreading upward" -- in this case inflectional levelling -- characterises this development as "one of the hallmarks of a language-death situation" (495).

If Welsh is to survive, some kind of standard must be established and promulgated. Grass-roots Welsh cannot propagate itself as an identifiable language distinct from English for very long. The

pragmatic need for a standard is implicitly recognised by linguists. Marta Weingartner, raising the question of which variety of Welsh an interested North American should study, notes the existence of "Cymraeg Byw" ("Living Welsh"), "a more standardized form of Welsh advocated since the 1960's, which attempts to provide a middle way between formal written Welsh and contemporary spoken Welsh." And Alan Thomas, in his description of current Welsh, notes that the BBC, on its Welsh channel, adopts a pronunciation which compromises between the dialects of North and South Wales.

In his account of the Welsh Language Movement, Dafydd Glyn Jones makes clear that the fate of the language is inseparable from the political future of the country. Bodies like the BBC and the University of Wales can and do promote the dissemination of a standard Welsh, ranging from the colloquialism of "Pobl y Cwm" ("People of the Valley"), the "rather dire" tv soap opera -- as a friend of mine characterised it -- to the specialised registers of academic discourse. These efforts need to be reinforced and co-ordinated in a national context. The position of Welsh will undoubtedly be strengthened by a Welsh government. Although full independence for Wales, the aim of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, isn't a strong probability, a far greater degree of autonomy within a British federation is a more realistic goal -- and one which the Labour Party, with its commitment to devolution, might pursue. A Welsh government would, one hopes, implement the language policy of the Blaid "that the Welsh language should, within its own territory, have the advantage over all other languages" -- in the words of a pamphlet published in the late thirties (quoted in Jones 327). Note that Welsh would "have the advantage," but that the use of English would not be excluded. Quite a moderate aim really! The survival of Welsh, then, is likely to depend on the promulgation of the language as the preferred medium of administration, education, and the mass media by a Welsh government. Not an impossible goal --but one that will take for its achievement the implementation of a massive and coherent national will.

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An Educational Endeavor

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Akwesasne

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood, an organization representing aboriginal peoples in Canada, introduced a policy paper entitled "Indian Control of Education". For the first time in the history of education for native peoples, their languages were being incorporated into the school system, public, provincial, and federal. Native students were given the opportunity to learn their native language and cultural heritage. Elders were consulted and recorded. Their words were taped, transcribed, and written. Booklets, texts, and curricula were then produced and printed. Native personnel were hired and encouraged to enroll in teacher training programs.

Certified native speakers were hired to teach in the provincial systems located off the reserve. The native language was introduced and implemented as a subject language. This type of programming commenced at the nursery levels, increasing the time limit from half an hour, to forty minutes, to an hour at the senior levels. At the end of their senior year native students graduated knowing very little of their own native language.

In 1979, parents and community members were looking to various other programs for learning a native language. The idea of teaching the Mohawk language in an immersion concept was initiated into the school system by a staff teaching at the nursery level in a federal school located on the Kahnawa:ke reserve, ten miles east of Montreal. The teacher felt she could learn to speak the Mohawk language by teaching and using the language at the nursery level. She decided to approach the parents with the idea of incorporating the Mohawk language in the nursery program. She explained to the parents that all subjects, content areas, skills, and concepts could be taught using the Mohawk language. The parents responded unanimously. Their keen interest and support marked the beginning of a tremendous challenge. This parental involvement and consultation provided the foundation for a Mohawk language - and culture-based curriculum and instruction.

Elders were once again consulted and hired to assist in the implementation process. Thus, a Mohawk Language Immersion Program was initiated and program instruction was implemented at the nursery level for Mohawk students who were non-speakers of their mother tongue. The following year, in September 1980, these same students continued the program into the kindergarten level. In 1981, fifteen of the thirty students were selected to follow the program at the grade one level. In 1982, the parents opted to continue the program at the grade two level. In 1982-83, student enrollment increased. The Mohawk Immersion Program was gradually expanding. Thus the immersion concept changed the nature of the federal school located on this particular reserve, Kahnawa:ke.

The increased student enrollment and parental involvement forced the school committee, administrators and the federal government officials to make drastic changes. School administrators

and education personnel had to re-organize the school structure, buildings, and timetables. They had to re-shuffle personnel to meet the needs and wishes of the parents in the community. The federal government administrators were approached to provide funds for curriculum development, retraining of federal staff and salaries for federal employees.

The Mohawk Immersion Program itself presented challenges and changes to the personnel, parents and teachers. The administrative personnel looked to other models of immersion programs for guidance, support and background information. They established retraining for staff members. Non-speaking personnel enrolled in adult Mohawk Language Immersion Programs in order to become knowledgeable and fluent in speaking the Mohawk language. Workshops for teachers were made available in curriculum development and language learning. Training for native people already fluent in the Mohawk language was set up with McGill University.

In planning the program, administrators reviewed the requirements for setting up the immersion program. They looked at the wishes of the parents and students. They needed to consider a total revision of curricula, and possibly replacing or retraining staff. They also considered staffing capabilities, results of research and evaluation programs.

Parents who enrolled their child in the Mohawk Immersion Program had set a goal and had a long range plan in mind. They wanted their child to become fluent in the Mohawk language. Concerned parents questioned the entire program. They were concerned about the level of English language proficiency. Will the students be able to read and write the English language?

Teachers involved in the implementation process of the program faced new and exciting challenges. They had to create new programs and write text in their native language with limited guidelines. They had to implement a total Mohawk Immersion Program with very little curriculum material. Teachers had to organize what little curriculum they had around guidelines which were either absent or relatively vague. Teachers were faced with having to develop their own objectives, goals, and standards in an atmosphere where there was an absence of guidelines and long range planning. They had to adapt the existing guidelines and revise the overall long range planning to suit the immersion requirements. They were constantly developing, changing, and revising curricula, texts, and program materials. They basically had to write the Mohawk language which had been handed down orally for centuries, from generation to generation. Teachers literally developed a written orthography using twelve letters of the Roman alphabet. The greatest challenge was learning the spelling system at the same time as struggling to write the Mohawk language correctly. Teachers were also challenged with the idea of having to present concepts and skills to pupils who had very little knowledge of the structure and syntax of the Mohawk language, plus a limited vocabulary to express these concepts. The Mohawk immersion teacher used the students experience as a starting point of instruction.

What other program challenges and changes needed to be addressed in this new educational reality?

Qualified Mohawk speaking personnel needed to be hired to implement the program. The immersion teacher required a high level of language proficiency. The Mohawk immersion teacher had to be prepared to teach the relevant subject matter to second language speakers. The teacher needed to be flexible, imaginative, creative, dedicated, interested and committed to the immersion concept. A background knowledge of the syntax and linguistic structure of the Mohawk language was an asset. In providing instruction in the Mohawk immersion classes, the teacher needed to be conscious of the fact that their students are non-speakers of the language, thereby forcing her to make a number of pedagogical and linguistic adjustments. The teacher found herself coaching her class gradually and gently into using the native language by example and constant encouragement. The teacher in immersion had to rely on her own resourcefulness. She became the writer of the language, the translator, the organizer of skills and concepts to be taught at the particular grade one level. The teacher became the curriculum designer and consultant.

The immersion concept has made a powerful impact on the language scene. It represented a determined attempt, a determined commitment to overcome the difficulties and inhibitions to learn one's own language and culture. Immersion provided access to a broader range of information, literature, native Mohawk stories, legends and mythology. In a Mohawk immersion class, subjects such as math, history, science, language arts, traditional studies, music, gym and the arts are presented entirely in the Mohawk language. Learners developed in the immersion program by producing the target language more frequently, more correctly and in a wide variety of experiences and situations.

The Mohawk children enrolled in the immersion program developed a positive attitude to language learning. They became speakers of the Mohawk language within a few years. They developed a keen interest in learning. Their drive to learn and their energy level were high. They were highly motivated, spontaneous, expressive and creative. They had an eagerness to perfect their skills in speaking the Mohawk language. Evaluation programs revealed that the students performed at grade level in English in comparison to those not enrolled in the immersion program. Students achieved a high level of achievement and success.

Administrators, teachers and parental involvement contributed to the success rate of the Mohawk Immersion Program.

In summary, the main objective for organizing, re-structuring and implementation of the immersion concept was to revive and retain the Mohawk language within the community. Our challenge for the future is to further enhance the effectiveness of the programs, to identify teaching strategies which combine to make both language learning and content learning more productive and interesting. The long range plan is to keep the native language alive among our Mohawk People, to develop our mythologies, to record and write our legends and our stories. Our greatest task is to retain a value system, a cultural and linguistic identity entirely our own as an Iroquois Mohawk group, distinct from other cultures. For knowing one's own language makes one accountable for who they are. Knowing one's own language makes us a strong nation.

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Approche pragmatique de la préservation et de la promotion des langues indigènes en afrique noire[1]

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Résumé

Tous les pays d'Afrique au sud du Sahara, comme la plupart des anciennes colonies, ont pour langue officielle des langues étrangères, en l'occurrence le français, l'anglais, le portugais ou l'espagnol. Les efforts officiels d'alphabétisation s'orientent en général vers l'acquisition de ces langues qui sont censées dominer tous les secteurs de la vie publique. Le débat sur la place des langues africaines dans la vie nationale, amorcé avant les indépendances, a rarement abouti à des mesures concrètes de valorisation des parlers locaux. Les modèles d'intégration avancés jusqu'ici accordent une importance prépondérante au système éducatif. Or, s'il est indéniable que l'école constitue un instrument puissant et efficace pour assurer sinon l'expansion du moins la pérennité de la langue, force est de constater que pour diverses raisons, l'État qui finance et contrôle traditionnellement le système scolaire n'a ni la volonté, ni les moyens d'assumer la préservation et la promotion des langues locales. Les groupes ethnolinguistiques eux-mêmes ne débordent pas apparemment d'enthousiasme pour la sauvegarde de leurs langues, car depuis longtemps il est acquis que la maîtrise des langues officielles constitue la clé de la réussite sociale et économique, voire politique. Pendant que les spécialistes multiplient modèles et expériences, et que les autorités politico-administratives tergiversent, le statu quo profite aux langues officielles dont le champ d'usage ne cesse de s'agrandir. Les langues locales quant à elles régressent et la plupart (en particulier celles qui ont un nombre relativement réduit de locuteurs) semblent vouer à une disparition certaine. Face à cette situation, il nous paraît nécessaire de mener de front plusieurs démarches d'ordre pragmatique, notamment en cernant de manière objective les sources de menace, en redéfinissant le rôle de chaque langue en présence, en recherchant des voies de promotion autres que celles du système éducatif formel, en établissant un lien clair entre l'alphabétisation en langues locales et l'épanouissement individuel et collectif, en sensibilisant les communautés concernées, et en améliorant les activités de préservation qui, chez de nombreux chercheurs, se limitent à la description linguistique des langues menacées.

Introduction

Amorcée pendant la période coloniale, la question de la place des langues africaines dans la vie des jeunes nations[2] continue, aux lendemains des indépendances, à passionner et à diviser les élites nationales. Les unes, reprenant à leur compte les arguments colonialistes de la pauvreté des langues indigènes et des conflits interethniques inhérents aux situations de plurilinguisme dans le tiers monde, prônent le maintien des langues coloniales en ventant entre autres leur «neutralité». D'autres par contre soutiennent que l'efficacité du système éducatif, voire le développement socio-économique, dépend de la valorisation des langues locales et de leur intégration dans tous les aspects de la vie nationale. Les protagonistes de cette dernière stratégie ont proposé divers modèles de sauvegarde des langues africaines préconisant soit la promotion de toutes les langues locales, soit l'adoption de quelques grandes langues à caractère véhiculaire, avec exclusion totale ou utilisation conjointe des langues étrangères. Tous ces modèles accordent par ailleurs une place prépondérante

à l'État. Près de quatre décennies plus tard, force est de constater que de tous les modèles proposés pour la valorisation des langues africaines, aucun n'a officiellement été adopté, et que les langues officielles étrangères servent de langues uniques d'éducation partout, à l'exception de rares cas comme le Niger, le Botswana, le Mali, le Rwanda et l'Éthiopie, où il y a recours partiel ou exclusif aux langues locales dans le système éducatif et dans les programmes d'alphabétisation.

Dans la majorité des pays d'Afrique sub-saharienne, où la langue officielle étrangère demeure le seule médium d'enseignement, chaque progrès enregistré dans le domaine de l'alphabétisation correspond tôt ou tard à une érosion du niveau d'utilisation des langues indigènes. Des études sociolinguistiques relatives aux situations et à la fréquence d'utilisation des diverses langues en situation de plurilinguisme confirment l'ampleur de ce phénomène, surtout dans les zones urbaines[3]. On peut donc valablement poser aujourd'hui que ces langues, véritables parents pauvres des politiques linguistiques nationales, sont menacées. Devant un tel constat, il nous semble utile d'envisager une approche différente de celle qui a été adoptée jusqu'à présent en matière de promotion des langues africaines. Nous proposons ici une approche dite pragmatique, qui se fonde sur une claire identification des sources de menace et s'inspire des leçons de l'échec des démarches entreprises par les protagonistes des modèles antérieurs.

A   Sources de menace

Toute situation de cohabitation entre plusieurs langues engendre naturellement entre ces dernières une concurrence telle que certaines peuvent être menacées de disparition à brève ou à longue échéance. Les facteurs déterminants dans ce genre de menace sont la réduction du nombre des locuteurs, et la contraction du champ d'utilisation due à l'expansion des fonctions d'une autre langue. Sur cette base, on peut avancer qu'en situation de multilinguisme, chaque langue est en principe une source de menace pour ses voisines, et la survie des unes et des autres dépend des hasards de la «sélection naturelle». La menace que font planer les grands véhiculaires (comme le haoussa au Nigéria, le pidgin-english au Cameroun, ou le swahili dans plusieurs pays de l'Afrique de l'Est) sur les autres langues locales illustrent amplement cette réalité. Le schéma de l'évolution naturelle est faussé lorsque l'une des langues en présence fait l'objet d'une promotion consciente, intense et exclusive, aux dépens de toutes les autres. Dans les pays d'Afrique au sud du Sahara, cette langue privilégiée est généralement une langue étrangère héritée de la colonisation : anglais, français, espagnol ou portugais, selon les pays. Il serait facile de pointer du doigt cette dernière comme étant la principale source de danger pour la survie des langues indigènes. Cependant, s'il est indéniable que l'existence d'une langue étrangère aux fonctions élargies est néfaste pour la vitalité des langues locales, il convient de préciser que la véritable menace réside moins dans la présence de la langue en question, que dans le fait qu'elle est la seule à bénéficier d'une intense activité de promotion formelle. Cette promotion s'effectue sous diverses formes. Sur le plan juridique, la langue de l'ancienne puissance coloniale jouit du statut de langue officielle. Un tel statut conféré par la loi rehausse son prestige et fait d'elle la langue d'usage dans trois secteurs clés de la vie nationale, à savoir l'administration publique, l'enseignement et les mass médias. Avec le temps, des facteurs secondaires étroitement liés les uns aux autres viennent renforcer la position de la langue officielle

et contribuer à l'expansion de son usage. Ainsi, l'exode rural érode le bassin des locuteurs des langues indigènes; l'urbanisation galopante (attribuable en partie à l'exode rural) se traduit par la création de regroupements démographiques linguistiquement hétérogènes, au sein desquels la langue officielle s'impose aisément comme la langue de communication interethnique; l'urbanisation favorise en outre la multiplication des mariages exogamiques, avec pour résultat que le couple utilise au foyer une troisième langue - très souvent la langue officielle -, laquelle peut devenir la première langue des enfants; l'organisation du travail valorise nettement les professions administratives qui exigent une maîtrise de la langue officielle, aussi l'école est-elle perçue comme la voie royale pour la réussite sociale, économique et politique; étant donné que les emplois administratifs se trouvent dans les centres urbains, le système éducatif apparaît comme l'un des moteurs de l'exode rural car il prépare automatiquement le jeune villageois à l'exil. À ces phénomènes, on peut ajouter des facteurs comme l'héritage historique et culturel de la langue étrangère, le soutien international plus ou moins actif dont celle-ci bénéficie, et l'attrait (surtout chez les jeunes gens) des valeurs qu'elle charrie habituellement.

B   Principaux protagonistes

Avant d'aborder les causes de l'échec des efforts antérieurs et courants de promotion des langues indigènes en Afrique noire, nous procéderons dans un premier temps à une brève analyse des attitudes et des actions des divers acteurs impliqués, soient les communautés linguistiques, les élites et l'État.

Les communautés ethnolinguistiques éprouvent en général un sentiment d'ambivalence vis-à-vis de la promotion de leurs propres langues. Certains de leurs membres sont alarmés par l'effritement des valeurs traditionnelles et considèrent la préservation des langues maternelles comme une solution à ce problème. D'autres voient d'un mauvais oeil tout effort de préservation des langues locales, celles-ci étant sans valeur à leurs yeux. Cette attitude s'explique en partie par le fait que la langue officielle reste le meilleur gage de réussite individuelle. L'intégration des langues locales dans le système éducatif apparaît donc comme une manoeuvre visant à retarder ou à restreindre l'accès à la classe des privilégiés que constituent les détenteurs des postes administratifs. L'opposition de certains membres de la communauté à la promotion des langues africaines peut aussi s'attribuer à une méconnaissance des objectifs de l'entreprise : dans le cadre d'un programme pilote d'alphabétisation en langue locale au Cameroun, Tadadjeu (1990) note qu'un nombre de parents s'étonnent qu'il faille aller à l'école pour apprendre sa propre langue, et s'interrogent par conséquent sur le bien fondé de l'enseignement de la langue maternelle à des enfants qui la parlent déjà.

Le deuxième groupe d'acteurs est celui des élites. Nous distinguerons à ce niveau l'élite nationale et l'élite internationale. Par «élite nationale» nous entendons l'ensemble des membres de la communauté qui y exercent une certaine influence, en raison de leur pouvoir économique, moral, religieux ou intellectuel. Par rapport au problème de la promotion des langues indigènes, leur position semble dépendre de leurs intérêts personnels. Selon qu'ils se trouvent à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur de l'appareil étatique, ils encouragent ou stigmatisent les efforts visant à valoriser les parlers locaux. Quand ils sont contre ces initiatives, leurs arguments et leurs actions s'assimilent à

celles des autorités administratives. Par contre, lorsqu'ils militent pour la cause des langues locales, ils y contribuent de façon matérielle ou morale. Ils sont alors à l'origine de la création des ONG linguistiques (appelées «comités de langue au Cameroun») dont chacune est dévouée à la promotion d'une langue particulière.

Le terme «élite internationale» renvoie essentiellement aux linguistes et aménageurs non nationaux qui s'intéressent aux langues africaines. Il s'agit essentiellement d'africanistes basés hors du continent ou travaillant dans des institutions de recherche ou d'enseignement en Afrique. Comme chez les élites locales, il existe ici deux positions antagonistes. Certains encouragent la valorisation des langues locales et apportent leur contribution à cette oeuvre en menant des études linguistiques ou sociolinguistiques sur des langues données. En face d'eux, d'autres soutiennent le statu quo et mettent en garde quiconque essaierait d'ouvrir la boîte de Pandore que constitue la réalité multiethnique en Afrique noire. Mais quelle que soit sa nature, le rôle des spécialistes non nationaux est important dans la mesure où leur avis est susceptible d'influencer à la fois les décideurs-pourvoyeurs de fonds (dans leurs pays d'origine) et les gouvernants des pays bénéficiaires qui ne peuvent risquer de s'aliéner le soutien des donateurs.

Le dernier acteur que nous évoquerons est l'État. Dans la plupart des pays d'Afrique, et en particulier dans les anciennes colonies françaises, l'État a été chroniquement hostile ou indifférent à l'idée de préservation et de promotion des langues indigènes. Les autorités s'y plaisent à vanter la neutralité salutaire de la langue officielle étrangère, laquelle est présentée comme le ciment de l'unité nationale. Au nom de la sauvegarde de cette dernière, les gouvernants ont longtemps stigmatisé toute manifestation de l'ethnicité, donnant l'impression de croire qu'elles peuvent faire disparaître les réalités ethnolinguistiques tout simplement en prétextant que celles-ci n'existent pas. Mais l'État a rarement été maître de son propre jeu. Les pays dont il est question ici dépendent lourdement de l'aide extérieure pour d'importants aspects de leur vie nationale. Cette dépendance entraîne un rétrécissement de leur autonomie dans des domaines clé comme celui de l'éducation. Selon Benjamin (1972), l'aide de la France entre 1960 et 1970 représentait plus de 50% du budget du ministère de l'éducation du Cameroun. Cette aide consistait principalement en l'envoi du personnel enseignant et de matériaux didactiques, dont le but ultime était la promotion de la langue et de la culture françaises. La remarque de Calvet (1996 : 100) selon laquelle pour la France la «politique culturelle extérieure est avant tout une politique de diffusion de la langue française» suggère que l'exemple du Cameroun n'était pas isolé, et que la même situation continue.

C   Causes de l'échec des modèles antérieurs

À notre avis, les causes de l'échec des efforts de promotion des langues africaines se trouvent avant tout dans la conception et les possibilités d'application des modèles qui ont été proposés.

De prime abord, on note que dans les modèles et programmes de promotion des langues locales, peu d'attention est accordée à la sensibilisation des groupes ethnolinguistiques concernés. Cette situation s'expliquerait par un certain paternalisme dont feraient preuve les spécialistes en estimant en savoir plus que les premiers intéressés, ou alors par le fait que les protagonistes prendraient pour acquis que

les groupes en question comprennent automatiquement la nature et l'ampleur de la menace et sont prêts à contribuer à contrer cette dernière. Quoi qu'il en soit, les modèles ne tiennent pas compte des attitudes, des croyances et des aspirations des communautés visées. D'où l'indifférence, mais aussi l'ignorance et l'incompréhension manifestées par une partie de la population vis-à-vis des programmes de promotion de leur langue. Une campagne préalable de sensibilisation permettrait de dissiper les mythes et les malentendus (comme la confusion entre acquisition et alphabétisation) qui sous-tendent ce comportement.

