PAMAPLA 19

PAPERS FROM THE

NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island
November 10 - 11, 1995

ACALPA 19

ACTES DU

DIX-NEUVIEME COLLOQUE ANNUEL

DE

L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE
DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES

Charlottetown, Isle-du-Prince-Edouard
le 10 -11 novembre 1995

Edited by / Rédaction

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Is the disorder in the House really disorder?

Madeleine Allard
Université Laval

Is the disorder in the House really disorder? To answer this question, we must first discuss small talk – i.e., everyday discourse among a small number of interactants – and parliamentary discourse, which is based on a set agenda and involves a large number of interactants. Only then may the issue of disorder be addressed.

Data and Methodology

This paper is a byproduct of research on affiliation and disaffiliation markers such as desk-thumping and interjections. These serve to indicate not only the degree of listenership, but also agreement or disagreement. We chose to study the proceedings of December 4, 1992 in the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick using the hypothesis that the number of disaffiliation markers would be high in a setting involving four parties and debate on a controversial language motion. The motion was introduced by the Liberal government, and proposes the inclusion in the Canadian Constitution of certain sections of "Bill 88" which recognizes the equality of status of both French and English communities. Several events led to the introduction of the motion: constitutional negotiations which reached an impasse following the Charlottetown Accord referendum in 1992, the rising popularity of the Confederation of Regions party (COR) and its subsequent status as Official Opposition, and the pressures exerted by the francophone community, which feared that a future COR government would repeal language legislation.

Before submission to the federal government, the motion had to be ratified provincially. The Liberal, Conservative and New Democratic parties, which together held fifty seats in the Legislative Assembly supported the motion, while eight COR members opposed it. The views of all parties were known prior to the debate and it was public knowledge that the motion would pass.

During a sitting of the Legislature, a number of items with specific interactional dynamics appear on the Order Paper. Each item is referred to as a speech event, "Oral questions" being the one most familiar to the general public. The speech events for the day in question fall into two major categories, those dealing with events that recur daily and involve a wide array of issues, with a total duration of two and a half hours, and those dealing solely with debate on the controversial language motion with a total duration of five and a half hours.

Th study of interactions in a parliamentary setting applies the findings and approach of conversational analysis, with the help of audiovisual recordings and the *Journal of Debates (Hansard)*.

Oral discourse

Whatever the type of discourse, its basis is interaction, described by Goffman (1959) as "the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence" (p. 15). Communication is thus an interactional process whose construction and interpretation are based on the rules that apply to a given speech event, an event eliciting specific discourse of a semiotic nature, which encompasses verbal, non-verbal and paraverbal variables.

Turn-taking

The study of conversation involves an examination of its external structure, or turns at talking. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) suggested that the turn-taking model is "locally managed, party-administered, interactionally controlled, and sensitive to recipient design" (p. 696). In essence, this means a single turn at a time, with a transition-relevance place – a juncture in the discourse where the hearer may take the floor – marking the beginning of the next turn. Turn size is dependent on the course of the current turn and the next one, with the parties in the conversation determining both turn order and turn size. Verbal discourse is conditional upon interactants, the topic at hand, ordering and obligations.

The speech-turn model has three basic rules for what occurs at a transition-relevance place: the speaker may choose to keep his or her speech-turn, the speaker may select the next speaker, or the hearer may self-select. The model highlights characteristics applicable to all speech events: there is only one speaker at the time, and mishaps, such as overlapping and interruptions, are normal occurrences.

Small talk and parliamentary discourse both involve a number of constraints such as attention, or listenership, and speech-turns. The fewer the number of interactants, the higher the probability of their having to take the floor at some point. Thus, the hearer has to pay attention to what is being said, analyze

the discourse and be ready to follow it up. This is in contrast to a situation where the probability of taking the floor is remote or inexistent, as at a religious ceremony or a political meeting, where the consequences of inattention are less noticeable and damaging as far as saving face is concerned. (Goffman, 1967).

With a large number of interactants, the one who has the floor may find it difficult to assess the degree of listenership. (The usual term for this interactant is speaker, but since the term also refers to the member chairing the proceedings of the New Brunswick Legislature, we have deliberately avoided it). Reactions or markers provide cues to the interactant who has the floor and sensitivity to them may guide his of her choice to keep to the same tack or change course.

The interactant who has the floor and the hearer as well must adopt specific interactional strategies germane to the setting, the former to sustain attention, the latter to show listenership.

Small talk

The turn-taking model which applies to small talk is a probabilistic one. While at the outset, all interactants are on an equal footing with respect to the allocation of potential speech-turns and their duration, it is likely that some interactants will be favoured, discursively speaking. Theoretically, one interactant has the floor and then relinquishes it or is "robbed" of his or her potential next turn. Other interactants are actively involved through the production of signals demonstrating that the oral discourse is being received and evaluated. According to Laforest (1992), the back-channel is a retroactive means by which a hearer provides feedback relevant to the discourse production at hand. "This feedback takes the form of signals such as smiling, head-nodding, and brief verbal utterances that are barely linguistic, having near-zero semantic value (for instance "hum hum" or "ok") or offering little in terms of discourse material on which to expand" (p.98, my translation).

As stated earlier, there are mishaps during an interaction, but repair mechanisms are available to interactants. The interactant who has the floor may notice that no one is paying attention and then choose to repeat the previous utterance or bluntly ask interactants to resume listenership. Two interactants may assume simultaneously that the next turn is theirs, but since overlapping makes for difficult listening, one of the two will back off, either willingly or reluctantly. Interruptions – i.e., taking the floor while someone else already has it – is riskier, but is a normal occurrence. The person who has the floor may view being interrupted as a challenge to his or her speakership and resist, or adopt a more conciliatory approach, such as allowing the hearer to have the floor. Regardless of discursive mishaps, the interaction will be viewed as successful if the interactants feel that the issue at hand – but not necessarily the final outcome – has been dealt with or that "la contrainte du double accord" (p.15) as Roulet et al. (1987) put it, has been met.

Parliamentary discourse

Most authors who write on parliamentary proceedings refer to a code of conduct emphasizing decorum and speech-turns.

Decorum is understood to be a set of rules governing the behaviour of MLAs in a formal setting. Entrance and exit, restricted areas on the floor and a number of gestures, such as rising, sitting and paying obedience to Madam Speaker, fall within its scope.

In contrast to the spontaneous turn-taking in small talk, an MLA is not allowed to take the floor unless recognized by Madam Speaker, who allocates turns according to traditions and rules. In some instances, the speech-turn is "automatic", while in others it may be requested. For example, during the speech event called "Statement by Ministers", it is a minister who speaks first, saying something about the activities of his or her department; the next to speak is always the Opposition critic; and a Conservative speaks last. If a speech-turn is not bound by specific privileges, the MLA who wants the floor will make a hand-signal or rise and wait for Madam Speaker to recognize him or her through the allocation of a speech-turn.

Two forms of "interruptions" are allowed: a "question of privilege" may be raised if an MLA feels he or she is being deprived of the conditions necessary for carrying out his or her duties, while a "point of order" calls the attention of Madam Speaker to a breach of the rules of the House. In either case, the MLA simply has to rise and state that he or she wishes to raise a point, even if another MLA has the floor. Once recognized, he or she states the issue at hand. Madam Speaker may then rule immediately or take the matter under advisement. Her rulings are not subject to appeal.

Since communication is interactional, the MLAs who do not have the floor do not sit passively in the hope of taking it. As with the hearer in a small talk setting, MLAs emit signals germane to their own, parliamentary, setting. Since a back-channel signal such as "hum hum" is not likely to be picked up by the MLA who has the floor, the other MLAs resort to "louder" signals that meet ecological needs while

simultaneously showing affiliation or disaffiliation. In *Briefing Notes for The Speaker*, it is acknowledged that "Other forms of interruptions have traditionally been tolerated. Applause and a wide range of brief, shouted remarks expressing aproval or disapproval, are normally overlooked" (4.A.1) In the New Brunswick Legislature, five markers are favoured: desk-thumping, applause, laughter, interjection, and succinct comment, either audible or inaudible.

Table 1 Affiliation and disaffiliation markers

Marker	Affiliation			Disaffiliation			Unclassifiable		
	Ind.	Col.	Tot.	Ind.	Col.	Tot.	Ind.	Col.	Tot.
D.-thump.	17	241	258	-	-	-	-	-	-
Applause	-	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laughter	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	33	57
Interjection	91	3	94	13	8	21	16	-	16
A. com.	60	-	60	29	-	29	40	-	40
I. com.	-	-	-	-	-	-	145	-	145
Total	168	251	419 57.9%	42	8	50 6.9%	225	33	258 35.5%

Ind.=Individual display Col.=Collective display

Table 1 shows the distribution of markers according to category. On one level, markers indicate individual or collective display; on another, affiliation, disaffiliation or neither.

My research shows that the production of markers is not the result of some haphazard operation, but highly organized within the discursive strategies of the MLA who has the floor and the hearers. The vast majority of markers are the result of an assessment made by one or more MLAs, while following the discourse production of the interactant who has the floor, the final product being an orderly exchange. A small number of markers, however, result in exchanges that cannot be described as orderly, involving two MLAs or more, in addition to Madam Speaker who, as arbitrator, must settle the dispute.

As a rule, in cases where order prevails, one MLA has the floor, while others are at liberty to produce markers or not. Example 1 (see Appendix I for a key to the transcription) shows that the verbal discourse of D47.COR revolving around the Polytechnique massacre leads to desk-thumping by unknown MLAs, a marker classified as a collective display of affiliation.

Example 1
(Speech event: Statements by Members)

- D47.COR: (...) I am wearing a uh white ribbon I have this week uh in support of any movement against violence against women thank you Madam Speaker **<unknown MLAs: desk-thumping (affiliation marker, medium intensity)>.**

Example 2 shows that the discourse production of D51.COR dealing with a smoking policy leads to the production of «Ah!» by unknown Liberals, a marker classified as a collective display of disaffiliation, based on the intonation of the MLAs uttering «Ah!». While D51.COR is in agreement with the policy, he expresses disatisfaction with the media for not making his views public. Partisanship being a key variable at play, Liberals express their disagreement.

Example 2
(Speech event: Statement by Ministers)

- D51.COR: uh Madam Speaker I would like to take this opportunity to thank the minister: for his presentation. I did raise the issue in the House last week although I noticed that is wasn't covered in the newspapers uh that uh **<unknown Liberal MLAs: Ah! (disaffiliation)>** that the need to get into something of this nature. I am disappointed however that we're waiting (...)

There is no conversation mishap in either example, and the discourse of the MLA who has the floor is clearly audible. Such a pattern may hold for a longer stretch, an example being the thirty-five minute

speech by D4.Liberal. In this case, the speech is interspersed with markers, creating an effect of orchestration between D4.Liberal and hearers. There are no impediements to communication during the entire speech even though thirty-eight markers are produced.

The production of markers does not necessarily translate into disorder, as the previous examples have shown. At what point then, does the interaction slowly drift into "disorder"? The calling to order by Madam Speaker definitely signals a mishap. One example shows D48.COR, Chair of the Public Accounts Committee, who has the floor. As he reads from a report that is strictly informative and non-controversial, the level of "background noise" – a combination of markers, none of which is precisely identified, from government members seated across the floor – steadily increases until it challenges D48.COR's "official" speech-turn. D48.COR carries on as though the atmosphere were condusive to his delivery until Madam Speaker restores order with "Order please, order please", an utterance that D48.COR acknowedges with "Thank you Madam Speaker", confirming that the noise was interfering with his delivery .

Example 3 (see Appendix I) illustrates an antagonistic exchange between D5.Liberal and D55.Conservative, as to no avail, the latter pursues an issue involving a Liberal MLA found guilty of an electoral offense. In the course of a few minutes, not only are D5.Liberal and D55.Conservative engaged in a bitter dispute, but many MLAs jump into the fray in true partisanship, resorting to markers such as "get to the point get to the point get to the point" (line 34) and "come on Ray" (line 57). The passage in lines 26 to 34 illustrates the tack that D5.Liberal takes to the obvious delight of fellow Liberals, and maintains as shown in lines 48 to 53 and 60 to 63. These two passages are rowdy, as the number of simultaneous markers and discourse spoken more loudly attest. Lines 36, 55 and 65 indicate Madam Speaker's interventions to restore order, which succeed only after the third attempt when she signals a transition by allocating the next speech-turn to another MLA, thus putting an end to the ongoing dispute.

The main-channel is reserved for the MLA who has the floor, the back-channel being the carrier of markers. As mentionned earlier, an MLA itching to join in the fray may choose to respond by invoking a point of order. During the debate on "Bill 88", D51.COR gives his interpretation of the Charter, which obviously does not meet with the approval of D56.Conservative. The latter voices his disapproval by raising a point of order which the Speaker turns down. D51.COR resumes his speech in the same vein, leading D56.Conservative to opt for another discursive strategy, which consists of crying out "read section 22", an audible comment triggering Madam Speaker to call the member to order.

Interruption, broadly defined as taking the floor away from someone who already has it, is another form of mishap examined. COR MLAs seem to define interruption on the basis of who instigates it and the type of marker produced. The results show that about fifty markers are produced, for the most part, by two COR members while a fellow COR member has the floor. Most of these markers are interjections like "Hear, hear!" or "Right on!" – clearly affiliation markers. When such an interjection is uttered, the COR member who has the floor never acknowledges it, acting as if he or she is not "disturbed". The reaction is quite different, however, when the markers come from D56.Conservative, who is responsible for some twenty disaffiliation markers aimed at the COR member who has the floor. At the outset of her speech, D52.COR states, "Madam Speaker, the honourable member for Shippagan-les-Îles was making so many comments earlier I thought for sure he would use this opportunity to speak on this motion". In the same vein, D47.COR queries D56.Conservative who is about to begin his speech, in the following manner, "Can we interrupt you John?". D56.Conservative, a strong proponent of the motion, is at loggerheads with COR members, which explains the negative view voiced by COR members.

Another phenomenon that needs to be addressed is the "quality of silence or attention". While it is impossible to quantify it, "the quality of silence" is perceived differently by the participants in the "Bill 88" debate, depending on whether they are proponents or opponents of the Bill. This is made clear by the comments of COR members. D52.COR says, "Madam Speaker quite a bit of comment and laughter have come from the other side of the House. I'm glad they think this is all so amusing. I do not think it's amusing at all". Later, D48.COR adds, "I also want to comment on the fact that the decorum in the House during the remarks by the member for Shippagan-les-Îles was quite reserved and restrained. I'm glad the House has returned to that quiet mode after some antics earlier on". These statements clearly show that the quality of silence is viewed negatively by COR members and constitutes an impediement to communication. It may also be construed as a lack of attention on the part of the Bill's proponents.

The measure of success of the interaction should be whether or not the business of the House is carried out. On this basis, the proceedings of December 4, 1992 were successful, since all items on the Order Paper were discussed and disposed of, members making their views known in accordance with

parliamentary tradition and specific rules. The outcome, however, does not have to meet with the approval of all MLAs.

Although I have only scratched the surface of parliamentary discourse, it is clear that its organization is highly regulated, and that markers are not produced in a vacuum, but in a cohesive fashion, or, as Schegloff (1982) has stated, discourse is an "interactional achievement" (p. 71), the result of a collective effort by all those involved. As Goffman (1959) so aptly observed, the one who has the floor and the hearer are "influenced by the other's actions" (p. 15).

Televised parliamentary debates are often perceived negatively, viewers being appalled by the raucous behaviour of members and the disorder in the House. Given that fifty-eight MLAs are competing for a relatively small number of speech-turns, that the ritual relationship between parties is confrontational, and that the issues at hand are highly charged at times, the edging-in of markers appears to be a response perfectly adapted to the circumstances. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the discourse production of MLAs occurs in a parliamentary setting and is transmitted via television, a medium which operates under interactional conditions different from those prevailing in the House. We therefore conclude that, however "disorderly" the proceedings may appear, they are in fact conducted according to the interaction conditions which prevail in the House.

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Appendix I

Appendix I is a verbatim transcription of parliamentary discourse. Punctuation is based on intonation rather than grammar. Each MLA was given a code consisting of a number and party affiliation. A colon *indicates slight hesitation.* ***Bold characters in angle brackets indicate one or more markers produced*** simultaneously or in rapid succession. The identity of the MLA producing that marker is given first, followed by the marker itself, its type, and its duration in seconds or number of bursts (equivalent to a syllable count). Underlining indicates extra emphasis. Capital letters indicate discourse more loudly spoken.

Example 1
(Speech event: Statements by Members)

- D47.COR: (...) I am wearing a uh white ribbon I have this week uh in support of any mouvement against violence against women thank you Madam Speaker. **<unknown MLAs: desk-thumping (affiliation, 4.3 seconds)>**.

Example 2
(Speech event: Statement by Ministers)

- D51.COR: uh Madam Speaker I would like to take this opportunity to thank the minister: for this presentation. I did raise the issue in the House last week although I noticed that it wasn't covered in the newpapers uh that uh **<unknown Liberal MLAs: Ah! (disaffiliation)>** that the need to get into something of this nature. I am disappointed however that we're waiting (...)

Example 3
(Speech event: Oral Questions)

- D55.Conservative: Another question then to the House Leader uh Mr. House Leader I would ask uh uh if you'll give consideration to adjourning the House so that you're uh so it will not be construed that the governing party is not anxious to have the minister the Speaker have an opportunity to make a ruling with regard to a notice of conviction that was applied this morning?

- D5.Liberal: (deep breath, throat clearing) Madam Speaker I I I I've have remained quiet on this side on the first request uh that the Leader of the PC Party made this morning: and I really thought that he would show more respect uh for the other members of this House but obviously uh what we have across the floor of the House this morning is a bloodthristy irresponsible mean individual **<unknown Liberal MLAs: laughter (unclassifiable, 8 bursts)>** **<unknown Liberal MLAs: desk-thumping (affiliation, 2 seconds)>** who: actually Madam Speaker is showing complete disrespect for his collegues in the House (...) Madam Speaker I remind the member that if he is (microphone brushing) going to appeal to or hope that people will think that he is Saint Denis here that is not going to be the case. You know I have indicated to the House before about this member we know what he was associated with in the Greater Moncton area with his slush fund out there that was given to him for the CN shops we know what resulted from that **<unknown MLA: get to the point get to the point get to the point (disaffiliation)>**.

- Madam Speaker: Honourable member at the opening of the House this morning uh I did ask all honourable members to give me the opportunity to look at both the Elections Act uh and the Legislative Assembly Act to look at the sections that affect this particular decision. I have not had that opportunity and I certainly would expect from all honourable members uh to be given the time which I will do that as quickly as I can and I will refer back to the House and I think in fairness that I would expect that all of you give me with that opportunity < **D56.Conservative: too bad you're not a young unexperienced lawyer Ray (disaffiliation)>**.

- D55.Conservative: The question was asking if they would give this opportunity to the Speaker. She has asked for this and I asked the House Leader will they give the Speaker the opportunity to make a ruling there is nothing before the courts THERE IS A NOTICE OF CONVINCTION and the Speaker would like the time to make the appropriate ruling.

- D5.Liberal: Madam Speaker in response to that question THE MEMBER UNDER KNOWS THE RULES OF THIS HOUSE AND THE PROCEDURES THAT HE MUST LET THE SPEAKER GIVE THE RULING THE SPEAKER WILL GIVE THE RULING. WHO SAYS THAT WE'RE UH OPPOSING THAT? **<D55.Conservative: you did (disaffiliation)>**. THE SPEAKER HAS TOLD YOU THIS MORNING THAT SHE IS GOING TO GIVE YOU RULING SO WHAT ARE YOU LOOKING FOR?

- Madam Speaker: HONOURABLE MEMBER HONOURABLE MEMBER **<D5.Liberal: what else do you want expect that (disaffiliation)>** honourable members order please order please **<unknown MLA: come on Ray (disaffiliation)>** I will give the ruling after I have had the time to look at the legislation **<unknown MLA: Hear, hear! (affiliation)>** I am not uh asking that it be done immediately I uh have further business before the House that has to be covered today. I will do it as quickly as possible and it's not immediate. **<D5.Liberal: WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO HIRE A DETECTIVE TO LOOK AFTER WHAT THE SPEAKER IS DOING? (disaffiliation)> <unknown Liberal MLAs: laughter (unclassifiable, 5 bursts)> <D5.Liberal: COME ON SHOW SOME RESPECT FOR THE INSTITUTION (disaffiliation)> <D58.NDP: inaudible comment (unclassifiable)>**.

- Madam Speaker: HONOURABLE MEMBERS HONOURABLE MEMBERS we want to get off the question right now because all of us want to be fair and in the past **<unknown MLA: Oh! (unclassifiable)>** we have been fair in this House and I **< unknown MLA: Hear, hear! (affiliation)>** expect that we will be fair now. It is true that at 9:25 we do not know if an appeal has been filed I do not know you do not know and in fairness we will wait to see if an appeal has been filed and then it becomes sub judice. And I think in the past we have respected that and I would expect that today we will do the same thing. We will get off this question and go on with further business of the House. The honourable member from uh Sunbury had a question.

MAKING SENSE

Elissa Asp
Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

I want to begin by talking about the theme for this year's conference "MAKING LINGUISTICS ACCESSIBLE". As those of you who have read my abstract will know, I responded somewhat negatively to this theme. I did so because it made me think of linguistics as a "commodity" that we want to persuade prospective "purchasers" to "buy" or "buy into". The normal means for achieving such goals in our culture is to present the "product" in an appealing "package" and then market it.

"What would an accessible, marketable package for linguistics look like?", I asked myself. You may think that the following shows an unwarranted negativism and perhaps a lack of imagination on my part, but the only thing I could think of was an attempt to somehow simplify what we do so that it appeared more "user friendly". There were, I thought, only two routes to such simplification.

One would be to insist on identity of technical vocabulary. But this is a naive goal. It assumes that the technical vocabularies developed in various fields and modes of inquiry are optional extras, somehow not central to the processes of understanding and naming those fields and modes of inquiry. Moreover its effect, if it were to be achieved, would be a stifling hegemonization of the discipline. I do not believe this is a consequence we want.

The other route to simplification is to genuinely attempt to make the study of language and linguistics easier. I have no idea how to do this without distorting the view of the phenomena we seek to describe. Every effort I have seen that seeks to make some linguistic point accessible through simplification ends in distortion and/or irrelevance. I am thinking here of both gross simplifications, characteristic of descriptions of grammatical phenomena as handled, say, in many current composition textbooks, and of simplification of formally presented linguistic argument.[1]

With respect to the former, my pet peeves of the moment

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[1] I speak as one newly acquainted with English composition courses and the textbooks intended as support for teachers and students in such courses. I was dismayed when I discovered that the definitions of grammatical categories and relations offered in recently published (i.e. in the '90s) textbooks designed for college level courses are still of the type I had long thought disgraced out of repetition. But, "A noun is the name of a person, place or thing" is still, sadly, a commonplace of such works.

are: (1) BEING IS NOT A VERB, (2) THE SUBJECT IS WHAT THE SENTENCE IS ABOUT, or its variant (3) SUBJECT IS THE DOER OF THE ACTION. Assertion (1) bothers me because it is a lie, well intentioned perhaps, but not worth dignifying by discussion. Assertions (2) and (3) are, at best, misleading. I treat them as variants of the same error because they both attempt to define a grammatical relation, subject, in terms of a single function that it potentially realizes. (2) points to the textual function of subject as theme or message focus described, for instance, by Halliday (1985). Good students will often construe this claim as "the subject is the new information" (i.e. message prominence) with the result that they select something near the end of the clause (often a complement) as subject. This is particularly so if the grammatical subject is pronominal and consequently doubly backgrounded. Assertion (3) focuses attention on the experiential function of subject as the potential locus for realization of an agentive role. It results in analyses of clause final adjuncts in agentive role as subject. And perhaps more significantly, it teaches good students to accept circularity in definition.

With respect to simplification of formal argument, I am thinking specifically of practices such as the reduction of the number of argument roles (theta roles) for pedagogic purposes, or under-specification of the formal properties of lexical categories. An instance of the first would be the presentation of a role actor to cover agent, experiencer and cause. The problem with this is that it fails to make distinctions that language users know and recognize. So it can appear as just one more not very useful hurdle for the potential linguist or interested observer. Similarly, reduced but formal descriptions of, for instance, nouns may strike the interested observer as grossly inadequate precisely because they are formal, and so involve a technical vocabulary which the observer must come to terms with, but partial, so they fail to explain things such an observer might want to know.