La deuxième difficulté découle de l'attitude des spécialistes eux-mêmes. En effet, la plupart des linguistes travaillant sur les langues menacées semblent considérer la description exhaustive de ces langues comme une fin en soi. Il s'élabore ainsi chaque année une multitude d'articles et d'ouvrages destinés à satisfaire la curiosité scientifique des auteurs et de leur lectorat, à orner les rayons des bibliothèques ou à mousser la carrière professionnelle des chercheurs impliqués, sans pour autant contribuer véritablement à enrayer la menace qui plane sur la langue étudiée. Pour reprendre le mot de Mey (1993 : 11) :

> [When languages start to disappear], the linguistic remedy for this evil is to save the languages by accelerating and perfecting the descriptive process, through better and more generous funding, through the training of native linguists, through providing teachers and other personnel that can help in `alphabetizing' those mostly unwritten and unrecorded languages, so that we at least may have some documentation to show to our successors in the trade, and can parry the reproach of having squandered away the linguistic patrimony of generations to come by saying: `Here's what we have done - it may not be perfect, but we did our best'.

Le troisième problème est l'établissement d'un lien rigide entre la promotion/préservation de la langue et son intégration dans le système éducatif. Tout se passe comme si en dehors de l'école, il n'y avait point de salut pour les langues locales. Cette logique amène les concepteurs de certains modèles, comme celui du PROPELCA[4], à prôner l'utilisation de six langues (dont deux à des fins d'enseignement, deux comme langues secondes et deux autres comme langues étrangères) entre la première année du primaire et la dernière année du secondaire. Ce nombre irréaliste montre la nécessité de chercher des voies de promotion autres que celle de l'école, surtout dans les régions fortement hétérogènes.

La quatrième source de difficulté est le grand rôle qui est dévolu à l'État dans les modèles de promotion des langues indigènes. Plusieurs auteurs, dont Noss (1971) et Calvet (1996), font de l'État l'unique décideur et mettre d'oeuvre en matière de politique linguistique. Cette conception est basée sur une vision centralisatrice de la gestion de la cité. L'État, en tant que garant des intérêts collectifs et dépositaire du pouvoir commun, doit certes jouer un rôle important dans tous les secteurs clés de la vie nationale. Mais à notre humble avis, et du moins en ce qui concerne la politique linguistique, l'État ne saurait être le seul acteur dans un processus qui affecte directement le gouverné dans son essence et son identité. Nous croyons que des groupes organisés à l'intérieur de l'entité nationale

devraient canaliser les intérêts individuels et les faire valoir en prenant part à la conception et à la mise en place de la politique linguistique.

Le rôle prépondérant attribué à l'État a pour corollaire la persistance du mythe d'un État providence qui doit financer toutes les initiatives collectives. Nous avons indiqué ci-dessus que dans les pays d'Afrique noire il arrive souvent que l'État soit lui-même amené à quémander ailleurs une partie de ses ressources, ce qui limite sa marge de manoeuvre. Cette situation est aujourd'hui exacerbée par la crise économique mondiale qui éprouve particulièrement les pays de la région depuis une dizaine d'années et qui a provoqué entre autres la contraction de l'aide extérieure, le licenciement massif des fonctionnaires et des employés du secteur parapublic, et la flambée du taux de chômage chez les diplômés. La crise économique a été suivie au début des années quatre-vingt-dix par le vent de démocratisation soufflant de l'Europe de l'Est qui a contraint la plupart des régimes à amorcer une «ouverture démocratique». Comme l'observent Beer et Jacob (1985), la démocratisation entraîne un affaiblissement du pouvoir des régimes autocratiques car elle déplace le processus de prise de décision du centre vers la périphérie et rend l'État vulnérable à l'action des groupes d'intérêts particuliers. Le tableau décrit ci-haut, bien que triste à certains égards, est donc doublement porteur d'espoir pour les promoteurs des langues locales : l'État financièrement épuisé tend de plus en plus la main aux collectivités locales et aux ONG pour soutenir le système éducatif (Bayemi 1992); les organismes de promotion des langues peuvent désormais, en contrepartie de leur soutien, exiger d'avoir leur mot à dire dans la conception des programmes, y compris la définition de la place des langues locales dans l'enseignement.

Le cinquième et dernier obstacle est la divergence des objectifs des protagonistes. En général, les élites veulent promouvoir la langue dans l'espoir de sauvegarder leurs cultures et l'intégrité de leurs communautés. Cet objectif ne coïncide pas toujours avec le but recherché par leurs partenaires. Par exemple, la mission première et ultime de la SIL[5], très active dans le secteur de l'alphabétisation en langues indigènes, demeure l'évangélisation par la traduction de la Bible dans la langue de chaque population visée. Cet objectif est également celui des églises qui se trouvent elles-aussi au premier rang des protagonistes de la promotion des langues africaines.

D   Approche pragmatique

L'approche pragmatique telle qu'envisagée dans le présent article s'inspire des principes de la pragmatique (discipline linguistique), qu'on peut définir comme l'étude des conditions d'utilisation des langues naturelles telles qu'elles (les conditions) sont déterminées par le contexte social. L'aménagement linguistique, de ce point de vue, porte aussi bien sur la langue que sur le processus de sa production et sur ses usagers. Selon Mey (1993 : 11) :

> «saving languages is[...]a process that saves the *users* of languages, providing them with living conditions that allow them to continue using the languages they are speaking. In other words, a pragmatic look at the problems of endangered languages tells us not just to go out there and describe, but to fight what some have called `linguistic genocide'; for short: "linguicide"[...]».

Une telle démarche va dans le même sens que l'approche dite historico-structurelle (Bach et Schraml 1989) de l'acquisition des langues et de l'aménagement. Celle-ci s'oppose à l'approche néo-classique, laquelle fait table rase des facteurs historiques et structurels qui conditionnent autant les choix individuels et collectifs que les politiques officielles. Le fait de proposer l'intégration des langues locales dans le système éducatif sans envisager un réaménagement du contenu des programmes ou une décentralisation du processus décisionnel relève de ce genre de démarche. Dans l'approche historico-structurelle, l'aménageur remonte à la source de la menace en vue de la cerner et de l'éliminer. Pour ce faire, il établit un lien entre d'une part la politique linguistique, et d'autre part la problématique générale du développement et des changements sociaux. Comme le souligne Tollefson (1991 : 32) :

> «Explanations for planning and policy decisions may refer to a wide range of historical and structural considerations. These include: the country's role in the international division of labor[...]; the country's level of socioeconomic development; the political organization of decision making[...], the role of language in broader social policy».

La perspective pragmatique que nous esquissons dans le passage ci-dessous est donc conçue à la lumière des attitudes des populations, des motivations des protagonistes, des enjeux sociopolitiques et économiques, et des problèmes structuraux évoqués plus haut. Les grandes-lignes de cette approche peuvent s'énoncer comme suit : sensibilisation des groupes ethnolinguistiques concernés, intégration de l'effort d'aménagement dans le cadre global d'une politique visant l'épanouissement individuel et collectif, harmonisation des objectifs des divers intervenants, et recherche d'alternative au système éducatif. Nous passerons en revue chacun de ses grands traits.

a)   Sensibilisation des populations

La société coloniale et postcoloniale est une société où la réussite de l'individu dépend largement du degré de sa maîtrise de la langue officielle étrangère. Le comportement d'une partie de la population est encore conditionnée par la doctrine coloniale selon laquelle tout ce qui est propre aux indigènes (leur langue, leur religion, leur culture, etc.) est foncièrement mauvais, n'a aucune valeur et doit être rejeté. La poursuite d'une politique résolument ethnophobe après les indépendances n'a servi qu'à renforcer cette mentalité. Il s'avère nécessaire d'éduquer les masses afin qu'elles puissent revaloriser leurs traditions. Selon nous, dans le contexte actuel une action salvatrice orientée uniquement vers la langue et ignorant les autres aspects de la tradition des groupes ethniques serait vouée à l'échec.

b)   Politisation du processus de promotion

Dans les efforts déployés pour sauvegarder et promouvoir les langues locales, et dans les modèles proposés par les chercheurs, on peut constater que la dimension politique du problème de l'aménagement linguistique n'est pas abordée avec l'attention qu'elle devrait mériter. Pourtant, les décisions relatives à la langue sont étroitement liées aux objectifs politiques et sociaux des gouvernants. Nous avons relevé ci-dessus qu'à cause de la nécessité (réelle ou fictive) de préserver l'unité nationale, toute initiative visant à valoriser les langues locales est perçue comme une

affirmation de l'ethnicité et considérée dès lors comme étant dangereuse. Mais malgré l'hostilité historique des autorités qui s'explique par des raisons d'ordre politique et économique, les chercheurs continuent à concevoir et à raffiner des modèles basés strictement sur une argumentation scientifique. Il n'est pas étonnant dans ces conditions qu'on assiste depuis plusieurs décennies à un dialogue de sourds entre les deux parties.

Politiser la préservation des langues locales reviendrait à en intégrer le processus dans le cadre général de la lutte pour l'émancipation politique, économique et sociale de l'individu, de la collectivité et de la nation. Sur le plan économique, on remettrait par exemple en question certaines orientations comme la politique agricole qui confine le pays au rôle de producteur de matières premières destinées totalement à l'exportation; on pourrait aussi mettre en évidence le lien entre d'une part l'alphabétisation en langues locales, et d'autre part l'amélioration de la production agricole ou de la situation sanitaire. La diffusion de l'information technique est un maillon important dans presque tous les secteurs de lutte pour le développement, et elle a habituellement été compromise par le fait que les données sont disponibles uniquement dans les langues étrangères dont la maîtrise nécessite de nombreuses années d'investissement en terme de temps et d'argent. Sur le plan politique, on gagnerait à réfuter efficacement les arguments sur lesquels l'État a toujours basé ses décisions relatives à la promotion des langues locales; on montrerait que cette promotion ne présente aucun danger pour l'unité nationale, si tant est que celle-ci soit menacée; on revendiquerait fermement une plus grande participation des citoyens aux processus décisionnels les affectant; on prônerait une décentralisation de la structure du pouvoir; on veillerait à la mise en place de mesures permettant aux communautés d'adapter autant que possible le système éducatif à leurs besoins et réalités; on oeuvrerait pour une redéfinition du statut des langues en présence, en vue d'assigner officiellement une place à toutes et à chacune : par exemple, chaque langue locale servirait de langue d'instruction au primaire et céderait graduellement la place aux langues officielles au secondaire.

c)   Harmonisation des objectifs

Il s'agit de la conciliation des objectifs apparemment divergents de tous les protagonistes de la préservation des langues locales. Bien qu'ils ne soient pas identiques, ces objectifs nous semblent loin d'être incompatibles. Déjà, l'alphabétisation des masses dans leurs propres langues constitue en elle-même une solide plate-forme commune. Au Cameroun, le succès éclatant de l'expérience du programme Nufi[6] dans le cadre duquel collaborent étroitement les autorités religieuses (catholiques) et les élites locales montre que les objectifs des uns et des autres peuvent être sauvegardés pour le bien de la population concernée. Un autre cas de coopération fructueuse est illustré par l'important soutien logistique, technique, voire financier que la SIL apporte aux ONG linguistiques dans de nombreux pays africains.

d)   Recherche d'alternatives à l'école

Selon nous, les protagonistes de la promotion des langues africaines ne devraient pas insister outre mesure sur l'importance de l'école. S'il va de soi que le système éducatif a été et reste un puissant instrument de promotion des langues, il faut reconnaître qu'elle ne constitue pas une panacée.

L'histoire des langues nous apprend qu'il ne suffit pas d'enseigner une langue dans un cadre formel pour assurer sa vitalité et sa survie. Encore faut-il mettre en place des mécanismes susceptibles de favoriser l'utilisation effective de la langue apprise à l'école. En plus, étant donné les disparités démographiques qui existent entre les divers groupes ethnolinguistiques, ainsi que la modicité des ressources, les sacrifices à consentir et les enjeux sociaux et politiques, il serait utopique de croire que toutes les langues pourraient être intégrées au système éducatif, surtout dans les régions de grande hétérogénéité linguistique (le Cameroun compte des centaines de dialectes regroupés en 240 à 275 langues différentes, tandis qu'en Côte d'Ivoire on dénombre environ 160 langues distinctes). Il s'avère donc nécessaire, pour sauvegarder le plus grand nombre de langues, de rechercher des voies de promotion autres que l'école. Nous pensons spécifiquement à des programmes de promotion à deux volets dont le premier porterait sur l'alphabétisation, tandis que le deuxième consisterait à assurer le maintien et le perfectionnement, dans un cadre informel, des aptitudes acquises dans le premier volet. En ce qui concerne les moyens à utiliser pour le volet post-alphabétisation, on pourrait recourir à la radiodiffusion dont l'efficacité en matière de dissémination et de standardisation de la langue n'est plus à démontrer. Les journaux écrits compléteraient l'oeuvre de la radio en renforçant la standardisation et en vulgarisant la lecture et l'écriture. L'alphabétisation pourrait aussi être intégrée dans des activités professionnelles et même ludiques. À ces actions pourraient se combiner des «mesures d'accompagnement» telles que :

- la réduction de l'écart entre le niveau de vie des fonctionnaires et celui des travailleurs des secteurs qui ne nécessitent pas la maîtrise des langues officielles;
- la valorisation du travail manuel (qui est le lot des populations rurales) et des professions non bureaucratiques;
- la mise en commun des ressources de promotion entre groupes ethniques différents, qui se traduirait entre autres par la collaboration au niveau de la conception et de la production de matériaux d'alphabétisation ou d'enseignement, et l'acquisition d'infrastructures médiatiques communes (radios et journaux);
- l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de la situation de l'emploi dans les zones rurales, qui contribuerait à endiguer le phénomène de l'exode rural et à stabiliser le nombre de locuteurs natifs;
- la revalorisation des coutumes et traditions (au prix de l'affirmation de l'ethnicité tant redoutée par les autorités) qui pourrait indirectement aboutir à un regain d'intérêt pour la langue maternelle.

En résumé, l'approche pragmatique se veut une démarche de promotion centrée non pas en exclusivité sur la langue menacée, mais aussi et surtout sur le bien-être de son usager et de sa communauté. Elle s'appuie sur l'histoire passée et récente du groupe ethnolinguistique concerné, ainsi que sur l'analyse des forces antagonistes internes et externes auxquelles la communauté est soumise, et sur l'évaluation des problèmes, des ressources et des aspirations des locuteurs de la langue.

Notes

1. Dans cet article nous nous inspirerons principalement de la situation du Cameroun que nous connaissons mieux et qui présente assez de similitude avec les autres pays de la région pour servir de base à une extrapolation valable pour l'ensemble des États d'Afrique au sud du Sahara.

2. Bal (1978) présente une analyse de ce débat pour le domaine français.

3. Cf. par exemple les résultats d'une enquête publiés dans Koenig et al (1983).

4. Projet de Recherche opérationnelle pour l'Enseignement des Langues camerounaises. Tadadjeu (1990) en dresse un bilan.

5. Summer Institute of Linguistics, connue en Afrique francophone sous le nom de «Société internationale de Linguistique».

6. Programme d'alphabétisation en langue fe'fe'e, fondé en 1961, et qui a reçu le prix international d'alphabétisation (Prix Noma) décerné par l'Unesco en 1985.

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L'alternance de codes à l'Assemblée législative du Nouveau-Brunswick

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Résumé

La *Loi sur les langues officielles du Nouveau-Brunswick* reconnaît l'usage du français et de l'anglais lors des travaux parlementaires à l'Assemblée législative, un service d'interprétation simultanée rendant possible le recours à l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. Malgré cette disposition administrative, le français est peu utilisé et ce, même un jour de séance où un débat de nature linguistique a lieu. Le choix de langues de quatre députés qui pratiquent l'alternance de codes est analysés selon l'approche fonctionnelle de Gumperz (1982), dont l'objectif est la mise au jour des fonctions particulières associées à chaque alternance.

Bien que les questions linguistiques soient au coeur de la vie politique, culturelle et juridique au Nouveau-Brunswick depuis la création de la province en 1784, ce n'est qu'en 1969 que celle-ci accordait un statut officiel au français en adoptant la *Loi sur les langues officielles du Nouveau-Brunswick*. Une deuxième mesure législative adoptée en 1981, la *Loi reconnaissant l'égalité des deux communautés linguistiques officielles au Nouveau-Brunswick* dite «loi 88», précisait, pour sa part, l'égalité de statut et des privilèges des communautés francophone et anglophone. Malgré ces deux mesures législatives, il existe encore de nombreuses inégalités de nature linguistique entre la minorité francophone et la majorité anglophone, et on peut comme Phlipponneau (1991 : 58) poser la question suivante : «L'octroi de droits égaux à des groupes inégaux ou à des langues inégales peut-il réellement engendrer des situations égalitaires? Comment la règle d'uniformité peut-elle aplanir la répartition inégale des rôles sociaux attribués aux deux langues officielles du Nouveau-Brunswick?».

Cette question trouve résonnance dans les travaux de Daoust et Maurais (1987 : 20) pour qui la diglossie, «c'est l'existence d'un rapport de force, soit entre deux langues, soit entre deux variétés d'une même langue qui en est la caractéristique essentielle. Et si un tel rapport de force peut exister, si un tel conflit linguistique peut naître, c'est que les langues ne sont pas de simples outils de communication, mais aussi des lieux d'un investissement symbolique. La diglossie n'est dans cette perspective que la manifestation d'une situation conflictuelle».

Dans une région où il y a contact de langues et contact de groupes, il y a fort à parier que l'alternance de codes, c'est-à-dire le recours à plus d'une langue pendant un tour de parole donné, soit une stratégie discursive exploitée par certains locuteurs. Cette pratique, qui illustre bien le rapport de force entre deux langues, a fait l'objet de nombreux travaux en linguistique. Parmi les principales approches retenues dans l'étude de l'alternance de codes, celle de nature linguistique porte sur la description des contraintes linguistiques (équivalence syntaxique et contrainte du morphème libre) régissant l'alternance de codes et la mise au jour des liens entre ces contraintes et la compétence linguistique des locuteurs. L'approche fonctionnaliste, privilégiée par Gumperz (1982) et retenue

aux fins de la présente étude, tente de cerner les domaines d'activités où l'alternance est pratiquée et le rôle des facteurs situationnels comme le changement d'interlocuteur et le réseau social.

Que l'approche soit linguistique ou fonctionnaliste, le chercheur qui étudie l'alternance de codes s'intéresse aux comportements des locuteurs d'une communauté linguistique donnée. Par exemple, les travaux de Poplack (1980) visent la communauté portoricaine et ceux de Labrie (1991), la communauté italophone de Montréal. Il n'est pas inhabituel de mesurer la compétence linguistique des locuteurs au moyen d'un questionnaire autoévaluatif et de cerner la perception du locuteur quant à la pratique de l'alternance de codes.

Bien que l'alternance de codes soit pratiquée indépendamment de la situation de communication qui la sous-tend, les travaux sur le sujet ont surtout retenu des contextes comme ceux de l'entrevue sociolinguistique ou de la réunion familiale. L'étude de l'alternance de codes lors de communications institutionnelles[1] se déroulant dans une législature, dont celle du Nouveau-Brunswick, est peu documentée, d'où la pertinence de cette recherche. Cette législature représente un lieu privilégié où l'égalité linguistique réelle des deux communautés a le potentiel de se manifester, peu importe la compétence linguistique des députés, puisqu'un service d'interprétation simultanée assure la communication entre les deux groupes. Il y a donc lieu de se demander dans quelle mesure cette égalité est manifeste en analysant la proportion d'utilisation du français et de l'anglais, dans quelles circonstances un député a recours aux deux langues officielles et quelle fonction est attribuée à chaque alternance.

Une étude sur les marques d'approbation et de désapprobation à l'Assemblée législative du Nouveau-Brunswick (Allard, 1996) est à l'origine de celle sur l'alternance de codes. Ces marques, qui sont produites par les députés qui n'ont pas le droit de parole, attestent leur attention et leur position par rapport au discours du député locuteur. La 52e législature, qui correspond au deuxième mandat du gouvernement de Frank McKenna, a été retenue, puisque le multipartisme est à nouveau présent, variable potentiellement significative dans la manifestation de l'accord et du désaccord. La répartition des cinquante-huit sièges est la suivante : le Parti libéral (LIB) est reconduit au pouvoir en remportant quarante-six sièges, le Confederation of Regions (COR) devient l'opposition officielle en ayant huit sièges, le Parti conservateur (PC) obtient trois sièges et le Nouveau Parti démocratique (NPD) détient un siège. En ce qui a trait à la langue maternelle des députés, environ soixante-cinq pour cent sont anglophones, alors que trente-cinq pour cent sont francophones, ce qui correspond à la réalité démolinguistique provinciale (selon les données de Statistique Canada - 1991). Quant à circonscrire un jour de séance, celui du 4 décembre 1992 a été choisi, puisqu'un débat controversé de nature linguistique a lieu. En effet, la motion 89, présentée par le gouvernement libéral, propose l'inscription dans la Charte canadienne de certains éléments de la «loi 88», qui reconnaît l'égalité de statut et des droits et privilèges des deux communautés linguistiques officielles, francophone et anglophone au Nouveau-Brunswick. Le contexte politique dans lequel s'inscrit la motion est incertain, compte tenu des échecs constitutionnels (Meech et Charlottetown) et du statut d'opposition officielle du COR, d'où l'insistance par la communauté acadienne que la «loi 88» fasse l'objet d'une inscription. Trois partis politiques, libéral, conservateur et néo-démocrate, appuient la motion 89, alors que le COR s'y oppose. La motion sera adoptée.

Le tableau 1 présente une vue d'ensemble des contributions verbales, c'est-à-dire la partie de l'intervention du député locuteur qui suscite une marque, ainsi que le choix de langues de ce député lors d'un événement de communication qui a lieu pendant la première ou la deuxième partie de la séance. Un événement est un point à l'ordre du jour ou une question de procédure. Le 4 décembre 1992, les événements de communication se regroupent en deux catégories : la première partie, qui dure environ deux heures trente, porte sur les événements de communication qui relèvent des affaires courantes, c'est-à-dire les événements quotidiens et récurrents comme les questions orales, alors que la deuxième partie, d'une durée de cinq heures trente, porte uniquement sur le débat relatif à la motion 89.

Événement	Contributions verbales suscitant des marques			Total
	Français	Anglais	Gaélique[2]	
1e partie % →* % ↓**	1 2,0 4,0	48 98,0 10,4	- - -	49 100 10,1
2e partie % → % ↓	24 5,5 96,0	412 94,3 89,6	1 0,2 100	437 100 89,9
Total % → % ↓	25 5,1 100	460 94,6 100	1 0,2 100	486 100 100

* % → pourcentage établi selon les valeurs de la rangée
** % ↓ pourcentage établi selon les valeurs de la colonne

Tableau 1 : Contributions verbales suscitant des marques et choix de langues

Les résultats confirment que sur les 486 contributions verbales, celles en anglais sont omniprésentes (N=460), alors que celles en français (N=25) sont rares. L'analyse révèle également que l'événement de communication a une incidence sur le choix de langues, étant donné qu'une seule contribution verbale en français est relevée pendant la première partie, alors qu'elles sont au nombre de 24 pendant la deuxième partie.

Sur la trentaine de députés qui prennent la parole pendant le jour de séance à l'étude, seulement quatre députés le font à la fois pendant la première partie et la deuxième, soit D4.LIB, D58.NPD, D55.PC et D56.PC. L'analyse révèle que leurs comportements linguistiques semblent liés à l'événement de communication; en effet, pendant la première partie, soit celle qui porte sur les affaires courantes, D4.LIB s'exprime uniquement en anglais, tout comme D58.NPD et D55.PC, alors que D56.PC s'exprime uniquement en français. Ces choix linguistiques correspondent à la langue maternelle de chacun et, outre une intervention de D56.PC sur le sort réservé à certaines écoles dont la langue d'instruction diffère de celle du milieu, les points discutés pendant la première partie sont

de nature non linguistique. Par contre, pendant le débat sur la motion 89, les quatre députés pratiquent une alternance de codes, où la langue maternelle de chacun domine[3]. À la lumière de ces résultats, il appert que le point à l'ordre du jour est une variable significative qui explique le choix de langues des quatre députés, ce qui correspond aux résultats obtenus par Gumperz (1982). Quant à expliquer pourquoi les députés pratiquent une alternance de codes en fonction des événements de communication, il est possible que les points à l'ordre du jour qui sont de nature non linguistique soient perçus comme étant de nature interne et, par conséquent, ne concernant que la députation, alors que le débat sur la motion 89 vise la communauté acadienne, d'où les contributions verbales en français.

Une fois déterminé que le point à l'ordre du jour intervient dans la pratique de l'alternance de codes, j'ai analysé les passages dans la deuxième langue des quatre députés, afin de déterminer la fonction de chaque alternance. Le tableau 2 précise le choix de langues des quatre députés pendant le débat sur la motion 89.

Député	Langue maternelle	Longueur de l'intervention (lignes de transcription)	Passage langue seconde (lignes de transcription)
D4.LIB[4]	anglais	400	74 (18,5 %)
D4.LIB	anglais	100	10 (10 %)
D58.NPD	anglais	71	7 (10 %)
D55.PC	anglais	200	9 (4,5 %)
D56.PC	français	198	27 (14 %)

Tableau 2: Choix de langues de quatre députés pendant le débat sur la motion 89

Parmi ces quatre locuteurs, deux adoptent un comportement linguistique semblable, soit D58.NPD et D55.PC, qui sont respectivement chef de leur parti et de langue maternelle anglaise. L'unique passage en français de D58.NPD représente 7 lignes de transcription sur 71 (10 %) et il est énoncé dès la prise de parole de cette députée. D58.NPD souligne l'honneur de participer au débat et elle donne son appui inconditionnel à la motion 89,

Exemple 1
D58.NPD : Madame la présidente, c'est un honneur pour moi aujourd'hui d'avoir l'occasion de participer dans ce débat. C'est un débat historique, un jour historique dans l'histoire de notre province. Comme la chef du Nouveau Parti démocratique, je suis fière, très fière de donner mon appui et l'appui de mon parti pour l'enchâssement dans la Constitution canadienne des garanties d'égalité de nos deux communautés linguistiques. Cet après-midi, j'ai l'intention de parler un peu brièvement parce que dans le passé j'ai indiqué temps après temps les raisons pourquoi j'appuie l'enchâssement (Journal des débats, p. 4584).

Ce passage en français qui sert d'introduction, est de nature rituelle, puisqu'il réitère une prise de position connue des députés et des observateurs de la scène politique. Pour sa part, D55.PC n'alterne qu'une fois en français, ce qui équivaut à 9 (4,5 %) lignes de transcription sur 200. Ce passage, situé au début du discours, est en partie une répétition des paroles qu'il vient de prononcer en anglais, à savoir son appui relatif à la motion, ainsi qu'une justification de cet appui,

Exemple 2
D55.PC : Thank you Madam Speaker. I rise today to take part in this debate and to assure all Members of the Legislative Assembly that the position of the Progressive Conservative Party is one of support. (...) I feel good standing here as a leader of this party indicating that we will be supporting the equality amendment that is being put forward by the Premier of New Brunswick today. Mes chers collègues, je veux assurer ainsi qu'à tous les Néo-Brunswickois et Néo-Brunswickoises, que le Parti progressiste-conservateur supporte l'initiative d'inscrire dans la Constitution canadienne le principe d'égalité des deux communautés linguistiques. Cette question a été étudiée et acceptée plusieurs fois et pour plusieurs années, et c'est maintenant le temps propice de protéger le concept de justice et d'égalité. L'enchâssement de cette loi n'assurerait pas seulement la protection de la minorité francophone dans certaines régions de la province, mais aussi la minorité anglophone dans d'autres régions du Nouveau-Brunswick. Cette initiative empêcherait certains groupes d'individus de essayer de reculer l'horloge en voulant nier les droits d'une personne (Journal des débats, p. 4586).

Tout comme dans l'exemple 1, le passage en français de l'exemple 2 semble avoir une fonction rituelle, de par son contenu et la place qu'il occupe dans le discours. Ces deux passages dans la langue maternelle de la communauté acadienne supposent une ouverture envers cette dernière qui se manifeste également par l'appui de la motion.

Les choix linguistiques de D4.LIB sont plus complexes que ceux des deux locuteurs précédents. Ce locuteur anglophone qui prendra la parole deux fois lors du débat, son statut de motionnaire l'y autorisant, n'est pas un simple député, ni le chef d'un parti de l'opposition, mais le premier ministre. Dans son premier discours qui équivaut à 400 lignes de transcription, 74 sont en français (18,5 %), alors que le deuxième discours représente 100 lignes de transcription, dont 10 (10 %) en français. Les passages en français sont de deux types : les passages courts, dont la longueur varie entre 1 et 3 lignes, et les passages longs qui oscillent entre 4 à 11 lignes. Les passages courts sont exploités dans les circonstances suivantes : lecture de la motion, discours rapporté et transition, comme dans le cas suivant,

Exemple 3
D4.LIB : That constitutional effort was part of the Meech Lake Accord and as we know, the accord failed at the national level. A new round of constitutional talks was undertaken and during this round, an unprecedented degree of consultation with Canadians and New Brunswickers was undertaken. Au cours des quinze derniers mois, il s'est passé beaucoup de choses quant à l'avancement des droits à l'égalité des communautés linguistiques française et anglaise. The 1991 Liberal election platform committed a Liberal government to seeking the entrenchment of the

principles of equality of our two linguistic communities. Again, that platform was judged positively by New Brunswickers in every region of New Brunswick. In fact, 80 % of New Brunswickers voted for parties who believe in equality in our province (Journal des débats, p. 4507).

La répétition d'un passage déjà prononcé en anglais et illustré dans l'exemple 4 relève aussi de la catégorie des passages succincts,

Exemple 4
D4.LIB : Thank you Madam Speaker. It is with pride that I rise today to move and to speak on a motion of historic importance to our province, its people and our unique way of life. C'est avec fierté que je prends la parole aujourd'hui pour proposer et défendre une motion d'importance historique pour notre province, pour sa population et pour notre mode de vie unique (Journal des débats, p. 4505).

Les passages courts en français ne servent donc pas à alimenter le débat et ils ne visent pas la communauté acadienne en particulier, alors qu'il en est tout autre en ce qui a trait aux passages longs,

Exemple 5
D4.LIB : Un gouvernement du Nouveau-Brunswick ne dépouillera jamais de leurs droits ni les francophones ni les anglophones. Madame la présidente, l'égalité ne deviendra jamais un luxe ou une question de charité. Jamais plus, nous aurons à nous inquiéter au sujet d'un traitement de faveur à l'égard d'une communauté au détriment d'une autre. En matière linguistique, il n'y a pas il n'y a pas de minorités au Nouveau-Brunswick, il y a seulement des gens égaux devant la loi, seulement des communautés légales, seulement un traitement légal et égal des personnes et des communautés. Le gouvernement actuel a le devoir de soutenir de tels idéaux et de faire en sorte qu'ils soient soutenus pour toujours (Journal des débats, p. 4509).

Comme l'atteste l'exemple précédent, D4.LIB se défend bien de proposer l'adoption d'une motion qui vise uniquement la communauté acadienne. Or, lors de sa deuxième intervention, il dira au sujet de la motion,

Exemple 6
D4.LIB : It [motion 89] represents progress, enormous progress designed to protect and to promote the survival of this (c'est moi qui souligne) *language. Et c'est la raison pourquoi nous devons enchâsser cette clause dans la Constitution du Canada afin d'assurer la survivance et l'épanouissement de cette* (c'est moi qui souligne) *culture pour notre province et notre pays (Journal des débats, p. 4594).*

Il ne subsiste, par conséquent, aucun doute quant à la raison d'être de la motion, soit la protection de la langue et de la culture française.

D4.LIB est le locuteur qui pratique le plus l'alternance de codes, ce qui s'explique peut-être par son rôle de premier ministre, c'est-à-dire de porte-parole des deux communautés linguistiques. Bien que D4.LIB ne reconnaisse pas la nature conflictuelle des rapports entre les deux communautés linguistiques, son recours à l'alternance de codes pourrait, selon Heller (1988), être une stratégie discursive qui vise à neutraliser un conflit potentiel, ce qui illustre bien les tensions réelles entre les deux groupes. En effet, le choix exclusif de l'une des deux langues officielles par D4.LIB aurait fort probablement suscité des réactions négatives.

Le choix de langues de D56.PC se démarque de celui des trois autres locuteurs, puisque D56.PC a comme langue maternelle le français. Sur 198 lignes de transcription, 27 (14 %) sont en anglais. Or, contrairement aux choix linguistiques des trois autres locuteurs, D56.PC n'a pas recours à l'anglais de façon rituelle ou pour établir un dialogue avec un auditoire absent, c'est-à-dire la communauté linguistique à laquelle il n'appartient pas. D56.PC exploite l'anglais afin de citer les paroles d'autrui et lors d'échanges[5]. Pour bien saisir la dynamique dans laquelle s'inscrit le discours de D56.PC, il faut souligner que ce député est un ancien ministre du régime Hatfield, responsable de l'adoption de la «loi 88», mesure qui ne faisait pas l'unanimité au sein du caucus conservateur. En fait, la débâcle de ce parti serait, entre autres, attribuée à cette loi décriée par des militants qui quittèrent le Parti conservateur pour devenir membres du COR, et dont certains sont députés.

L'adage selon lequel «les paroles s'envolent, les écrits restent» n'a pas cours dans l'enceinte parlementaire néo-brunswickoise, puisque les interventions des députés sont enregistrées et transcrites dans le *Journal des débats*. Ce document devient en quelque sorte le complice des députés qui ont le flair de dénicher des passages prononcés antérieurement, mais qui ne correspondent plus à la position du député cité. Un coriste, D50.COR l'apprend à ses dépens lors du débat sur la motion 89. Ce député, qui est un ancien ministre conservateur du gouvernement Hatfield, a pris la parole plus tôt dans la journée et il anticipe que ses antécédents politiques vont le hanter. D50.COR dira : «I supported Bill 88 I done so with some soul-searching with respect to of the principles of this bill. Now if you want to, I'll stop for a moment to await your taunts, your jeers, your laughter and your other antics. I have a thick skin I can take it» (*Journal des débats*, p. 4517). Et c'est son ancien collègue, D56.PC qui se charge de mettre au jour la volte-face de D50.COR. Pour ce faire, D56.PC reprend en anglais un discours prononcé en Chambre en 1983, dont l'identité de l'auteur est tue,

Exemple 7
D56.PC : «Mr. Speaker, leaving politics aside and acknowledging the effort of many many people in trying very sincerely to establish a bilingual province, I believe that when the history of this province is written, the name of Richard Hatfield will emerge as the man who had the foresight, the understanding, the determination and the knack of putting it all together in a practical and workable fashion». Madame la présidente, c'est mon collègue du comté de Fredericton-Nord [D50.COR] qui disait cela en 1983 (Journal des débats, p. 4551).

Une fois le calme revenu[6], D56.PC reprend en anglais le discours attribué à D50.COR qui affirme que le bilinguisme est inéluctable, long passage accueilli avec le même enthousiasme que le précédent,

Exemple 8
D56.PC : Madame Speaker, Madame Speaker, Madame Speaker I have a tremendous lot of respect for Mr. Allen and I would tell him that it's a great day for him today and I quote why. He was saying : «Perhaps I will not live to see the realization of this, but I sincerely believe that my children and grandchildren will. In another generation or less, I believe most New Brunswickers, upon reading the history of this province for the 60's, 70's and 80's, will likely wonder what our present differences were all about». Madame Speaker, I want to tell my collegue that he is living today those beautiful moments Madame Speaker. Mr.. 'len was also saying that : «No, Mr. Speaker, we have not yet reached our goal in making New Brunswick truly bilingual». That was true in 1983. «Much remains to be done, but as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow, the foundation of establishing a bilingual society in this province is well in place» Madame Speaker. «Every citizen of this province have a grave responsibility to this to do his or her part in contributing to cementing that foundation and building upon it the bilingual structure for the future». That what's the McKenna government is doing today and this Assembly as a whole. «Will we will we accept this challenge? I am confident that we will». We are doing so Mr. Allen. Madame, madame la présidente
D50.COR : I'm proud of that speech.
D56.PC : And I'm proud of you! (Journal des débats, p. 4551-4552).

Choisir de reprendre en anglais les passages des exemples 7 et 8 illustre bien la volte-face de D50.COR, en plus de servir d'argument favorable par rapport à la motion 89. Les deux passages mettent également en évidence les liens qui unissent ces deux députés, malgré leur position diamétralement opposée dans le dossier linguistique. Le recours à l'anglais permet également le «dialogue», tant symbolique que réel, entre D56.PC et D50.COR, le tout empreint d'un ton ludique.

Deux autres passages, prononcés en anglais par D56.PC, qui sont également des discours rapportés, servent à appuyer le bilinguisme et à dénoncer le COR. Ces citations sont de poids, puisqu'elles sont attribuées à la presse anglophone provinciale qui sert ainsi d'alliée à D56.PC. Le *Telegraph-Journal* affirme que des entreprises choisissent de s'installer au Nouveau-Brunswick, étant donné son caractère bilingue,

Exemple 9
D56.PC : L'article se lisait: «Bilingualism in New Brunswick starts to pay off» (Journal des débats, p. 4552)

Pour sa part, l'article paru dans le *Moncton-Times* dénonce le chef du COR qui aurait dit que la motion sur l'enchâssement de la «loi 88» est une récompense offerte par Frank McKenna aux francophones qui ont massivement appuyé l'Accord de Charlottetown.

Exemple 10
D56.PC : *Si vous regardez l'éditorial du Moncton-Times de hier, on disait encore une fois dans cet éditorial-là, que le premier ministre McKenna avait tous les droits nécessaires pour passer ce projet de loi-là et il disait et je mentionne ici : «To allege the premier is merely paying off the francophone population for its largely Yes vote in the referendum – as COR leader Danny Cameron has – is offensive. It suggests francophone votes are somehow easily bought, rather than earned, and it suggests a political cynicism on McKenna's part that is not there» (Journal des débats, p. 4552-4553).*

Un autre passage en anglais relève aussi du discours rapporté, mais il trouve sa source dans une annonce publicitaire du COR,

Exemple 11
D56.PC : *Madame la présidente, lorsque le parti Confederation of Party [Regions] payait des annonces, le premier item qui marquait sur leur annonce du «Non» [campagne référendaire de Charlottetown] c'était, le premier, «No Bill 88 entrenchment» and yet 62 person [percent] of the population of New Brunswick voted against them. That's a clear vote to give us a mandate to entrench this in the Constitution (Journal des débats, p. 4553).*

D56.PC exploite cette citation afin de confirmer que les coristes n'ont qu'un seul cheval de bataille, le dossier linguistique, ce que les coristes ont démenti à plusieurs reprises pendant le débat sur la motion 89. La citation met en évidence une position contradictoire attribuée au COR, mais contrairement à celle visant D50.COR, le ton de D56.PC est empreint de colère et sa voix est anormalement forte.

Le dernier passage prononcé en anglais par D56.PC résulte d'un échange entre ce dernier et D49.COR. En français, D56.PC s'en prend aux détracteurs du bilinguisme officiel pour qui les mesures linguistiques représentent des coûts énormes,

Exemple 12
D56.PC : *Madame la présidente, encore une fois, lorsqu'on parle que ça coûte trop cher le bilinguisme coûte trop cher au Nouveau-Brunswick, laissez-moi vous dire une chose, lors des comptes publics qui a été scrutés l'année dernière, on regardait avec la Commision des accidentés du travail comment est-ce qui avait de personnes qui avaient bénéficié de l'école des langues au Nouveau-Brunswick à travers la Workman's Compensation. Y'avait quelque 300 personnes qui avaient été prendre des cours à l'Institut de Memramcook. Y'avait 300 quelque personnes et sur 300 quelque personnes, y'avait 300 personnes anglophones. Pas un seul francophone n'avait bénéficié de l'école des langues*
D49.COR : *$186,000.*
D56.PC : *That's right.*
D49.COR : *That's right.*
D56.PC : *And that's what is bilingualism is all about and we agree with that. We agree with that. That both linguistic communities are able to become bilingual (Journal des débats, p. 4553-4554).*

Dans ce passage, les deux interventions en anglais de D56.PC s'expliquent par la dynamique interactionnelle entre ce dernier, qui est le locuteur officiel, et D49.COR, dans la langue maternelle du député coriste.

D56.PC a donc recours à l'anglais afin d'exploiter des citations à des fins argumentatives ou pour établir un dialogue symbolique ou réel avec un député coriste. Contrairement aux trois députés anglophones qui s'adressent potentiellement à la communauté acadienne, D56.PC ne cherche pas à établir un dialogue avec la communauté anglophone, son rôle étant celui de simple député d'une circonscription très majoritairement francophone. Le recours au français, sauf pour reprendre des citations et "dialoguer", confirme l'appartenance sociolinguistique de D56.PC. Le fait de parler français illustre aussi que cette langue a pleinement droit de cité dans les sphères d'activités publiques.

En résumé, l'événement de communication a une incidence sur le choix de langues de quatres députés, puisque la motion 89, qui est d'ordre linguistique, est le seul événement qui suscite exclusivement l'utilisation de l'autre langue officielle. Les députés anglophones exploitent le français de façon rituelle ou pour établir un dialogue avec la communauté acadienne, alors que le député francophone exploite l'anglais pour soutenir son argumentation au moyen de citations ou pour interagir avec un député anglophone. Même si l'Assemblée législative offre des conditions privilégiées où l'égalité des deux langues officielles pourraient exister, le français est peu présent dans les faits et ce, même un jour où il est question d'un dossier linguistique. Le rapport de force entre les deux langues officielles est par conséquent inégal.

Notes

1. Selon Drew et Heritage (1992 : 3-4), l'identité et le rôle de l'interactant sont les critères qui définissent les communications institutionnelles. Au moins un interactant représente un organisme officiel et l'objet de l'interaction est lié au travail ou à l'accomplissement d'une tâche. Le cadre dans lequel évoluent les interactants est donc un critère négligeable, «Thus the institutionality of the interaction is not determined by its setting. Rather, interaction is institutional insofar as participants' institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged».

2. Pendant le débat sur la «loi 88», D47.COR discute d'une motion qui sera débattue ultérieurement et qui porte sur la reconnaissance de l'apport de la communauté écossaise. D47.COR met un terme à ce sujet en gaélique, ce qui suscite un commentaire audible de la part de D49.COR, D47.COR : (...) and thank goodness they [deux députés libéraux] put that motion forward suggesting Tartan Day April the 6th be named. (...) I'd like speaking on it at that time [intervenir lors du débat]. I'd like to do it in Gaelic, but my Gaelic is not that good, however Tha mi a'Ghaidhleg an beag. D49.COR : What's he saying? (*Journal des débats*, p. 4565). La pagination correspond à la version originale consultée. Elle a cependant fait l'objet d'une transcription modifiée.

3. Bien que je n'aie pas mesuré la compétence dans la deuxième langue des quatre députés locuteurs, celle de D4.LIB, D58.NPD et D55.PC en français est moindre que celle de D56.PC en anglais, mes observations s'appuyant sur la pratique du métier d'interprète de conférence dans le cadre parlementaire néo-brunswickois.

4. Étant donné que D4.LIB est le motionnaire de la motion 89, il a le droit de prendre la parole deux fois, soit lors de l'ouverture du débat et de sa clôture. Les 400 lignes de transcription correspondent à sa première intervention, alors que les 100 lignes de transcription correspondent à sa deuxième intervention.