What such strategies effectively do is lead students away from being able to use and apply what they learn in their courses. They may quite legitimately feel that they have been asked to learn something that serves no practical purpose. So I do say without reservation that attempts to make linguistics accessible through simplification will distort both the complex set of activities we engage in when we study language and our view of the phenomena itself which, since it is the general and particular, innate and learned knowledge that enables us to speak, is necessarily complex and diffuse. We will find ourselves trying to "sell" a "product" that nobody needs because we have made it irrelevant. I think we, as a culture, get enough of this commodification elsewhere.

That said, I also recognize that what people were concerned about in setting the conference theme was getting support for linguistics programs and research projects in

the Maritimes. As coordinator for the linguistics program at Saint Mary's, where we are in the process of trying to get a recognized major, I am sensible of the need for such support. How do we get it? What should we do that will attract students to our courses and bring us support for research activities from that ever diminishing (so we are told) pool of public resources? The answer that I propose to you is that we must be **relevant**.

Ask why a person who has no intention of "growing up to be a linguist", of pursuing graduate studies in the field, who isn't interested in the discipline for its own sake and will not be enchanted by the aesthetic appeal of, say, X-bar theory or Chomsky's recent minimalist proposals, ask why that person might be interested in our activities. What might they want linguistics for? The answers are all around us. People want explanations of linguistically realized communicative behaviours. They want them so that they can teach better, whether they are teaching a language, teaching literature, teaching writing, or teaching about processes of power and discrimination, control and disenfranchisement, persuasion and logical argument. They want explanations as to why they felt affronted by the way so and so said X, or pleased by how they said Y. I have never met anyone who wasn't intrigued by the possibility of a description of the variety (or varieties) that they speak, who wasn't charmed by the vagaries of idioms and the history of their own and other people's dialects. People want explanations of what they know as their language in the classroom, the courtroom, the playground and even the bedroom.

What do we offer them at the introductory level? If one takes textbooks designed for introductory courses in linguistics as representative of what is offered, our students get a sort of salad of various formalisms in the fields of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, comparative and historical linguistics, psycho- and socio-linguistics and so on. An overview that is all forest, where no single "tree" is fully identified or described. Not only that, the textbooks insist almost univocally on the view that the meanings of utterances belong not to the study of linguistics proper but to other disciplines or branches of linguistic inquiry. Pragmatics and truth-functional semantics, situational semantics and so on are introduced to explain how real utterances mean in contexts. This must certainly strike the non-specialist as peculiar, our insistence on the importance of language as a cognitive system, the one, we have been told, that defines us as human, yet which does not explain how we mean what we do mean at specific times in specific contexts. Assuming that the textbooks reflect in some measure real teaching practice, why do we do this?

One reason is that we have all accepted, in some measure, Chomsky's lessons about the centrality and universality of a formal linguistic competence. The characterization of that competence is something linguists

attempt to do. It is also something that we attempt to teach. It is the good linguistic news, why we think people should take us seriously. I think we are right to do this. But I also think that it is the source of one of the problems that many introductory textbooks reflect.

The problem is that a great deal of thinking about language, particularly about meaning in relation to syntax, morphology and phonology is done in terms of a model for what knowledge of language might look like, not in terms of what knowledge of English, French or Urdu are like. Put another way, the basic assumptions about the relations between semantic phenomena on the one hand and syntactic, morphological, and phonological phenomena on the other are frequently predicated at the wrong level of abstraction (too generally) and, sometimes, about the wrong phenomena.[2] The result often marginalizes the role of linguistics in the explanation of meaningful utterances. The treatment of ambiguity and of speech acts in standard introductory textbooks will serve to illustrate the point. The first example is concerned with a conventional treatment of ambiguity.

In *Linguistics: An Introduction to Language and Communication* (Akmajian et al 1990), at the beginning of the section devoted to COMMUNICATION AND COGNITIVE SCIENCE, there is a discussion of the "Message Model" of communication which is described and then attacked. The first problem cited with the Message Model as described is that (op cit: 312):

> since many expressions are linguistically ambiguous, the hearer must determine which of the possible meanings of an expression is the one the speaker intended as operative on that occasion. Thus, as far as the Message Model is concerned, disambiguation is a process that is not governed by any principles, and the Message Model certainly does not supply any such principles. But in actuality, disambiguation is not unprincipled and random; rather it is usually quite predictable...To overcome ambiguity, the hearer

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[2] As an example of explanation predicated of the wrong phenomena, consider the explanation of referential meaning as presented in Finegan and Besnier (1989: 174). They say that the referent of the referring expressions *Fred's dog* and *John Smith* are respectively "the particular domesticated canine that belongs to Fred..." and "the person who goes by that name". This is wrong because it suggests that reference is determined by things in the world, rather than by cognitive representations of things in the world. Only if the two are posited as distinct (though, one hopes, related) can we explain why these expressions can refer to more than one entity.

> presumes the speaker's remarks to be *contextually appropriate.*

There is a discussion of *flying planes can be dangerous* uttered in two different contexts, and then a second example is given (loc. cit.).[3]

> (4)
> A: We lived in Illinois, but we got Milwaukee's weather!
> B: Which was worse
>
> Notice that without *some extra optional cue (such as exaggerated intonation)*, A does not know whether B was making an assertion or asking a question.
>
> (5)
> Assertion: It was worse getting Milwaukee's weather!
> Question: Which weather was it worse to get?
>
> Hence, the Message Model must be supplemented by principles of contextual appropriateness to compensate for the pervasive ambiguity of natural language.

I'm bothered about this because although it purports to be concerned with utterances, it treats intonation as an optional extra cue, as though it were possible or likely that a speaker of English as a first language would utter B without appropriate intonation. For my variety of English, if B were interrogative, the intonation pattern would be one in which *worse* is the location of greatest pitch movement over a single syllable (i.e. the tonic syllable in the tone group), but in addition there would be stress on *which* and a pre-tonic movement between mid-high pitch for the first

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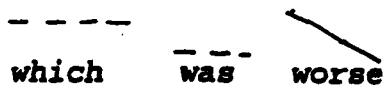
[3] I am not, of course, challenging the role of context understood as cognitive representation of salient circumstances in processes of disambiguation. Much of my own work has been directed to explaining contextual effects. But the whole approach in Akmajian is problematic; no explanation of how contextual appropriateness works is offered although it is central to the argument against Message Model (see eg. op. cit.: 318-319) and the Message Model itself as presented is a straw man insofar as it neither explicitly nor tacitly precludes contextual considerations. It simply does not address them. Note further the presentation of a non-consequence in the quoted passage (ie. ambiguity exists..."**Thus**, as far as the Message Model is concerned, disambiguation is a process that is not governed by any principles..." loc. cit.).

syllable and low pitch for the second as in (4).[4]



If B were an assertion then *worse* would still be the location of the tonic but with the pre-tonic characterized by a steady mid-low, or low falling pitch and *which* would not be stressed as in (5) and (6).

The intonation need not be exaggerated to disambiguate and it is certainly not optional if what is being discussed are real utterances.

What lies behind this is an absence of description of the role of intonational systems in English. Descriptions do exist; M.A.K. Halliday's work (e.g. 1985) is a notable example. But linguists enchanted with the role of syntax as abstract form have, largely, been content to ignore such works. They get in the way of illustrating syntactic ambiguity. My point of course is not that syntactic ambiguity is unimportant but that at this level, intonation is not some sort of optional extra which can be left out of the description of languages that are not tonal in the more conventional sense. Intonation is as much a part of the linguistic system of English as is its syntax. It forms part of the speaker's knowledge of English. To disregard it, or treat it as optional in discussions which purport to be about the meanings of utterances in contexts is patently ridiculous. It is also a commonplace of textbooks. I think this is so because, although the discussion is supposed to be about utterance meanings, it is actually still being conducted in terms of a syntactic potential in abstraction from context, including, in this instance, phonological context. It is this sort of treatment which suggests to me that we focus too much on knowledge of language as a universal potential and not enough on knowledge of particular languages with specific resources for making meaning in real contexts.

The second example illustrative of the point about thinking in terms of the wrong level of abstraction is the conventional, textbook treatment of speech acts. I will

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[4] For the terms used in this description see e.g. Halliday 1985.

comment, here, only an instance of the treatment of indirect speech acts. To begin this discussion, I refer you to the sample treatment of the topic from Fromkin and Rodman (1988: 228-229) *An Introduction to Language* below and recommend comparison with O'Grady and Dobrolovsky's (1987: 184-185) *Contemporary Linguistic Analysis: An Introduction*, Finegan and Besnier (1989: 178, 334-335) *Language: Its Structure and Use*, and Akmajian et al (1990: 313-314) for similar treatments.

What is similar in all these accounts are the assumptions A-C.

> (A) Semantics equals truth conditional semantics and lexical semantics. Some works also include discussion of argument roles.
>
> (B) The inferencing processes explicitly referred to (but not described) in, for instance, Akmajian et al (1990) are not linguistic in nature and operate over something other than linguistic input.
>
> (C) The meaning of utterances in context is a function of the speaker's intention which is conceived of as simple (*to warn, to promise, to request service* etc.).

Two consequences (D-E) follow from these assumptions.

> (D) Indirect speech acts do not mean what they appear to mean.
>
> (E) The meaning of indirect speech acts cannot be accounted for compositionally.

I want to refute the last two claims (D-E) by first addressing the assumptions (A-B) and then considering a different description of indirect speech acts.

An alternative view of semantics, the one that we adopt in socio-cognitive linguistics, is one that is in many ways consonant the approach outlined in Jackendoff (1990) in that it allows a rich structuration of lexical-conceptual entities such that **concept** operationally means "a mental representation that can serve as the meaning for a linguistic expression" (op. cit.: 11) and

> the act of understanding a sentence S--recovering its meaning--is to be regarded as placing S in correspondence with a mentally encoded concept C, which has an internal structure derivable from the syntactic structure and lexical items of S. On the basis of C, one can draw inferences, that is construct further concepts that are logical entailments of C. One can also compare C with

> other concepts retrieved from memory and with conceptual structures derived from sensory modalities...

One major difference between the approach adopted by Jackendoff and that proposed within socio-cognitive linguistics is that our approach is modal rather than stratified (or modular), so that the meaning of S is the speaker's mental representation of its syntactic, lexical (and I would add phonological) structures rather than derived from these structures. Another difference is that in place of his preference rule systems we use the inheritance of properties principle which, briefly, says that if X is an instance of model M then any proposition which applies to M also applies to X provided this proposition does not contradict any proposition that is already known to apply to X.[5] We have supplemented this with the multiple inheritance principle which allows instances to inherit properties from more than one model. What preference rule systems and inheritance of properties principles account for is the relation between knowledge of type, knowledge of instances of a type, and non-prototypical instances. They are statements that generalize to the whole of cognitive structures the familiar elsewhere principle. What is significant about them for my present purpose is that they allow inferencing over linguistic variables. The assumptions (A) and (B) above are thus countered with a different pair of assumptions, (F-G).

> (F) Semantic structures are densely coded with information usually exiled to knowledge about the world by linguists confused about the nature of formalism.
>
> (G) This information is used to construct meanings.

With respect to assumption (C), the problem with it is that it equates meaning with speaker intention articulated as a single, simple function. To speak bluntly, speaker intentions are rarely simple in this way, and utterances are never characterized by a single function. Consider the case in the context of indirect speech acts. Fromkin and Rodman (1988: 228-229) sum up their discussion of speech acts saying:

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[5] Socio-cognitive linguistics is the name attached to the framework developed for linguistic description by Gregory (e.g. 1992, 1993), me (e.g. Asp 1992) and others working at York University under Gregory's supervision from about 1985 on. For discussion of model-instance relations see Hudson (1984) and for my modification of his work see Asp eg. (1992).

> Speech act theory aims to tell us when it is that we ask questions but mean orders, or when we say one thing with special (sarcastic) intonation and mean the opposite. Thus, at a dinner table, the question *Can you pass the salt?* means the order *Pass the salt!* It is not a request for information and *yes* is an inappropriate response.
>
> Because the illocutionary force of a speech act depends on the context of utterance, speech act theory is a part of pragmatics.

Put more formally but still in terms of speech act theory, the illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect differ from the locutionary or literal meaning of the utterance and so the locutionary force is by-passed in favour of illocutionary meaning and perlocutionary effect (cf. Searle 1969). Let me present an alternative.

This and all the other familiar examples are usually seen as polite, and contrast with requests issued as imperatives in precisely this respect. Interrogatives are more polite than imperatives because they permit the addressee to respond with information, whereas imperatives require service from the addressee. (Responding with information or service are simply properties of the models for interrogative and imperative respectively.) Legitimate responses to *Can you pass the salt?* and similar utterances include *No, I'm sorry I can't reach it*, or *Just a second, Sue has it right now* or *Certainly, as soon as I've given Alex his potatoes* as well as the hoped for *Yes, of course* followed with compliance. That is, if the speaker is being polite in asking *can you pass the salt* then the addressee is given the right to respond to the interrogative. The interrogative form of the utterance must be interpreted literally, inheriting the properties of interrogatives if it is intended or interpreted as polite.

The fact that addressees frequently respond not only with information but with service has to do with what is predicated in this type of utterance where the addressee appears as agent in a process, here; agent [YOU] in a process [PASS] with a theme: transferent [SALT] and a goal: recipient by default the [SPEAKER]. Of course it also has to do with our general willingness to cooperate with each other. But such cooperativeness does not entail by-passing the literal or locutionary force of such utterances. It merely requires us to interpret **all** the functions of what is said and comply if we are able with the action predicated of us.

Another way of saying this is that speech acts identified as indirect inherit properties from all the models they instance, both service (what is predicated in the argument structure) and information about capacity or willingness to provide it (their interrogative form). A response which is merely affirmative is inappropriate not because these are orders, but because it ignores what is

predicated of the addressee. I would argue, then, that these utterances are not in any sense indirect, or non-literal. Assuming that the speaker is polite, their compositional form is exactly congruent with their function. Certainly for type of example considered, the assumptions (D-E) above seem to be wrong. Indirect speech acts do mean what they appear to mean and their meaning can be accounted for compositionally.

To return to the issue of relevance for a general audience, I said that one reason for the type of information that introductory textbooks present is our preoccupation with knowledge of language at the general level. This has led us to marginalize the role of languages and therefore linguistics in providing explanations of utterances in contexts. I have discussed this. I think it marginalizes us. I think we need to address all of what knowledge of particular languages are like if we are to be relevant. We have to make sense about how we make sense.

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A REPORT ON THE DICTIONARY OF CAPE BRETON ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the progress of the work on the Dictionary of Cape Breton English and examines some of the terms from coal mining and steel production as examples of a regional lexicon. For the past three summers research assistants have been collecting words, senses, and phrases that are used distinctively on Cape Breton Island. As a pilot project to test the 'regionality' of the words, this paper examines the terms used in two of Cape Breton's industries to establish procedures for determining which technical terms are used distinctively on Cape Breton Island and which are used generally in the two industries.

INTRODUCTION

This paper reports on the progress on the Dictionary of Cape Breton English during the past three years and analyzes a selection of technical terms associated with coal mining and steel making industries, with the main emphasis on coal mining terms. Dealing with technical terms has been a long-standing problem because of the massive numbers of words connected with various occupations and areas of specialization. As Zgusta (1971: 218-19) reports, chemistry alone is reputed to have over 400,000 technical terms associated with its study. Because of the high density of words in specialized areas, selection is necessary, but difficult. Svensén (1993: 48) also comments on this problem: 'The totality of means of expression in language can be divided into general language and special language. It must be pointed out immediately that the boundary between these categories is notoriously difficult to define. It is really not a sharp boundary but a border zone with blurred outlines.' The procedure for making this selection varies according to the specialized area under study and the purpose of the dictionary. As the selection of technical terms is more of an art than an exact science, this paper examines selected terms from coal mining and steel making in our collection to suggest a procedure for including or excluding these technical terms.

REVIEW OF PROGRESS

For the past three years, most of the work on the project has been focused on the collection of words, senses, and phrases that reflect the dialect of Cape Breton. Thanks to a three-part grant, we have been able to hire bright and dedicated research assistants who have been working on the reading program. In 1993, one assistant worked on a pilot project, reading several different kinds of published works,

written either by natives of Cape Breton or by those writing about Cape Breton. This pilot project covered several issues of the Cape Breton's Magazine, autobiographies, a travelogue, one historical work, and one novel. The result was roughly 600 citations, two-thirds of which proved to be pertinent to our research.

During the following two years, three research assistants continued the reading program. In 1994 we concentrated on published material, reading 276 sources and collecting 2,842 citations. About 50% of the works fall into a general category discussing travel, industry, leisure pursuits like sailing or hiking, and social and cultural activities. In addition, historical works accounted for nearly 26% of the total titles. Both professional and local historians wrote about Cape Breton towns, parishes, early settlements, and political and military history. Literary works and collections of songs accounted for another 16%, and biographies for another 8%. In general, these works ranged from the superbly crafted short stories of Alistair MacLeod to less promising works.

During summer of 1995 we shifted our approach to concentrate on archival sources held by the Beaton Institute, an archive at the University College of Cape Breton which collects both published and unpublished works dealing with Cape Breton life and history. The unpublished materials range from letters, diaries, and family papers to the records of municipalities, professional associations and companies. These records do not always make exciting reading, but at times they offer rewards. For example, the 'Minutes and Reports of the Municipal Council of Cape Breton County (January and April Sessions) 1918' records the phrase bushing ice, the practice of marking 'a safe passage across ice with small trees' (Dictionary of Canadianism 1967).[1] These general works accounted for about 60% of the total. Fourteen percent were histories, 13% were diaries, 8% personal papers, 3% were literary works, and only 2% were biographies. Our hypothesis was that private papers such as letters and diaries would be a better source of the informal diction that characterizes Cape Breton speech. As writers commented on their social activities and the events from their working lives, we had hoped that they would use their every-day speech. Alas, these expectations proved false as the reading program of comparable time and work force covered 210 sources and yielded 782 citations, less than one-third (27.5%) of the citations gathered during the previous year. Some of the diaries that we hoped would be so useful turned out to be little more than daily records of temperatures and wind direction. As private writing, the authors followed their own interests and motives for recording the ideas or facts important to their lives. It remains to be seen whether these citations will provide better quality than quantity.

Thus, in round numbers, the reading program has so far considered nearly 500 sources and gathered 4,200 citations, a total that falls far short of the five million citations gathered for the Oxford English Dictionary (1928), the two million already gathered for Oxford's Canadian dictionary with

Katherine Barber as its Editor-in-Chief, and the extensive printed, manuscript, survey, and oral sources of the Dictionary of Newfoundland English (1980), and the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English (1988). At this stage it may be wise to consider Svensén's precautionary remark that 'Compiling a dictionary is a long and laborious undertaking which demands a great capacity for work and good health' (1993: 236). There is much work left to be done on the collection of material: published works, archival sources, 500 audio tapes at the Beaton Institute, interviews to be made on selected topics, work with contributors in specialized areas, and surveys to test the distribution of usage.

ANALYSIS OF TERMS

From this brief outline of what is done and what is undone, we would now like to consider a selection of words relating to coal mining and steel making. Most of our attention concentrates on mining terms as our collection is more advanced in this area. In some ways, these technical terms are a logical place to begin analysis because of the long history of these two industries in Cape Breton. Although the fishery predates these two industries, the first coal mines were developed by the French as early as the 1720's on the north coast of Morien Bay (Brown 1871: 47),[2] and steel has been made in Sydney for nearly 100 years. These are traditional, long-standing industries that have clearly affected not only the workers but also the community. As one steel worker explained: 'I went to the plant when I was around seventeen. I knew the job before I left home, before I ever went to school. We had steel for breakfast, dinner, and supper. That was part of the meal really' (Beaton 1992). With the economy of the Industrial Area so dependent on these industries, they generate a high level of influence and interest. The regional dictionaries of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island have taken a similar interest in the long-established industries in their provinces, such as fishing, the seal hunt, lobster fishing, and the harvest of Irish moss.

As Story points out, one of main difficulties facing any dictionary editor is 'the practical problem of delimiting the lexicon, of marking its boundaries' (1990: xi). The determination of the boundaries of a regional dictionary evolves from a series of decisions about the scope of the dictionary, the principles for inclusion and exclusion of words, evidence and authenticity of words, and the sources used (Landau 1989; Svensén 1993; Davey and MacKinnon 1993). While all these questions are important, and in many ways interconnected, what this paper examines is the process for determining the regional nature or the 'regionality' of these industrial terms. Help in addressing this problem is found in the first major work on Canadian lexicography, the Dictionary of Canadianism. Unlike Mathews' A Dictionary of Americanisms (1951) which defines an Americanism as 'a word or expression which originated in the United States' (Mathews in Avis 1967:

xii), Walter Avis, Editor-in-Chief, states

> . . . we have chosen to define Canadianism less exclusively than they have defined Americanism. A Canadianism, then, is a word, expression, or meaning which is native to Canada or which is distinctively characteristic of Canadian usage though not necessarily exclusive to Canada; Winnipeg couch falls into the first category, chesterfield ("sofa") into the second. (1967: xiii)

This broader view of inclusion set the stage for the two successful regional dictionaries from Atlantic Canada, the Dictionary of Newfoundland English (DNE) and the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English (DPEIE). Although both of these regional dictionaries adapt and refine this general statement, they include words that originate in the region but also those, which in Avis's words, are 'distinctively characteristic' of the region.

Although the word distinctive is proving to be difficult for Canadians to define in the political domain, some practical procedures help with the selection and exclusion of words. As discussed in an earlier paper (Davey and MacKinnon 1993), we have decided to follow T.K. Pratt's guideline for borderline candidates for the DPEIE. That is to reject words '. . . if they are found in any two of these [general] dictionaries without a qualifying label' (Pratt 1988: xii). The four general dictionaries selected by Pratt are reasonably comprehensive and reflect national varieties of English: one Canadian dictionary (Gage Canadian Dictionary 1983), one American dictionary with a Canadian editor (Funk and Wagnalls Canadian College Dictionary 1989), one English dictionary (The Concise Oxford Dictionary 1995), and one an American dictionary (here we substituted the Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 1994 for Webster's New World Dictionary).[3] Thus, if a word or sense is identified as being in general use in any two or more general dictionaries, there is little need to record it in a regional dictionary as the claims for the word, sense or expression being regional are weakened.

To test this procedure with the mining terms, we have applied the process to 123 terms found in a small glossary of terms prepared by the Glace Bay Miners' Museum. A typical list of technical words that an average person would require for a general understanding of coal mining, this glossary was prepared by the museum staff, and retired miners have been consulted about its accuracy. With these words as a limited sample, we compared the definitions in the glossary with those in the four general dictionaries, and, in addition, each term was checked in two longer works, The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1993) and Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1961).

This investigation indicated that roughly 37% of these mining terms in the glossary were found in two or more of the four general dictionaries. Thus, terms like air shaft,

firedamp, outcrop and workings are well represented in these general dictionaries and should be excluded from a regional lexicon. This left 76 terms (or 63%) with less than two citations in the four general dictionaries. After this first round of selection and exclusion, the challenge is to determine which of these 76 candidates are in fact distinctive enough--or in this instance, regional enough--to be included. This decision is made more difficult because most general dictionaries record a low percentage of technical words. As Svensén notes,

> When the number of headwords in a dictionary for general use reaches a certain value, a steadily increasing proportion of words added thereafter will be technical ones. In fairly large dictionaries, therefore, technical terms constitute a larger fraction of vocabulary than in smaller ones. For instance, it has been calculated (Béjoint 1988) that over 40 percent of the headwords in Webster's Third are technical terms. (1993: 49-50)

Since the general dictionaries record a low percentage of technical terms, it is probable that some of the 76 surviving terms not identified in the four general dictionaries are widely known in the mining industry. Again, if the word is used widely in the industry, can we then claim it as regional word? For this reason a further step is necessary to compare the surviving words with terms used in general mining texts and handbooks.

A few examples illustrate the group of words not strongly represented in the general dictionaries, despite being used nationally or internationally in the industry. The term breakthrough, used to describe a small passage driven through the coal or rock, usually for ventilation, is found in one of the six dictionaries,[4] but the word is well-known and found in works such as the Coal Miners' Pocketbook (Zern 1928) and in Preston's lexicon of eastern United States mining terms (Preston 1973: 29). Similarly, the longwall method of mining escapes notice in the four general dictionaries despite the fact that it is the standard way of extracting coal by a large mining company (cf. Pamely 1904 and Preston 1973: 41). The final example, shotfire(r), fares better in the dictionaries than the two other illustrations as the Concise Oxford, the New Shorter Oxford, and Webster's Third record its meaning. The shotfirer is the official who is responsible for detonating the explosive charges placed in holes drilled into the coal. The official first examines the area for explosive gas and dust, checks the explosives, and then clears the area before firing the shot or explosive charge ('Terminology' 1994). According to James Beard's Mine Examinations: Questions and Answers (Beard 1923: vol. 3, 703-708), this is one of the official positions for which miners write a formal examination.

Since terms such as breakthrough, longwall, shotfirer, and their ilk are well-known in the mining industry, they probably

should be omitted from a regional dictionary. There is, however, another category of terms where one activity or thing is represented by several competing terms. One example may serve here. In Cape Breton, the older system of mining is known as the room and pillar method. The room is the working place of the miner where the coal is removed. To support the roof, the miners leave coal between the rooms, similar to a load-bearing wall in a building; the coal that is left is the pillar. This same system is variously called bord and pillar, stoop and room, and pillar and stall (cf. Pamely 1904: 957).[5] Thus, when there are competing terms, it may be helpful to the reader of a regional dictionary to know which of the variants is used in Cape Breton, despite the fact that the expression is widely known in the industry.

After this patience-testing analysis of the problems these terms provoke, it is a relief to know that other candidates from the glossary are more clearly regional, at least as far as our research to date can determine. Three examples illustrate this.

When miners were paid by the ton rather than by the hour, each box of coal was weighed by a company official, called in standard terminology, either a weighmaster or a weighman. In order to ensure that these weights were correctly recorded, the miners elected their own representative who was paid by deductions from the miners' wages. The miners' representative was called a checkweighman. This last term is widely used in Cape Breton but is recorded only in Webster's Third, not by the four general dictionaries nor in the New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.[6] This unsung and unheralded word should be recorded in a regional dictionary.

The term piece can is another term used widely in the Cape Breton coal industry and appears to be distinctive enough to be regional. Wright's English Dialect Dictionary (1898-1905: 8) does not define piece can but does define piece as 'a slice of bread or bread and butter'. The Oxford English Dictionary (1989: 15b) adds that the word is short for a 'piece of bread' and notes it is Scottish and English dialect, found from Northumbria to Shrophire and Cornwall. Apparently brought to Cape Breton by immigrant English and Scottish miners, the term piece can describes a metal container used by miners to carry their lunch. It is recorded in none of the six dictionaries.

The verb rob as it applies to coal mining is another term unrepresented in the general dictionaries and found only in Webster's Third. As mentioned earlier, using the room and pillar method, miners would remove approximately half of the coal from the seam so that the remaining coal, the pillar, would support the roof of the excavation. The removal of this pillar would eventually lead to the collapse of the roof and was described as robbing the pillar (Frank 1979: 224; Mellor 1983: 92). The expression is used metaphorically to describe this dangerous job. Preston reports that rob the pillar is used in Alabama, but not the other eleven states he surveyed (Preston 1973: 47). Other terms for this procedure are pillar

drawing (MacNeil 1990: 74) and the miner's harvest (Frank 1979: 224). We are continuing our research on these terms to determine their origins and whether indeed they are distinctive enough to be considered regional or whether they are technical terms common to the industry.

In addition to this glossary of terms from the Miners' Museum, we have also selected fifteen works dealing with mining from our collection. Coming from local histories of mining towns, academic studies, collections of mining songs, and two interviews with retired miners, these fifteen sources yielded a surprisingly large number of terms: 530 citations and 329 words. Although not all of these words in this group are limited to local use, several of the candidates seem to be regional at this point in our research. These words are less technical than those in the glossary from the Miners' Museum as many deal with the work related matters, work procedures, and the miners' social lives. Some examples illustrate the diverse nature of this second group of words.

During the late 1800's and early 1900's coal mining companies operated stores that sold food, clothing, and other items to miners on credit. The name company store is used internationally,[7] and it is recorded in Merle Travis's song 'Sixteen Tons'. The chorus is well-known in North America:

> You load sixteen tons and what do you get?
> You get another day older and deeper in debt;
> Saint Peter, don't you call me 'cause I can't go;
> I owe my soul to the company store.
> (O'Donnell 1992: 87)

In Cape Breton the store was widely known as the Pluck Me Store (O'Donnell 1992: 85-86) or simply as the Pluck Me (Boutilier 1988: 18, 141). The term is not unique to Cape Breton, but it is distinctive enough to be considered regional.[8] The pay sheets with the deductions were ironically called the bob-tail pay sheets (Ripley 1979: 13) or simply the 'bob-tail' (McIntyre 1980: 143). The deductions for such things as rent, coal, church, union fees, doctor, hospital, and the company store were called off-taxes (Nicholson 1985; Smith 1995).

Other words connected with the social life of miners are tarabish or bish (MacGillivray 1991: 119, 139), a popular card game reputed to be as addictive as bridge and to have originated in Cape Breton. Kitchen rackets (Frank 1979: 104), not exclusive to miners, describe the informal parties and social gatherings in homes.[9] Connected with the ceilidh tradition in the Gaelic culture on the island, these parties consisted of activities such as playing musical instruments, singing, dancing, and story telling. Because meat was often scarce for meals, the phrase potato and point (Mellor 1983: 139-40) wryly described a meal which consisted almost entirely of potatoes with a little meat: anyone finding the meat in the meal would point at it (also in DPEIE). Carrying the bag (Ripley 1979: 33) was commonly used to describe families on

relief during strikes. People would line up with bags to pick up food for their families. During the slow periods, when the miners worked only a two or three shifts per week, each morning the pit whistle would signal whether there would be any work that day. The whistle became known as the poverty horn (MacKenzie 1985: 83).

Labor disputes and strikes have been prominent on an international scale in the coal industry, and these have also created regional words. As Frank (1979: 254) states, during the early 1920's Cape Breton miners adopted the tactics of the Scottish miners, primarily under the influence of the Scottish immigrant J.B. McLachlan. On certain occasions, instead of striking by walking off the job, miners would use a slowdown strike (Earle 1989: 130), producing less than usual during the shift. The word from Scots for this is ca' canny (going slow) (Frank 1979: 254), and the production for the shift was called the wee darg (Mellor 1983: 146), as opposed the master's darg (Frank 1979: 254) that indicated the full production for a day. This deliberate attempt to produce less than usual was called in Cape Breton striking on the job (Frank 1979: 254; Mellor 1983: 146). The most threatening kind of walkout was called a 100 percent strike (Earle and Gamberg 1989: 88) in which all workers would strike, including the staff needed to operate the water pumps that prevent the mines from flooding.

The word gaff in one of its senses means 'something painful or difficult to bear: ORDEAL' (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary), and the expression standing the gaff indicates enduring hardship. During the 1925 strike, the vice-president of BESCO, J.E. McClurg, stated that the miners could not 'stand the gaff', predicting that they could not endure the hardship of the strike. The meaning of the expression first narrowed to indicate the specific privation of a long strike (Frank 1979: 366) and then ameliorated to become a battle cry for the strikers (Boutilier 1988: 151; Mellor 1983: 270). Signifying the unified opposition to the company's policies, its meaning is parallel to the word solidarity as it was used to describe the united determination of Polish workers during the 1980's.

We also applied the same procedure of checking terms for steel making with the four general dictionaries. Our collection is just beginning in this area, and we gathered the terms from the research done by the Steel Project at the University College of Cape Breton under the direction of Elizabeth Beaton. Not surprisingly, the results were similar. A certain number of terms were well represented in the four general dictionaries and, consequently, words like bloom, charge, ingot and pig iron should be excluded from a regional lexicon.

Of the remaining words not found in two or more of the general dictionaries without a qualifying label, a small group appear to be widely used in the industry. For instance, ferro-alloy is widely used, and we are investigating the distribution of the word salamander used for one of the furnaces. Other

terms at this point appear to be either of local origin or usage. For example, after steel rails have been shaped and cut into the required lengths, the steel may develop shatter cracks as it cools. To prevent this cracking, the hot rails are placed into a heated chamber that allows the rails to cool slowly. The procedure, now widely used in the industry, originated in Sydney and is called the retarded cooling process. Other regional words are informal names applied to various machines and procedures. The stripper is a crane used to remove the molds from the pig iron after the iron solidifies. One of the loading cranes has a bucket that opens and closes like a giant clam; by metonymy, the crane is known as the clam bucket. The pusher is a machine that drives the a large, wedge-shaped ram which moves across the coke oven chamber to push the coke from the ovens into the special railway cars, called hot cars. Again, further work is needed on these words to determine more accurately their 'regionality'.

CONCLUSION

Thus, we will continue to collect these technical terms from coal mining and steel making, and those from other long-established industries and occupations on Cape Breton Island. As technology changes, many of the terms from occupations such as fishing, farming, working in the woods, and local crafts will be lost unless they are recorded in regional dictionaries. In addition to these technical terms, it appears that the informal words used by the workers for tools, machines, and work procedures are another rich source of regional lexicon. The challenge of these terms is to distinguish those that are characteristic (known in the community) and distinctive (used primarily in the region) from those used widely in the occupation or industry. To do this, we will continue to consult the regional dictionaries and phrase books already available, check relevant glossaries and manuals, and consult people working in these various occupations. As more regional dictionaries become available, it will be possible to plot more accurately the distribution and usage patterns of the Atlantic Canada lexicon.

NOTES

[1] This sense is also noted in the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English (1988), the Gage Canadian Dictionary (1983), and Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (1961).

[2] Nicolas Denys was the first European to have an official claim on the coal of Cape Breton Island. An ordinance of 15 April 1676 reaffirms his rights to plaster and coal, and a Quebec ordinance of M. du Chesneau (21 August 1677) supports Denys' claim and establishes a tax payable to Denys of 20 sols per ton of coal dug in Cape Breton (Denys 1908: 73-76).

[3] Sidney Landau (1989) reviews both of these dictionaries positively and places them in the same class. We have selected the Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary because it draws on a large citation file.

[4] Only Webster's Third records breakthrough with this sense. Crossheading, crosshead, and crosscut are other variants of this term, and so it might be useful to record the variant found in Cape Breton. See the discussion of room and pillar below.

[5] '"Room" is a Scotch mining term applied to a working place in stoop-and-room workings. In the North of England the working places of the pillar-and-stall system of working corresponding to the Scotch stoop-and-room are called headways, bords, or cross-cuts in accordance with their direction, whether in the line of cleavage or across it' (Pamely 1904: 957).

[6] Checkweighman is also found in the Oxford English Dictionary, the English Dialect Dictionary, the Coal Miners' Pocketbook (Zern 1928), and Preston's lexicon (1973: 31).

[7] The compound company store offers another illustration of the necessary selectiveness of general dictionaries as the compound is not listed in the four general dictionaries while compounds like company car, company officer, company man, and company town are.

[8] The Pluck Me Store is not unique to Cape Breton as an informant noted its use in the United States, but it is rare enough in general use to be distinctive.

[9] The activity is known as a racket or a kitchen racket in Newfoundland (DNE) and as a kitchen party in Prince Edward Island (DPEIE).

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Stall Wars: A Slice of Latrinalia At York University

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On April 14th, 1995 with notebook in hand, I braved the depths of the washrooms in York Lanes, the campus shopping mall at York University. My goal on that day was to note down as accurately as possible all of the latrinalia[1] in the men's and women's washrooms near the Company's Coming coffee shop. This "snapshot" of York graffiti included maps of the placement of the 2,932 words I found (including the accompanying drawings) and photographs of any items that would photograph in the poor lighting conditions. This entire process took about six hours of squatting near toilets and contorting myself enough to read what was printed.

So why would I want to perform such an onerous task in such distasteful surroundings? I wanted to capture a portrait of these washrooms at the same point in time and by doing so accumulate two comparable sample groups that would represent men and women who write graffiti at York University. In this paper, I will be looking at this data based on subjects, language, paralanguage, punctuation, and by the tracing the conversational flow of the graffiti. By looking at the similarities and differences, I am hoping to see what role gender plays in graffiti.

The Problems With This Research

There are problems with doing a study such as this and it is important to state these up front. First, I have not been able to come up with an objective way to study this topic. When reading any particular graffito, I can only try to deduce what the writer meant. It is within the realm of possibilities that someone else reading the same graffito would interpret the writer's intent differently. For example, one graffito in the men's room was:

This toilet paper is like Clint Eastwood! Rough, tough and don't take any shit.

The writer in this case may have been just trying to be humourous. Or perhaps he was trying to get a message through to York authorities about the toilet paper. Or maybe it was a little of both. In categorising the subject matter of any graffito, I have to make a choice based on what I believe the writer intended. In this case, I choose to label it as humourous since a person truly complaining about the quality of the toilet paper would probably write something less witty or would use a different medium. But my placement of this graffito as such is a subjective decision since I do not have access to the mind of the writer.

Second, I can not know with any degree of certainty which graffito came first, second, third, etc. I have tried to deduce the order as much as I can but this is not an exact science. The only way to trace this sort of information would be to check the same washrooms everyday and watch how the graffiti develop. This would make an interesting study but would take a lot more people and a longer period of study than the one day I have detailed.

Third—and most important—this paper can have no absolute conclusions. What I have found are some interesting indications. The only way to validate these indications would be to use this snapshot approach in more campus washrooms. And, to take this even further, these snapshots should be done in other locations to detect the formation of patterns on local or global levels. But all of this cannot be done in this paper. Perhaps more washroom snapshots can be done in the future and greater comparisons can be made.

An Overview of the Graffiti Studied

Before going into specific aspects of the graffiti, it is important to look at the big picture starting with the washrooms themselves. These two washrooms are located in a

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[1] This term was first used be Alan Dundes in his article "Here I Sit—A Study of American Latrinalia." The word "latrinalia" refers to any graffito written in washrooms.

hallway just off a very high traffic area, so they are well used by the campus crowd. Nearby are four food establishments. Neither washroom is wheelchair accessible so a certain portion of the campus community would not be able to use them. Both washrooms have similar facilities (hand dryer, two sinks, mirror, etc.) though the men's has two stalls and a urinal while the women's has three stalls. Both of them are in a decent state of repair with no obvious damages and both look like they are regularly cleaned. They are located side-by-side in the hallway and are easy to find as there are signs posted pointing out their location.

I talked to various authorities on campus (i.e., campus security, building managers, etc.) and it would seem that the common practise at York is to erase (or paint over) all the graffiti from an entire set of washrooms at one time and not to do spot removal. Usually the men's and women's washrooms in one location are done at the same time. It is most likely that these two washrooms would have been stripped of graffiti at the same time. This means that both of the washrooms have had the same amount of time to attract more graffiti. However, I can't seem to find anyone who keeps a record of these cleanings so I don't know when this would have occurred for the two York Lanes washrooms in this study. When all aspects are considered, I deemed them to be comparable for this study.

Each stall has four walls (including the back of the door). There was no graffiti in either washroom except in the stalls. One reason for this is probably the hard tile on the walls which makes writing with anything other then a felt tip marker impossible. While each stall had four walls including the back of the door, in one stall in the men's room and two stalls in the women's room one of the walls was also constructed of the hard tile and these walls contained no graffiti. I found 190 individual graffiti in the women's washroom divided over a total of seven different walls (an average of 27.1 graffiti per wall or 63.3 per stall). In the men's room I found 84 pieces of graffiti divided over five walls (an average of 16.8 graffiti per wall or 43 per stall). The women's washroom had a total of 2037 words (an average of 290.9 graffiti per wall or 678.7 per stall) while the men's had 895 words (an average of 179 graffiti per wall or 447.5 per stall). The average number of words per graffito was 10.72 for women and 10.65 for men. Figures 1 and 2 are breakdowns of the graffiti and words found within the washrooms.

Women's Latrinalia Figure 1

Stall	Wall	Graffiti	Words
West	East	47	440
West	Door	19	174
Middle	West	51	587
Middle	East	28	454
East	Door	10	123
East	West	25	216
East	Back	10	42
Totals		190	2037

Men's Latrinalia Figure 2

Stall	Wall	Graffiti	Words
North	South	49	489
North	Door	6	58
South	Door	1	21
South	South	16	239
South	North	12	88
Totals		84	895

The bottom line with all of these numbers is that the women wrote more than the men in the York Lanes washrooms—an average of 19% more graffiti per stall and 21% more words per stall. This difference in volume may be accounted for quite simply—men don't use the stalls as often as women because of the presence of a urinal. Therefore, while is it important to note this volume difference, I will be dealing less with the number of responses and more with percentages in the various comparisons to follow. There are, of course, two other possible explanations for this difference but I cannot prove them through this one study. It could be that men might just write less graffiti than women or it could be that different locations attract more graffiti from one gender than another. Only further studies such as this one could show any patterns of this nature.

Interaction Levels

Because this type of study is rarely done concerning graffiti, I do not have a lexicon to use with regards to this process. Therefore, to discuss the interaction levels within graffiti, I will first have to discuss definitions.

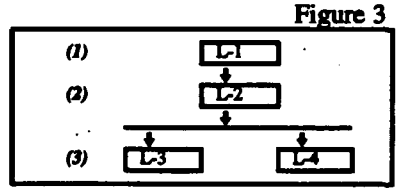
First, there appear to be two basic types of graffiti—those that attract responses and those that don't. I will be referring to the graffiti that do notattract responses as "solo" graffiti since they stand on their own. Catherine Davies (1985: 108) has labelled the interactive graffiti as "collective conversation." The term "thread" has commonly been used to describe the chain reaction of responses to a single posting in internet discussions. I will be using the term "thread" to describe any series of connected graffiti. The term "collective conversation" will be used to refer to the more complex threads (see below for a discussion of complex graffiti interaction).

All graffiti threads begin with a single graffito. That graffito sparks a reaction or many reactions. I will refer to any graffito that initiates a thread as the "inaugural" graffito.

In order to map these interactive levels, I have modified the method used by Birch Moonwomon (1992: 422-424). Each graffito has been labelled with letter designation. Solo graffiti will have just the letter designation. Collective conversation graffiti have been labelled with the same letter designation and are numbered starting at "1" for the inaugural graffito. I have tried to link the graffiti in order but some threads are so complicated that I cannot state that the numbers represent the order in which they were written. It is easier to chart the flow of the conversation than to concentrate on which graffito was written first.

The "L" thread from the east stall of the women's room provides us with an example of charting an graffiti interaction. The L-1 graffito sparks a single response which I have labelled L-2. Two people have responded to this graffito and their writings are labelled L-3 and L-4. Figure 3 is a map of this interaction.

Figure 3



The numbers to the left indicate the length of the thread. In this example, the "L" thread is three levels in length and contains four graffiti. I can tell from the contents of the graffiti that L-1 came first and L-2 responds to it. Following the flow from level to level is usually logical based on the graffiti content or connecting arrows or by placement of the graffito on the wall. While I can also determine that L-3 and L-4 both respond to L-2, I cannot tell which was written first. This fact should be kept in mind when viewing any of the maps I have created. The numbers on any one level are there to differentiate one graffito from another and do not denote any chronology.

I label this "L" interaction is a "simple" one since the average graffiti per level is only 1.6. Any interaction that averages less than two graffiti per level is basically a series of connected or threaded comments. Threads that average greater than two graffiti per level are more complex, usually containing changes in topic as well as varied opinions—they are truly collective conversations (I will be discussing graffiti content in the next section). In this section on interaction, I have considered only those threads with at least five graffiti in a thread as significant.

The most complicated thread I examined is the "D" thread from the west stall of the women's washroom (Figure 7). The "D" thread is extremely complex, containing 39 graffiti and 15 levels with an average of 2.6 graffiti per level. It is over twice as long as any other women's threads and three times longer than any of the men's threads. The next longest thread from the women's washroom is the "A" thread (Figure 6) from the west stall which contains 19 graffiti and 6 levels for an average of 3.2 graffiti per level.

Compare these longest two interactions between women to the longest two threads in the men's washroom. The "B" thread (Figure 8) from the south stall contains 13 graffiti and 8 levels with an average of 1.6 graffiti per level. This same interaction level was evident in

the next longest graffito. The "I" thread from the north stall contains 11 graffiti and is 6 levels long for an average of 1.8 graffiti (Figure 9). The interaction in the women's graffiti shows a much greater level of complexity and length.

Complex Women's Threads Figure 4

Wall Location	Thread	# of Graffiti	# of Levels	Average per Level
West Stall	A	19	6	3.2
West Stall	B	5	4	1.25
West Stall	D	39	15	2.6
Middle Stall	E	9	4	2.25
Middle Stall	F	5	4	1.25
Middle Stall	G	10	6	1.7
Middle Stall	T	12	6	2
Middle Stall	U	6	3	2
Middle Stall	V	6	4	1.5
East Stall	A	5	3	1.7
East Stall	I	6	5	1.2
East Stall	T	10	6	1.7

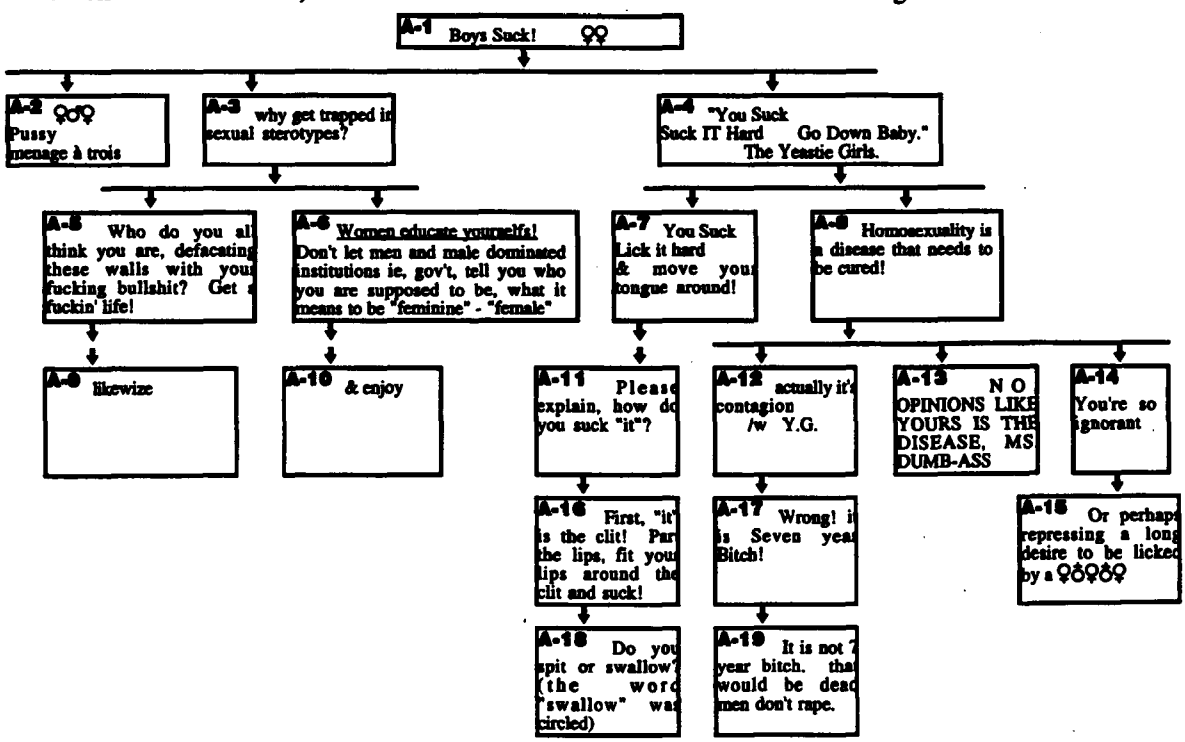
Complex Men's Threads Figure 5

Wall Location	Thread	# of Graffiti	# or Levels	Average per Level
North Stall	B	7	6	1.2
North Stall	G	6	4	1.5
North Stall	I	11	6	1.8
South Stall	B	13	8	1.6
South Stall	F	5	3	1.7

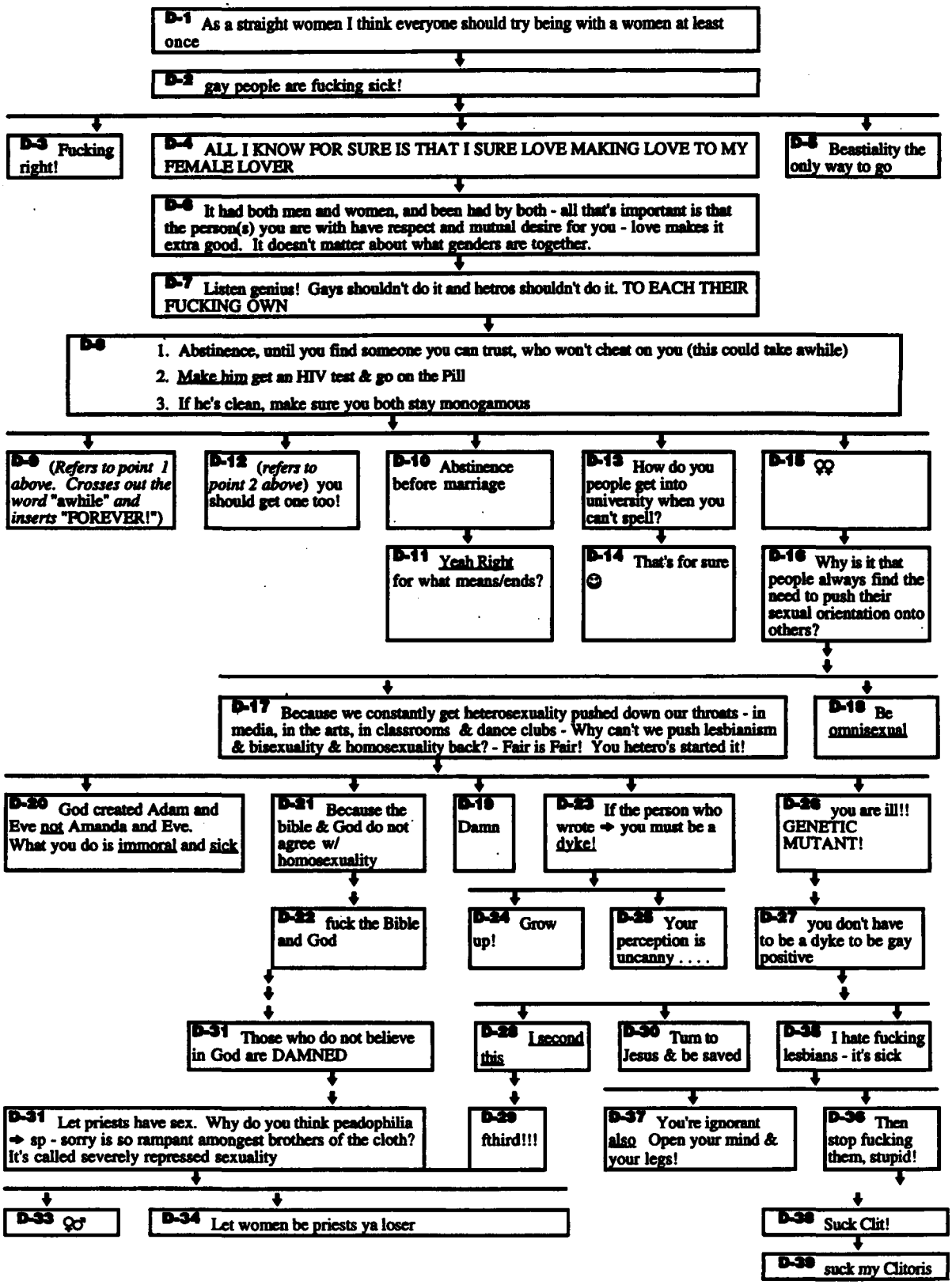
Perhaps this difference in complexity can be accounted for because the comparison is between threads of disparate lengths (39 and 19 versus 13 and 11). However, only five of the threads in the men's room contained five or more graffiti as compared to twelve in the women's. Of the twelve threads in the women's room, five were complex as they contained an average of two or more graffiti per level. Three of those complex threads contained less than 13 graffiti so are comparable to the men's room threads. None of the men's threads averaged more than two graffiti per level.