5. La structure d'échange observée lors des affaires courantes (la déclaration d'un ministre suscitant la réaction d'un député de l'opposition ou encore, la question d'un député de l'opposition entraînant la réponse d'un ministre) n'est inexistante qu'en apparence lors du débat. En effet, le député qui souhaite réagir aux propos tenus plus tôt dans la journée ou à une date antérieure doit le faire en différé, compte tenu du système de tours de parole, en recréant tout d'abord le contexte dans lequel s'inscrivait l'intervention initiative avant d'énoncer l'intervention réactive.
Malgré le fait qu'un seul député ait le droit de parole, le corpus atteste plusieurs cas où de véritables échanges ponctuent l'interaction principale lors du débat sur la motion 89, comme l'illustrent les exemples 8 et 12.

6. Ce passage suscite des frappements (*deskthumping*) de 18,1 secondes, ce qui dépasse de loin la moyenne de 5,9 secondes, et des rires s'étalant sur 15 éclats (un éclat équivaut à une syllabe), également supérieure à la moyenne de 5,9 éclats.

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Native Language in Bilingual Acquisition:
Focus on the Mechanisms of Erosion

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the social mechanisms of erosion of the native language in bilingual acquisition and describes the process of taking over by the new language of the interactional functions previously performed by L1. The paper presents the results of a longitudinal, ethnographic case study of a Polish child learning English as a second language in the context of free play interactions with Polish bilingual and American monolingual children. A dual data base, consisting of the record of the children's speech and behavior and of the record of their interpersonal dynamics as interpreted by the mother, was used in this study for the purpose of extracting patterns of change in the social orientation of the child related to language loss. Each verbal and nonverbal act in the child's behavior that was identified by the mother as related to power negotiation was further described in terms of power position, power stance, and strategic intention adopted by the child. The relation between the child's power orientation and the interactional channel he employed, with special focus on the native language, was statistically evaluated across time.

Introduction

A lot of attention in recent years has been devoted to studying the benefits of raising children bilingually, with the implicit suggestion that the loss of the native language may impair the child's development. Most studies focused on the cognitive and linguistic benefits of bilingualism, which include a more diversified structure of intelligence (Peal & Lambert, 1962), more sophistication in concrete operational thinking (Ben-Zeev, 1977; Liedtke & Nelson, 1968), and better metalinguistic skills, in particular at separating word meaning from word sound (Ianco-Worrall, 1972; Cummins, 1978) and in their more analytical orientation to language (Cummins, 1978). Bilingual children have also been found to be more sensitive to verbal and nonverbal cues in interpersonal communication (Cummins & Mulcahy, 1978; Genesee et al., 1975; Bain, 1975). They also show the advantages of divergent thinking, a special type of cognitive flexibility that is considered to be the basis of rich imagination and creativity (Scott, 1973). It has been found that these positive cognitive consequences can result once a child has obtained a certain level of competence in both languages (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976; Cummins, 1976). As research repeatedly indicates, however, acquisition of a second language frequently results not in bilingualism, but in the erosion of the primary language, or what is sometimes called *semi-bilingualism* (Scutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976). This is typically the case when ethnolinguistic minority groups feel forced to put aside their ethnic languages for a more necessary and prestigious national language (Lambert, 1977).

While research on the benefits of bilingual education has a long tradition, studies documenting the actual consequences of the loss of the native language in bilingual acquisition are scarce and at the moment these consequences can only be estimated. Some of the evidence suggesting that, while apparently enhancing acculturation, in the long run the loss of the native language may seriously

disrupt the social, emotional, cognitive, and educational development of language minority children, as well as the integrity of their families and communities, comes from the so-called "No-Cost Study on Families" started in 1990 by the National Association for Bilingual Education in the U.S. (Wong Fillmore, 1991). They asked parents of language minority children, most of whom spoke English poorly or not at all, about the impact of the English instruction their children received in school on the pattern of language use at home. The results indicated that although parents apparently realize that talk is a crucial link between family members, they are often so preoccupied with assuring their children's success in the new language that they notice the problem of the loss of the native language only after it is almost too late to change it. Parents who expressed the greatest worry were the ones whose children had already begun to lose the language and who were having trouble communicating with them (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Another serious risk related to the loss of the native language before mastering the second one refers to school achievement. An emerging bilingual child is often not able to cope successfully with the cognitive demands of school education, even though he or she may appear ready for such education thanks to the conversational ability in the second language, which develops much sooner. This apparent readiness, of course, makes the situation even more dangerous, because it is so hard to detect.

Up to this day, a large body of research on the conditions of the loss of the native language in bilingual acquisition has been accumulated and new pertinent questions about the consequences of the loss have been posed, but little has been said about how it actually happens. This paper focuses on the social mechanisms of erosion of the native language and examines the process of language loss in the context of child's socialization. One of the basic tenets of contemporary social theories of language is that language must be studied not only as a symbolic system that encodes the existing social and cultural structures, but also as a tool for establishing new social and psychological realities (Ochs, 1990; Boden and Zimmerman, 1991). This view is particularly relevant in research on bilingual acquisition because in this situation two different languages simultaneously mediate the development of a child's new social and cultural identity.

Methods

The paper presents the results of a longitudinal, ethnographic case study of my son, Martin. Martin is a native speaker of Polish and he was learning English as a second language while staying with me in the United States during my graduate studies at the University at Buffalo. The data are selected from a longer observational record which started in September 1992, one month after he first arrived in the United States, and ended in August 1994, during his summer vacation in Poland. This study covers the period of one year, starting in February 1993, when regular video-taping began. At that time, Martin was 6-and-a-half years old and had just started the second semester of his schooling in English. His prior education included 4 years of kindergarten and preschool in Poland, where he was born and brought up until then. Except for sporadic instruction in English at

the age of 5, when he was taught approximately 50-100 words and short phrases, this was his first encounter with English language and American culture. The data for this study include 16 sessions, which took place at Martin's house and involved dyadic play interactions with another child. The children were free to play whatever they wanted. They could move from one room to another and change the play topic according to their wishes.

Patterns of language loss were examined through the comparison of two kinds of language situations:

1. Martin's interactions with American children who spoke only English;
2. Martin's interactions with Polish-American children who spoke both languages.

This report includes sessions with five children who were Martin's most frequent playmates at that time: (a) one Polish bilingual girl, (b) one American monolingual girl, (c) one Polish bilingual boy, and (d) two American monolingual boys.

A dual data base was used in this study, which consisted of the video-taped and then transcribed record of the children's behavior on one side, and of the record of their interpersonal dynamics based on my own interpretations of this behavior as seen by the mother on the other. This interpretive record involved comments on the children's beliefs, motives, and intentions directing and underlying their behavior. It was obtained by means of a modified version of the Self-Disclosure Technique for Ethnographic Elicitation developed by Mathiot (1982) for the purpose of examining meaning attribution to behavior in face-to-face interaction. The advantage of this technique is that it allows the analyst to elicit from the respondent native categories of information about given areas of experience and to infer ways in which the respondent categorizes this information.

A verbatim report of the children's speech and nonverbal behavior was transcribed in the CHILDES format, a computerized system for research on child language (MacWhinney, 1995). A minimal unit of behavior was defined in this report to be an *act* and it consisted of the smallest structural unit that could be assigned an interactional function based on maternal interpretive report. Each act in the record of Martin's behavior was further analyzed in terms of the interactional channel and in terms of its function in the interpersonal dynamics in relation to power negotiation. Four interactional channels were considered in this study: (a) verbal, which included utterances in Polish, in English, and mixed; (b) nonverbal vocal, which included interjections, exclamations, onomatopoeia, and paralinguistic means such as scream and laughter; (c) gestural, which included hand and body gestures and postures; and (d) actonic, which included general actions, like throwing, kicking, handing, pushing, etc. The function of each act was defined in terms of the *power position*, and the *strategic intention*. An act could mark the adoption of one of two power position: superordinate or subordinate. Superordinate position involved one of three stances: (a) imposing one's will on the partner; (b) opposing partner's will; or (c) displaying a superior attitude. Subordinate position also involved one of three possible stances: (a) complying with partner's will; (b) indirectly supporting partner's will; or (c) displaying an inferior attitude towards the partner. Each of these stances was ultimately realized through a set of strategic moves.

Information about the power position, the stance, and the strategic intention was coded for each act parallel to the information about the interactional channel through which the act was carried out. Using computerized tools from the CHILDES package, a set of descriptive statistics was next applied to examine changes over time in Martin's use of particular power negotiating strategies and the relation between the strategies and the interactional channel used. This examination was conducted with the hope of extracting behavioral patterns responsible for the loss of the native language.

Results

The results of the study indicate that, on the whole, acts marking the assumption of superordinate status by Martin were overwhelmingly more frequent than those marking subordination: 92,2% of the total of Martin's 2772 marked acts were directed at asserting superior position while only 7,8% marked subordination. This seems to be a general tendency in children's interactions. Just to compare, this percentage ranged from 78.4% to 86.7% for other boys in the study and from 70.8% to 71.2% for girls. From research in ethology we know that a child confronting a new group has a tendency to overrate his or her position. This is a perceptual adaptation that enables the child to confront the peer group rather than to flee from it (Omark et al., 1975). In part, this number is also a reflection of the fact that in all the sessions he was on his home grounds, and thus felt he was in charge of the situation. The differences between Martin's interactions with Polish and American children were not big, but, as may be seen in Figure 1, in interactions with the Americans he tended to adopt a superior position somewhat more frequently and accept a subordinate position somewhat less frequently than in interactions with the Polish children (9.3 vs. 8.4 and 0.5 vs. 0.9 acts per minute, respectively).
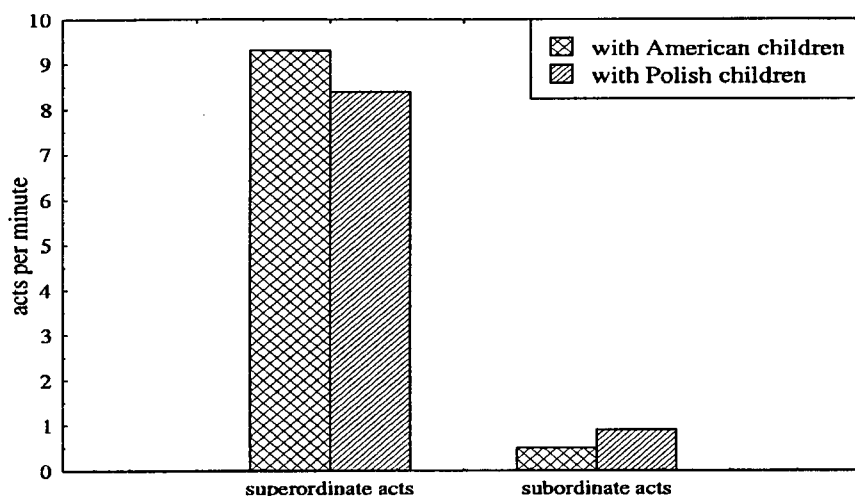

Figure 1: Frequency of acts marking the adoption of superordinate and subordinate position by Martin in interactions with American and Polish children.

When examined across time and across the two language situations, however, it appears that the changes in the frequency of adoption of superordinate position by Martin were more dramatic and less regular in interactions with American children, while his position towards the Polish children seemed to be more stabile and level (see Figure 2). This finding suggests that the boy was rather confused and agitated in his interactions with American children, which in turn indicates that the process of social and cultural adjustment was not an easy one for him.
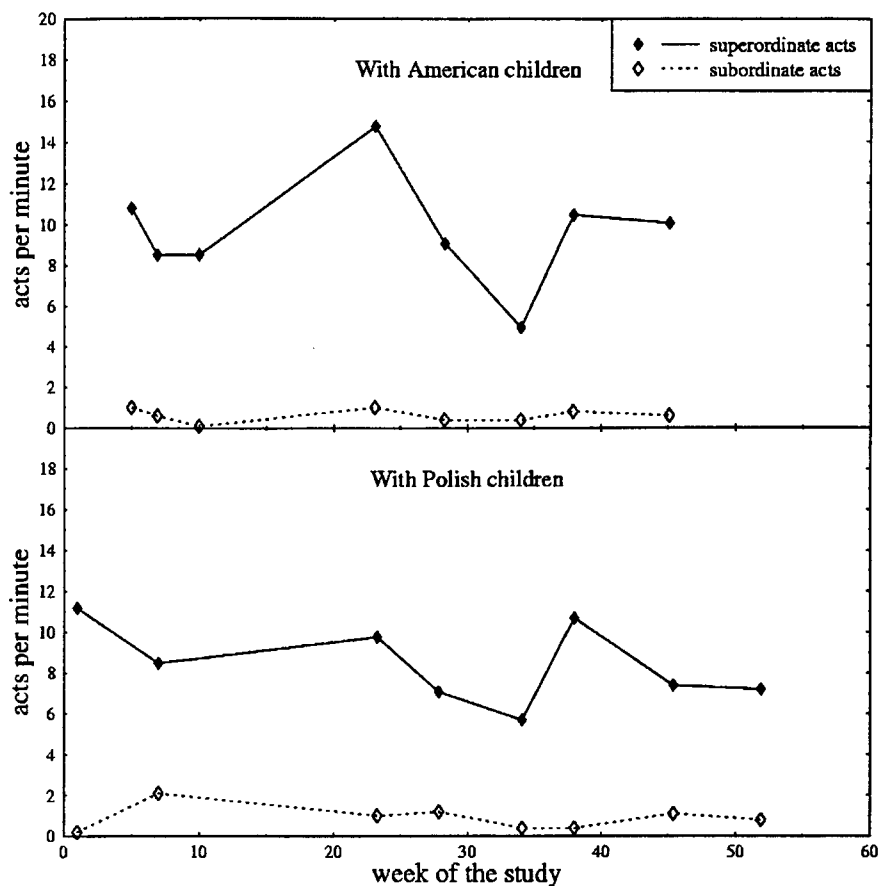

Figure 2: Frequency of acts marking the adoption of superordinate and subordinate position by Martin in interactions with American and Polish children.

While there was no major difference in the total number of superordinate and subordinate acts between Martin's interactions in the two language situations, when this frequency distribution is examined separately for particular stances, it may be observed that Martin clearly opposed American children more often than he opposed his native playmates (see the left hand part of Figure 3). In case of subordinate strategies, Martin was less likely to openly comply with or give indirect support to American children than he was among Polish children and he was also less likely to acknowledge the advantage of an American child (see the right hand part of Figure 3). These findings indicate a higher degree of antagonism and competition in Martin's relations with American

children. It appears that he did not feel comfortable in this new life situation and yet for some reasons he did not dare to be open about it.
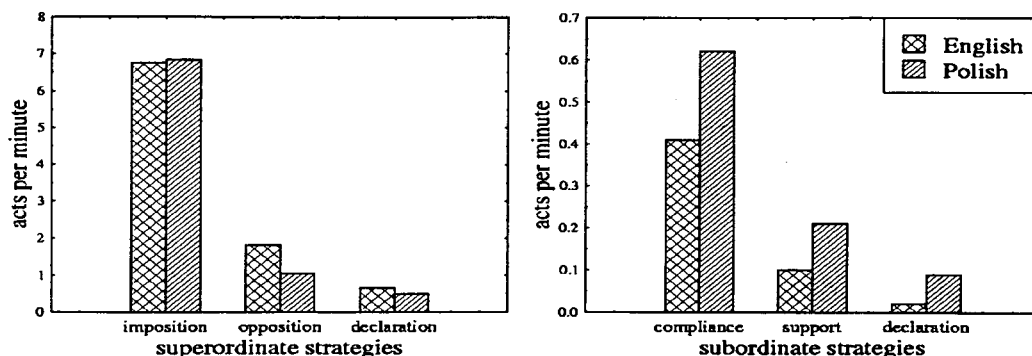

Figure 3: Frequency of acts performed by Martin in different power stances in interactions with American and Polish children.

A comparison of individual power negotiating strategies Martin used in the two language contexts indicates that his interactions with American children were more antagonistic and hostile: he more often employed such strategies as challenging, threatening, attacking, and manipulating sense of guilt of the play partner. In interactions with American children he was also less direct about his intentions, preferably communicating them through such indirect strategies as creating conditions conducive to play or ignoring partner's behavior rather than directly opposing it. Finally, he clearly limited his use of subordinate strategies in interactions with American children as opposed to Polish children, consistently refusing to acknowledge their dominance (see Table 1). These findings support previous conclusions that the process of social and cultural adjustment to the new culture involved serious dilemmas and frustrations.

Table 1: Status negotiating strategies preferably used in interactions with American and Polish children.

Preferably Used Among American Children	Preferably Used Among Polish Children
SUPERORDINATE STRATEGIES	
challenging	attracting attention
threatening	expressing authoritative opinion
attacking	belittling
manipulating sense of guilt	
ignoring	
creating conditions for playmate to do things	
self-asserting	
SUBORDINATE STRATEGIES	
	obeying
	expanding on activity initiated by playmate
	expressing self-dissatisfaction

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The next step in the analysis of the mechanisms of language loss was to examine the distribution of the interactional channels Martin used in his interactions with Polish bilingual and American monolingual children. Figure 4 shows the distribution of the interactional channels Martin used in his interactions as the percentages of the acts he performed as verbalizations, actions, nonverbal vocalizations, and gestures. It may be seen that, in general, verbalizations accounted for an overwhelming majority of his acts, representing Martin's primary means of communication, actions constituted his secondary means of communication, while nonverbal vocalizations and gestures played a relatively marginal role.
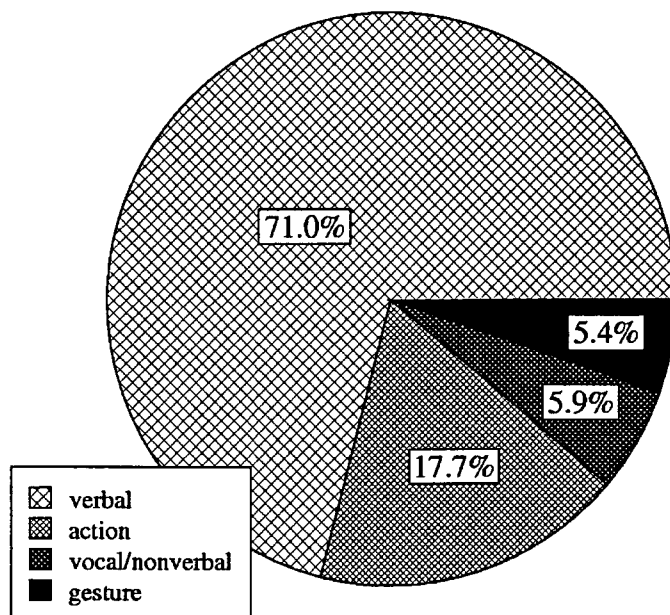

Figure 4: Relative frequency of acts performed by Martin through four different interactional channels.

When the data on the use of different interactional channels are examined closer, however, they present an appealing picture of erosion of the native language in bilingual acquisition. The top part of Figure 5 shows Martin's use of different interactional channels in interactions with American children over the period of 1 year. The display of data in this figure indicates that there was a rapid change in Martin's use of interactional channels in the initial weeks and that after that there was a period of relative stagnation. The use of actions, which initially accounted for up to 40% of all his communicative acts, was rapidly decreasing, and so was the use of nonverbal vocalizations and gestures, which were immediately taken over by verbalizations. It should be noted at this point that an independent examination of the use of individual strategies also indicated a major change in the initial weeks of the study. It becomes evident that there was a turning point in Martin's interactions with peers and, by inference, a turning point in his acquisition of English, when he finally became capable of conducting a regular, verbal conversation in English. This shift took place between the

5th and 10th week of the study, which was in the 6th month after Martin's arrival in America. After that followed a period of relatively stabile domination of English as the primary channel of communication. A display of the changes in Martin's use of interactional channels in parallel sessions with the Polish children shows that the pattern is very similar, with the exception that the changes in the initial weeks were not as dramatic as they were in the American situation, especially the change in the use of the verbal channel (see the bottom part of Figure 5).
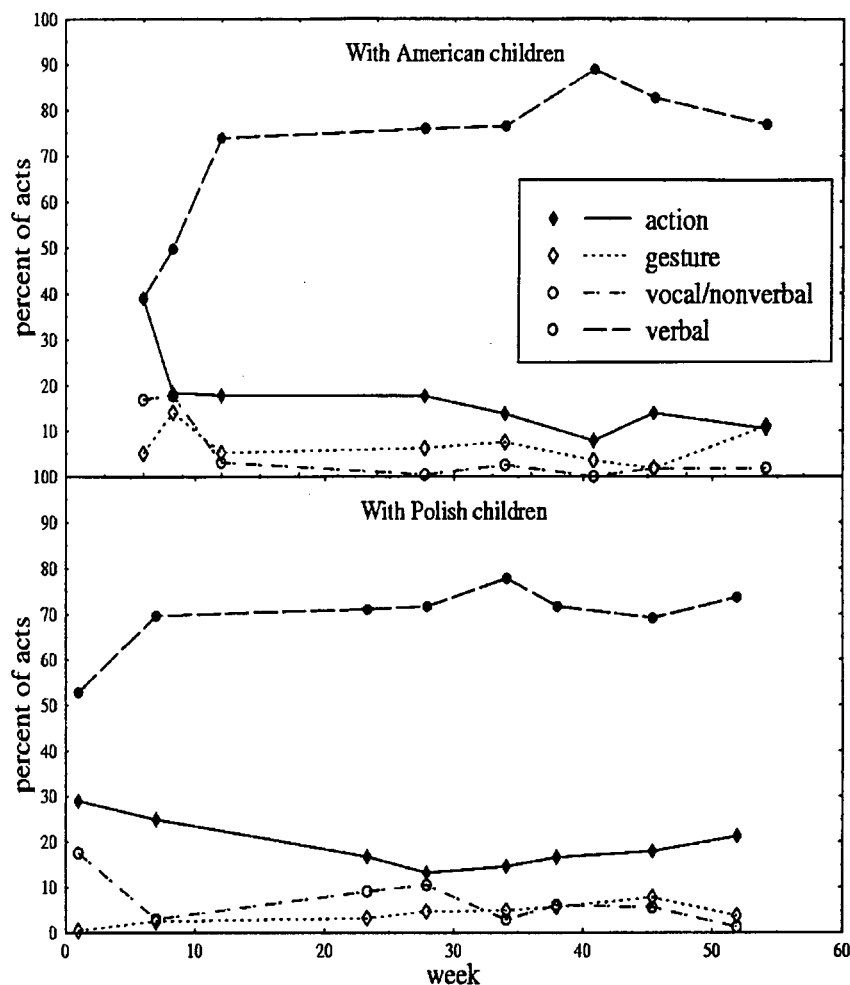
Figure 5: Relative frequency of acts performed by Martin through different interactional channels in interactions with American and Polish children.