This examination indicates that there is some difference in the way that men and women interact when using graffiti. But to create a broader picture of the interaction difference, we need to look at the contents of graffiti.

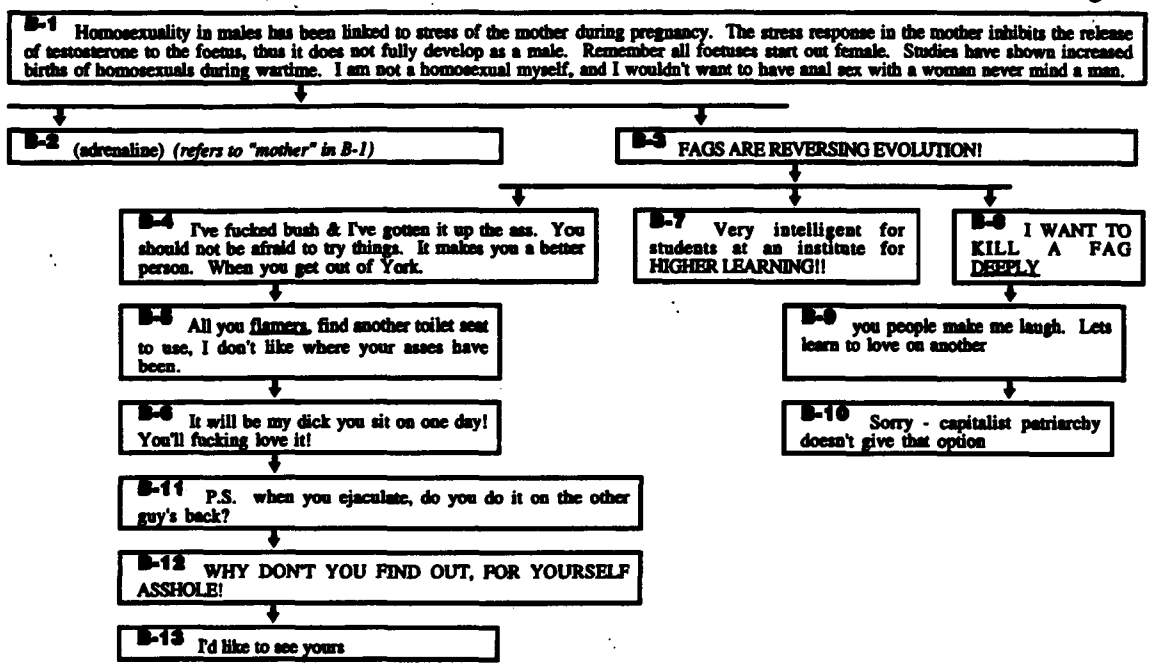
Women's "A" Thread, West Stall Figure 6



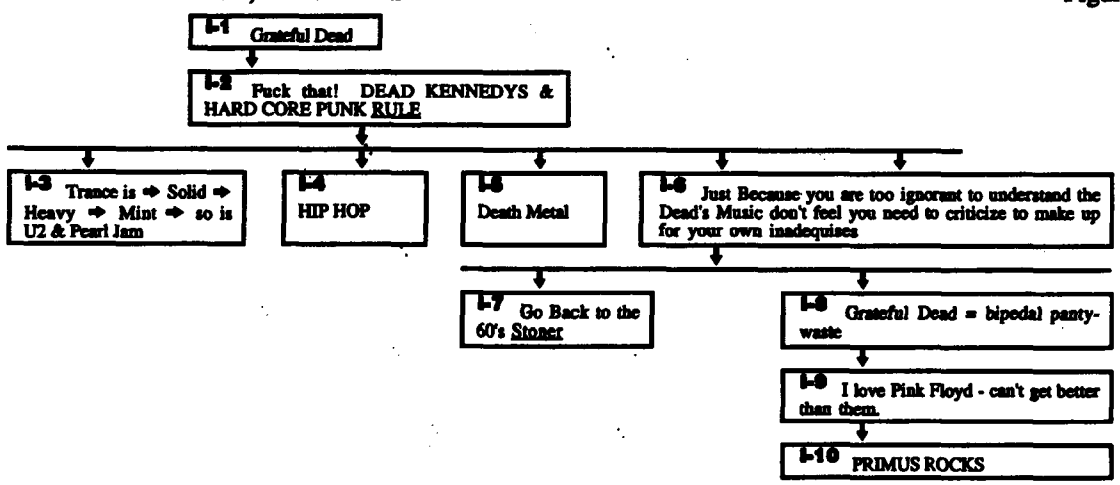
Women's "D" Thread, West Stall Figure 7



Men's "B" Thread, South Stall Figure 8



Men's "I" Thread, North Stall Figure 9



Subjects

The men and women discussed quite a variety of topics in their graffiti. The subjects ranged from sexual orientation to music to education—16 different topics in all. The topics are as follows:

Sexual Orientation	Feminism/Support between Women	Race/Ethnicity
Sex Acts	Insults/Discouragement	Music
Graffiti/Vandalism	Hygiene/Cleanliness	AIDS
Abortion	Encouragement	Drugs
Religion	Relationships	Humour
Education		

There was one additional category that I've labelled "unsure" since for some graffiti I can not understand what the subject is. For example, one particular graffito has been repeated in many different places at York and I have no idea what it means. It consists of one word—

Sulk. In this study, I found it in two places—the middle stall ("K") and the east stall ("Q") of the women's washroom.

There are 274 pieces of graffiti in this study and I needed to categorise each one according to the main point of that I think the writer is trying to make. The breakdown of the graffiti into subject groupings is as follows:

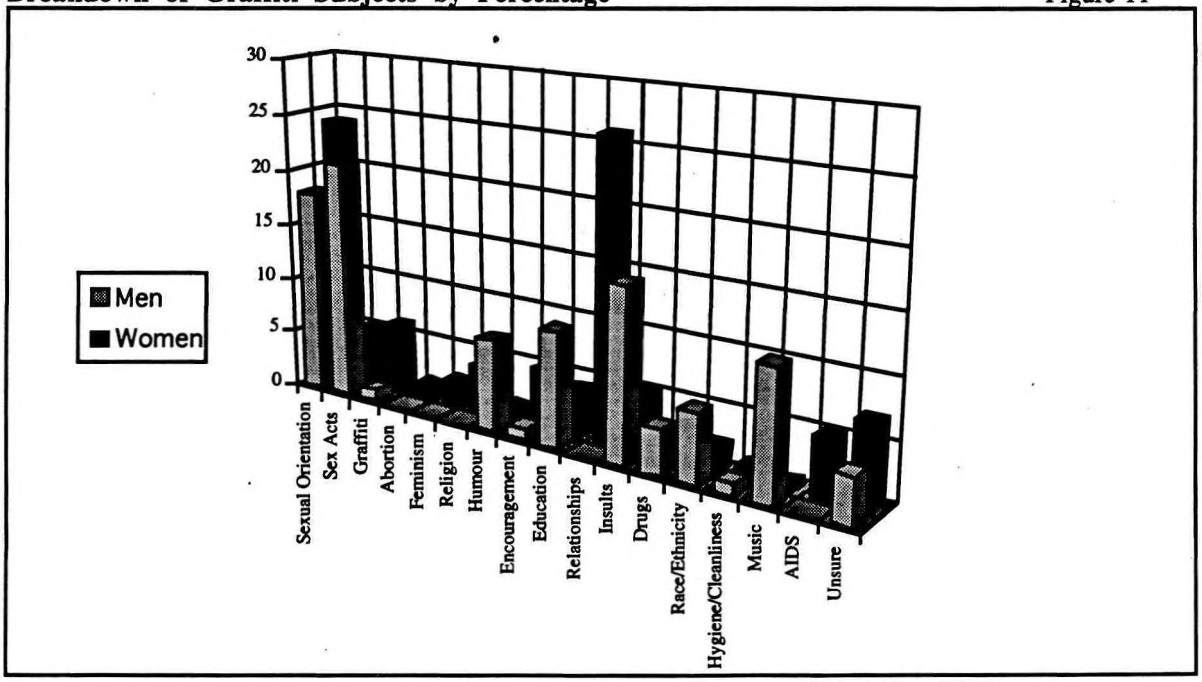
Figure 10

Graffiti Subjects	# of ♀'s Graffiti -	% of ♀'s Graffiti (190)	# of ♀'s Inaugural Graffiti	% of Inaugural Graffiti (27)	# of ♂'s Graffiti -	% of ♂'s Graffiti (84)	# of ♂'s Inaugural Graffiti	% of Inaugural Graffiti (16)
Sexual Orientation	45	24%	3	11%	15	18%	3	19%
Sex Acts	10	5%			18	21%	5	31%
Graffiti/Vandalism	11	6%	3	11%	1	1%		
Abortion	2	1%	1	4%				
Feminism/Support between Women	4	2%						
Religion	8	4%	2	7%				
Humour	2	1%			7	8%	1	6%
Encouragement	10	5%	2	7%	1	1%		
Education	8	4%	1	4%	8	10%	2	13%
Relationships	49	26%	10	37%				
Insults or Discouragement	9	5%			13	15%		
Drugs	1	.5%			3	4%	1	6%
Race/Ethnicity	4	2%	2	7%	5	6%	3	19%
Hygiene/Cleanliness	2	1%	1	4%	1	1%		
Music	1	.5%			9	11%	1	6%
AIDS	10	5%	1	4%				
Unsure	14	7%	1	4%	3	4%		
Total	190		27		84		16	

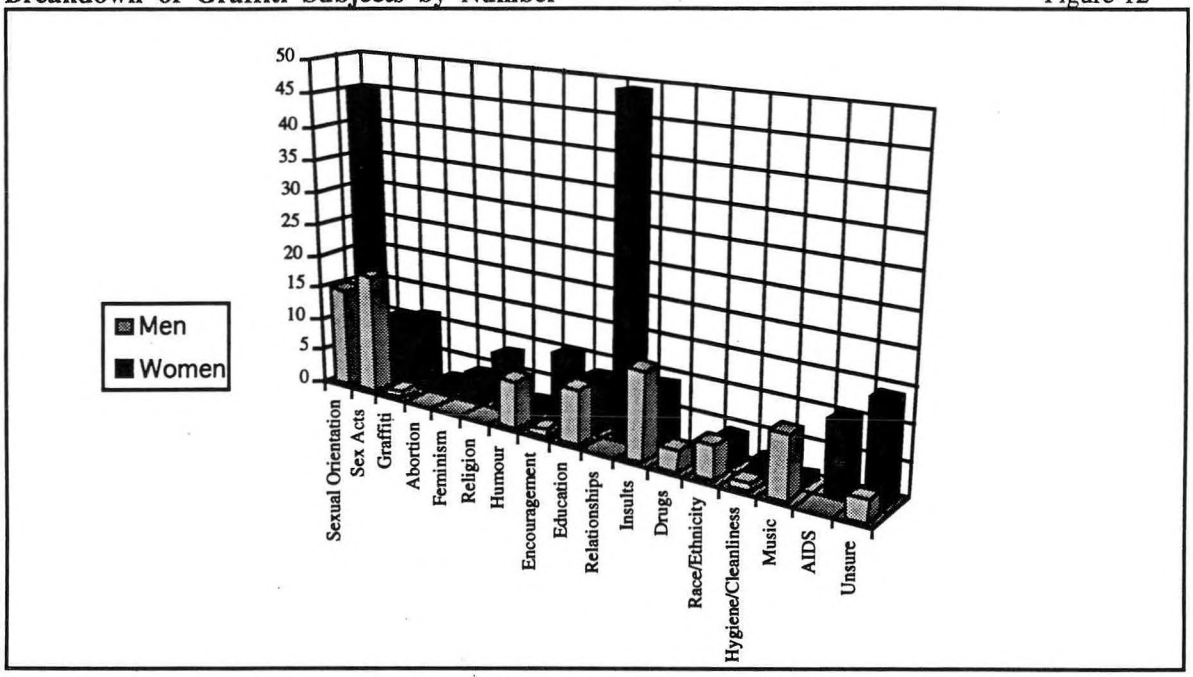
The variety in subjects was not surprising considering the volume of people that use the York Lanes washrooms. But what men and women focus on can be quite different. The favourite subject of the men was sex acts (21%) while their second favourite topic was sexual orientation (18%). The women on the other hand were most interested in relationships (26%) and while their second favourite topic was sexual orientation (24%).

Breakdown of Graffiti Subjects by Percentage

Figure 11



Breakdown of Graffiti Subjects by Number Figure 12



If we compare the statistics of the three most popular topics between the men and women, we find that women also discussed sex acts but only 6% of the time. The number one choice for women was relationships but the men did not write about this subject even once. However, sexual orientation was the second most popular subject for both men and women. The graph in Figure 11 shows the percentage differences in the subjects discussed. In Figure 12, I have charted the number of pieces of graffiti. Looking at this graph, it is easy to see the dramatic difference between the number of graffiti written by men and women.

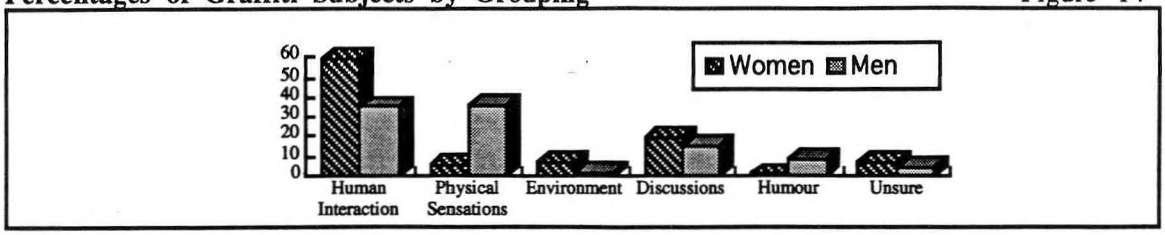
Some of the less popular topics are equally interesting to compare. For example, only two women wrote comments purely for humourous effect (though they have included humour in the discussion of some other subject, the same as the men do), but seven men wrote strictly humourous comments. Men were also quite interested in music, often proclaiming the names of their favourite performers. They discussed music 11% of the time while women only discussed music only .5% of the time (1 graffito).

After staring at these statistics for a while, I started to notice a pattern Figures 13 and 14). By dividing these subjects into broader based groupings, a clearer picture emerges. Women were much more interested in topics regarding human interaction than the men (59% versus 35%). Physical sensations were not a particularly interesting topic to women (6%) but were the favourite subjects for men (36%).

Figure 13

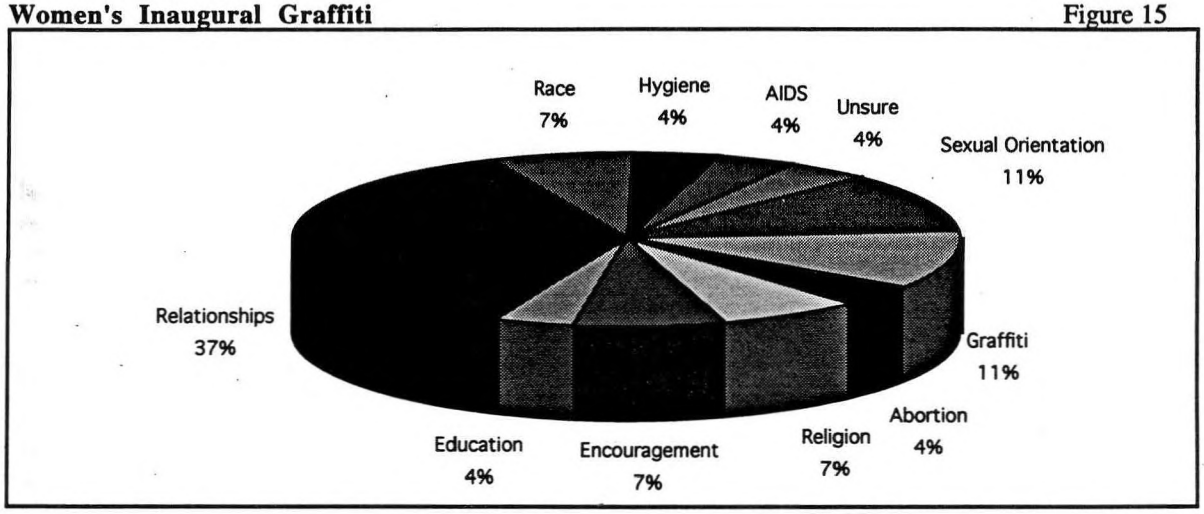
Group	Graffiti Subjects Included	# of ♀'s	%	# of ♂	%
Human Interaction	Relationships, Encouragement, Sexual Orientation, Insults/Discouragement	113	59%	29	35%
Physical Sensations	Sex Acts, Music, Drugs	12	6%	30	36%
Environment	Graffiti/Vandalism, Hygiene/Cleanliness,	13	7%	2	2%
Discussions	Abortion, Feminism, Religion, Education, AIDS, Race/Ethnicity	36	19%	13	15%
Humour		2	1%	7	8%
Unsure		14	7%	3	4%

Percentages of Graffiti Subjects by Grouping Figure 14

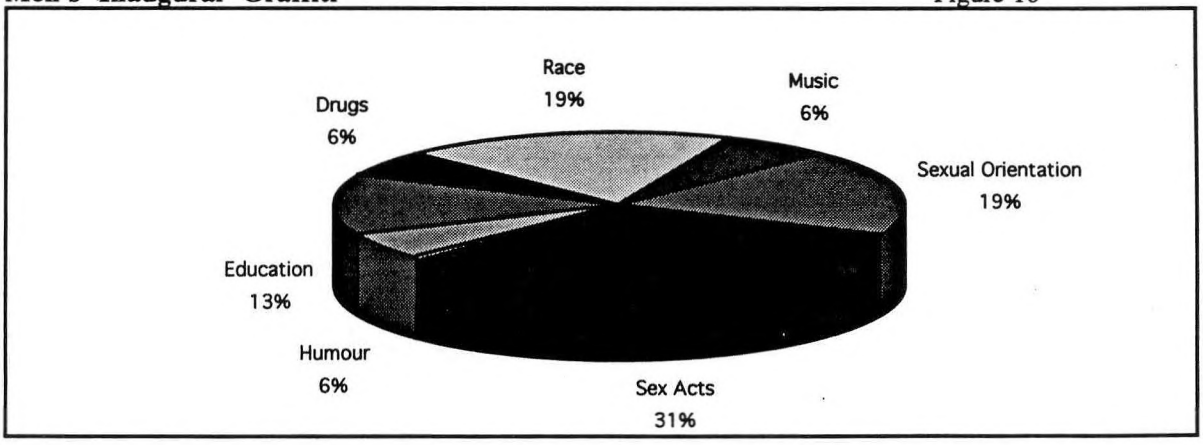


If we add to this discussion of subjects the interaction levels mentioned in the earlier section, a much fuller picture develops (for a chart of the threads, their locations, length and the subject of their inaugural graffito, see Figures 17 and 18). In Figure 9, we can see that the more popular topics for graffiti also have the highest number of inaugural graffiti (see Figures 15 and 16). For the men, inaugural graffiti written on topics other than human interaction and physical sensation did not evolve beyond four graffiti in length. For the women, inaugural graffiti needed to be written on topics of human interaction, environment or discussion or the thread would not develop beyond four graffiti.

Women's Inaugural Graffiti Figure 15



Men's Inaugural Graffiti Figure 16



Let's focus on, for example, the popular subject of sexual orientation. The top three longest threads all started with inaugural graffiti concerning sexual orientation. In the women's room, three threads (11%) started with inaugural graffiti on sexual orientation.

These three threads generated 60 pieces of graffiti or 32% of the total graffiti. The men's room also had three threads (19%) concerning sexual orientation. These three threads generated 21 graffiti or 25% of the total graffiti. There is a direct connection between the topic of the inaugural graffito and whether the thread grows in length.

Men's Graffiti Threads Figure 16

Location	Thread	#	Inaugural Subject
North Stall	A	2	Sex Acts
North Stall	B	7	Sex Acts
North Stall	C	3	Education
North Stall	D	2	Race/Ethnicity
North Stall	E	3	Education
North Stall	F	4	Sex Acts
North Stall	G	6	Sex Acts
North Stall	H	2	Drugs
North Stall	I	11	Music
North Stall	J	4	Race/Ethnicity
North Stall	V	3	Humour
South Stall	B	13	Sexual Orientation
South Stall	F	5	Sexual Orientation
South Stall	G	2	Sex Acts
South Stall	H	2	Race/Ethnicity
South Stall	I	3	Sexual Orientation

Women's Graffiti Threads Figure 17

Location	Thread	#	Inaugural Subject
West Stall	A	19	Sexual Orientation
West Stall	B	5	Religion
West Stall	C	3	Encouragement
West Stall	D	39	Sexual Orientation
Middle Stall	A	3	Relationship
Middle Stall	B	3	Relationship
Middle Stall	C	2	Relationship
Middle Stall	D	2	Relationship
Middle Stall	E	9	Graffiti/Vandalism
Middle Stall	F	5	Relationship
Middle Stall	G	10	Relationship
Middle Stall	H	3	Education
Middle Stall	I	2	Sexual Orientation
Middle Stall	J	2	Unsure
Middle Stall	T	12	Relationship
Middle Stall	U	8	Relationship
Middle Stall	V	6	Graffiti/Vandalism
East Stall	A	5	Relationship
East Stall	B	2	Race/Ethnicity
East Stall	C	2	Abortion
East Stall	E	2	Race/Ethnicity
East Stall	I	5	Relationship
East Stall	J	2	Hygiene/Cleanliness
East Stall	K	3	Religion
East Stall	L	4	Encouragement
East Stall	M	2	Graffiti/Vandalism
East Stall	T	10	AIDS

Of all the solo graffiti (42 graffiti), only two pieces were concerned with sexual orientation (one in each washroom). The solo graffito in the men's room states simply that "lesbian love will never die" while the women's solo graffito was about someone looking to have a lesbian experience and asked for advice on how to go about this. There are three possible reasons why any graffito does not generate responses. First, the readers could be uninterested, which seems unlikely in the above case based on interest in other threads regarding sexual orientation. Second, some graffiti is hard to understand (either linguistically or by illegible handwriting). If a reader doesn't know what the writer is talking about then the reader is unlikely to respond. The "Sulk" graffiti mentioned earlier is a good example of this. In the above examples this, too, would seem unlikely as both were clear in meaning and handwriting. Third, and most probably, these graffiti could be in a pre-thread state. Perhaps I read them before other writers had a chance to reply and begin the threading process.[2]

It should be noted that for me to code a particular graffito as dealing with, for example, sexual orientation, does not mean that subsequent graffiti on the same topic are necessarily in agreement. On the contrary, graffiti is a medium that allows for full expression of many different views on a particular topic since it is an anonymous forum and much disagreement takes place on the walls. The anonymity allows writers to express ideas they might otherwise be uncomfortable expressing. On the subject of sexual orientation, I

[2] I will be going back to the washrooms to check on this hypothesis at a later date.

found a great deal of the graffiti was quite homophobic, sometimes violently so. There is a marked difference in the number of homophobic graffiti between the male and female washrooms. Out of the 45 graffiti written in the women's washroom on sexual orientation, 12 (or 27%) were homophobic. In the men's room, 9 out of 15 (60%) were homophobic.

There are even differences in attitudes within the homophobic graffiti. I have found graffiti in the women's room that says "gay people are fucking sick" or "what you do is immoral and sick." I found that the women state opinions—quite vehemently at times—but rarely write direct threats. However, there are many threats in the men's room—"Jewish fags must die" or "I want to kill a fag deeply." These are very significant differences that warrant further investigation in other campus washrooms and areas.

The bottom line for this discussion of subject is that if a writer of graffiti wishes to get a response, he or she must choose the topic wisely. If the graffito does not appeal to the washroom users, there is a good chance it will remain a solo graffito. And a topic that is interesting in one washroom will be not necessarily be interesting in the other.

The Language of Graffiti

With the exception of one graffito, all of the graffiti was written in English. This commonalty of language does not mean, however, that the writers used the words in the same way or with the same frequency. I will be looking at three different aspects of the language—gender specificity, pronouns and general terminology—which I have divided into subsections within this section. Since I am dealing with two different sized sample groups (women wrote 2037 words versus the men's 895), I will refer mainly to the percentage comparisons.

Gender Specific Terminology Figure 19

Word/Phrase	♀'s Graffiti	% of Words (2037)	♂'s Graffiti	% of Words (895)
Women	8		2	
Womyn	1			
Woman	3		1	
Men	9			
Man (as a male person)	3		1	
Man (as a generic nickname)			2	
Boy	1		2	
Girl	1		1	
Guy (as a male person)	9		4	
Male	1		2	
Female	1		1	
Him	21			
He	17			
His	1			
She	1		1	
Her			2	
Sister	2			
Brother	2			
Lesbian	3		1	
Homosexual (as a male person)	1		2	
Dyke	4			
Boyfriend	4			
Chick			1	
Mother	1		2	
Bitch	3		1	
♀	17			
♂	2			
Policeman			1	
Feminine	1			
Totals	117	6%	27	3%

Gender Specific Language

Figure 19 lists all the gender specific terminology found. There were 28 different words used and the breakdown of their usage is quite interesting. The women used 25 different words 117 times (6% of their total words used). The men, on the other hand, used only 16 different words 25 times (3% of their total words used). As you can see, women used gender specific language twice as often as the men.

But even more significant is the type of gender specific language used. Of the 117 gender specific words used by women, 61% (71 words or .37 per graffito) referred to males and 39% (46 words or .24 per graffito) referred to females. Of the 25 words used by men, 44% (11 words or .13 per graffito) referred to females and 56% (14 words or .16 per graffito) referred to males. Not only do women use more gender specific language, they use it mostly to refer to men while the men refer mostly to themselves. Further study of these findings are definitely indicated and I plan to look at more graffiti with this is mind.

Pronouns

Men and women use pronouns in graffiti at almost exactly the same rate—12% or (1.27 per graffito) for women and 11% (or 1.23 per graffito) for men—as seen in the chart in Figure 20. While there isn't a huge variance in pronoun use, there are subtle differences. A further breakdown of this shows that men use words referring to themselves alone (i.e., me or my) at an average of .39 per graffito while women use them .43 per graffito. Women use pronouns that include the self with others (i.e., we or us) at an average of .11 per graffito and men used .02 per graffito. Pronouns referring to others only (i.e., they or your) were used at an almost identical rate— an average of .77 per graffito by men and .78 per graffito by women.

Figure 20

Pronouns (Objective, Subjective and Possessive)		Use in Women's Graffiti	% of Total Words (2037)	Use in Men's Graffiti	% of Total Words (895)
Subjective:	Me	7		5	
	I	55		24	
	We	13		0	
	Us	2		2	
	Sub-Total	77	4%	32	4%
Objective:	You	75		45	
	Ya ("you")	2		0	
	They	2		5	
	Them	2		2	
	Him	21			
	She	1		1	
	He	17			
	Sub-Total	120	6%	53	6%
Possessive:	Her			2	
	His	1			
	My	10		5	
	Mine	2		1	
	Your	20		10	
	Our	5			
	Their	7			
	Sub-Total	45	2%	18	2%
Totals		242	12%	103	12%

The only major differences I found in pronoun use was in the use of gendered pronouns and the use of direct versus indirect pronouns. With regard to the use of gendered pronouns (i.e., he or she), women used 40 (an average .21 per graffito) while men used only 3 gendered pronouns (an average of .04 per graffito). This is consistent with the

overall usage of gendered language mentioned in the previous section. Men and women used direct and indirect pronouns (you versus they) in reference to other people in quite different proportions. Women used 66% direct versus 34% indirect (out of a total of 148 words) while men used 85% direct versus 15% indirect (out of a total of 65 words). This could indicate that men use a more confrontation approach in the writing of graffiti, preferring to aim comments directly at the reader (or previous writer) in the majority of the graffiti. Women, on the other hand, do this as well but balance it more with general comments. More study on this is indicated.

General Terminology

I analysed the graffiti further by counting the words used that dealt with religion, race and ethnicity, violence, insult, parts of the body, relationships and taboo language. Figure 21 below summarises my findings in these categories. It would seem that men are more inclined than women to use more words concerning race and ethnicity, violence, insult, parts of the body and taboo language. Women seem more inclined than men to use words concerning religion and relationships.

Figure 21

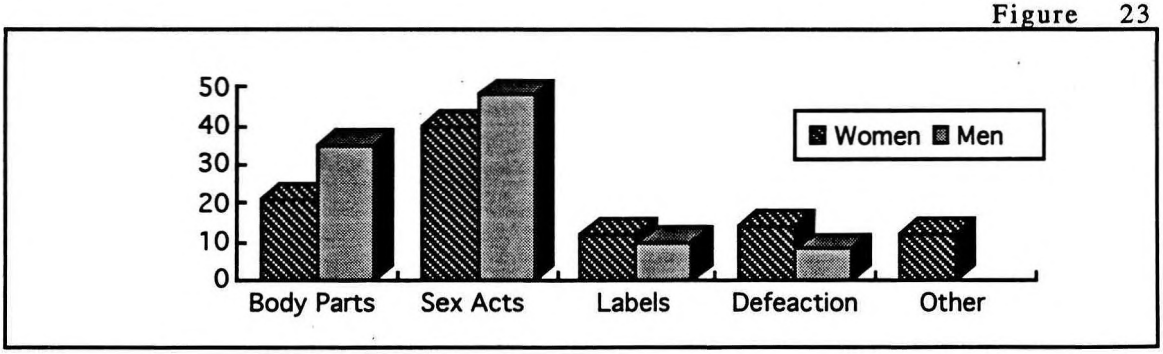
Type of Language	♀'s Graffiti	% of Words (2037)	♂ 's Graffiti	% of Words (895)
Religion	12	.6%	3	.3%
Race and Ethnicity	7	.3%	5	.6%
Violence	11	.5%	16	2%
Insult	39	2%	33	4%
Parts of the Body	19	.9%	24	3%
Relationships	76	4%	28	3%
Taboo	42	2%	40	4%

I find the use of taboo words to be the most interesting. These taboo words can be broken down into five different types as illustrated in Figure 22. Both men and women used taboo words concerning sex acts, thought men used them a bit more often then women (48% versus 40%). The men used far more taboo language concerning parts of the body than did the women (35% versus 21%). However, the women used more taboo words than the men in the areas of labels for people (12% versus 10%) and defecation (14% versus 8%). The graph in Figure 23 illustrates this different use of taboo words.

Figure 22

Categories of Taboo Words	# of Words	% of Total Words (2037)	% (of 42)	# of Words	% of Total Words (895)	% (of 40)
Body Parts (i.e., cock, ass)	9	.4%	21%	14	.2%	35%
Sex Acts (i.e., fuck, cocksucker)	17	.8%	40%	19	2%	48%
Labels for people (i.e., bitch)	5	.2%	12%	4	.4%	10%
Defecation (i.e., shit)	6	.3%	14%	3	.3%	8%
Other (i.e., hell, damn)	5	.2%	12%	0		

Figure 23



Graphic Paralanguage and Punctuation

While a definition of punctuation is not needed, I should define what I am referring to by the term "paralanguage." Birch Moonwomon writes that paralanguage "functions to emphasise conflict; the expression of disagreement itself is part of the import of the comments" (1992: 421). However, I do not agree completely. Paralanguage is used to emphasise words or comments but not necessarily just to express conflict. In everyday speech, we communicate with more thn just words—we place stress on certain words and syllables, use hand gestures, draw out certain words, etc. However, since graffiti is the process of making oneself heard in a *written* public forum, the style and form of that writing takes on an almost verbal tone in order to emulate speech. The term "collective conversation" is quite appropriate because in reading these writings I felt almost like I was eavesdropping on people talking. But, as I mentioned before, this is still a written medium. So the writers have adopted ways of making their voices stand out from the other voices or to emphasise certain words within the graffito, in the same way we can place emphasis on specific words in our speech.

Graphic paralanguage, according to Moonwomon, includes "word-circling, multiple underlining, multiple punctuation marks, and emphatic use of capital letters" (421). I think that's only part of the picture. The writers in this case have also used drawings, symbols and word substitutes, all of which are designed to make the graffito noticed in a sea of graffiti. Figure 24 is a complete list of all the paralanguage used. Many of the items of paralanguage were fairly equally used, such as word/phrase circling, multiple exclamation marks, emphatic use of capital letters, etc. As for differences, women used more words substitutes (i.e., ♀ or &) than men (19% versus 6% of the graffiti contained these) while men used more arrows (30% versus 21%). The women averaged .86 incidences of paralanguage per graffito while the men averaged .76 per graffito.

Figure 24

Type of Paralanguage	Example	# of ♀'s	% of Occurrences	# of ♂'s	% of Occurrences
Emphatic use of capital letters	WHAT	34	18%	14	17%
Underlining	what	26	14%	8	10%
Multiple Exclamation Marks	!!!	8	4%	4	5%
Word/phrase circling	what	7	4%	4	5%
Cross outs	~~what~~	3	2%	1	1%
Symbols	♀♀	11	6%		
Drawings		6	3%	3	4%
Ampersand	&	23	12%	5	6%
Shorthand for "with"	/w	2	1%		
Arrow	➔	40	21%	25	30%
Drawing of a check box	☐	1	.5%		
Multiple Question Marks	???	2	1%		
Totals		163	(.86 per graffito)	64	(.76 per graffito)

As for punctuation, while men and women used exactly same ratio of punctuation per graffito (1.33), what they used and they way the used it was quite different (Figure 25). Men used significantly more periods and apostrophes while women used significantly more exclamation marks and question marks. Even within the study of the question marks I found differences. In the men's case, 67% of the question marks (6 of 9) were used to ask rhetorical questions as opposed to interrogative questions. The reverse is true of the women's where 57% of the question marks (20 of 35) were used on interrogative questions.[3]

[3] As an interesting side note, the 20 women's graffiti containing interrogative questions elicited 30 direct responses to the questions (a ratio of 1.5 responses per question asked). This was not the case in the men's graffiti. There were only two interrogative questions and neither received any direct answers to their questions.

Figure 25

Type of Punctuation	Example	# of ♀'s	% of Occurrences	# of ♂'s	% of Occurrences
Single Exclamation Marks	!	67	35%	18	21%
Parenthesis	()	5	3%	3	4%
Ellipse	. . .	5	3%	3	4%
Question Mark	?	35	18%	9	11%
Quotation Marks	" "	4	2%	1	1%
Dash	-	16	8%	5	6%
Period	.	40	21%	24	29%
Comma	,	28	15%	16	19%
Slash	/	3	2%		
Colon	:	6	3%	1	1%
Equal Sign	=	2	1%	1	1%
Apostrophe (contraction)	isn't	37	19%	23	27%
Apostrophe (quotation)	'95'	1	.5%		
Apostrophe (to shorten)	fuckin'	1	.5%	3	2%
Apostrophe (possessive)	her's	1		4	5%
Bracket	}			1	1%
Total		251	(1.33 per graffito)		(1.33 per graffito)

Accounting for the Differences

So what does all this mean? The statistics here would indicate that men use more taboo words, prefer discussing sex acts and sexual orientation, have less complexity in their graffiti threads, use more pronouns directed at others, etc. Women, on the other hand, use less taboo language, prefer discussing relationships and sexual orientation, have more complexity in their graffiti threads, use more inclusive pronouns, etc.

There are many similarities in the graffiti of men and women, but for now I am going to look at just the differences. I'm sure an essentialist argument could be made to account for these differences, but I am not going to dismiss these so easily. I don't think that gender differences can account for everything that is going on here. I would like to propose another possibility—that of socialisation with regards to location. Men and women have been socialised to view the public washroom in different ways and this affects the graffiti they write. To me, the public washroom is a sanctuary, a safe retreat from a hectic world. But in talking to men, their washroom is not viewed this way. In these conversations I came to realise that men saw the washroom differently from me. To them it is a room with a function and that function is certainly not social in nature, whereas for women the washroom is also a place to talk and put on make-up, etc., as well as for dealing with basic bodily functions.

I decided to test this hypothesis. I created a questionnaire dealing with attitudes towards public washrooms and sent this out over the internet via electronic mail. Since I only received 35 responses, these results can in no way be considered conclusive. However, I believe the responses indicate a possible explanation for the differences in graffiti. In addition to basic information on age and sex, the questions I asked are as follows:

1) *What unwritten rules or rituals do you know of that govern washroom behaviour? (For example, never peeking into the stalls.) Please list as many as you can think of.*
2) *How do you choose which stall or urinal you are going to use? Are there any rules/rituals governing this?*
3) *Were any of the behaviours listed in 1 and 2 taught to you by your parents? Which ones?*
4) *Do you ever converse with people you don't know while in a public washroom?*
5) *How often would you converse with people you don't know while in a public washroom?*
6) *Under what circumstances would you speak to someone you didn't know in a public washroom?*

7) Do you ever read washroom graffiti?
8) Do you ever write washroom graffiti?
9) If you do write, do you ever go back to see if there are any responses to your writing?
10) Do you ever write graffiti anywhere other than in a washroom?

Because of the small number of responses and unequal representation between the sexes (26 men and 9 women), I can only speak in general terms of my findings. I compiled the responses and found that the men listed one third more rules than women did (39 versus 26). All of these rules fall into four different categories: personal interaction; personal space and privacy; personal conduct; and cleanliness. For both men and women, these rules of the public washroom are rarely taught by their parents so they must have been socialised through observation and/or peer pressure.

The most dramatic revelation were the answers to questions four through five, dealing with talking in a public washroom. Of the men, 73% rated the amount of talking that they do with people they don't know in a washroom as rarely or never whereas 66% of the women said they talked to people they don't know sometimes or often. This would seem to indicate a marked difference what the washroom means to men and women. For men, the washroom is a place to purge, therefore their graffiti takes on much of this attitude (i.e., the use of taboo language, discussion of what they may perceive to be taboo subjects such as sex acts, etc.). And for women, the washroom is a place to talk, so their graffiti takes on greater levels of complexity on subjects such as relationships—a topic you might overhear two women talking about in a washroom. Graffiti mirrors attitudes, and we can read this phenomena on the washroom walls.

As I mentioned in the beginning of this paper, there are no hard and fast conclusions to be found here, only indications of possibilities. I would like to test my hypothesis further. Therefore, I plan to examine these attitudes more fully through a much more structured survey and with a much larger group. I also plan to do more of these washroom snapshots and to collect graffiti of every variety. And if I ever find a conclusion, rest assured that I will definitely publish it!

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MAKING SAUSSURE ACCESSIBLE

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Making Saussure accessible: to whom? for what purpose? How to do it? We may answer these questions as we wish, but the history and reception of the *Course in General Linguistics* (henceforth *CGL*) seem to dictate an answer as to *what* in Saussure needs to be made user-friendly.

Inaccurate commentaries on the book are as frequent as distorted versions of its principles in various appropriations in and beyond linguistics. (For commentaries, see Angenot, Gordon, Koerner, Strozier in References) This may suggest that Saussure's thought was inaccessible even before it became encrusted by its self-appointed custodians. One may be tempted to blame the French language, the editors who prepared Saussure's lecture notes for publication, Saussure's terminology, or the difficulty of the ideas with which he grappled.

If Saussure was, in the beginning, inaccessible to those with no knowledge of French, that problem has been solved by the appearance of translations of the *CGL* into seventeen languages -- the first English translation by Wade Baskin having appeared in 1959. If the subtleties of the French language have prevented full understanding of Saussure, that barrier too has been lowered, for the English-speaking world at least, by the appearance of a second translation (Roy Harris), which students may collate with Baskin's for purposes of illuminating difficult passages. Whatever inadequacies one might ascribe to the original French edition of the *CGL*, they have been compensated for in large measure by the works of Engler and Komatsu & Harris (see References).

We are left with the problems posed by Saussurean terminology and the inherent difficulty of his subject matter. I submit that these obstacles are diminished by reading, studying, and teaching the *CGL* with a constant emphasis on Saussure's objectives and the underlying unity of his principles. Design = arrangement + purpose. If we keep this equation in view, it increases the prospect not only of understanding Saussure but working with his ideas in a fashion which respects their integrity and remains consistent with them.

We thus turn the problem into the solution, if we begin with Saussure's dualities, the pairs of contrasting terms that describe levels of linguistic analysis and features of the linguistic sign. They are, **in order of presentation:** *1) language/speech; 2) signifier/signified; 3) synchronic/diachronic; 4) form/substance; 5) signification/value; 6)*

difference/opposition; 7) syntagmatic/associative; 8) arbitrary/motivated. In selecting these pairs as the key words and framework for his analysis, Saussure opted, to the extent possible, to make his thought accessible by favoring relatively non-technical terms. He knew that, apart from *synchronic/ diachronic, syntagmatic/associative,* his students would recognize the terms from non-linguistic contexts, and that he could qualify them in the sense required for his own analysis.

Saussure was too dissatisfied with the results produced by earlier linguists to base his teaching on their work. They had failed to ask the question with which he begins and ends all his teaching: **what is the nature of the subject matter under study in linguistics?**

How could such a basic and important question have been overlooked? Mainly because linguists had confined their interest to the historical study of language -- its origins, its growth, the changes it underwent -- and especially because linguistic analysis had always been based on **written** texts. Saussure asked his students to examine instead the **spoken** word as a starting point for analysis. This led him to the first of his contrasting pairs of terms, the difference between **langue** (what we can do with language) and **parole** (what we do do with language when we speak).

This distinction can be made in English through the terms **language** and **speech**. Many languages distinguish between these two and did so before Saussure came on the scene, but linguists had never grounded their analyses here. This was the great flaw that Saussure saw in even the best of earlier approaches to linguistics, the flaw that he set out to correct. Once **language** versus **speech** was taken as a starting point, it opened the way for Saussure to make more distinctions **within language**. This set a direction for linguistics that was completely different from the one taken by nineteenth century linguists. Saussure did not abandon historical linguistics in his teaching, but he did not start with it.

After an introduction beginning with a history of linguistics, tailored to Saussure's complaints, and ending with phonology, the *CGL* is divided into five parts. The first of these presents general principles, working through from the nature of the linguistic sign to the interacting levels of linguistic analysis. Here Saussure starts by saying that language has too often been taken as nothing other than nomenclature -- a list of terms corresponding to things. He corrects this view, stating that the linguistic sign does not link a name and a thing but a concept and an acoustic image.

Why did Saussure decide that the nomenclature view of language was inadequate? First of all because it is an

oversimplification of the processes of interaction between mind, world, and words at the time that language came into being. It assumes that humans already had ideas and that they simply put words to these ideas. This is the linguistic equivalent of imposing the final word on whether the chicken or the egg came first. Saussure's intuition told him that just as the chicken might have been the egg's idea for getting more eggs, the emergence of ideas and words to express them must have occurred under a process of mutual influence. So, on the one hand, the nomenclature view takes too little into account. But it is also vague, giving no indication if the name linked to a thing is basically a psychic entity (Saussure's term for a mental entity shared by the community of speakers who use it to communicate with each other) or a vocal entity (a sound or sequence of sounds). For Saussure, working his way toward the distinction between **language** and **speech**, the vagueness of the nomenclature view would not do.

The linguistic sign would have to be defined for **language** (the system itself) in a way that would exclude the actual sounds of **speech** (the system put to use). Saussure's definition, where the linguistic sign has only two components, is no more complex than the nomenclature view that he criticized as being too simple. In fact, he admits that he found the two-part sign of the nomenclature view appealing. It was only the oversimplification of the processes involved in the birth of language that needed to be avoided. Saussure sidesteps these altogether in his definition of the sign, replacing the fuzzy term **name** from the nomenclature view by **acoustic image** (the mental image of a name that allows a language-user to say the name) and banishing **thing** in favour of **concept**, so that the definition will link two entities that both belong to **language**. Once Saussure got the sign defined to his satisfaction as an entity with two parts, he decided to change their names from concept and acoustic image, to **signified** and **signifier**. In the original French the terms are **signifié** and **signifiant**, which translate as 'signified' and 'signifying'. Why choose terms that are so similar and run the risk of confusion? Saussure believed that the minimal difference in form between the names of the two parts of the sign would serve to emphasize the contrast between them, as well as the contrast between each of them and the sign as a whole. The definition of the sign and the question of what its parts are called are just preliminaries to what Saussure called his first principle: **the linguistic sign is arbitrary**.

Rivers of ink have flowed in the discussion of this notion. To keep clear about what Saussure meant by it, we have to remember that his sign has two parts, and that what is arbitrary is **making the connection** between them.

Language can make any connection it chooses. When the first language came into existence, when the first word (sign) in that language came into existence, any sound or sequence of sounds (signifier) could have been chosen to express any concept (signified). The proof of arbitrariness is that when different languages came into existence they developed different signs, different links between signifiers and signifieds. If the linguistic sign were not arbitrary, there would be only one universal language.

The sign is arbitrary in the connection made within it between signifier and signified, but it is not arbitrary for the users of the language to which the sign belongs. If it were, there could be no communication. The arbitrary signs of a language are kept in place by convention or agreement among speakers to use them in a more or less uniform way.

There are other ways to explain why linguistic signs cannot be modified at will, but Saussure prefers the one linked to a principle he has already set out -- the arbitrariness of the sign. Since the sign is arbitrary, there is no reason to prefer one particular signifier-signified combination over any other. Arbitrariness precludes any rational basis for arguing the relative merits of a sign and a prospective alternative.

Saussure has just finished teaching that the signifier-signified link is arbitrary and that this arbitrariness **prevents** linguistic change **by design** when he observes that the same arbitrariness **permits** language to change. (If the sign were not arbitrary, new meanings could never develop.) The arbitrariness of the sign is a tough concept, but Saussure had to start with it because other principles turn out to be a necessary consequence of it. Let us notice at this point that Saussure's initial lesson on the arbitrariness of the sign does not involve the complementarity **arbitrary/motivated**, which will be presented only at the end of part one of the lessons on synchronic analysis. The *CLG* proceeds from the discussion of arbitrariness directly to the synchronic/diachronic duality.