The verbal channel in interactions with American children meant simply English. In interactions with Polish children it was English, Polish, or utterances mixing both languages. When the use of these three types of utterances is examined across time, it may be seen that Martin's use of the Polish language dropped dramatically in the first few weeks and continued to decrease, replaced by English, during the rest of the year (Figure 6). This finding partially explains why the

changes in Martin's adoption of different interactional channels were less pronounced in interactions with Polish children: while the unavailability of English for communication with American peers in the initial months was offset by a marked increase in the use of nonverbal means, such as actions, nonverbal vocalizations, and gestures, in interactions with Polish bilingual children, it was compensated by the native language, thus allowing for a continuous use of the verbal channel. As soon as Martin got a grasp of English that allowed him the basic communication of ideas in play activities, Polish was dropped and interactions were conducted predominantly in English, just as the case with American children. Evidently, the communicative power of his Polish skills was of little value to Martin when set against the prospect of quick assimilation and socialization.
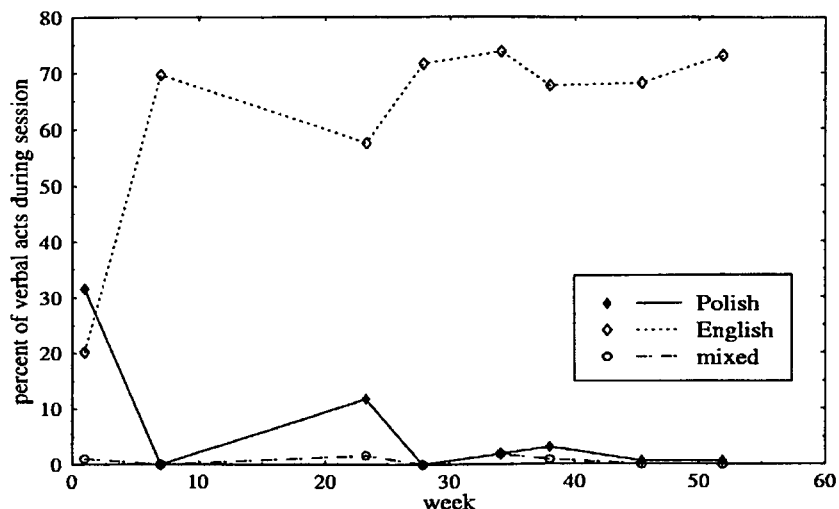
Figure 6: Relative frequency of utterances in English, Polish, and mixed produced by Martin in interactions with Polish bilingual children.

On the other hand, it should be stressed that the linguistic structures Martin used in the first week following the shift, however complex and elaborate they may seem, were mostly simple compositions of memorized chunks, usually repeated over and over during the session. This was exactly the point when he began to appear linguistically competent because of his social skills, while in fact his English competence was far behind that of his American peers. Like the following examples, a large portion of utterances which represented the most complex linguistic structures Martin used after the shift, however, was judged in maternal comments to be simply repetitive formulas:

@Date: 25-APR-1993

Lufthansa eighteen may go!

Lufthansa eighteen gonna crash!

Lufthansa crash the bad guys.

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Look what I forgot!

You know what's that say?

I know what I'll do with you.

I know what I'm planning.

Could you take these out?

I want show you something.

You can't do it like that.

Figure 7 presents one more comparison between the two language situations. It shows the distribution of the four channels of interactions - actions, gestures, nonverbal vocalizations, and verbalizations - in Martin's interactions with Polish bilingual and American monolingual children. Interestingly, and contrary to the expectations, it appears that verbal language was adopted somewhat more often in interactions with English only speaking children: 73.0% of his acts, against 69.0% of Martin's acts in interactions with Polish children. What is more, Martin's verbal productions in interactions with American children were somewhat longer: his mean length of turn, i.e., uninterrupted flow of speech, was 8.2 words, as compared to 7.1 words in interactions with Polish bilingual children, even though a common sense expectation would be that verbal communication should have been easier for Martin in Polish.
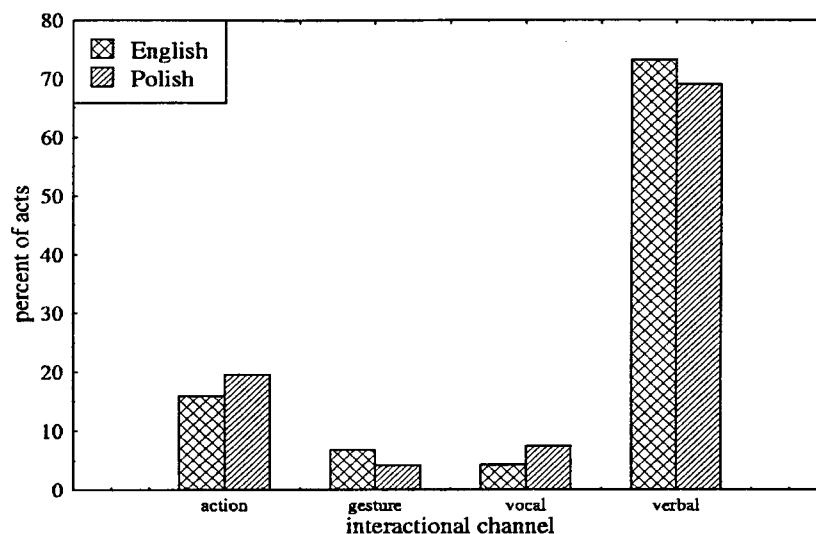

Figure 7: Relative frequency and of the interactional channels Martin used to assert status in interactions with American and Polish children.

In addition to the previously stated findings that (a) verbalization was playing an increasingly important role in Martin's interactions with peers in both language situations and that (b) the

frequency of verbal acts he performed in interactions with American children was usually higher than in interactions with Polish children, I also found that the length of his verbalizations was also more rapidly increasing in interactions with American children than it was in interactions with Polish children (see Figure 8). The increase in the number of words per utterance in Martin's utterances directed to Polish speakers was hardly marked and it actually dropped slightly in the final weeks of the study, while in interactions with American children it seemed to be consistently increasing. The fact that in interactions with Polish children the Polish language was soon replaced by English does not appear to influence the amount of Martin's verbalization directed to Polish bilingual children. In the American context, on the other hand, the amount of verbalization seems to be associated with the process of his social and cultural adjustment. The power of this association is enhanced by the apparent paradox of the situation: Why would a second language learner be consistently more verbal in interactions with the target language peers than in interactions with his natives, whose ways of acting and thinking he understands much better and with whom he shares practically unlimited linguistic resources?
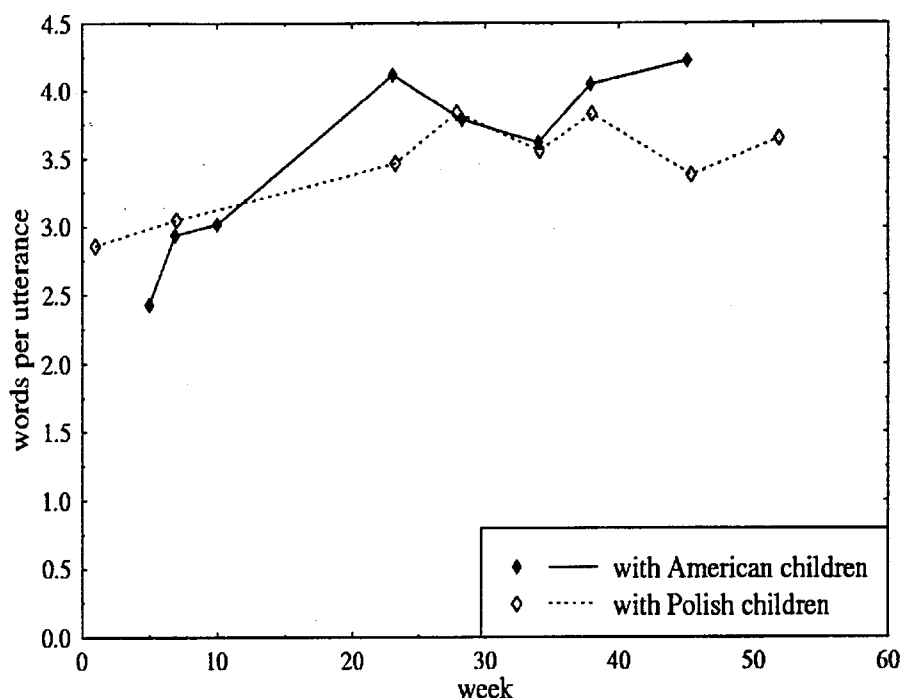
Figure 8: Number of words per utterance in Martin's interactions with American monolingual and Polish bilingual children

Conclusions

Based on a detailed analysis of children's interactions, this study described how the mechanisms of social adjustment dictate patterns of language use and erosion in bilingual acquisition. To sum up

the results, it appeared that Martin's sessions with American children involved generally more antagonistic interactions than his sessions with his Polish peers. He was more likely to oppose an American child and he was less likely to submit to an American child. At the same time, he was less direct about his intentions among American children than he was among Polish children. These behavioral patterns indicate that adaptation to a new cultural and linguistic environment puts the second language learning child under a great deal of stress and frustration and forces him or her to actively seek ways of coping with the demands of the situation. Interestingly, Martin's reaction to the apprehension and distress experienced in interactions with the American children involved consistently increasing the amount of verbalization. What is more, as soon as he got to the stage in his L2 acquisition when he could express the simplest ideas in English, he also almost completely dropped Polish in his interactions with the Polish children. Evidently, the communicative power of his Polish skills was of little value when opposed to the prospect of quick inclusion and assimilation to the peer group.

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Le participe passé en français :
Accord et classe d'appartenance

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Résumé
Les travaux récents sur le participe passé en français abordent cette forme sans vraiment remettre en question les règles d'accord que nous suivons aujourd'hui. La présente étude veut montrer le besoin de revoir ces règles, non pas dans une optique prescriptive, mais dans le but de bien saisir la nature (au sens d'appartenance à une classe grammaticale) du participe passé. À cette fin, nous retraçons brièvement l'histoire de la syntaxe de cette forme et nous examinons ensuite quelques-uns des modèles proposés récemment. Nous suggérons enfin un modèle simple, fondé sur l'histoire de la langue et sur des critères distributionnels.

Dès que l'on s'intéresse à la grammaire française, l'accord du participe passé est l'un des phénomènes syntaxiques qui, par sa complexité et son caractère déroutant, retient l'attention : quel autre constituant verbal s'accorde en effet avec son complément? Si les travaux récents sur le participe signalent le caractère artificiel des règles, on continue néanmoins à expliquer le comportement de cette forme en la faisant se plier à des exigences fort contestables. On s'était pourtant penché sur le problème auquel on avait apporté un début de solution.

Au commencement du vingtième siècle, en réponse aux débats provoqués par les changements orthographiques de l'arrêté ministériel de 1900 (surtout ceux qui ont trait à l'accord du participe), Léon Clédat fait paraître un bref ouvrage : *La question de l'accord du participe passé.*[1] Il ne s'agit pas d'un pamphlet mais d'une solide étude théorique, suivie des observations de linguistes et grammairiens dont Ferdinand Brunot, Louis Havet et Jean Bastin.[2] Ce que Clédat y propose, c'est de laisser la langue française reprendre « librement son évolution », évolution qui « aboutira vraisemblablement à l'invariabilité absolue du participe, quand il n'est pas employé adjectivement » (1900: viii). Il y a une vingtaine d'années, Jesse Levitt (1973) écrit une étude fort intéressante sur l'histoire de l'accord; et Richard Kayne (1977), dans sa *Syntaxe du français*, nous renvoie à Clédat. Mais, en général, on semble avoir oublié cette riche réflexion.

C'est le phénomène de l'accord qui, en français, nous fait voir dans le participe un adjectif (Rivière 1990: 131). Mais, comme on l'a souvent fait observer (entre autres, Vinet 1989: 167), l'accord du participe passé est « l'un des problèmes les plus obscurs et les plus méconnus de la grammaire du français ». Ce problème remonte au XVIᵉ siècle : en 1538, le poète Clément Marot compose son épigramme sur l'accord du participe (Épigramme LXXVII, Marot: 30-31) et ces vers deviennent la règle que nous connaissons tous. En gros : le participe passé employé avec *avoir* s'accorde avec son objet direct si cet objet est antéposé et il reste invariable si l'objet direct est postposé. Marot s'inspire de l'italien, dont il semble mal comprendre les règles; mais ce serait de toutes façons un choix malheureux puisque, dans les autres langues romanes (l'espagnol, le

portugais, le roumain, par exemple [Levitt 1973: 26]), le participe avec *avoir* est devenu invariable et que, comme le souligne entre autres Ferdinand Brunot (1922: 324), le français montrait la même tendance.

C'est déjà Ramus dans sa *Gramere* de 1562 qui, s'opposant à Meigret, proposera l'interprétation qui va devenir courante : lorsque l'objet se trouve après *avoir* et la forme dite « participe », cette dernière n'est pas un participe mais un infinitif;[3] si l'objet se trouve avant, il s'agit alors d'un participe.[4] Au cours des siècles suivants, et même jusqu'à nos jours,[5] on pensera qu'un changement dans la position de l'objet donne lieu à un changement de classe d'appartenance pour la forme avec *avoir*. Autrement dit, la forme suivie de son objet est perçue comme active et verbale tandis que la forme qui en est précédée est vue comme passive et adjectivale.

Pour tenter de comprendre la métamorphose du participe, qui est censée accompagner le changement de position de l'objet, faisons retour aux origines. Le participe avec *avoir* est l'un des tours qui apparaît en ancien français et qui suscite des cas d'accord qui ne se présentent pas en latin. Il existe en latin une construction avec le verbe *habere*, actif et ayant un complément d'objet direct. C'est avec ce complément que se fait l'accord du participe puisque ce dernier s'y rapporte comme le ferait un simple adjectif. Une construction comme *habeo epistolam scriptam*, par exemple, se traduit *j'ai la lettre écrite*, et non pas *j'ai écrit la lettre* : on décrit **l'état** de la lettre (elle **est** écrite) et non pas l'action passée, ou accomplie, d'avoir écrit la lettre (Nyrop 1979: 253).[6]

Le syntagme *avoir* + participe reste longtemps très libre et a souvent en ancien français la valeur du présent; toutefois, le participe montre très tôt « une tendance à constituer avec l'auxiliaire une forme verbale unique [...] » (Brunot 1966[I]: 224). Petit à petit, le participe se rapproche de l'auxiliaire, jusqu'à ce qu'il fasse corps avec ce dernier et donne enfin un temps périphrastique, une construction dont les deux éléments sont indissociables. (On peut voir à ce sujet l'excellente étude de Martin Harris qui examine le passé simple et le parfait dans les langues romanes.)[7]

En ancien français, on hésite donc entre les deux valeurs : ou on laisse à *avoir* sa pleine valeur, le sens de *posséder*, et on saisit le participe comme un adjectif, que l'on met en relation avec le complément de *avoir* et que l'on fait accorder avec ce complément; ou on prend le participe pour une partie du verbe, que l'on met en rapport avec le sujet, au même titre que *avoir*, et qu'on laisse invariable; c'est alors *avoir* qui prend les marques du sujet. (Notons déjà qu'il serait plus logique de faire l'accord du participe, si on y tient, avec le sujet.) Au XIIIe et au XIVe siècles, on a tendance à faire l'accord, puis au XVe, on ne le fait pas. L'invariabilité semble alors l'emporter et s'imposer, ceci jusqu'à la règle de Marot, au milieu du XVIe siècle.

Partant d'une construction comme *j'ai la lettre écrite*, où l'objet précède le participe et où le participe s'accorde avec cet objet, on a conclu que c'était toujours le cas. Mais, comme l'explique Darmesteter (1925: 173), « si dans la phrase : *j'ai la lettre écrite*, *écrite* varie, ce n'est pas parce que *lettre* **précède** le participe, mais parce qu'il le **sépare** d'*avoir* et, par suite, laisse à *avoir* sa valeur entière et donne à *écrit* la valeur d'adjectif » (je souligne). Comme d'autres historiens de la langue, Darmesteter, d'autres historiens de la langue,[8] signale que *J'ai écrit* forme au XVIIe siècle, et bien

avant, « une périphrase à valeur simple ». Tout comme on ne songerait pas à faire accorder la forme verbale d'un temps simple avec un objet antéposé (*la lettre que j'écrirai*, par exemple), on devrait voir que la place de l'objet ne peut avoir aucune influence sur le participe passé, si on le saisit comme un constituant verbal et donc en rapport avec le sujet.

Deux études très récentes sur le participe passé ont retenu mon attention : tout en appartenant au même cadre théorique, elles offrent du participe des vues opposées. Il s'agit de l'article de Paul Bessler (1995), qui s'inscrit dans le cadre de la grammaire syntagmatique guidée par les têtes et qui présente le participe passé comme une forme avant tout adjectivale; et de l'étude d'Anne Abeillé et Danièle Godard (1996), qui examine le participe en fonction de la complémentation des auxiliaires en français et qui le présente comme une forme verbale.

Bessler (1995: 288) veut montrer que le participe passé est un élément adjectival plutôt que verbal, que l'accord du participe est un exemple d'accord entre un nominal et son modifieur plutôt qu'entre un verbe et son argument. Bessler se fonde sur un modèle théorique qu'il a développé dans sa thèse et qu'il décrit comme traitant « *l'accord pour l'accord*, [...] [et] qui ne présuppose pas que l'accord découle d'une autre composante de la grammaire » (1995: 269). Même si l'on admet que l'accord n'est pas un phénomène dirigé, il reste que l'accord du participe en français fait problème : ce n'est pas un phénomène qui découle de l'évolution normale de la langue mais qui découle plutôt, pour emprunter les mots de Clédat (1900: viii), de « la tyrannie fantaisiste des pseudo-grammairiens ». Richard Kayne d'ailleurs signale à plusieurs reprises (1977: 112; 224; 361-364) le caractère artificiel des règles d'accord et hésite, pour cette raison, à tirer des conclusions générales fondées sur le comportement du participe.

D'après Bessler (1995: 275), « [...] plusieurs faits militent en faveur d'un traitement adjectival des participes passés » : 1) les participes passés auraient la même distribution que les adjectifs; 2) un participe avec un sujet n'est pas plus apte à former une phrase que ne l'est un adjectif avec un sujet; 3) l'accord du participe avec *avoir* serait un cas d'accord interne; 4) un traitement adjectival du participe passé expliquerait pourquoi le comportement de cette forme n'est pas comme celui des verbes tensés.

1)   Voyons d'abord le premier énoncé et les constructions proposées par Bessler :

      (1)   *J'ai vu la lettre que Jean a écrite.*
      (2)   *Jean l'a écrite.*
      (3)   *Marie et Christine se sont vues hier.*
      (4)   *La lettre a été écrite par Jean.*
      (5)   *Marie est arrivée hier.*

En grammaire traditionnelle (1), (2) et (3) sont des cas d'accord avec l'objet direct; (4) et (5) présentent des cas d'accord du participe avec le sujet. En se fondant sur des critères distributionnels élémentaires (l'épreuve de substitution), on constate que le participe passé et l'adjectif n'ont pas la

même distribution; dans tous les cas précédents, il est impossible de remplacer le participe par un adjectif :

(1) *J'ai vu la lettre que Jean a longue.
(2) ?/*Jean l'a belle.
(3) *Marie et Christine se sont grandes hier.
(4) *La lettre a été longue par Jean.
(5) *Marie est grande hier.

S'il est déjà très difficile de substituer un adjectif à un participe dans une construction avec *avoir* (?*Sa chevelure, qu'elle avait longue, ...*), on voit que ceci devient nettement impossible dans une phrase comme *Marie est arrivée hier*, par exemple, où l'adverbe *hier* interdit qu'on emploie le présent de *être* et un adjectif. Ce que le participe de ces constructions a en commun avec l'adjectif, c'est l'accord. Mais l'accord fait problème, comme on l'a signalé, et j'y reviendrai.

2)   S'il est vrai que les phrases avec un sujet et un participe sont agrammaticales en français, comme le sont les phrases avec un sujet et un adjectif (contrairement à des langues comme le russe où la construction est possible), il reste que le participe peut tout même former une proposition, dans laquelle on le saisit comme « le centre du groupe verbal » (Riegel *et al.* 1994: 343). Dans une étude (Lapierre 1996) où j'ai mis en parallèle des textes français et la traduction de ceux-ci en anglais, j'ai constaté que la proposition participiale du français est très fréquemment traduite en anglais par une forme verbale finie,[9] ce qui renforce notre intuition de la valeur verbale du participe dans ces propositions.
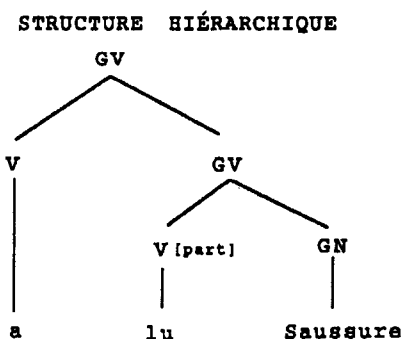
3)   D'après Bessler, l'accord du participe avec *avoir* est un cas d'accord interne, c'est-à-dire que la cible de la relation d'accord, le participe, se trouverait à l'intérieur du syntagme nominal. Ce qu'il veut ici éviter, c'est de dire que le verbe s'accorde avec son objet direct. Bessler nous rappelle que le participe avec *avoir* prenait en latin les marques du cas, donc qu'il y avait une relation d'accord interne entre le participe et le nom. Et il propose un exemple, *Habeo cultellum compratum*, qu'il traduit par *J'ai acheté un couteau* et qu'il met en parallèle avec la phrase *Habeo cultellum longum*, *J'ai un long couteau*. Il fait ensuite observer que *compratum*, tout comme *longum*, est un modifieur nominal. Et il a raison. Mais il aurait dû traduire la première phrase par *J'ai un couteau acheté*, comme on traduit *Habeo epistolam scriptam* par *J'ai la lettre écrite*. *Acheté* décrit **l'état** du couteau et non pas le procès; c'est pourtant **le procès** que décrit la construction en français moderne.