Language cannot be fully described apart from an account of the community that uses it **and** the effects of time. But the description cannot be accurate unless language as a system is viewed **separately** from the effects of time on that system. So, Saussure divides linguistics into **synchronic** and **diachronic**.

A synchronic study examines the relations among co-existing elements of a language and is therefore independent of any time factor by definition. It gives an account of a **state** of the language system. The notion of a system implies that, if the account is valid, it will present that state as a **whole** of interacting elements. By contrast, a diachronic study describes an **evolution** in which only

fragments of states of a language at different times are relevant to the account.

For Saussure, language is a system of values. The key to this concept is remembering that the linguistic sign links sounds and ideas. Without that link, it would be impossible to separate one thought from another. But sounds are no more distinct than unexpressed thoughts. The function of language is not to create a sound medium for the expression of thought but to mediate **between** thought and sound, so that the link between them will result in mutually determined units. Thought, which is chaotic by nature, acquires order when it acquires form.

Saussure offers the comparison between the linguistic sign and a sheet of paper. It is impossible to cut one side without cutting the other. The sound and the thought that are linked in a sign are just as inseparable as the two sides of the paper. The link between sound and thought in the linguistic sign produces **form**, not **substance**.

This notion brings us back to the arbitrariness of the sign and takes us forward to the idea of linguistic value. If the sign were not arbitrary, the signs that make up language would not be **mutually** determined but **externally** determined. But linguistic value **is** determined entirely by the existence of relations, and the sign must therefore be arbitrary. Saussure calls the relation between the signifier and the signified and the relation between signs "pure form", as a reminder that it consists of nothing but a relation.

Saussure distinguishes two types of meaning: one belongs to the sign, to a sign taken individually **(signification)**; the other arises from the contrast between signs. Meaning that is part of the sign is subordinate to meaning determined by contrast, and so Saussure calls the latter **linguistic value**, as a reminder of the difference.

There is a paradox in the principle for any system of values. The system must consist of 1) something **unlike** whatever it can be **exchanged for**, the value of which is to be determined; 2) things **similar** to the one for which the value is to be determined.

You can exchange money for bread or bread for money. They have to be different for the system to work. But compare a five-dollar bill and a ten-dollar bill. You don't exchange these the way you do bread for money, but you know how much they are worth by comparing them to each other. They belong to the same system, and they have to be comparable for the system to work.

Sounds and ideas are like the bread and the money. If you are a baker, there is no point in exchanging your bread with another baker. If you are hungry, there is no point in exchanging your money for somebody else's. If you have an

idea to get across, you can't do it with another idea. Ideas have to be exchanged for sounds, and sounds have to be exchanged for ideas, if speakers are to communicate **meaning (signification)**. The exchange takes place between the two parts of the linguistic sign. But in addition to this type of meaning, the sign communicates **linguistic value**, and this comes from its contrast with other signs to which it is related (like the contrast between the $5 and the $10). Take the words *ocean, lake, river, creek*. Together they determine each other's meanings. Each term is understood partly because we know how it is different from each and all of the others. *Ocean* means what *lake, river, creek* do not; *lake* means what *ocean, river, creek* do not, etc.

The principle that distinguishes value from signification also distinguishes forms from each other and creates meaning. *Lake* also means what it means because it is different from *bake, fake, make, etc.* These are not examples of related but contrasting meanings like *lake, ocean, river, etc.* that Saussure calls linguistic value; they are examples of contrasting forms. There is a minimal difference of one sound at the beginning of each word in the group *lake, bake, take, fake*. That is enough to make each of them a signifier of a different sign, a signifier linked to a different signified. The minimal difference in form allows a difference in meaning for each sign.

Linguistic forms are contrastive, relative, and negative entities. Minimal pairs show us how linguistic forms function to give meaning by contrasting with each other. Since signs belong to the language system and not to speech, these forms, or signifiers, do not consist of sounds. (Sounds only occur in speech.) A linguistic form has no substance, no presence, no positive qualities to give it substance or presence. It consists of the differences that separate it from all other forms. The language system requires *only* differences. Let's take the example of *did you, did ya, didja*. These variations in pronunciation don't affect communication. Any one of them contrasts with *did he, did we, etc.* There is no confusion of meaning, as long as there is a difference of form. If *did he* is shortened to *"didee"*, it still contrasts with *did we*. But *did he* and *did we* can't both be shortened to *"didee"* or else the contrast in meaning is lost.

In general, the concept of **difference** implies positive terms between which the difference exists, but in the language system this is not necessary. Meaning is carried by differences alone. No positive terms are required for the formation of a system, which functions to create differences among ideas and differences among sound-images. When we analyze these differences in signifiers and

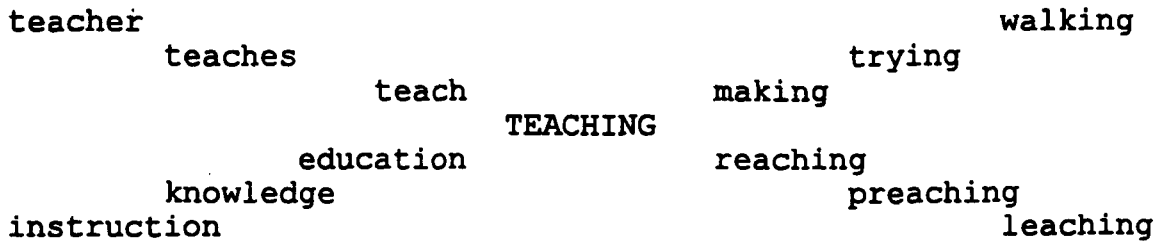
signifieds taken separately, they are pure difference, pure form, purely negative. But from the point of view of the sign, where signifier and signified come together, we are no longer dealing with a negative element: among signs there are only **oppositions**.

A sign's form differs from that of other signs as form; a sign's concept differs from that of other signs as concept. But as a sign it does not **differ** from others; it is merely **distinct** from them. Every feature of language structure that Saussure develops from this point forward is based on the distinctiveness of the sign, the **oppositions** among signs. There is even a basic opposition of types of relations among signs in synchronic linguistics: **syntagmatic** (linear) and **associative** (non-linear).

Linear relations are complex signs, sign-sequences with two or more components: *mouse-trap (2), mouse-traps (3), the mouse-traps (4), set the mouse-traps (5), etc.* Non-linear relations are associations of form or meaning, or both, that language-users automatically make for any sign: *mouse/mice, mouse/rat, mouse/house, trap/trapping/trapped, trap/catch, trap/snap, mouse-trap/rat-trap, etc.*

Speech is linear, and so linear relations might seem to belong to speech. But they do not, because the type of linear relations Saussure is defining here are sign-sequences, and signs belong only to the language system, not to speech. Saussure distinguishes between linear relations that are fixed and those that are free. The expression *have a cold* is fixed; we cannot get the same meaning across by substituting *be with a cold, have coldness,* or any other phrase we might try to invent. And *have a cold* is not a pattern for other expressions; we cannot say *have a hot, have a warm, have a cool.* By contrast, *a cold day* is a free expression with the same pattern as many others: *a hot day, a warm day, a cool day, a cold month, a cold season, etc. Have a cold* is a linear sign-sequence of the type Saussure defines for purposes of showing how such sequences interact with associations among signs.

Language-users make connections among signs on the basis of signifiers or signifieds, or both. Any word, says Saussure, is like the center of a constellation of associations.



These word-groups are never spoken as groups, because they belong to the language system, not to speech.

Teaching is used as the example here because it has a linear relation in it. But just because it is linear doesn't mean it's *teach + ing*. *Ing* is never used by itself, so it is not simply added to *teach* the way we would add to make a grammatical structure like *teach math*. We make the connection between *teach* and *ing* in speech through the connections we make in the language system among *teaching, making, trying, walking, etc.* They belong together because they follow a pattern, and we can follow the pattern because they belong together. This is how linear relations and associations interact. Here is another example of this interaction:

Uncover is a complex sign with an internal linear relation. It functions as a unit because it belongs to two groups of the non-linear relations we call associations.

Why is a bird called *a bird*? No reason, really. It's called *un oiseau* in French and *ein Vogel* in German. The sign is arbitrary. Why is a bird-cage called *a bird-cage?* Because it's a cage for a bird. Is the sign arbitrary in this case? No. *Bird* is a simple sign and arbitrary; *cage* is a simple sign and arbitrary. But *bird-cage* is a complex sign and not arbitrary. We understand the relation between the signifier and the signified of the complex sign as a whole because we recognize the relation between its parts. When this happens, the sign is not arbitrary; it is *motivated.*

When a complex sign is motivated by its parts, it belongs to groups of associated words of the type shown above for *uncover: 1) uncover, unbend, unscramble; 2) uncover, recover, discover.* Another example would be *singer, grower, user, talker, etc.*, where we recognize a pattern of meaning--a person who does the action indicated by the first part of the word. In this case, there are other words that appear to follow the same pattern but do not: *sweater, slipper, stapler, facer, etc.* They belong to a series of associations where form is similar, but there is no connection in meaning--as in *teaching, reaching, preaching.*

The principles that Saussure calls **linguistic value** and **oppositions** distinguish signs from each other; **syntagmatic relations** in the sign and **associations** among signs bind them

together. It is this binding together that limits the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign--the principle with which Saussure opened his teaching. When arbitrariness is limited, the sign is said to be **motivated**. If the signs of language were completely arbitrary, they would be much more difficult to learn. All languages limit the arbitrariness of their signs to some degrees, and Saussure sees in this variation a basis for the classification of languages.

If we didn't have compound words like *bird-cage* in English, we would have to learn *bird* and *cage* and a third word instead of just combining them. For counting from *1-100*, we would need a hundred separate words, instead, we have just 28: simple and arbitrary (unmotivated) signs like *one, two, three* and motivated combinations like *twenty-one, twenty-two*, etc.

The users of a language not only know automatically what associations belong to a given word, they know what distinguishes various types of associations from each other. The link among *teaching, teach, teaches, etc.* is different from that of *teaching, making, trying, etc.* Being clear on that difference is the link between knowledge of word-associations and knowledge of grammar. Associations like *teaching, education, instruction, etc.* are based on meaning alone, without the extra link of recurring signifiers as in *teaching/teach, teaching/making*. This is why Saussure believes that progressively wider associations form the basis of our knowledge of grammatical categories--nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.

We have moved here from connections among specific words to the categories of grammar, from concrete entities to abstract ones. There can be no abstractions in grammar without concrete elements to serve as their basis. The same is true when we move from associations to linear relations. Word order is an abstraction, but there can be no word order without the concrete presence of words. How could we speak of a contrast in word order creating a difference in meaning unless we took examples?

I want him to tell the truth/ I want to tell him the truth

Meaning and grammatical function exist only with the help of specific forms.

In the lessons on synchronic analysis, Saussure taught that the linguistic sign is both changeable and unchangeable. Because of the sign's changeable quality, a diachronic approach to linguistics is both possible and necessary, if the subject is to be completely covered. The evolution of sounds is incompatible with the notion of a language system, which is what synchronic linguistics

studies, so tracing the evolution of sounds comes under the separate heading of diachronic linguistics. But Saussure's lessons on diachronic linguistics refer back constantly to the dualities he set out as general principles.

He begins with the fact that phonetic change alters synchronic facts. Let's take a look at some interesting words that will show us the synchronic effect of phonetic change.

Delicious and *delight*. Do we make a connection between these words? Perhaps, because something that is delicious is a delight. But what about these pairs: *bitter-bite, doctor-docile, vacant-vacation, specimen-speculate?* Most speakers of English would not connect the meanings of these words, but just like *delicious-delight*, they come from the same root word in Latin or Old English. In each pair, the parts of speech to which the words belong is different, so there was a grammatical difference between them to begin with. But as phonetic change was added to that difference, it ensured that the connection between the words would be lost. In Latin, *berbicarius* was derived from *berbix* (*shepherd* from *sheep*), but in French these became *berger* and *brebis*. Here the connection of form is even weaker than for English *sheep-shepherd*, and so the signifiers do not support a connection between the concepts signified. The proof of this weakened link is that, in some variants of French, *berger* can mean *cattle-herder*. The link with *sheep* is completed severed. The connection between *Venus* and *venereal* has also been lost, but for more complicated reasons.

We are looking at examples here of diachronic change, but the results show the effect of such changes on linguistic value, which is a synchronic feature of language.

Saussure calls analogy a grammatical feature of language. (Let us recall that for Saussure associations among signs and syntagmatic relations in the sign form the basis of the grammatical system.) For analogy to operate, speakers must understand and be aware of the relations between forms. Meaning comes into play. Here is a contrast between analogy and phonetic change, because the latter takes place independently of meaning. But new forms created through analogy could have no basis, if speakers did not link forms through meaning.

In the discussion of analogy, the *Course in General Linguistics* is at its most explicit about the connections among its principles. Three main points are raised: 1) analogy shows the necessity of a linguistic analysis where the language system is treated separately from speech; 2) it also shows that speech depends on the language system, and that the latter consists of the interaction of the linear and associative relations set out in the lessons on synchronic linguistics; 3) because it is grammatical and

synchronic, analogy confirms Saussure's concept of an opposition between the arbitrariness of simple linguistic signs and the motivation of complex ones. Simple signs are never the basis for analogical creation.

Analogy is part of how language works. That makes it part of language as a system. That makes it part of synchronic linguistics. But analogy gives results that must be studied as part of diachronic analysis.

Saussure stresses that analogy is the engine of the evolution of language. All linguistic change starts with one speaker using a new form like *cows* instead of *kine*, *gived* instead of *gave*, or *doed* instead of *did*. As children learn to speak, they keep trying out innovations such as *gived* and *doed*. If a new form is imitated and repeated by enough speakers, it gradually takes the place of the older one in the language system, the way *cows* replaced *kine*. Sometimes it is a process of reconstructing the elements of the system, as in the examples above. Sometimes it is a matter of reidentifying and reinterpreting existing terms. In both cases, the result is the creation of new forms by analogy.

For Saussure, the process of analogy begins with the interaction of form and meaning. The general tendency of analogy is to replace older, irregular forms by regular ones, to create complex signs made up of recognizable parts that can be found in other complex signs. This type of analogical creation *(cows, gived, doed)*, turns arbitrary signs into motivated signs. The process of analogy can begin and develop because of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, but the product is the motivation of the sign.

Saussure declares that analogy is a stronger force in the evolution of language than phonetic change. Analogy does not so much change the elements of language as redistribute them. Here is Saussure's analogy for analogy: language is a garment covered with patches cut from its own cloth. When *kine* got torn out of English, the plural of *cow* got patched with the *s* that was already there for all the regular plurals. For this reason, even though analogy involves creation and replacement of forms, we can say that it is a conservative force.

Analogy is also conservative because it stablizes signs and unifies them in groups that have exactly the same basis as the groups of associations we saw earlier. *Cows, plows, sows, bows, etc.* is an example. This group is just a part of the huge number of nouns that show the plural by adding *s* to their singular form. Analogy drew *cows* into this series of forms, and analogy protects the series from undergoing any changes. A linguistic sign is much less susceptible to change when its signifier is partly the same as that of

another sign, and there is a grammatical connection between them, such as plural for the example here. If a word is complex in structure, language-users perceive it both as a whole and as a linear relation. It is maintained so long as its elements are maintained. If a word is neither complex in structure nor easily linked to a series of other words (by form or meaning or both), it is free of the pressures that can lead to replacement by analogy.

Here we see two paradoxes: linguistic change through analogy is caused by associations and prevented by them; resistance to linguistic change through analogy is caused by associations and the absence of them.

Because analogy is so wide spread, and because it involves the sign (its parts, its interpretation, and its qualities), it is much more powerful than phonetic change in the evolution of language that is the subject of diachronic analysis.

When part of a word suggests another one, the part can take over the whole, especially when the meaning of the part is clear, but the meaning of the whole is not. This is called folk etymology or popular etymology. Middle English *agnail*, meaning a painful fingernail, mystified speakers with its *ag-*. As a result, it was transformed into *hangnail*. The process is quite common when foreign words are imported into a language. Speakers cannot resist the temptation to make the words over to conform to the patterns and models of their our language. French *crevice* became *crayfish* in English. *Cariole*, a name for a type of horse-drawn carriage, became *carryall*. When the French borrowed *country dance*, it turned into *contredanse* (literally a *counter-dance*). All these changes involve meaning, a reaction against the arbitrariness of the sign, and the creation of a complex sign.

Agglutination is the linguistic process where separate words used in combination have turned into one word. Some of these are easy to recognize: *grownup, darkroom, fogbound, forget-me-not, nevertheless*. Others are harder to spot, even when the spelling and pronunciation of the components have not changed very much: *holidays <holy days, breakfast <break fast*. The hardest ones to recognize are those where the component words are no longer used by themselves, or have changed too much in spelling and meaning to give us any clue: *wardrobe, twilight, midriff, bellwether*.

Saussure stresses the contrast between agglutination and analogy, as he did between folk etymology and analogy. Agglutination combines words which are otherwise independent, whereas analogy operates below the level of the word on prefixes, roots, and suffixes. Agglutination takes place at the level of linear relations among the words it combines, but analogy involves both linear relations and

groups of associated words.

As Saussure concludes his lessons on diachronic linguistics, he relates them to his earlier teaching about synchronic phenomena. He writes that when the sign changes there is a shift in the relationship between the signifier and the signified. This holds true not only for changes in the elements of a sign system but also for changes to the system itself. The whole of the diachronic phenomenon is exactly this and nothing more.

To make the study of diachronic linguistics complete and consistent with his lessons on synchronic analysis, Saussure raises the issue of diachronic units. These are determined by asking a basic question: What element has been subjected directly to change? This leads to the issue of diachronic identity, paralleling the discussion of synchronic identity in an earlier chapter which some commentators take to be the most important of the *CLG*. Whether or not we agree with this judgement, the parallels are valuable as an illustration that the coherence of the work extends beyond the recurrence of the key terminological dualities.

The *CLG* closes with the statement that the true and unique object of linguistics is language studied in and for itself. Here again we may disagree or refocus as we wish, but it is instructive in any case to look at the fate of Saussure's work outside linguistics. One example will suffice to show the consequences of ignoring the design of the work, which this presentation has been at pains to emphasize.

The French philosopher Jacques Derrida is generally acknowledged as the founder of **post-structuralism** (also called **deconstruction**)-- an attempt to correct some of the perceived shortcomings of structuralism--Saussure's legacy to twentieth century thought in and beyond linguistics. Derrida's arguments pinpoint three areas of Saussure's thought requiring correction: his idealism, his emphasis on spoken language, and his use of binary oppositions (we have been calling them **dualities**) to describe language.

By **idealism** Derrida means the view that language does not create meanings but simply reveals them. He imputes this view to Saussure in disregard of the same key point in the *CGL* that Lacan missed--the language-system as a mediator between sound and thought. Both thought and sound are formless, Saussure taught, until they are linked and acquire form through the creation of those links--called signs. There are no pre-existing meanings in this view, as Derrida believes.

Derrida attaches primary importance to the concept of **difference**, which is also fundamental for Saussure, but he does not retain the complementary term **opposition**. He also

follows Saussure in making **system** a basic notion. On the basis of **system** and **difference**, Derrida develops the concept of **archi-writing**--a system of pure differentiality that underlies writing **and** speaking. He charges that Saussure did not recognize such a system, because of his prejudiced view of writing as nothing more than a derived way of representing speech. To call Saussure's view of writing a prejudice is to disregard his whole purpose of avoiding the endless confusion and errors in the work of earlier linguists, who had always limited themselves to written texts.

Derrida rejects Saussure's procedure of working with complementary pairs of terms, such as associative and syntagmatic relations. This pair, especially, is related to the even more fundamental duality of absence/presence that Derrida banishes as a starting point for deconstruction.

The whole project of eliminating dualities becomes unnecessary when we recall that Saussure concluded his lesson on syntagmatic relations and associations by showing how they interact. They are defined independently, but they operate interdependently. Since definitions are particularly subject to the endless play of signifiers (a normal state of affairs, according to the post-structuralist view), there is no point in objecting to their provisionally independent status in Saussurean linguistics. Saussure moved beyond all his dualities himself. In this sense, he deconstructed structuralism more than half a century before Derrida. None of the potential obstacles to the accessibility of the *CGL* outlined at the beginning of this paper are relevant in the case of Derrida, but the consequences of his refusal of the Saussurean dualities suggest that understanding their purpose and studying their recurrence throughout the *CGL* provides a fruitful starting point for any student of the book, even one whose project might be epistemological nihilism.

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REMARKS ON A THEORY OF GRAMMAR FOR A SOCIO-COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

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My epigraph for this paper is from Chomsky's 'Linguistics and Adjacent Fields: A Personal View' in *The Chomskyan Turn* edited by Asa Kasher 1991 [Basil Blackwell: Oxford]:

> If some approach to the study of language really does have doctrines or privileged notations that are not subject to challenge on pain of "abandoning the theory", some kind of perceived disaster, then we can be fairly confident that this approach is a byway to be avoided in the search for serious answers to serious questions . . . (4).

I

My present, and indeed continued, interest in linguistics is the speaking and hearing, writing and reading person in his or her environment. It's a socio-cognitive perspective, hence the label 'communication linguistics'. Language is seen, to use Halliday's terms, as an intra-organism *and* an inter-organism matter (cf. Halliday 1978:10). From these perspectives we have to respect the universality of language as a human social phenomenon (and so the need to pursue inquiry into universal grammar) and respect the particularity of individual languages, and indeed, sub-languages (and so the need to write grammars of languages, dialect configurations, and registers). It is not, in the long run or fundamentally, a question of either/or but of both-and. My concern is largely with the second pursuit but I certainly won't ignore the first.

I take it for granted that a grammar which is cognitive, which is an idealization of what has to be known to speak and understand a language, is both formal and functional: formal of necessity because of scientific concerns with replicability, viability, and adequacy; functional because otherwise there would be no purpose to the endeavour.

For reasons that were spelt out by Elissa Asp (1991), and which were developed in her doctoral dissertation (1993), system networks have been abandoned as the major formalism in my proposed model. It will suffice in this place to summarize Asp's major points: system networks reflect the classical taxonomic basis of the organization of knowledge on which accumulated and current research into cognition has cast grave doubt; the allocation of networks to particular metafunctions breaks down as the network proceeds in delicacy, and sits uneasily with the explanation of smaller units of language; the implication of systemic linguistics that all the information contained in a network is relevant to the production and understanding of an utterance is rejected; furthermore, the 'closed' nature of system notation is antipathetic to the understanding of morphogenesis; if we are concerned with the open dynamic nature of linguistic systems, and I am, then a static closed network notation is

not the answer. Asp has pointed out that attempts to 'reform' system notation by recursive loops and built in 'other' branches for each set of terms/features radically changes the status of the systemic formalism and returns us to what I consider a Firthian insight, that syntagms constitute both the input and output of systems.

Furthermore, in the twenty-five years and more I have spent working on grammar in a stratified-systemic way, I have had considerable difficulty providing fully explicit realizational rules without greatly complicating the grammar. Given the sparsity of publication of full realizational statements in systemic linguistics, I suspect I was not alone in this predicament. Yet, as Robin Fawcett has never tired telling meetings of systemic linguists 'no system networks without realizational rules'.

There are senses in which the theory of grammar I am working on is 'generative'. But to prevent misunderstanding I wish to associate myself totally with James D. McCawley's eloquent remarks on this matter in his introduction to *The Syntactic Phenomena of English* (1988:5-6):

> The term *generative grammar* is often used in the technical sense that has been given to it by Chomsky: the construction of grammars that describe a language by specifying what its sentences are, i.e. by defining a set of sentences that is taken as comprising the language. The existence of sentences that are normal not absolutely but only relative to contexts is one of a number of reasons that I have for not doing generative grammar in the technical sense: it makes no sense to speak of such sentences either as unqualifiedly being or as unqualifiedly not being sentences of the language. A second reason that I have for not doing generative grammar in the technical sense is that a language (or even an idiolect . . .) normally provides not a single way of speaking and writing but a number of styles and registers, each with its own restrictions on the circumstances under which it is normal to use it. One's knowledge of a language involves some rules and vocabulary items that are restricted to particular styles and registers . . . The language can be identified neither with a set of sentences that are normal in one specific register . . . nor with a set that lumps together indiscriminately sentences of all styles and registers. The latter set would be of no relevance to the question of what a speaker of English (or whatever the language is) knows: such a set . . . has the same sort of bizarreness as does a set of football scores that are given without any indication of which team each score corresponds to . . .
>
> While the enterprise . . . will thus not be generative grammar in the technical sense, it will be generative grammar in two looser senses: first, it will involve much of the descriptive machinery that is associated with linguists who claim . . . to be engaged in generative grammar in the technical sense: and second, the grammars developed . . . can be regarded as specifying the membership of a set, though a set of something other than sentences: *the rules to be developed . . . can be regarded as specifying not what sentences but what complexes of sentence, meaning, context and style/register the given language allows* [italics mine M.G.].

Thus McCawley. Much of it, as regards the meaning of 'generative', should

perhaps not need to be said. Chomsky 1957 need not rule forever; he himself has recently reiterated the point he first made in 1965 that for him 'generative' means nothing more than 'explicit' (Chomsky 1965:4, 1986:3) but some misconceptions and early dicta, like dragons, hang on in imagination and memory for people to tilt at.

The 'descriptive machinery' I am building on is not classical transformational grammar nor McCawley's novel and revealing variant of it. Rather I am engaged, I hope, in a creative and workable synthesis of insights from Principles and Parameters theory (cf. Chomsky and Lasnik 1993) and the dimensions of the instantial and generic situations in which language is used which I presented in 'Generic Situation and Register: A Functional View of Communication' (1988; cf. also Asp 1995, Gregory 1995a, and Stillar 1991, 1992a, 1992b, in press). These dimensions are *experience relationship, interaction relationship* and *medium relationship.*

Two of the major tasks which linguists are, and can be expected to be, engaged in, are text production and text parsing, particularly a text parsing which facilitates semantic abstraction or digesting. Both these activities, production and parsing, are appropriate for linguists to engage in: society needs them; they test the viability of our models; they reflect the encoding and decoding aspects of language behaviour; and they remind us that the grammar of a language (that is, the lexicon and the computational system that activates the lexicon to produce sentences, and ultimately, text/discourse), is both a part of, and is impregnated by the *gnostologies*, the living knowledges of its users. This is what Chomsky is now calling the *conceptual-intentional interface.* Production and parsing also remind us that language has a necessary physicality, what I've called *manifestation* and Chomsky now calls the *auditory-perceptual interface* (Chomsky and Lasnik op.cit. and Chomsky 1993).

In this paper I will be only outlining, sketching briefly if you like, what the grammar I'm proposing would look like. There will be a significant difference as regards import between this grammar and its grammatical description (GD) and what Chomsky in his recent minimalist theory calls the Structural Description (SD) which interfaces for him with the conceptual-intentional and the auditory-perceptual. What I mean by a grammar of a language is that it is an attempt to describe in explicit terms what it is a speaker knows when (s)he knows a language. This is a position which is similar from the point of view of philosophy to parts of Donald Davidson's (1984) programme, and which, in linguistics has close similarity with James McCawley's position. With him I would argue that what a speaker knows when (s)he knows a language is not only how to construct and understand sentences in that language, but also how to use and interpret sentences appropriately in their environments, and that a speaker's judgement of what is acceptable in the language is not only in terms such as Chomsky's structural description would capture, but also in terms of usage, in terms of what the thing might mean in context. The knowledge is at one and the same time a personal possession and a social possession. This position marginalizes, makes irrelevant for the purposes of production, parsing and a socio-cognitive grammar, Chomsky's distinction between L-I and L-E. Nor is there a need for a programmatic progress from a Theory of Structure, to a Theory of Acquisition, to a Theory of Usage (Chomsky 1986:34). I am not playing Chomsky's game. His is a worthwhile game: to understand the mind by way of language. I am trying to understand language, recognizing its 'mentality'. For me, knowledge of structure, and knowledge of, and

from, usage, are in a symbiotic relationship. So, in this grammar, the experience, interaction, and medium relationships, the dimensions of the instances of generic situations within *communicating community contexts*, play their part as a motivation for structural computation (Gregory 1988). The motivations for the grammar are at one and the same time functional and formal.

Again for socio-cognitive reasons, this grammar is modal rather than stratificational. With Firth, and Pike, semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonology are regarded as 'modes' or different kinds of abstraction from a unitary phenomenon, abstractions we make in order to capture its complexity (Firth 1951/1957; Pike and Pike 1983:70-73). The idea of a realizatory 'code' cycle of semantics realized as syntax and morphology, realized as phonology I have found in practice, faced with problems of text production and parsing, computationally clumsy and cognitively opaque.

II

Throughout this section reference will be made to the diagram on page 76.

The grammar involves two major kinds of abstraction: the lexicon and a computational system that activates the lexicon to produce sentences, and ultimately, discourse. Throughout this paper when I use the words 'computational', 'computation', I am not, of course, implying that a computer other than the human mind is necessarily involved; human computation pre-existed computer computation and, in significant respects, remains superior.

When we know a language, one of the central things we know is a lexicon; we know words and their idiosyncratic and shared properties. When we know a word we have information which can be regarded as phonological, graphological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. When we know the word 'dog' in English we know a certain sequence of sounds, a certain sequence of graphs if we are literate. Morphologically we know one cannot break 'dog' down into any meaningful parts and also recognize that 'dogs' and 'doggish' have two meaningful parts. When we learn a word we also learn with it a syntax in so far as we learn how to fit it into the overall structure of phrases, including sentences, in which it might occur. We know a complex of potential relations for which the term 'noun' can stand; we know that 'dog' is a word that can be head of a phrase which is subject or object in a sentence. We also know that the same phonological syllable can be a verb in which case its morphological scatter is different and we can have 'dogging', 'dogged', and 'doggéd'. Furthermore, when we learn a word we learn a semantics. For every word we know we've learned a meaning or meanings. To know 'dog' is to know a certain meaning of it which, in Firth's sense of transferred terms, could be stated as 'domesticated canine' or 'four-legged pet that barks'. We also have, as part of our semantic knowledge, a knowledge of how to use and interpret the word in contexts of discourse (what is sometimes called 'pragmatic' knowledge). We learn how to interpret such utterances as 'He's a gay dog', 'What a dog!', 'He dogged her footsteps' and so on. We extend our behavioural knowledge of its semantics through the experience of discourse.

Now it seems to me that the linguist's lexicon has to be prepared to record all

these 'knowings', make them explicit. It has to give phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic specification of lexical items, including that part of their semantics rather unnecessarily distinguished as pragmatic. If the grammar is to be used for text production, it has to 'know' all this. This is why the lexicon I am suggesting would not look like the type of lexicon which is indicated in the Chomskyan literature which aims to be minimalist in the information it gives. It would be, in some respects, more like Mel'cuk's lexicon, including collocational as well as colligational tendencies; indeed, it would have to contain all the information in Ilah Fleming's proposed communication situation (referential realm), semantic, and morphemic dictionaries (cf. Mel'cuk & Pertsov 1987:36,40,60, Steele (ed.) 1990, Part 2, Fleming 1988 Vol.2. 233,293,362).

The lexicon needs to represent a knowledge of the speaker of the language, including a knowledge of usage. If you are going to text produce you have to have lexical information which goes beyond the minimalist information that enables you to derive a sentence which is syntactically well-formed. You have to have the type of information which will give you sentences which are discoursally well-formed, appropriate to their environment, relevant to their context.

The major functional motivation of the lexicon is from the experience relationship of instantial and generic situations, a relationship which includes a logic of potential connectivity of events (relations signalled by items such as 'and', 'or', 'if', 'because', etc.). The experience relationships of speakers of a language is why the lexicon is the way it is. (Hence the solid arrow in the diagram). The lexicon answers to the experiential demands put upon it, which is why English, a 'world' language, has such a huge lexicon. Some of the items in the lexicon can be marked for interactional meaning, either of positive or negative value. This is interactional meaning of a 'subjective' or 'affective' kind. For example, our text for this paper concerns participants related to the speaker; 'brother' and 'mother'; 'a car' as another participant, and the event 'give' with the time 'past'. So, in the diagram there is a dotted arrow from the interaction relationship to the lexicon and a possible selectional choice between 'mother' and 'mom' indicated. However, the input into the lexicon of the interactional relationship as regards range of choice in no way matches the massive, potentially infinite, range of choice arising from the experience relationships that the lexicon verbalizes.

Grammatical Relations on the diagram account for what are also sometimes called grammatical functions, such as subject, indirect object, direct object, and adverbial. Such functions are themselves instances of a more generalized set of grammatical relations for which the terms *head, complement, specifier,* and *modifier (adjunct* in some of the literature) are used. These are present in other phrasal constituents as well as in the sentence or *inflection phrase*. Subject is specifier in the Inflection Phrase of I': Direct and Indirect Objects are complements of V as head of VP; these three are the argument positions of the clause.

In place of the theta (thematic) rôles of principles and parameters theory I propose two types of rôles: argument rôles and circumstantial rôles. Argument rôles are concerned with the inherent rôles associated with the projection of lexical items. Inherent to the verb 'study' are the rôles of *agent* and *theme*: '*She* (agent) studied *linguistics* (theme)'; inherent to the noun 'student' is the rôle of theme as in 'student

of *linguistics*'; inherent to the adjective 'studious' is the theme that has that attribute as predicate: '*That woman* is studious'; 'a studious *woman*'. These are all arguments and the argument projecting lexical categories in English are noun, verb, adjective and adverb. In contrast to the principles and parameters position I do not recognize prepositions (a closed class) as projecting an argument but as either 'casing' an argument that has been moved to a non-argument position, or 'casing' a circumstantial rôle. (For my position on Case, see Tousignant 1992 and Gregory 1995b).

Circumstantial rôles (Time, Place, Manner, Condition, Concession, Cause, Consequence), and the generalized grammatical function 'adverbial' are very pertinent to the by-no-means completely autonomous view of grammar I am proposing. If you are keen on autonomy you can pretend that you can take a lexical item from the lexicon such as 'give' and project a sentence from it. If your lexicon has an explicit 'theta grid' and s- as well as c-selection you can give it an appropriate agent (even agent-source if you have a sophisticated 'theta' criterion) as subject, an appropriate goal as indirect object, and an appropriate theme as direct object. You can pretend, if you like, that the lexicon with a little help from X-bar is doing it all for you. When it comes to the circumstantial-adverbial material, however, things fall apart. If one adds 'last year' or 'anonymously' to 'my brother gave mother a car', one can't pretend that either could have been projected, in a determined or delimited way, from any of the projecting categories. Adverbials, in a nice expression Richard Hudson has, 'select their own head' and that head stands as an argument to their predication. In natural language they initially project, of course, from the experience, real or imagined, being related to by the speaker; as also do the other predicates and their arguments.

To return to the material in the diagram: *tense* and *aspect* have to do with the conceptual and discoursal processing of time-of-event in terms, both instantially and generically, of the experience being related to in context.

Projection is by way of *X-bar*. X-bar has been around for more than a quarter of a century so I'll summarize it succinctly. It sets out to give a layered projection schema for the structures of all phrases, one which caters for both dependency and constituency relations. The zero projection is X, the head. Complements combine with X to form X' projections. Modifiers combine with X' to form further X' projections. The specifier combines with the topmost X' to form the maximal projection, XP. As well as the lexical heads mentioned, the grammar has the abstract head Inflection with the maximal projection: Inflection Phrase, and Complementizer with the maximal projection: Complementizer Phrase. X-bar can be stated theoretically in a generalized way that will cover the structuration principles of human languages. Applied to a particular language with the parameters set for that particular language (right or left complementation, its specification and modification possibilities), it represents the speakers' knowledge of the structuration principles of their language, how words get together to make noun, adjective, verb, and adverb phrases, and these phrases to make inflection and complementizer phrases (sentences and clauses).

So, by way of the experience relationship activating the lexicon to project through the appropriate rôles and the grammatical relations of X-bar with an Inflection head (PAST), we have what in the diagram is called a 'starting' structure. This is looking at the grammar from the point of view of text production. 'Give' projects the

NP 'mother' as Goal and Indirect Object, and the NP 'a car' as Theme and Direct Object. These are its internal arguments, sisters to it in the V'. It externally projects the NP 'my brother' as Agent-Source and Subject, i.e. specifier of I'. In the argument structure of this grammar it is recognized that Source and Goal can combine with Agent. This is how reciprocals such as 'give' and 'get/receive', 'buy' and 'sell', 'hear' and 'tell' are handled (cf. Gruber 1965, Jackendoff 1972, 1990). The partial representation of the starting structure gives the constituency in terms of X-bar, and also denotes the grammatical relations and argument rôles that are relevant. The rôles and grammatical relations within the IP are explicit at this stage of the computation so there is a check as regards the filling of argument positions. This part of the labelling disappears until the final representation of the grammatical description, and the 'abstracted' structure or parsing digest. It could, of course, be repeated in any intermediate representation of the derivational computation but it need not be because the information it notates is no longer at risk at these stages.

The interaction relationship makes its impact on the computation necessarily as regards one of its dimensions, the inter-subjective or effective. Every sentence has to select speech function. And this is where system, in the Firthian sense of limited range of choice at a place in structure, remains in this grammar. The default selection is Assertion. In which case there is no affect (no movement, deletion or insertion). If the selection is Question, or Imperative, there is a derivation. For the example in the diagram Question is selected. So there is the operation of moving Inflection to Complementizer (which is already there in the X-bar as a landing site) leaving an indexed trace t_i, the insertion of 'do' to carry inflection, and/or a change in tone selection; which latter reminds us that in any representation in the course of computation phonologic (or orthographic) information could be shown, as deemed necessary or useful.

If the speech function choice from the interaction relationship had been Imperative, NP subject would be deleted, and the inflection would be non-finite. So all this is why 'affect Alpha' is chain bracketed at the right of the diagram; affect Alpha may be by way of movement, insertion and deletion.

Note, too, that there is, on the diagram, an arrow going from the subjective (or affective) dimension of the interaction to a heading, *Modality*. Modality allows the speaker to indicate likelihood, capacity, responsibility, hypothesis and deduction (cf. Gregory 1988:326). There could have been a choice in this derivation, particularly if Question was not chosen, involving 'likelihood' which would lead to either the insertion of a Modal such as 'may' as Inflection or the insertion of an adverb such as 'probably' as a sister of a single bar category. The modal verb can co-exist with the choice of Question but not the modal adverb. The choice between the insertion of a modal verb or a modal adverbial is also a choice involved, *inter alia*, with matters of *focus* and *prominence*.

And that leads us to the medium relationship input into the computation. The long arrow on the diagram going from medium relationship to X-bar reminds us that the medium relationship is organizational not only of discourse but also of syntactic structure. As Halliday and Hasan (1976) pointed out in their work on cohesion, all structure is itself textually cohesive. It involves presupposing and presupposed interrelations. The structuration syntactic potential of a language, its X-bar, is

motivated by the relationship to the medium; it is proper to language as a medium.

Focus and *prominence* arise from message organization. Because we are message giving animals whose behaviour takes place along dimensions of time and space, whose media of living and 'doing' are serial, our communicative activities necessarily have organizational meaning: points of message departure, which I call *focus*, and highlight points which I call *prominence*. All phrases (not just clauses) have their focus and prominence possibilities and they give their own particular kinds of information. In our computation the point of departure of the Inflection Phrase is the tensed inflection 'Did' and so the focus selected is on Question and Inflection. Inflection is in that position as a consequence of the choice of Question, so there is no further affect. The prominence is on 'mother' as Goal so this involves a movement to the end of the Inflection Phrase of the NP 'mother' to right of NP 'a car' as daughter of VP and sister of V', leaving a trace, t_j. It is prepositionally cased by 'to' as a consequence of the movement. Now it is in the normal position to receive the tonic of the tone group. An 'intermediate structure fragment' is included in the diagram as a representation of this affect.

The distribution of focus and prominence is again best explicitized in a systemic way by simple two-term systems of Focus and Non-Focus, Prominence or Non-Prominence at each constituent within the including constituent. There can only be one Focus per constituent; there may be more than one Prominence.

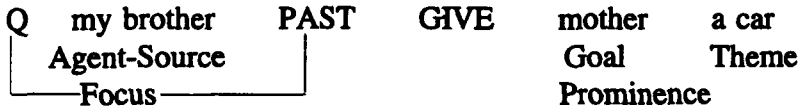
Another impact of medium relationship and its organizational demands is in the area of cohesion. The sentence being computed or parsed does not necessarily exist in isolation from other sentences. I have given in the demonstration example that 'brother' is known from previous discourse, so there is the affect of delete 'my brother' and insert 'he' as the subject NP. This is shown in the intermediate structure fragment to the left.

At the bottom right of the diagram is given a grammatical description, a 'final' structure from the perspective of text production. Within an X-bar tree is shown the argument rôle structure, the grammatical relations can be read off the tree, and traces are indicated. Focus and Prominence are also deducible. The data is presented orthographically with initial capital letter in 'Did' and a query mark at the end. Phonic data would be presented in phonological notation with stress and pitch indicated.

This is the only representation in the grammar so far that has full theoretical status. In Chomsky's terms it represents the sentence as an n-tiple of semantic, syntactic, morphological, and phonological/orthographic features. It is the explicitization, the formalization of what a speaker/hearer knows.

This could not necessarily be claimed of any other representation in the computation.

At the bottom left of the diagram is presented an 'abstracted structure' or 'parsing digest'. This provides the crucial semantic and discoursal information:



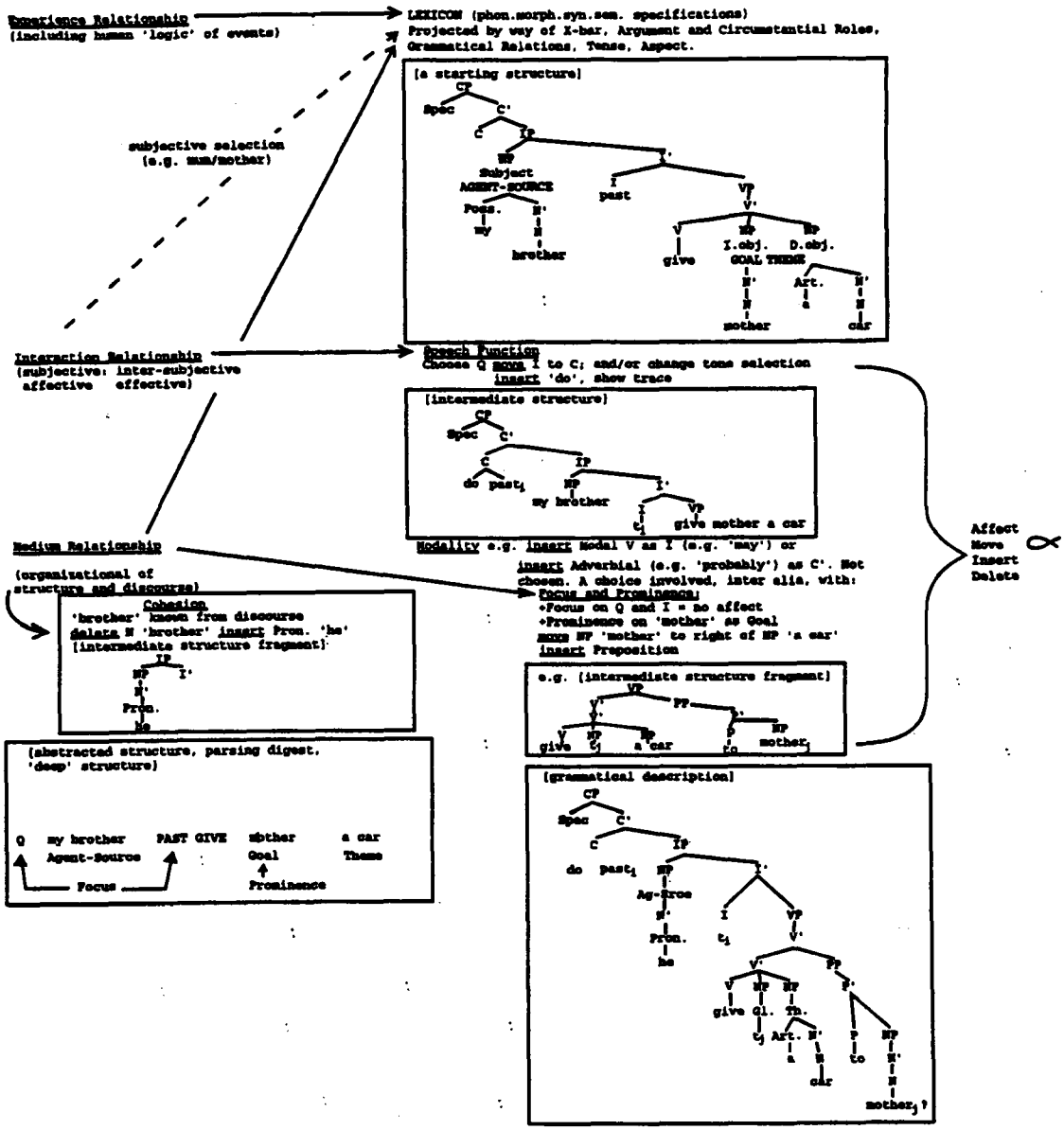
It is seen as a useful notation for storing information about the sentences of a text and could, for example, be used in the phasal analysis of discourse within the communication linguistics framework, an activity Malcolm (1985), Asp (1983), Dill (1985), Young (1990), Stillar (1991, 1992a, 1992b, in press) and I (Gregory 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1995a) have been engaged in over some years. Tousignant used this notation in her 1993 thesis on news reports.

In so far as, by the rules of the grammar, the grammatical description can be derived from the 'abstracted' structure, it can be thought of as a genuine deep structure containing all the necessary semantic-lexical information to be syntacticized. In this paper I have presented the computation as a staged process: beginning with the experiential input, then the interactional input and then the medium organizational input. If, however, the sentence could be derived from the information given in the abstracted structure, information which contains all the experiential, interactional and medium matters at risk, it too would have significant theoretical status. The 'abstracted structure' could be seen as both a 'starting' and 'ending' structure. That has to be tested.

III

This 'micro-mini' grammar has been presented to give an idea of how I conceive a theory of grammar within a socio-cognitive linguistics working. It recognizes formal and functional motivation as symbiotically related. The lexicon and the computational system that is inherent within it and which activates it to produce sentences and discourse have their own internal motivation which is hospitable to the functional relationships we have with experience, interaction, and languages as the media of transmission for our 'conceptual intentions', themselves impregnated with language/languages.

Such a theory can help us approach the useful and challenging tasks of text-production, and text-parsing for the retrieval and storing of information, and in so doing lead us to find out more about language: to give serious answers to serious questions, and to question seriously serious answers. Much science has developed by meeting such technological and applied tasks, a point of fact which seems to elude Chomsky, sometimes, in his quest for scientific purity.


Experience Relationship
(including human 'logic' of events)
LEXICON (phon.morph.syn.sem. specifications)
Projected by way of X-bar, Argument and Circumstantial Roles, Grammatical Relations, Tense, Aspect.
subjective selection
(e.g. mum/mother)
[a starting structure]
Interaction Relationship
(subjective: inter-subjective
affective effective)
Speech Function
Choose Q move I to C; and/or change tone selection
insert 'do', show trace
[intermediate structure]
Affect
Move
Insert
Delete
Medium Relationship
(organizational of structure and discourse)
Modality e.g. insert Modal V as I (e.g. 'may') or
insert Adverbial (e.g. 'probably') as C'. Not chosen. A choice involved, inter alia, with:
Focus and Prominence:
+Focus on Q and I = no affect
+Prominence on 'mother' as Goal
move NP 'mother' to right of NP 'a car'
insert Preposition
Cohesion
'brother' known from discourse
delete N 'brother' insert Pron. 'he'
[intermediate structure fragment]
e.g. [intermediate structure fragment]
[abstracted structure, parsing digest, 'deep' structure)
Q my brother PAST GIVE mother a car
Agent-Source Goal Theme
Focus
Prominence
[grammatical description]

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On making linguistics useful for teachers: What can you learn from plural nouns and R?

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1. Introduction. Making linguistics accessible depends in part on making linguistics useful. In earlier work with secondary school science students (Honda 1994, Honda & O'Neil 1993), we focused on developing their natural curiosity about language into an understanding of it through scientific inquiry: identifying problems, gathering data, formulating hypotheses, and testing them by looking for counterexamples. We used inquiry into native language phenomena as a means to introduce students to the nature of scientific work: certainly one way of making linguistics useful. In this paper, we discuss a linguistics course we teach at Wheelock College, one that grows out of this earlier work.

Wheelock is a small, private college located in the center of Boston, whose students pursue majors in the liberal arts while meeting requirements for professional studies and practice. The College is widely respected for its programs in early childhood and elementary education, and for its mission: improving the lives of children and families. Since the vast majority of its students are white working class or lower middle class women from rural and suburban New England communities, Wheelock must then prepare them to work in a world beyond their experience.