4)   Quant à la distinction entre le participe et les autres formes du verbe, elle est à rattacher à ce qui précède : le participe passé s'accorde avec son objet direct quand celui-ci est antéposé mais, en tant qu'élément d'un système cohérent, il ne devrait pas le faire.

On n'a pas, me semble-t-il, réussi à montrer que le participe passé est une forme avant tout adjectivale. Au contraire, on nous a permis de constater qu'un grand nombre des comportements syntaxiques de cette forme mettent en évidence qu'elle est très souvent verbale.
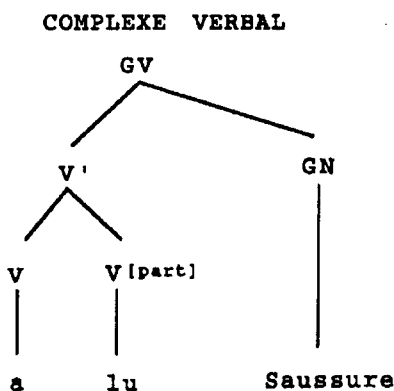
Anne Abeillé et Danièle Godard abordent l'étude du participe en examinant la complémentation des auxiliaires dans les temps composés français. La relation entre auxiliaire et participe sera évidemment déterminante pour établir la classe d'appartenance des deux éléments. Abeillé et Godard font une distinction entre d'une part *avoir* et *être* auxiliaires de temps et, d'autre part, *être* du passif qu'elles identifient à *être* copule. Toutefois, le participe est un constituant verbal non seulement dans son emploi avec les auxiliaires de temps, mais dans certaines constructions sans auxiliaire (les formes elliptiques des intransitifs, par exemple),[10] de même que dans certaines constructions passives.[11]

Si l'on adopte une perspective « strictement morpho-syntaxique » (Abeillé et Godard 1996: 33) — c'est le point de vue généralement adopté et c'est celui d'Abeillé et Godard également — l'auxiliaire est la tête du groupe verbal. On peut alors représenter les temps composés de plusieurs façons. Par une structure hiérarchique :

STRUCTURE HIÉRARCHIQUE

```
              GV
            /    \
          V        GV
          |       /  \
          |    V[part]  GN
          |      |       |
          a     lu    Saussure
```

(c'est la structure que l'on choisit souvent pour les temps composés et pour les verbes à contrôle en anglais) dans laquelle le groupe verbal se décompose en un constituant verbal (c'est l'auxiliaire) dont le complément est aussi un groupe verbal formé du participe et de son complément (nominal); on suppose alors que la relation entre auxiliaire et participe est la même qu'entre le verbe à contrôle et son complément verbal.

On peut aussi représenter les temps composés par un complexe verbal qui se décompose en un constituant verbal à deux branches (auxiliaire et participe) et un groupe nominal complément :

COMPLEXE VERBAL

```
              GV
            /    \
          V'       GN
         /  \       |
        V   V[part] |
        |    |      |
        a   lu    Saussure
```

Abeillé et Godard rejettent la structure hiérarchique; il y a en effet une différence structurale entre les verbes à contrôle et les temps composés en français et, comme elles le signalent, les tests de constituance, à part la coordination, échouent (Abeillé et Godard 1996: 34). On ne peut pas, par exemple, pronominaliser la séquence participe + compléments : *Jean n'est pas arrivé à l'heure hier au rendez-vous mais Marie l'est. On ne peut pas l'omettre, comme on le fait en anglais : *Jean a fini son travail mais Marie n'a pas. On ne peut pas non plus « questionner » cette séquence : *Qu'a-t-elle? Vendu ses livres? En outre, la distribution des adverbes n'est pas sans difficulté : leur position par rapport au verbe, leur portée dans une coordination et leur ordre font problème.

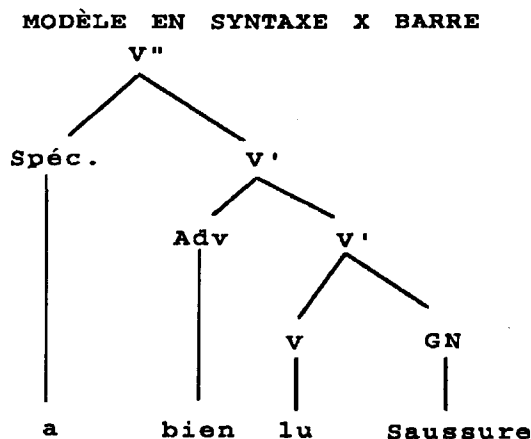Quant au complexe verbal, Abeillé et Godard y voient une représentation supérieure à la structure hiérarchique mais inapte à rendre compte de certains phénomènes syntaxiques (la coordination par ainsi que, par exemple). Elles proposent par conséquent une structure plate, c'est-à-dire à un seul niveau de représentation, dans laquelle « l'auxiliaire est la tête morpho-syntaxique du [groupe verbal] GV, et prend pour compléments le participe passé ainsi que les compléments de celui-ci » (Abeillé et Godard 1996: 32). Le groupe verbal a donc trois branches : l'auxiliaire, le participe et le groupe nominal complément :

STRUCTURE PLATE

```
                    GV
            _____|_____
           /        |        \
          V       V [part]    GN
          |         |          |
          a        lu      Saussure
```
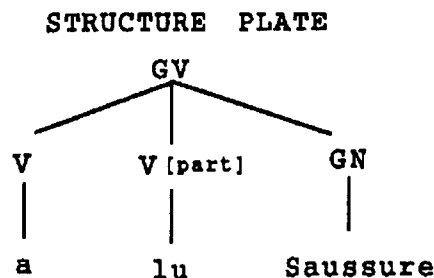
Les auxiliaires de temps sont donc présentés comme « des prédicats syntaxiques à valence variable [...] » (Abeillé et Godard 1996: 43), qui ont toujours pour complément non saturé (i.e. dont tous les arguments attendus par leur tête n'ont pas été réalisés localement) un participe et les compléments attendus par ce dernier.

Ce qui est ici pertinent, c'est que les temps composés sont perçus comme des constructions qui supposent un partage entre l'auxiliaire et le participe : l'auxiliaire porte les marques du temps, du mode, de la personne, de même que les marques d'accord avec le sujet, tandis que le participe détermine la valence et le sens. Tout en faisant de l'auxiliaire la tête du groupe verbal, Abeillé et Godard signalent que l'auxiliaire ne sélectionne pas son sujet syntaxique mais qu'il hérite de la description du sujet du participe (Abeillé et Godard 1996: 43); et qu'il hérite en outre du contenu du participe, ce qui en fait « une tête sémantique dans un sens faible [...] ». D'ailleurs, elles proposent « de noter la sélection de l'auxiliaire par un trait lexical VAUX instancié avec la valeur être ou avoir selon le participe [...] » (1996: 50) (je souligne).

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Nous avons vu que c'est l'indissociabilité de l'auxiliaire et du participe qui est mise en valeur chez les linguistes-historiens; et que la formation des temps composés repose sur le lien très serré qui se forge entre auxiliaire et participe. Abeillé et Godard, comme bien d'autres, dissocient ces deux éléments; ou du moins, elles voient le participe comme un complément de l'auxiliaire. Si l'on représentait les temps composés français par une structure comme celle proposée par Jackendoff dans le cadre de la syntaxe X barre pour l'anglais, et reprise dans Radford (1988: 240), voilà ce que l'on obtiendrait :

MODÈLE EN SYNTAXE X BARRE

```
                    V "
                   /    \
                  /      \
             Spéc.        V '
              |          /  \
              |         /    \
              |       Adv     V '
              |        |     /  \
              |        |    /    \
              |        |   V      GN
              |        |   |      |
              a      bien  lu   Saussure
```

On aurait donc un élément initial V, le participe, qui, dans cette structure-ci, est la tête et qui forme avec ses compléments une ou plusieurs projections intermédiaires (ce niveau nous permet d'insérer des adverbes, soit à gauche ou à droite du participe, et des compléments); puis cette projection intermédiaire forme avec un spécificateur (c'est l'auxiliaire d'aspect en anglais, qui serait un auxiliaire de temps en français où l'aspect est moins important) la projection maximale (V double barre). Ce n'est alors pas l'auxiliaire qui sélectionne le participe mais le verbe dont on emploie le participe qui sélectionne l'auxiliaire : ceci correspond bien à ce qui se produit dans le discours.

Il y a des phénomènes syntaxiques qui font percevoir l'auxiliaire comme la tête du groupe verbal : les constituants de la négation, par exemple, encadrent l'auxiliaire comme ils encadrent un verbe à un temps simple; en outre, les adverbes s'insèrent souvent entre l'auxiliaire et le participe et occupent ainsi par rapport à *avoir* la position qu'ils occupent par rapport à un verbe à temps simple. D'autres phénomènes, par contre, nous permettent d'analyser l'auxiliaire et le participe comme une seule unité syntaxique : le placement des pronoms est l'un de ceux-ci. Alors que les pronoms s'insèrent entre le modal ou l'aspectuel et le verbe complément (*Elle doit aller à la bibliothèque* --> *Elle doit y aller / Elle vient de finir le roman* --> *Elle vient de le finir*), les pronoms se placent devant l'auxiliaire et le participe (*Il a aimé le film* --> *Il l'a aimé / Elle est revenue de la bibliothèque* --> *Elle en est revenue / Elle s'est souvenue du rendez-vous* --> *Elle s'en est souvenue*). Du placement des clitiques, Abeillé et Godard (1996: 46) concluent qu'il va de soi « [à] partir du moment où nous analysons les compléments du participe comme compléments de l'auxiliaire [...] ». Et d'un point de vue pratique, elles ont raison; mais on peut également y voir un indice que l'auxiliaire et le participe des temps composés sont très étroitement unis; qu'il s'agit des formes de ce que Martin

Harris (1982: 47, 48) nomme « un paradigme unitaire bien que composé (« a unitary, albeit compound, paradigm »).

La structure plate d'Abeillé et Godard est supérieure à la structure hiérarchique puisqu'elle situe l'auxiliaire et le participe au même niveau de représentation; on peut toutefois trouver ce modèle imparfait parce qu'il ne met pas en évidence le lien vraiment spécial entre l'auxiliaire et le participe et parce qu'il fait de l'auxiliaire la tête.

Ceci nous conduit à la question de l'accord. Abeillé et Godard (1996: 52) signalent que l'accord du participe passé est « un problème à la fois délicat et artificiel [...] »; et elles font aussi observer que les règles des grammaires sont inexactes : on met en effet le participe conjugué avec *être* en relation avec le sujet et le participe avec *avoir* en relation avec l'objet direct quand celui-ci est antéposé; pourtant, dans les constructions pronominales, on fait souvent accorder le participe avec l'objet direct et, dans les constructions avec *avoir*, on ne fait pas toujours l'accord avec l'objet antéposé (le pronom *en*, par exemple). Ceci dit, Abeillé et Godard offrent quelques généralisations qui jettent peu de lumière sur l'accord.

Il y aurait une solution au problème de l'accord, pourvu qu'on fasse retour à un état de langue antérieur aux disputes des grammairiens. En ancien français, comme Foulet (1930: 101) le signale, le participe passé « se trouve dans un rapport direct soit avec le sujet de *estre*, soit avec le régime de *avoir* »; le participe des intransitifs avec *être* et de tous les pronominaux s'accorde avec le sujet (Darmesteter 1925: 175). En français moderne, le rapport entre le participe et le sujet de *être* vaut toujours tandis que la relation entre le participe avec *avoir* et l'objet ne vaut plus. Une fois que l'évolution de *avoir* possédant sa pleine valeur à *avoir* possédant celle d'un auxiliaire qui fait corps avec le participe est complète, il n'y a plus de raisons de faire accorder le participe puisque le rapport entre celui-ci et le substantif n'est plus du tout celui qui existait en latin; comme l'écrit Sneyders de Vogel (1927: 235) : « [...] l'évolution de la forme et l'évolution du sens ne sont pas synchroniques; et ainsi l'accord du participe passé avec un substantif **qu'il ne détermine plus** se fait toujours, mais d'une façon très bizarre » (je souligne). Si on saisit le participe comme un élément verbal qui, avec *avoir* et *être*, forme les temps composés et qui fait partie d'un système cohérent, on ne devrait faire aucun cas de l'objet pour régler l'accord. Une solution très simple consisterait à faire accorder avec le sujet toutes les formes qui se conjuguent avec *être* (participes des intransitifs, des pronominaux, du passif) et à laisser invariables celles qui se conjuguent avec *avoir*.

Cette étude a des buts modestes : parce que les représentations proposées aujourd'hui s'éloignent des conclusions des historiens de la langue, il serait bon de se rappeler l'origine des règles qui dictent un comportement syntaxique si étrange. La notion d'indissociabilité, si elle n'est pas sans faire problème, est importante. Le placement des clitiques, par exemple, rapproche les temps composés des formes simples et renforce la notion d'éléments indissociables. Il est possible que le placement des adverbes, qui s'insèrent souvent entre auxiliaire et participe, soit à rattacher à l'origine adjectivale du participe et ne constitue pas vraiment un obstacle à une analyse unifiée du groupe verbal.

Le participe passé de la langue moderne est beaucoup plus rarement un adjectif qu'il ne l'était en ancien français. Même Lucien Foulet, qui dans sa *Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français* traite les participes avec les adjectifs parce qu'ils étaient si proches dans la vieille langue, fait observer qu'en français moderne le participe passé « fait corps avec l'auxiliaire et sert ainsi à former des temps composés où il perd son individualité propre » (1930: 84). On peut bien sûr penser que les règles d'accord ont été « inspirées » par cette étrange structure qui les sous-tendrait. Mais il semble plus probable, étant donné leur origine, que les règles soient « défectueuses », voire nuisibles, quand on veut établir un modèle.

C'est, comme on l'a souvent constaté (Rivière 1990, en particulier), le phénomène de l'accord qui fait que l'on perçoit le participe comme un adjectif. Mais cette forme n'est pas, sauf dans certaines constructions (avec la copule), un adjectif; plusieurs comportements syntaxiques propres au participe sont en effet impossibles pour l'adjectif.

Le modèle par lequel les temps composés seraient bien représentés, et la valeur du participe passé élucidée, montrerait le participe comme la tête du groupe verbal et l'auxiliaire comme un spécificateur, comme le fait le modèle proposé par Jackendoff pour l'anglais. Il reste à faire une étude formelle beaucoup plus rigoureuse, mais en tenant compte de l'origine des règles que nous suivons. On espère que l'histoire de la langue et l'analyse formelle pourront ensemble offrir une représentation plus juste des temps composés et du lien étroit entre l'auxiliaire et le participe.

Notes

1. Cette étude avait paru onze ans auparavant dans la *Revue de Philologie française.*

2. Jean Bastin est l'auteur de travaux très intéressants (cités dans la bibliographie) sur le participe passé en français.

3. D'après Meigret également; Arnauld et Lancelot y verront un gérondif; Duclos, Bouhours et Beauzée en feront un supin.

4. Chez Meigret toutefois la forme demeure un infinitif.

5. Voilà, par exemple, ce que l'on trouve chez un linguiste du calibre de Gustave Guillaume : « Le fait, fort secret du reste, qui n'avait point été jusqu'ici aperçu par les grammairiens, c'est qu'il existe non pas un mais deux états du participe passé actif : un état purement verbal, regardant vers l'au-delà, lequel état est rendu par une forme invariable; et un état adjectivé, regardant vers l'en deçà, et rendu par une forme variable s'accordant avec l'objet dépassé » (Guillaume 1986: 156).

6. En français, ce sont les participes des verbes terminatifs (*fermer, ouvrir, couper, ...*), ceux « dont l'action tend naturellement vers son achèvement » (Schogt 1968: 28), qui s'emploient d'abord dans cette construction.

7. « [...] the full semantic value of HABERE gradually diminishes [...] and the degree of union between the two parts of the syntagm slowly becomes greater, to the point where we may rightly speak of a unitary (albeit compound) paradigm within the indicative mood » (Harris 1982: 47, 48).

8. Sneyders de Vogel (1927: 238), Nyrop 1979: 254, par exemple.

9. Il ne s'agit pas d'une étude exhaustive, mais dans un corpus consistant de textes français et de la traduction anglaise de ceux-ci, la participiale française n'est jamais traduite par une participiale en anglais. Même si cette construction existe, l'anglais semble préférer les formes verbales finies ou une construction non verbale.

10. Une construction sans auxiliaire est ainsi désignée « groupe verbal participial ».

11. *Être* est assimilé à la copule mais on peut tout de même saisir le participe comme verbal : « [...] il n'y a pas d'auxiliaire du passif mais seulement un verbe copule (même avec l'hypothèse d'un participe verbal) [...] » (Abeillé et Godard 1996: 53).

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Introducing Trouble, or
the Trouble with *The Trouble With Canada*

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Abstract
William Gairdner has written several popular books, including the two Canadian best-sellers, *The Trouble with Canada*, and *The War Against the Family*. Gairdner's political and social views, as the title of the second book suggests, fall within the "family values" spectrum of the New Right. In the introduction to *The Trouble With Canada*, Gairdner, referring to the terms *conservative, liberal*, and *socialist*, asserts, "One of the aims of this book, therefore, is to provide a key to the real meaning of these terms" (p. 4, italics mine). Indeed, in that book, as in his other writings, Gairdner does redefine not just those terms, but the world and everything in it, to suit his particular ideology.

Gairdner deliberately aims his books at a non-academic readership, therefore at a readership which is untrained in deciphering the author's subtle but effective rhetorical and discursive techniques. It is the task of linguistics, informed by feminist theory and critical discourse analysis, to delineate the rhetorical and discursive strategies by which Gairdner makes his views appear to the unsophisticated reader to be irrefutable and incontrovertible. The goal of my research is to conduct just such an analysis, and to demonstrate the connection between the discursive strategies of Gairdner, and those of other propagandists of the political and religious right.

As part of my ongoing research, the present paper provides a detailed analysis of the Introduction to *The Trouble With Canada*. Following Sykes (1985) and Fowler(1985), I engage in a detailed analysis of the text, identifying the micro-linguistic features such as modality, transitivity, lexis, and syntactic complexity employed by the writer to encode his ideology. In addition, I position this particular example of Gairdner's discourse within North America. In addition to providing an example of critical discourse analysis in action, the present paper lays the foundation for a broader examination of elite discourse strategies within the Canadian context.

William D. Gairdner is the Canadian author of four popular books, *The Trouble With Canada, The War Against the Family, Constitutional Crackup* and *On Higher Ground*. Gairdner's political, economic and social views, as the titles of his books suggest, fall within the "family values" spectrum of the New Right. Within Canada, Gairdner speaks from a position of relative power, being a comfortably wealthy white male, former Olympic decathlete, former president of The Fitness Institute of Canada, holder of a doctorate from Stanford University and one time professor of English at York University. The goal of the present paper is to present a preliminary analysis of the Introduction to his 1990 book, *The Trouble With Canada* using the framework of critical discourse analysis to delineate the rhetorical and discursive strategies by which Gairdner makes his exclusivist and elitist views appear to the unsophisticated reader to be irrefutable and incontrovertible. This paper constitutes the first step in my ongoing analysis of Gairdner's writings.[1]

The Trouble With Canada totals 470 pages, but the Introduction, which forms the basis of the present analysis, consists of just over 5 pages. Gairdner's apparent purpose in this chapter is to convince his readers that Canada has a problem, that the problem is precisely the one that he identifies, and that

the only solution to the problem is the one that he proposes. I would argue, however, that underlying that stated purpose is an intent to establish in the readers a mind set which would prepare them to accept a right-wing Christian view of the world, through the use of various linguistic and rhetorical devices common in evangelical discourse.

In the first paragraph of the Introduction, Gairdner establishes the premise of the book. He asserts that "On the whole, Canada is a great place to live. It's beautiful, wealthy, politically stable, does not make war and is rarely subject to natural disasters ... What we see on the surface is a healthy harmonious picture" (lines 1-3). His appreciation of Canada is affirmed, and his readers are made to feel good about the country. However, even as he is affirming good things about Canada, Gairdner is undermining this characterization. "On the whole", the first three words of the first line of the Introduction establish a lurking doubt even before Canada is so glowingly described in the rest of the sentence. This doubt is reinforced in the third line by the phrase "on the surface". Something which is good "on the whole" or "on the surface" is not wholly good and is not good through to the core, and Gairdner, by using both these phrases within the first three lines of the text, succeeds in establishing his main proposition, namely that there is "trouble" in and with Canada. The first paragraph also contains Gairdner's first use of the metaphor of health versus sickness, a metaphor he returns to periodically throughout the book. According to Gairdner, Canada appears "healthy" on the surface (lines 3-4), but the doubt implicit in "appears" calls even that degree of health into question.

When Gairdner asserts his views of how the world is, or how Canada is, he does so with the modality of validity, expressing confidence, largely through the noticeable lack of explicit modals. One example of this phenomenon is illustrated in the following quotation: "For at bottom, what is truly lacking in our overstudied society is a basic commitment from the people of this nation to fight actively for the core values ..." (lines 25-27). There are only two main genres in which a speaker or writer can get away with accusing readers of such a grave failure without causing them to tune out and listen or read no further. The first is the self-help book, in which a personal problem is identified and a solution given, and the second is the sermon, in which the addressees are made to feel somewhat wretched at the outset, so that the preacher can subsequently propose a remedy, generally of a moral or spiritual variety, to make things "all better". Given the abstract nature of the crisis proposed by Gairdner, and given his reference to "core values", the form of *The Trouble With Canada* begins to resemble that of a sermon. Furthermore, it is common in sermons that preachers assert all manner of sociological, anthropological, psychological, and moral "truths" without making the slightest attempt to justify or verify those claims with any evidence beyond their own interpretive reading of the Christian scriptures. In the Introduction to *Trouble*, Gairdner certainly does make such unverified assertions. Within the main body of the book, he often uses statistics to bolster his claims, but his manner of citing of Statistics Canada is every bit as selective as the preacher's manner of choosing whatever bits and pieces of scripture suit the purpose of the sermon, with little regard for a larger interpretive context.

A further example in which Gairdner's rhetoric is suggestive of the genre of sermons is the last sentence of the introductory chapter: "Finally, the book closes with a Call to Action - a prescription

for a limited number of measures that would surely bring an end to the trouble with Canada" (lines 208-209). His use of the phrase "a Call to Action" in this sentence is reminiscent of the Altar Call, sometimes called a Call to Action, found in many sermons, particularly those of an evangelical or fundamentalist persuasion. In Altar Calls, listeners are asked to signal their assent with the content of the sermon by taking some action such as moving forward to the front of the church, or in the case of a televised sermon, phoning the number flashing on the screen. Such actions are intended to symbolize the addressee's intent to carry out the action prescribed in the sermon, whether that be to "accept the Lord Jesus into their heart", to "repent of their sins", or to go knocking on doors "sharing Christ" with their neighbours.

As Roger Fowler proposes, a modality of desirability encompasses "practical, moral, or aesthetic judgements" (Fowler 1985: 72) and one needn't look far in Gairdner's Introduction to find examples of such modality. The description of Canada in the opening paragraph, quoted above, is the first example of "desirability". Even more striking, however, is the following passage from paragraph three, in which Gairdner proclaims his judgements about academic research and writing. His condemnation is particularly ironic given that Gairdner himself holds a doctorate, and used to write academic works himself.

> But it [Gairdner's book] is not an academic study or research document - there are too many of those available already on every subject in this book. For the most part, no attention is paid to them, or they preach to the converted, or they are countered by further research, equally ignored. So I'm not trying to add to the academic uproar by writing a book in which the risk of offending is reduced to zero. That can result in a dull book and endless equivocation. Rather this is a book meant to change minds. (lines 18-25)

The disdain of Gairdner toward academic research and writing is difficult to miss in this passage. He attacks it on aesthetic grounds, as being "dull", and on practical grounds, as being ineffective and full of "equivocation". He also suggests a moral judgement when he condemns it for failing to risk offending the readers, as if offending readers were desirable and morally preferable. This only makes sense if one draws the parallel once again between Gairdner's text and evangelical - especially fundamentalist - preaching. Many fundamentalists take a certain delight in preaching ideas that offend the majority of people. They take it as a sign that they must be right, because the ungodly masses oppose them. Others may not go quite that far, but they do see it as inevitable that the "truth" (as they see it) will offend people. In these terms, Gairdner can be seen to be condemning academic scholarship not just on aesthetic and practical grounds, but on moral grounds too. If this is his view of academia, then one can explain the irony of his condemning a pursuit he formerly practised by speculating that he has since "seen the light" and repented of such frivolous and fruitless frippery!

Significantly, the Introduction to *Trouble* contains no examples of the modality of permission. Gairdner is not about to grant anyone the freedom to do anything not explicitly sanctioned by him. There are, however, several examples of the modality of obligation, most often signalled by the verbs *must, should,* or *ought,* but also indicated by adverbs such as *necessarily* (line 79), and phrases such

as *a moral obligation* (line 167). The moral obligation referred to here is for people "...to work toward helping others in the world understand and use them [the principles of Gairdner's Bonus System]" (lines 167-68). This moral imperative to tell others of the Good News is unmistakably evangelical in flavour. That is precisely what all "good" Christians are told they should do. In fact, the whole modality of obligation, soaked as it is in moral judgements, is strongly tied to the evangelical propensity for telling people how they ought and ought not to behave and live.

The specific modals *must*, *should* and *ought* deserve further exploration. In all, there are two uses of *ought*, two of *should*, and eight of *must*. Both times that *ought* is used, it is portraying a view that is not Gairdner's own.

> But we have grown so used to hearing "experts" tell us how we ought to live that we lose sight of the fact that strong, cohesive societies are based on even stronger belief systems sustained by the people as they make their daily fundamental political, economic, and cultural choices. (lines 32-36)

> Collectivism is an elitist political philosophy which insists that the central government ought to control and engineer the condition of society. (lines 82-84)

Given that Gairdner, in this book and in his other writings, tells people how he thinks they ought and ought not to live, it is ironic that he is critical of other "experts" who do that themselves. There is, however, a sleight of hand which allows Gairdner to act just like an "expert" in presenting his views and advocating his policies, while at the same time denying that he is such an expert.

By placing quotation marks around "expert", Gairdner challenges whether the referents of that word are, in fact, experts. Thus, he distances himself from them. Although he behaves as a writer would who considered himself an expert, he refrains from overtly claiming that status. Instead, he portrays himself as just a man, not an expert. "This book is one man's effort to define and speak for a specific set of values and for the social choices that necessarily arise from them" (line 77-78). This self-abnegation is reminiscent of evangelicalism in two ways.

First, a fundamental tenet of evangelical protestantism is that believers do not need experts trained in seminaries to interpret scriptures for them. Believers are individually guided by the Holy Spirit and are therefore all experts in their own faith. Thus, the faith can both condemn and embrace the role of experts without contradicting itself, and Gairdner can condemn those he calls "experts", while still projecting the aura of expertise necessary to get people to believe what he is saying.

Second, the way in which Gairdner is evidently playing with the word 'expert' is not unlike the ways in which evangelical fundamentalists play with the term 'religion'. Fundamentalists see themselves as uniquely possessing God's truth. One way in which Christian fundamentalists try to express what they see as their uniqueness is to deny that they practice or adhere to a religion. An oft-heard refrain in the fundamentalist circles I travelled in during the 1970's and early 1980's, was the following: "Christianity is not a religion. Religion is man [sic] reaching up to God. Christianity is God

reaching down to man [sic]." The people who might chant this refrain might also be heard denying that they were religious and asserting rather that they were "spiritual". Gairdner's attempt to distance himself from the people he dubs "experts", while presenting himself in the very ways that experts might present themselves is an example of the same sort of redefinition process at work in fundamentalist circles with the terms 'religion' and 'religious'.

While *ought* is thus used by Gairdner exclusively to portray views not his own, the modal *should* is used to communicate his own view of how he would like things to be. "... deciding what the common vision of our life as a nation should be ..." (lines 200-201). The common vision referred to in this passage is clearly the one Gairdner is promoting. Though not exclusive to evangelicalism, or even to Christianity, talk of visions does suggest a certain religious fervour. I would suggest that it is just such a fervour that motivates Gairdner and that directs his idea of what constitutes an illness, and what constitutes a cure for that illness. As he defines the choices in his book, there are only two: his way or the wrong way.

The modal *must* is most often used to convey an imperative urging readers to support the actions and policies advocated by Gairdner. It is, however, used once to convey inevitability, rather than obligation. "If research can't prove that babies are harmed by the impersonality of third-party daycare or that the poor are harmed by give-aways, then it must be all right for them" (lines 50-52). Although much could be said about Gairdner's dismissal of daycare and aid to the poor, such a discussion would take the present paper too far off course. Suffice it to say that an unsophisticated reader might well not pick up on the placement of this whole proposition within the hypothetical realm through the use of "if" and might therefore interpret the sentence as actually declaring that research *cannot* in fact prove what Gairdner speculates that it *might* not prove.

Other uses of *must* carry an imperative force. "Society must therefore base its choices on a common moral vision sustained by the hearts, minds, and beliefs of the people, and no more" (lines 55-56). Once again, the "moral vision" is that put forward by Gairdner. Of note in this passage is the sequence "the hearts, minds, and beliefs". Although the "beliefs" is a mild embellishment on an old theme, phrases such as "the hearts and minds of believers" is a common one in evangelical discourse.

The next example includes three occurrences of *must*, and exemplifies another outstanding feature of Gairdner's writing: the persistent categorization of everything into (false) dichotomies.

> What this all boils down to is that all societies must choose between two
> radically different methods for organizing society: either (1) they must
> insist on *the same rules* for everyone and let all social outcomes evolve
> according to natural and freely expressed individual differences, or (2) they
> must impose an *equality of outcome* that can be achieved only by creating
> different rules for different social groups. (lines 93-98)

The first use of *must* in this passage demands a choice, and the subsequent uses each suggest one of two possible alternatives. One needn't have read anything more of the book than this one complex sentence to know which of the two alternatives is favoured by Gairdner. The verb "evolve", the

adjective "natural", and the adverb "freely" work individually and collectively to portray the "motherhood and apple pie" character of the "same rules" alternative. In other contexts, this alternative is described as 'having a level playing field', a desirable condition for a soccer match, but not necessarily desirable outside of the context of a game. In real life, some people may need to be placed at the top of an incline if they are to achieve any forward motion at all. Gairdner's second alternative would encompass this notion of giving some people a "boost", and his choice of language makes it clear that he rejects this alternative. The verb "impose" immediately signals something much more intrusive than the "insist" that was used in the first alternative. Imposing is seldom if ever good, whereas one can insist and usually be in the right, morally, if not objectively.

Gairdner also contrasts "same" in the first alternative, with "different" in the second. Once again, he is manipulating concepts to his advantage. Ultimately, Gairdner's individualism dictates that he not view people as the same, but in this passage, he seems to be coming down in favour of sameness. The trick, if there is one, is that fundamentally, Gairdner does not see people as being the same, or equal. By insisting, however, the same rules apply to differently gifted or differently skilled people, he insures that certain people will achieve more and acquire more than others. Given that Gairdner is white, English-speaking, relatively wealthy, able-bodied, and intellectually gifted, he is sure to gain more than most other people, and so he has a vested interest in a system which lets him compete by the same rules against people who may be less privileged and less gifted due to accidents of birth or circumstance. If such people were given assistance of some sort to compensate for the disadvantages they face, then Gairdner would suddenly find himself having to work much harder to get what he seems to feel should "naturally" be his.

Everything in Gairdner's universe, or at least in the universe he portrays in his writings, is binary. It is always black or white, never grey. In order to present alternatives as binary, Gairdner frequently redefines concepts and terms to suit his own needs. As are many of Gairdner's other techniques, this redefinition of the world into binary oppositions is a time-worn strategy of evangelical preachers. If there are only two alternatives, such as *good* and *evil*, and something can be shown to fall short of being absolutely *good*, then it can automatically be labelled *evil* with no further discussion. If, however, *good* and *evil* are portrayed as two ends of a continuum, then demonstrating that something is not *perfectly* good does not preclude the possibility of it nevertheless being *somewhat* good. Decisions are much more difficult if alternatives are viewed on a continuum, or if there are more than two alternatives. Gairdner exploits people's desire to simplify complex decisions by presenting his views as one of only two possibilities. He leads people to reject what he sets up as the first alternative, so that he can then seduce them into accepting what he offers as the only other possibility.

An exhaustive analysis of all the binaries in Gairdner's introductory chapter is not practical here, but a representative list is presented below. In this list, even the seemingly commonplace oppositions such as "healthy/unhealthy", contribute to the overall theme of a world divided into good and bad, right and wrong. What follows is little more than a catalogue of examples, barren of analysis, but it at least suggests the pervasiveness of Gairdner's preference for dichotomous thinking, especially

in light of the fact that there are **no** examples whatsoever of multiple alternatives or of characterizations on a continuum in the chapter under analysis.

outer/inner (lines 5-6)
health/decay (lines 6-7)
healthy/unhealthy (line 8)
forces leading to strength/forces leading to weakness (lines 10-11)
Gairdner's book/academic writing (lines 17-19)
strong common belief system/lack of common core values (lines 33-42)
deeply honest confrontation with values/flight from values (lines 44-45)
science/common moral vision (lines 52-56)
philosophy of individual freedom and responsibility/socialism (lines 63-65)
face question of values/sink beneath the waves (lines 66-68)
bottom up (the people)/top down (the government) (lines 69-70)
handouts/G's core values (lines 73-79)
egalitarian collectivism/G's core values (lines 80-92)
same rules for everyone/equality of outcomes for everyone (lines 93-98)
freedom/programmes aimed at equality (lines 99-105)
discrimination of groups not targeted in equity programmes/nondiscriminatory practices (as conceived by G.) (lines 100-104)
traditional values: honesty, freedom. hard work, respect for society, authority, private property/programmes aimed at acheiving equity (lines 106-109)
truly conservative/modern liberal or socialist (lines 131-132)
politician's secret codes/real meaning (lines 137-139)
traditional values of a free society/popular illusions (lines 145-148)
the Bonus System/the Handicap System (lines 157-174)
democratic capitalism/socialist reaction (lines 157-174)
those with a vested interest in egalitarian collectivism/neglected majority of Canadians (lines 205-208)

The present paper has by no means exhausted the range of linguistic and rhetorical techniques employed by Gairdner in the Introduction to *The Trouble With Canada*. On the contrary, it has barely scratched the surface. Nevertheless, I have at least begun to show a relationship between Gairdner's rhetorical style and that of evangelical preachers, especially those leaning towards fundamentalism. The task that remains in analyzing Gairdner's writing is a serious and daunting one. Gairdner is a spokesperson for the New Right movement in Canada. My ongoing task is to reveal that connection which he seeks to obscure, so that people stumbling innocently upon his writings will not unknowingly be led to support a political and social cause which may or may not be in their interests. If people understand who Gairdner is, what he stands for, and what he is setting about to do, yet they still choose to accept what he proposes, then that is a choice that I, as linguist, cannot interfere with. If, however, they are led to accept his views because they have been manipulated by his rhetoric into thinking that there are no viable alternatives, then I still have work to do. Although linguists *qua* linguists are not generally seen as properly involving themselves in

political and religious debates, increasingly, proponents of critical discourse analysis are challenging that neutrality. As people possessing specialized skills and knowledge, we believe that we have a responsibility to contribute to public discussion, especially where it concerns the sorts of elitist, exclusivist policies advocated by people like William Gairdner.

Notes

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Nonstandard Situations and Nonstandard Language in Aviation Discourse: Which Slang Gets the Very Last Word?

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Abstract

Deborah Tannen and Charlotte Linde have shown that in the discourse analysis of aircraft voice cockpit recorder transcriptions, gender, rank, authority, and politeness provide ways to understand obstacles to and assistance for successful communication. A further look at such speech acts, asking whether both technical language and slang are used and are functional, reveals an uncertainty about which is more concise and clear. Despite the distrust of slang and official attempts to assert or enforce a purely technical lexicon, pilots and air traffic controllers, under pressure in highly dangerous situations, alternate between the two sorts of utterance. Slang provides not only shorthand, concise expressions as compared to technical language, but it also communicates feeling. Nevertheless, it depends on a common acquaintance with the slang lexicon among members of the speech community involved in the incident. Whether aviation slang is an "endangered language" may be a question that can only be answered by further analysis, given the increasing pressure to develop and use unambiguous and clear technical jargon.

Deborah Tannen (1994) devotes a small section of her recent book, Talking from 9 to 5, to the analysis of aircraft cockpit recorder transcripts for what they reveal about conversation patterns and thence about human communication. In a book focused on the workplace and gender differences in speech acts and understanding, she looks at two all-male pilot verbal exchanges under the rubric "indirectness"-- specifically "The dangers of indirectness: coming in for a landing -- or a crash." She also credits the work of Charlotte Linde (1988), who has done several short studies of air pilot and helicopter cockpit conversations, variously from the points of view of rank, authority, and politeness.

One journalist in England, Ruth Dudley Edwards, writing for The Independent in London about the Farnborough Air Show, characterized the slang of aviation as uninteresting jock talk. When I wrote to ask her the meaning of one of the terms she reported, and to say that I found aspects of the language of aviation more complex than she had said, she replied that she did not remember the meaning of the term, but allowed that I might have a point. When lives are at stake, and a way of travelling that has transformed the pace of our world, communication between aircraft crew and air traffic controllers is extremely important.

Having been working for six years on aviation slang, I have become increasingly curious about the interplay of technical language and slang in pilot and air traffic controller discourse. Fairly early in the process of collecting items for our dictionary of aviation slang, Martin Stone, my co-worker on the project, and I had to debate the relative merits of these two lexicons. He had the aspiration to write the complete air dictionary; I, convinced that was impossible, urged that we leave technical language to the manuals and instead collect only the vivid, culture-bearing

"fringe" keyword items. One item that illustrates the problem is a term I first encountered in Lockheed's house publication Code One (1994), in accounts of USAF fighter pilot practice bombing run competitions, sometimes called "loadeos." The word was "pickle," used first as a verb, but also as a noun, as in the "pickle button." It refers obviously to a firing or release mechanism. But rather than being a sort of jocular slang word like "fry" or "grease," or "smoke" as in "smoke 'em", it shows up in the 1956 USAF Dictionary from Air University Press, edited by Woodford Agee Heflin, with the meaning "an aerial torpedo," used for "picklebarrel bombing," meaning precision bombing. And it does not appear in Eric Partridge's 1945 RAF Slang. It may be derived from the World War II bombers' use of various vegetable names to denote the sowing of various sizes and types of sea-mines from the air (which were nicknamed for vegetables), though I doubt it. So technical and semitechnical terms blend into as well as compete with other slang words.

As a result of a crash in Korea in early August 1994, one that resulted fortunately in no loss of life, the use of these competing styles of speech act is foregrounded. Printing the word-by-word exchanges between a Canadian pilot and a Korean co-pilot, The Globe and Mail also quoted Robert McInnis, president of the Canadian Air Line Pilots Association, as saying of the transcript, "'For a pilot to say "you're gonna kill us" is not typical cockpit etiquette, but it was a nonstandard situation, so there was some nonstandard language.'" (Aug. 30, 1994) Such deprecating or even slightly embarrassed value-labeling commentary is common when people in this speech community notice slang. Two pilots, for example, sent me a jocular constructed model of pilot, mostly taboo, talk which they titled "A Compilation of Clichéd Airline Dialog." John Algeo's Gulf War Lexicon for American Speech reported some informants calling the air slang of that episode "CRASS -- cryptic references, acronyms, slang, and shorthand."

Before I proceed to analyze the Canadian/Korean pilot exchange and some other sample voice cockpit recorder transcripts, I must say a bit about slang, its limits, strengths, weaknesses, and varieties.

Harry Bruce, in one of his columns about language, expressed an attitude toward sports slang, in particular, that treats it as excess language: approximately the same view as my writing teachers, who loved to cite sports writers' "elegant variation," ungraceful overuse of the same clichéd multiple synonyms to avoid repetition. But in language, as in some other areas of human experience, too much is just enough, sometimes. H. L. Mencken said that when Americans, who of course are known for their vivid and inventive slangs, get through with the English language it will "look as if it had been run over by a musical carnival." Something of the utility and even potential beauty of this possibility in human speaking is suggested in one of Connie Eble's subtle descriptions of the dialect she tries to capture in College Slang 101:

> Seldom do slang items contribute meanings not conveyed by words already in the
> language. Rather, slang tends to provide alternate words and phrases--often fresh
> and catchy--in a limited number of subject areas important to the slang-producing
> group. Furthermore, users are rarely satisfied with one or two variants but are

constantly replenishing the store of words to capture the same limited range of meanings. The result is a large number of synonyms or near-synonyms. (1989: 63)

Of course, when lives are risked by "nonstandard situations," the world failing to conform to the perfect models set by our systems, the difference between a synonym and a near-synonym may be crucial. And in considering choices made in speech acts, the ancillary question is also crucial, whether when a choice of words and word-types is open, a technical jargon or a more supple and concise slang may make the communication complete or more nearly complete.

There is a widespread assumption that technical language is always available and efficient, and indeed in some sense standard, and that any variation from it is a human lapse and potentially productive of misunderstanding. In transcripts supplied to me by the Callback service of the Aviation Safety Reporting System, an agency of NASA that routinely distributes "report narratives" made by aviation personnel involved in incidents, almost every informant refers to, usually complains about, the "nonstandard phraseology" used by someone else, --from a "flight avoidance-evasive action" at San Jose California--"I do not believe that 'Oh, My God!' is in the "lexicon of standard ATC phraseology," says one. Air Canada pilots routinely only talk about the language of the air off the record, and pilots I have consulted have usually insisted that the slang I am finding is not heard on the air and shouldn't interest anybody anyway...at least part of which claim is belied by transcripts. And in the one book so far devoted to the subject, Steven Cushing's (1994) Fatal Words: Communication Clashes and Aircraft Crashes, "unfamiliar terminology" (an entire section heading) is one of the problems to which the solutions, in closing chapters, are heavily computer-based systems such as "an intelligent voice interface for aviation communication" and "an error-resistant visual interface for aviation communication."

But human systems being what they are just now, Cushing reports, for example, that when "Approach Control" helpfully mentioned "we have the REIL [runway end identifier lights] lights up all the way; do you have the runway in sight?", the pilot replied "(after some hesitation) "How do you tell the difference between real lights and imitation lights?"

In another event reported by Cushing, "an aircraft passing through 10,000 feet on descent fell too quickly to 8,300 feet and needed to climb back because 'the captain, acting as the nonflying pilot,' said 'which at that time were new terms to' the copilot--'ladies, legal, lights, liquids.' The captain, a former XYZ airline pilot, explained that these were words the XYZ pilots use to remind crew members at 10,000 feet to turn on the seatbelt sign, reduce airspeed to less than 250 knots, turn on the lights for recognition, and make sure the hydraulic pumps and fuel boost pumps are turned on."

In this instance, if these two pilots shared the XYZ lexicon, four alliterating semislang words would save a bundle of time over that required to repeat, tiresomely, the detail that of course frequent flyers have to suffer in the descriptions of safety procedures, producing a boredom that leads word-ponderers like myself to wonder why they call it the "final approach" to the

"terminal." But no one would dispute that the words used in the final moments before two 747s crashed on the ground at Madeira some years ago, "clear the active," are anything but concise. (Someone pointed out the absurdity of thinking that they mean, in Madeira, "get out the snowplow.") And they are technical words, in my view.

Now to the transcripts themselves. In the dialogue between the Canadian/Korean pilot team of Korean Airlines Flight 2033 on August 10, 1994, at Cheju Island Airport, both technical terms and slang are used, and in fact, it is to a slangy technical apostrophe that they finally turn: after "a computer voice" says "sink rate," which the copilot repeats twice, followed by "speed" and "go around," the captain responds "get your ha...get off. Get off. Tell me what it is.," and during and after the crash, variously "you're gonna kill us, " hold yoke," "get this off, what did you pull us off?" "What did you pull us off?" and finally "Why did you pull us off?" Two pilots I asked to comment on this dialogue understood "get off" to mean "hands off," as in teen slang; and "pull us off" to mean "pull back on control column to raise nose for takeoff." In fact the copilot did twice pull up the nose, "sending the aircraft skidding down the runway and into a barrier during stormy weather." And this undignified nonverbal wrestling over the controls occurred after the captain had said "tell me what it is," a clear call for rapid and accurate verbal communication; but his "get off" was ambiguous, denoting either the aircraft off the runway or, as he intended, the copilot's hands off the controls! (Incidentally, my commercial pilot informant commentors added, "all in all, in our opinion, none of this stuff would rate any special mention in any book.")

One of the problems in finding material for this research is that with awareness of liability for damages and pilot sensitivity to their exposure to wide public scrutiny in what may be their last desperate moments, not all words are in fact reported. In one of Deborah Tannen's examples, an incident in July 1978 at Rochester NY, which again fortunately everyone survived, recorded the copilot saying "Yeah, it looks like you got a tailwind here," during a fast landing that resulted in a runway overrun, to which the pilot responded, "Yeah." and someone added "yeah it moves awfully # slow;" copilot: Yeah the # flaps are slower than a #," and pilot says "we'll make it, gonna have to add power." Some of the exact words are missing, but more crucial in this case is the copilot's perception that they were in fact going too fast, but his failure to speak directly (tailwind speeds it up; flaps slow it down) allowed the captain to go on thinking they were landing safely. Swearwords and other taboo language items are routinely expunged from even official transcriptions. In another, understandable ruling, in December 1994 after the crash of a USAir 737 in Pittsburgh which killed all 132 people on board, the National Transportation Safety Board for the first time barred release of some sections of the tape, because, as NTSB spokeswoman Drucella Andersen said, "It contains expressions of human suffering," and the move was made "out of compassion for the surviving families."

These deletions from the record highlight one of the strengths of nontechnical slang. If the model for technical communication is a sort of Mr. Spock-like lack of emotionality, other slangs fill the human need to express emotion, to give force to utterance, as in the copilot's swearing about how slow flaps are to slow you down, in Deborah Tannen's example of indirectness. But

if slang leads to misunderstanding, ambiguity, or lack of communication, it of course does not help. However, in high-pressure situations, some pressure relief, some of it emotional, may be functional. In one of the Callback reports, a pilot involved in a right-of-way transgression at ORD, Chicago's O'Hare Airport, gave this account: "We were holding short, #1 for TKOF on RWY 22L. An LTT [light transport] was on the RWY holding for TKOF. The TWR called us, '(call sign) I need to talk to you." I replied "go ahead." Tower replied "POS behind the LTT." I replied, "Roger, POS behind the LTT." TWR replied, "I'm sorry, behind the LTT." The LTT then moved up so we could get into POS behind him. We then taxied into POS behind the LTT. As we taxied into POS, I verified with the TWR if this was what he intended. There was a pause, then the TWR replied twice, "don't do this to me." The TWR CTLR used several improper phrases and terminology which the LTT and the F/O (first officer) and I questioned."

In the case of Air Florida Flight 90, the January 13, 1982 incident in which the 737 hit the 14th Street Bridge in Washington, DC, the pilot team abandons technical language at the last exchange--"(Stalling) we're (falling)" --Larry, we're going down, Larry--I know it."

In another of the NTSB phraseology reports, a pilot goes on at some length about an instruction to use "set" rather than "checked," as the one and only standard technical term to indicate completion of the landing checklist, and goes on: "Ever since my first takeoff in a retractable gear craft I have said 'positive rate, gear up.' I was told to deprogram years of saying 'positive rate' because 'gear up' only is the proper terminology. I was told I am no longer allowed to add after completion of the landing checklist that we have been 'cleared to land' or are 'awaiting landing clearance.' It is a violation of *sterile cockpit*, it seems, since it is not a prescribed callout. I think the cockpit is becoming sterile of common sense with such idiocy." The term "sterile cockpit" is commonly used to refer to the ban on conversation between flight attendants and flight deck crew at certain critical phases of flight. After the 1995 crash of an American Eagle ATR aircraft, officials from the manufacturer and the French equivalent of the FAA suggested that the pilots may have violated the "sterile cockpit" rules when they allowed two flight attendants to visit the cockpit and carry on a 'lighthearted 11-minute conversation with the pilots during the last 30 minutes of the flight." (Ft. Worth Star-Telegram, March 2, 1995).

The transcript of the moments before the mysterious crash in 1994 of USAir Flight 427 outside Pittsburgh reveals even more than my other examples how pilots turn to slang and other informal speech forms in crisis. In this case, in fact, after the detection of trouble, the pilots use almost no technical terms. As Jonathan Harr (1996) describes it:

> Air traffic control advised Flight 427 to be on the lookout for a northbound Jetstream,
> climb up from three thousand three hundred to five thousand feet.
> "We're looking for traffic," Germano (the captain) replied.
> Twenty seconds later, Emmett (copilot) said, in a mock foreign accent, "Oh, ya, I see
> zuh Jetstream."

At the instant Emmett began to articulate the word 'Jetstream,' the cockpit voice recorder later revealed the sound of a muted thump. Two seconds after that, there came a sound similar to three electrical clicks. Germano muttered, "Sheez", and Emmett grunted.

There was another sound--a shuddering triple thump--followed half a second later by a rapid 'clickety-click.' Germano can be heard inhaling and exhaling quickly, as if in surprise. Yet another thump, and the plane began a deep roll to the left.

"Whoa!" exclaimed Germano.

More clickety-clicks and the engine sound grows louder. "Hang on," Germano cried to Emmett. "Hang on."

Emmett, presumably wrestling with the steering column, can be heard grunting. The wailing horn of the autopilot disconnect began to sound.

"Hang on!" Germano said again.

Emmett swore.

Then Germano exclaimed, "What the hell is this?"

The cockpit became a symphony of alarms....stick shaker [stall warning], buffeting sound, altitude alert, and a robotic warning voice repeatedly crying, "Traffic! Traffic!"

"Oh, God! Oh, God!" said Germano.

The air-traffic controller in Pittsburgh, unaware of Flight 427's plight, saw on his radar screen only that the plane had descended from its assigned altitude. He radioed the pilot to maintain six thousand feet.

Germano responded by yelling to air-traffic control, "427 emergency!"

"Shit," said Emmett.

"Pull!" shouted Germano.

"Ohh, shit!" cried Emmett.

"Pull!" shouted Germano again.

"God!" said Emmett.

Germano began a scream that would last the final one and a half seconds of the cockpit voice tape. In the fraction of a second before Flight 427, nearly vertical, hit the ground at a speed of three hundred and one miles an hour, Emmett uttered the word 'No.'

Commenting on this horrifying exchange, Harr (1996) writes, "After a certain point in a crash, the pilots become passengers."

Given the rivalries, liabilities, egos, and taboos surrounding the speech events at pressure times in flight, it is perhaps not strange that availability of material to do extensive analysis is limited. I offer one final example, this from a fictional account by Ridley Pearson called Hard Fall (1992), about a bombing, which centres on a sample flight cockpit recorder transcript that features both sorts of language:

"The line of waiting planes shrinks and AmAirXpress 64 Bravo is cleared for takeoff. The engines race. Daggett can feel the plane accelerate down the runway as it begins to shudder.
Copilot: Ninety knots cross-check....V-1 ...Rotate...positive rate.
Captain: Gear up....flaps to ten.
Tower: Contact departure now.

Copilot: Roger. Bill, flap retraction speed. You have speed.
Captain: Flaps up.
The two men run the takeoff checklist. The sound is good enough to hear the switches being thrown. Each tick of sound is demonstrated by Tompkins, who is pointing to the graph printout from the DFDR.
Radio: Sixty-four Bravo, turn left to three-five-two. Climb and maintain to one-six thousand.
Pilot: Roger--three-five-two. One-six thousand.
A cough. To Daggett it sounds like a quick cough.
Captain: We've got a fire on the flight deck. Pete, under your seat.
Copilot: The extinguisher. Fuckin' A.
Captain: Taking evasive action. Request emergency landing.
Silence, except for the whine of the engines and a loud hissing."

I do not know whether I have been able to demonstrate that aviation slang, of the nontechnical sort, is an "endangered language" in the terms of the convention theme. But I do believe that the issue of choice of terms is, in action, a complex and crucial one, and deserving of further study.

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First Person Acting on Second Person in Maliseet

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Abstract

One can say in English "I see you," "we see you". We can make similar statements using past tense or a few other forms of the verb. The number of our possible verb forms is significantly higher in the Maliseet equivalents of these sentences. Four possibilities are shown by our arrows:
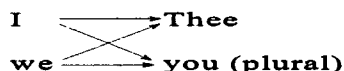

In the Maliseet transitive animate verb inflection these forms are different in the independent indicative from the forms in the conjunct order. This fact gives us eight potential forms instead of four. Theoretically, each of them can be used with future, conditional, conclusive or past enclitic, or even with the combination of the conclusive and the past enclitic. This gives us five times eight, i.e. forty possibilities. In negation the negative final causes serious changes in the verb inflection. This means that we can expect eighty forms instead of forty. This number goes still higher if we use some additional devices, for instance, the real plural markers to distinguish between duality and plurality. The use of the relative final can give us some additional forms as well. I noted down 5,000 pages of Maliseet Stories, on the basis of oral story telling in Maliseet. I take examples from my huge Maliseet text collection, and try to answer this question: How many ending combinations are there in 500 pages of stories, about a tenth of my collection, in the "I...you" expressions in this Indian language?

The language of the Maliseet Indians is spoken in New Brunswick, Canada. (Some of the speakers live in Maine.) This language belongs to the Algonquian language family. It is still spoken by the older people. I have worked on this language for almost 30 years, noted down the largest text collection in the history of research on Maliseet: more than 5,000 pages. My stories are now being prepared for publication in several books, in several countries. The main purpose of these publications is this: to help the Indian people to introduce their new teaching programs, teaching the Maliseet language in New Brunswick schools.

Maliseet, as all Algonquian languages, has a complex grammar. The verb inflection is particularly difficult. There are four major types of verbs: animate intransitive, inanimate intransitive, transitive animate and transitive inanimate. In this paper I shall study just one small part of the transitive animate verb inflection: the "I...thee (you)" and "we...thee (you)" forms, the way they are there in a part of my huge story collection.

The best and most detailed Maliseet grammar was written by Karl Teeter. He presents only six different forms for these situations. In the reality (i.e. in the stories) these forms are significantly more numerous and more complicated. The linguistic literature knows about three "I...thee (you)"

forms in the independent indicative, and three in the conjunct order. These three forms have the basic meanings:

I ———→Thee
we ———→you (plural)
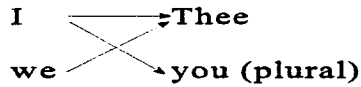
The fourth possible combination (we...you, plural) exists in the stories, the situation is there, but it is not a separate form.

Now I shall quote examples from the stories, with different combinations, with conditional, future, conclusive or past enclitic (or conclusive and past enclitic used together), with negative final, real plural marker, relative sign, etc. The 'I...thee' ending is <u>l</u>. I shall list <u>l</u> forms of the TA (transitive animate) verbs, presenting the suffix combinations and one or two examples for each combination. Finally I shall count the suffix combinations.

The simplest use of the <u>l</u> suffix is in the "I...thee" form of the TA verbs in the independent indicative. The verb is preceded by the person-prefix <u>k</u>, and the <u>l</u> suffix is added after a connecting stem vowel. E.g.

> <u>k-tìyol/wìsa-náhtəkàhs</u> 'I tell you,/hurry and come ashore';
> <u>k-cicíhtol kəsíhpəsósin</u> 'I will let you warm up'.
> 'I...you (plural)', <u>l-(h)pa</u>:
> <u>nítà/kəti-əlhpékehlälhpa</u> 'There,/I am going to sprinkle you (with holy water)'.
> 'we...thee', <u>l-əpən</u>:
> <u>kəti-skówimləpən</u> 'We want to talk to you (one person)':
> <u>méc-p-al-lo kekw kìsi-əl-lóhkewləpən?</u> 'Could we do something for you (one person)?'

There is no formal difference between 'I...you' and 'we...you (plural)'. The same <u>l-(ə)pa</u> suffix complex is used in both situations. Only the context makes it clear that both the subject and the object are plural. E.g.

> <u>nílon-na kətəmàki-táhaməlèpa</u> 'We, too, feel sorry for you'.

In conjunct forms the person prefix is never used. The same four combinations of the acting person and the animate object should be possible as in the independent indicative. However, only these conjunct <u>l</u> forms are common in the stories:

'I...thee' conjunct: <u>l-an</u>. E.g.
> <u>nəkətəmólan kil mətkwap nakā taháhsəm</u> 'I leave you (one person) the bag and my horse';
> <u>mec-p-ál-lo kekw mèhsowéhtólàn/mèc-p-al k-nənówì?</u> 'If I showed you something/would

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you know me?';
'I...you (plural)', conjunct: l-ekw. E.g.
> kəti-yohólekw/némĭhtònit 'I am going to tell you (plural)/what I saw';
> nìt-te kɛ̀hsi kìsi-yohólekw 'This is all, this time, I could tell you (plural)'.

The changed conjunct is less common in these forms. I quote an example:
> nolítahas némiyólekw 'I am happy to see you (plural)'.

For the situation 'we...you (plural)' there is no special conjunct form. The same suffix combination (l-ekw) is used, as we can see it in the next example:
> nàkā yot kɛ̀hsək man/mil-l-èkw 'And this, lots of money/we give to you (plural)'.

Combinations with the relative sign (ə)n: There are changes in the ending complexes, and the prefix k is mostly there. In the situation 'then I...thee', the ending complex, is l-ən. E.g.
> kəti-kəmatnəmələn/yat éspənhs 'I am going to steal it from you,/ that raccoon';
> kìsi-wəlɛ̄htòlən k-təpon 'I fixed your bed';
> nìtà/kətəwáknotmólən kətək 'Now,/I am going to tell you another (story)'.

The particle te can follow the ending complex. It is not part of the ending. E.g.
> k-nəstōhmólən-te 'I will show you, for sure'.

The 'then I...you (plural)' relative complex is common in the stories. It ends in the complex l-əniya. The person prefix k is mostly there before the verb.

However, sometimes the prefix k is not there. I asked the informant to repeat the sentence. She repeated it without the k prefix:
> nəstóhmolnìya-ɛ̄hta 'I will show you';
> kìs-aknótmolnìya/tan éleyikpən pìhce nìlòn 'I told you (plural) a story/what happened long time ago, to us'.

The 'we...thee' form with relative sign exists in the stories, but it is used very seldom. I quote an example with the ending complex l-ənen:
(In our example below there is a future enclitic, (h)c, but it joins another word in the sentence). The ending complex is l-ənen:
> nìt-tɛ̄-hc k-màtlikwénlənèn 'Right away we will fight you'.

Combinations of the l suffix with verbal enclitics and other endings produce a high number of potential forms. There are four verbal enclitics in Maliseet. The enclitic (h)c has a future-conditional meaning; (h)p means future, conditional or dubitative; s (hs) is a conclusive enclitic (meaning past as well), while (h)pən always indicates past action. Sometimes two enclitics are used together in the same form of a verb. The most common combination of two enclitics is spən (conclusive plus past). All these enclitics or their combinations can be used together with the l suffix of the 'I...thee' forms, and with other endings.

The order of the suffixes is like this: the ḷ suffix is placed before the person-number marker and the relative sign; the enclitic is at the end. E.g.

    pèci-natótekhol (h) pā̀hc 'I will come and take you'.

Sometimes the particle te separates the person-number marker from the enclitic. This is how we get the sequence of suffixes in the example below: ḷ suffix, person-number marker (h)pən, particle te, future enclitic hc, and particle (ə)na:

    màtlikwēhtóhol (h)pən-tē-hc-(ə)na 'We can beat you, too'.

The future-conditional enclitic (h)c can join the ḷ suffix, forming the complex ḷ-(h)c. E.g.

    wícōhkēmə̀l(h)c 'I will help you';
    mácephòl(h)c/étli-èpeskə́mhə̀tīmək 'I will take you/where they play ball';
    kā́lələ̀c 'I'll hide you'.

The first person plural person-number marker (h)pən is placed between the ḷ suffix and the enclitic c. E.g.

    k-tā́hsməlhpənə̀c 'We will feed you'.

The second person plural marker (h)pa also is placed between the ḷ suffix and the verbal enclitic, forming the complex ḷ-hpā̀hc. E.g.

    kínowētolhpā̀hc 'I will notify you'.

The relative sign ən is placed between the ḷ suffix and the enclitic c. E.g.

    nə́stōhmōlə̀nc slā̀hkiw 'I will show you some time';
    mə́skəmənc micwā̀kən nə́kətəmōlə̀nc 'You will find food that I leave for you'.

The particle ēhta is placed between the syllable lən and the enclitic (h)c. E.g.

    nə́stōhmōlən-ēhtā̀hc 'I will show you'.

The simplest combination of the ḷ suffix with the past enclitic (h)pən is this: this enclitic follows the ḷ suffix without or with a stem vowel o after the ḷ suffix. E.g.

    tóciẁetocī́-yohòlhpən 'At that time I told you';
    k-tiyolò̀hpən 'I told you'.

If the second person plural person-number marker (h)pa is involved, it is placed between the ḷ suffix and the enclitic (h)pən. E.g.

    k-pèci-pā̀hkéwoləpā̀hpən 'I came to give you advice (warning)';
    k-tiyólopā̀hpən 'I told you (plural)'.

If the conditional enclitic (h)p is used with the second person plural person-number marker (h)pa, the sequence of endings follows the same principles. E.g.

    ciksə́tol(h)pā̀hp 'I would have listened to you'.

In the next example below the ḻ suffix is followed first by the person-number marker p(ə)n, the stem vowel o, and the past enclitic hpən. The complex is <u>lopnōhpən</u>:

> <u>sèsmitahámolopnòhpən tan ēliyàyin</u> 'We were wondering where you went'.

There are many more possible complexes. For instance, the ḻ suffix can be followed by a conjunct ending, then by a combination of two enclitics, producing the suffix complex <u>liyinhsəpən</u>:

> <u>akwámhsəhs-kàhk lāhkáliyinhsə̀pən</u> 'If a little further you had thrown me'.

The verbal enclitics do not necessarily join a verb in a Maliseet sentence. They can join some other words, placed mostly at the beginning of the sentence, for instance a preverb. But they modify the meaning of the main verb. The ḻ suffix follows the main verb. E.g.

> <u>təkwécīc wicōhkèməl</u> 'I will try to help you';
> <u>kisīc notéhləlàn málīhkìyek</u> 'After I take you out from the barrel'.

In the negative form of the verb there is a negative preverb and a negative final. The negative final is w, which materializes in the negative 'I...thee' forms like wi or o. If I want to present a detailed study of all negative 'I...thee' forms, that would make another article. Instead, I am just presenting a few typical forms, to give an idea about the complexity of the question.

In a simple 'I don't...thee' expression, the ḻ suffix is followed by the negative final (w>o). E.g.

> <u>màte kolámhsətòlo</u> 'I do not believe you'.

The person-number marker (<u>hpa</u> in our next example) is placed after the ḻ suffix plus the negative final. The complex is <u>lōhpa</u>. E.g.

> <u>má-tāhk mécīmìw təkéhkimlòhpa</u> 'I will not always teach you'.

To finish my paper I present some numbers, after counting the ending complexes with the ļ suffix:

Positive, no enclitics, independent indicative:	3
Positive, no enclitics, conjunct:	3
Combinations with the relative sign:	5
Combinations with the future-dubitative enclitic	9
Combinations with the past enclitic	4
Combinations with the conditional enclitic	4
With combined conclusive plus past enclitic	1
The ļ suffix with negative final	1
TOTAL	**30**

Since I used only a small part of my stories to collect my sentences and left out a number of the forms, I think that this number would be over fifty if I include all possible combinations. Allow me to finish my paper with two Maliseet words:

nit léyò 'It is true'.[1]

Notes

[1] This article is not a comparative but a descriptive study. However, since the ļ suffix in Maliseet and in the other Algonquian languages is very similar to the Hungarian ļ 'I...thee' ending (látlak 'I see you', láttalak 'I saw you', látnálak 'I would see you', etc.) I think I must continue this research, comparing Proto-Algonquian and Proto-Uralic grammar and vocabulary. I plan to do this in co-operation with the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Science. For the time being I would like to express thanks for a letter about one of the most important new publications, Károly Rédei's Etymological dictionary of the Uralic languages (in German).

There are many more grammatical similarities in the Algonquian and the Uralic languages. For instance: the plural ending, the locative ending, several endings in the verb inflection, the endings and the "principles" which can bring out possession, etc. But the most important thing is that there are many "related" words in the ancient vocabulary of these two groups of languages. Two new proto-language dictionaries (Hewson's for Proto Algonquian and Rédei's for Proto Uralic) make it possible to compare the ancient vocabularies of these almost thirty languages. I am working on it and I shall come out with several major comparative studies.

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