2. The course. Our linguistics course examines the nature of language and its growth in the individual. In the case of our students, who are and will continue working, primarily as teachers, with young children from ethnically and linguistically diverse urban communities, it is necessary to replace myths about language with an understanding of the structure of language, of language variation, and of first and second language development. Our goal is to accomplish this through linguistic inquiry.

A belief that underlies our work is that linguistic inquiry at all levels builds on the mind's science-forming capacity, taking that expression to refer to the idea that in making science humans are tightly constrained in their options and perhaps even in what they can make science about. (For discussion of the notion 'science-forming capacity' -- Peirce's 'abduction', see Peirce 1957; Chomsky, 1968: 78-79; 1988: 156-159.) As with other aspects of our biological endowment, such as the language faculty, experience of a particular sort is needed to trigger development of this capacity: serious inquiry, which "begins when we are willing to be surprised by simple phenomena of nature" (Chomsky 1993: 25). Thus the choice of phenomena is crucial: they must be conceptually accessible both to investigation and to depth of explanation.

We now turn to some of the linguistic phenomena students examine, discussing the ways in which we focus problem sets on particular issues. In these problem sets, drawn from the morphology/phonology module of our course, we raise what appear to be surprising facts about language -- apparent mysteries, turning them into problems to be investigated and solved.

2.1 Plural-noun formation in English. We begin our course with the following problem set, returning to it later in the term after students have learned about phonological features. In §A, students are given a very simple but wrong hypothesis, with the expectation that it will trigger their science-forming capacity and the construction of a better solution, along the lines suggested in §G:

A. Listen carefully to an English speaker's pronunciation of the following plural forms, in which the plural endings sound like the last sound of buzz. Read the following sentences aloud, concentrating on the sound of the plural endings of the underlined words and not on their spelling:

There are bugs on this plant.
The pears are rotten.
There are two birds in the sky.

On the basis of these data, we can formulate a very simple hypothesis for noun pluralization:

Add a Z sound to a noun to make it plural.

If we apply this hypothesis to the words below, will the results sound right? Why or why not?

pig	rat	judge	rock
lunch	cloud	shape	star

B. Some important differences in the way the plural endings sound can be heard in the following sentences. Read the sentences aloud. Concentrate on how the plural endings of the underlined words sound.

All of the spoons and cups and dishes are on the table.
There are goats and horses and cows on the farm.

Some of the plural endings sound the same. Which of the underlined words have plural endings that sound the same?

C. Say the plurals for the following words aloud. Listen to how the plural endings sound.

graph	myth	wish	lunch	rock
shape	rib	room	snake	star
tree	dove	cloud	law	kiss
watch	lie	breeze	box	bus
rat	bell	judge	pig	toe
bush	hen	fuse	day	crew

Put the words into groups according to how their plural endings sound.

D. Look at your answers to sections B and C. Think about what your work shows about how nouns are pluralized. Then formulate a simple hypothesis for the phonology of noun plurals in English. (Hint: Say the words in each group without adding their plural endings. Listen to the final sound of each word.)

E. If we now follow your hypothesis, will we have fully explained the ways in which plural nouns are formed in English? Why or why not?

E. Which of the following statements (adapted from Halle & Clements 1983: 69) best matches your hypothesis about the unconscious knowledge English speakers have about plural noun formation? Why?

Hypothesis A: English speakers memorize the plural form for every noun as it occurs in their experience.

Hypothesis B: English speakers learn the plural form on the basis of spelling. That is, if a word ends in the letter b, they know that they have to add the plural ending /z/.

Hypothesis C: English speakers know that the final sound (rather than the letter) of the singular form determines the pronunciation of the plural ending. That is, they have memorized a list of English speech sounds to be followed by the ending /s/; another list to be followed by /z/; and a third list to be followed by /iz/.

Hypothesis D: English speakers know that if the final sound of the singular is of a certain type, the plural ending will be /s/; that if the final sound is of another type it will be /z/; and that if the final sound is of a third type it will be /iz/. In other words, the speakers have not memorized three lists of speech sounds in order to form plural nouns. Rather, they have figured out which sound types are relevant for plural noun formation in English.

G. Let us make a further assumption about plural-noun phonology in English: the plural ending for regular nouns in English is /s/. Then the first step in the explanation of a plural noun is to add /s/ to the singular form of the noun: cat/s/, dog/s/, dish/s/, for example. What steps need to be added to the explanation to account for the actual forms: cat/s/, dog/z/, dish/iz/? To answer this question, you need to elaborate the concept 'sound types' given in Hypothesis D.

As an introduction to linguistic inquiry, this problem set requires students to identify the problem, analyze data, and evaluate and reformulate hypotheses in the face of counterexamples. It also introduces the notion of linguistic features, an important concept used throughout the course. Later in the term, we revisit this problem set and motivate phonological features, which enables students to understand voicing assimilation, for example.

An important objective of the course is that a problem set allow us to connect linguistic inquiry to an understanding of language acquisition. In particular, this problem set is the basis for a discussion of infants' universal phonetic sensitivity and adults' lack thereof (see Werker 1989), as well as for an examination of the development of noun plural formation in children whose native language is English (see Berko 1958; Pinker 1991). Furthermore, it leads to an explanation of the "mistakes" speakers of English as a second language are likely to make if their native language is, say, Spanish, in which the /s/-/z/ contrast is not found, or Chinese, in which [-human] nouns are not morphologically pluralized, an important fact since speakers of Spanish and Chinese often constitute the largest school-age populations of non-English speakers. Moreover, given that our students are more likely to study Spanish than any other foreign language, they can apply their knowledge of Spanish-English contrasts to explain their own "mistakes" in attempting to speak Spanish, and thus better appreciate the nature of the problems that arise in learning the phonology of a second language.

2.2 Plural-noun formation in Mandarin Chinese. The solution to the problem set in §2.1, given the near necessity of it, rises to the level of an explanation. In the following problem set, we seek only to reach a best, most parsimonious description of the facts, for there is no theoretical reason for the facts falling out one way rather than another:

> Some languages consistently mark nouns in order to distinguish them for the concepts 'singular' and 'plural', as in standard English cow/cows. But these concepts are not necessarily expressed in a language. Since the concepts 'singular' and 'plural' are innately present in all human beings, it is important to keep meaning and form separate in our discussion of language. In what follows our concern is with the expressed form that plural nouns take in Chinese.

A. Consider the following data (Li and Thompson 1981: 11-12, 40-41) from the variety of Chinese referred to as putonghua, or 'common language', in the People's Republic of China, and as guoyu, or 'national language', in Taiwan. In this variety of Chinese, called Mandarin Chinese in the English-speaking world, plural formation seems to be a sometime thing. The goal of this problem set is for you to come up with a hypothesis that accounts for the complexity of these and subsequent data.

In the following data, a hyphen (-) is used to divide a word into its individual syllables. An asterisk (*) before a word indicates that it is not well-formed or acceptable in Mandarin Chinese for the meaning indicated. Notice that these data are divided into groups of words in order to help you identify what factor (or factors) determine the construction of a plural noun in Chinese. Formulate a hypothesis that explains how plurals are formed given the data in 1-11.

	singular		plural	
1.	lao-shi	'teacher'	lao-shi-men	'teachers'
			lao-shi	'teachers'
2.	xue-sheng	'student'	xue-sheng-men	'students'
			xue-sheng	'students'
3.	peng-you	'friend'	peng-you-men	'friends'
			peng-you	'friends'
4.	jie-mei	'sister'	jie-mei-men	'sisters'
			jie-mei	'sisters'
5.	zei	'thief'	*zei-men	'thieves'
			zei	'thieves'
6.	guan	'official'	*guan-men	'officials'
			guan	'officials'
7.	bing	'soldier'	*bing-men	'soldiers'
			bing	'soldiers'
8.	qing-yu	'whale'	*qing-yu-men	'whales'
			qing-yu	'whales'
9.	nian-tou	'idea'	*nian-tou-men	'ideas'
			nian-tou	'ideas'
10.	shu	'book'	*shu-men	'books'
			shu	'books'
11.	guo	'dog'	*guo-men	'dogs'
			guo	'dogs'

B. Using the hypothesis that you formulated in A, indicate which of the following words are well-formed plural nouns in Mandarin Chinese, and which are not, marking the ill-formed ones with an asterisk. Explain how your hypothesis accounts for each case, 12-16.

12. tong-bao-men	'countrymen'	formed from:	tong-bao	'countryman'
13. kuai-zi-men	'chopsticks'	formed from:	kuai-zi	'chopstick'
14. xiong-di	'brothers'	formed from:	xiong-di	'brother'
15. ya-zi-men	'ducks'	formed from:	ya-zi	'duck'
16. ji-men	'chickens'	formed from:	ji	'chicken'

C. Does your hypothesis account for the following pronoun forms (17-18) of Mandarin Chinese? If not, reformulate your hypothesis so as to account for all of the data, 1-18.

17. wo	'I, me'	wo-men	'we, us'
		*wo	'we'
18. ni	'singular you'	ni-men	'plural you'
		*ni	'plural you'

D. According to your hypothesis, which one of the following plural words is well-formed, and which one is ill-formed? Explain each case.

19. ta	'they = plural she/he' 'them = plural her/him'	formed from:	ta	'she/he, her/him'
20. ta-men	'they = plural she/he' 'them = plural her/him'	formed from:	ta	'she/he, her/him'

E. What, if anything, does your hypothesis predict about the well-formedness of 21-24? What would you like it to predict?

21. ta-men	'they = plural it' 'them = plural it'	formed from:	ta	'it'
22. ke-xue-jia-men	'scientists'			
23. wu-li-xue-jia-men	'physicists'			
24. san-ge lao-shi-men	'three teachers'			

The solution to this problem set requires students to expand the notion of linguistic features to include lexical and semantic features ([±pronoun] and [±human]), and to make use of the syllable length of words.

Furthermore, an understanding of this plural-noun formation phenomenon allows students to predict the kinds of "mistakes" native speakers of English are likely to make when learning Mandarin Chinese, and vice-versa, given the obvious contrasts.

2.3 Varieties of plural-noun formation in English. In the previous problem set (§2.2), a quite different way of expressing a grammatical concept ('noun plural') was examined. This is continued in the following problem set, whose solution is surprisingly like Mandarin Chinese though the language investigated is actually a variety of English:

> English is spoken as a native language very widely throughout the world: in England, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, Nigeria, and on many of the islands of the Caribbean and on the Caribbean coast of

Central America. The varieties of English spoken in these and other places have a great deal in common, but there are also quite striking differences. It is these differences that most often intrigue us rather than their common properties.

Consider, for example, one way in which plural nouns may be differently formed in different varieties of English: A number of years ago we were in San Diego driving along with a Mr. Kobayashi. We came to an intersection where we would have turned right in order to get from where we were to where we wanted to be, but Mr. Kobayashi turned left instead. When we asked whether the other way wasn't shorter, Mr. Kobayashi said it was, but that there was "too much stoplight that way." What did he mean by "too much stoplight"? Here are two hypotheses:

First: In his variety of English, the set of stoplights can be expressed as a mass, like milk or money, for example: "there is too much milk in my glass, but never too much money in my bank account, and far too much stoplight that way."

Second: In his variety of English, the concepts 'many' (used with countable nouns) and 'much' (used with mass nouns) are expressed with the single word much. The meaning for much is then interpretable as 'many' when it is used with countable nouns; as 'much' when it is used with mass nouns. Furthermore, since the word much labels the plural concept 'many' for countable nouns, there is no need to further mark the noun itself with the plural ending. The label much with the meaning 'many' is sufficient to indicate plurality.

In order to decide between these hypotheses, or to come up with a different hypothesis, we would have to carry out a much more extensive investigation than this one example allows. The little investigation that we have done suggests that the second hypothesis is on the right track.

A. More interesting, since there are more data and there is an apparent solution to the problem, is noun pluralization in another variety of English, Nicaraguan English (O'Neil 1993). In this English, plurality for nouns is sometimes marked by the suffix -dem (a suffix deriving historically from the pronoun them). Note the following examples:

1. -dem-suffixation

a.	the boat-dem de in the river	'the boats are in the river'
b.	I did see Ronald book-dem	'I saw Ronald's books'
c.	the boy-dem want food	'the boys want food'
d.	Manuel baby-dem happy	'Manuel's babies are happy'

As we look more carefully at this language, we can begin to see that the Nicaraguan English noun plural suffix -dem is only very roughly equivalent to what is considered the standard English plural form for regular nouns. We expect and do find such one-to-one matches as the following:

2.

Nicaraguan English	standard English
the book-dem	the books
the dog-dem	the dogs
the dress-dem	the dresses

These data easily lead to a hypothesis that says,

> Let Nicaraguan English -dem = standard English /s/ everywhere

or simply:

> Add -dem to the singular form of the noun to get its Nicaraguan English plural form.

However, a fuller set of data reveals a more complicated picture. Let us now explore the nature of this complication, a piece of it at a time.

B. A popular Nicaraguan musical group, Dimensión Costeña (Coast Dimension), has recorded a number of traditional British Christmas songs, including "The Twelve Days of Christmas", in an album entitled Navidad con Dimensión Costeña. Their idiosyncratic Nicaraguan English version of the song consists entirely of this verse, twice repeated:

3. On the first days of Christmas, my true love send to me two turtledove, four callingbird, five golden ring, four callingbird, three Frenchhen and a partridge in a pear tree....

Their version of these lyrics would be ill-formed in Nicaraguan English if it took this form:

4. On the first days of Christmas my true love send to me two *turtledove-dem, four *callingbird-dem, five golden *ring-dem, four *callingbird-dem, three *Frenchhen-dem, and a partridge in a pear tree ....

How do we revise the hypothesis "add -dem to the singular form of the noun to get its Nicaraguan English plural form" for forming plural nouns in Nicaraguan English?

C. Next consider the following data:

5. all (of) the dog did bark
   all (of) the *dog-dem did bark
6. some dog did bark loud
   some *dog-dem did bark loud
7. is [= 'there are'] many dog in Bluefields
   is many *dog-dem in Bluefields

On the basis of these data how we can further reformulate the hypothesis to account for the -dem-less plural forms required in quantified nouns? This reformulated hypothesis should predict, for example, the ungrammaticality of 8 and the grammaticality of 9:

8. *several dog-dem did bark last night
9. these dog de [= 'are'] in the street

D. Continuing this line of inquiry, we note that in Bluefields, Nicaragua, a well-known English nursery rhyme is recited as follows:

10. What are little boy made of? What little boy made of? Little boy made of.... What are little girl made of? Little girl made of sugar and spice and everything nice. That what little girl made of.

And definitely not the following:

11. What are little *boy-dem made of? What little *boy-dem made of? Little *boy-dem made of.... What are little *girl-dem made of? Little *girl-dem made of sugar and spice and everything nice. That what little *girl-dem made of.

Reformulate your hypothesis to account for these data.

E. As a final complication in Nicaraguan English noun pluralization, note the grammaticality judgements for the following types of constructions:

12. he want seven case of beer
13. he want only one case of beer
14. he did see the case of beer-dem [= 'the cases of beer']
    he did see the *case-dem of beer [= 'the cases of beer']
15. she did own the team of horse-dem [= 'the teams of horses']
16. she did own the team of horse [= 'the team of horses']

What do we need to say about this use of -dem?

This problem set continues to develop and expand students' knowledge of linguistic features presented in §§2.1 and 2.2 above. For example, the notion [±definiteness] is required to account for the data in §§A through D above, and the notion 'noun phrase' is necessary for an understanding of all the data, §§A through E. The phenomenon is also of particular interest because of the large Afro-Caribbean population in the Eastern United States, once again allowing our students to appreciate the linguistic diversity of the children they meet in schools.

It is in this problem set that we first address the issue of language/dialect prejudice, one of the hardest issues to deal with in a society such as ours, in which this prejudice masks deep racial, ethnic, and class hatred, and therefore of great importance to our students.

2.4 New England R. To continue the discussion of language variation and language/dialect prejudice, we turn to the phenomenon of New England R. In the United States, the usual approach to these issues is to examine African American Vernacular English, which can falsely define -- and thereby stereotype and marginalize -- the issues as simply racial. Thus we have chosen to analyze in detail a prominent characteristic of the variety of English spoken by the majority of our students, and only then to proceed to other varieties, some of which they are familiar with; for example, Appalachian English, Downeast Maine English, as well as African American Vernacular English.

The following problem set focuses on the apparent mystery of when /r/'s are realized in the speech of New Englanders, and when they are not:

Extra! Extra! Read all about it!
All the boys are socially retarded!
(A children's [clearly a girls'] rhyme – slightly modified)

In New England English and other varieties of English, the /r/ of words like car and yard can be dropped, so that the words then sound like /kah/ and /yahd/, more or less. However, not all /r/'s can be dropped. At some places in a word, /r/ is dropped and in other places it may not be dropped. By comparing lists of words where /r/ is dropped with lists of words where /r/ may not be dropped, we should be able to detect a pattern, and if there is one, to formulate a hypothesis to explain New England /r/-dropping. (This problem set is originally due to Wolfram in press, but is now much expanded beyond that source; see also McCarthy 1993).

A. List A gives words in which /r/ is dropped; List B gives words in which /r/ may not be dropped. That is speakers who drop /r/ in List A, retain /r/ in List B.

List A	List B
1. car	1. run
2. father	2. bring
3. card	3. principal
4. bigger	4. string
5. cardboard	5. okra
6. beer	6. approach
7. court	7. April

On the basis of the data available in Lists A and B, and the patterns that you notice in them, figure out when /r/ is dropped or retained in this variety. Hint: look for the most general characteristic of the sounds that come immediately before or after /r/ in both List A and List B.

Formulate a hypothesis that explains these data.

B. What does your rule predict about the pronunciation of the words in List C?

List C

1. bear	5. program
2. fearful	6. right
3. computer	7. party
4. fourteen	8. farther

C. Consider your hypothesis for /r/-dropping: what would it require for something to be a counterexample to your hypothesis? What form(s) would the pronunciation of a word have to take such that it either retained or dropped its /r/ in violation of your hypothesis?

D. Here is a passage of continuous prose from which some seemingly vulnerable /r/'s may not be dropped and from which others must be dropped in this variety of English. Those that may not be dropped are indicated by r:

> We live in the Fields Corner neighborhood of Dorchester. Fields Cornerr is part of Dorchester. Dorchesterr is part of Boston. We live in Fields Corner, but I work at MIT in Kendall Square. We don't own a car, so I ride the subway between Kendall Squarre and Fields Corner.

Does the hypothesis you formulated account for the /r/-dropping or retention pattern observed in this passage? If it does, explain how the hypothesis works.

If it does not, reformulate your hypothesis in order to account for the /r/-dropping or retention in the passage as well as for that in Lists A, B, and C. Then show how your reformulated hypothesis works for all of the data considered thus far. What form would a counterexample to your hypothesis have to take?

E. Next consider the following passages, in which R indicates an inserted, or intruded, /r/:

1. Maya works in another part of Boston: at Wheelock College on the Riverway, near the Fenway. MayaR also rides the subway to and from her job.
2. On the telephone today, the weather-person said, "It's going to be bright and sunny all day, so leave your umbrellaR at home." He was wrong; I needed my umbrella.
3. Eliott Richardson worked long and hard on formulating a new lawR of the sea, but we're still stuck with the same old law.
4. JFK (as were other U.S. presidents, but in a different pronunciation) seemed threatened by CubaR and by "Red" ChinaR in particular, but not by the other China -- Taiwan, or by Miami's Cuba.

Can intrusive /r/ be explained by the hypothesis of /r/-dropping or retention that you formulated above? If not, how is intrusive /r/ to be accounted for? Before formulating a hypothesis for intrusive /r/, consider the following relevant data, 5-9 in which R cannot be inserted, and 10 in which it can. Hint: pronounce sentences 5 through 9 - without the R of course, noting the transition between the words Hindi, sundae, etc. and the following is. Contrast these pronunciations with those of tuna on and law is in sentence 10.

5. *HindiR is a language spoken in India.
6. A *sundaeR is made with ice cream and other good things.
7. *piR is greater than 3 but less than 4.
8. There is a *kangarooR in the yard.
9. The *siloR is empty.

But,

10. TunaR on rye is standard back East, but the new lawR of the sea will change all that.

F. Just for fun, Signs of New England: There is a shop in Provincetown MA named "crossyafingäs", and Honda and Acura dealers in Cambridge MA called "Hondar House" and "Hondar Acurar Kings". Do these signs represent well-formed pronunciations in the variety of English analyzed in this problem set?

This problem set continues to develop and expand students' knowledge of linguistic features as presented in §§2.1 through 2.3 above. Here, in addition to the categorial distinction between vowels and consonants required to explain the data in §§A through D, it is also necessary to distinguish diphthongs from simple vowels, and to identify the feature [±low] in order to explain the intrusive /r/ data given in §E. Furthermore, this phenomenon, in which /r/'s are variously deleted, retained, or inserted, can be related to more language-general phenomena, such as French liaison.

As mentioned above, the phenomenon examined in this problem set strikes close to home, since many of our students speak this variety of English, but not proudly, which naturally leads to a discussion of language/dialect prejudice. For example, many students mistakenly refer to this way of speaking as slang, and display great unease when asked to read the data aloud with the dialect-appropriate pronunciation. Moreover, these students often displace their own knowledge of this variety of English to other family members, saying such things as, "That's the way my mother talks with her friends -- rough," and "That's the way my dad talks -- I can't stand it!" However, an occasional student enjoys coming to understand why, for example, she and her brother can be not only "GinaR and Pet/ah/" but also "Peter and Gina", but never "Gina and Peter" nor "Pet/ah/ and GinaR".

3. Conclusion. In our course, investigation of the phenomena presented above, as well as a variety of other phenomena, forces a great deal of tacit knowledge of language out into the open. As we have shown, apparent mysteries of language can be quickly turned into scientific problems with a clear and interesting range of solutions, but this can not be done without motivating a great deal of linguistics: phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexical semantics.

It is our belief that exploring language in the way we have described can lead to an understanding of the structure of language, of language variation, and of first and second language development. Linguistic inquiry also provides an opportunity for our students, who are and will continue working with children from ethnically and linguistically diverse communities, to examine a host of deeply ingrained language attitudes and prejudices that they need to seriously challenge and change.

In this way, linguistics can be useful for teachers.

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"HOMOSEXUAL", "GAY", OR "QUEER": THE STRUGGLE OVER NAMING AND ITS REAL-WORLD EFFECTS

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INTRODUCTION

From "African" to "African American"

Choice of appropriate terms of self-reference by oppressed groups is frequently the site of ideological struggle, and these debates often correlate to the social climate of the period in question. The historical evidence of African Americans illustrates the extent to which labelling plays a significant role within a stigmatized community. Smitheran (1991) traces the various preferred labels of African Americans from the arrival of Africans to America in the 1600s through to the present. Throughout the 1600s and 1700s, *African* was strategically adopted in order to construct a "distinct African consciousness" (p. 118): "*African* symbolized a common heritage, thus becoming a focal, unifying semantic for socially divergent groups of Africans, both creating and reinforcing the social construction of group solidarity and commonality" (p. 118). Several generations later (1800s) many African Americans lost their sense of any attachment to Africa given that many were already five or six generations removed from the "original" Africans, and *colored* became the chosen term. Following emancipation, a "new language was needed to construct a new identity of dignity, respect, and full citizenship, all of which had been lacking in the past" (p. 120), and this gave rise to *Negro*. In the 1960s, many African Americans urged their community to "abandon the 'slavery-imposed name'" (p. 121) in favour of *Black* (with a capital to symbolize respect). Currently, *African American* is intended partially to simultaneously demonstrate pride in their ancestry, and their roots in America.

By no means does agreement exist among African Americans with regard to the preferred self-referent. In one study, Baugh (1991) found that 23% of African Americans surveyed opposed this term. Smitheran gists the results of a survey where she elicited arguments in favour of the term, along with their counterarguments. She notes that some respondents strongly supported the notion of a dual heritage, the rejection of a "color" label to categorize a race, and the aesthetic quality of the innovation. Conversely, other respondents complained of a lack of identification with Africa, and the awkwardness of the pronunciation. Others questioned whether this lexical shift would result in any tangible benefits.

From "Pervert" to "Gay"

Similar to the African American experience, changes to attitudes towards and understanding of lesbians and gays have resulted in shifts in labels. The earlier terms commonly used to characterize homosexuals and homosexual activity "usually carried a sneering connotation" (Cory 1951, p. 104). The literature suggests that these "sneering"

words were habitually used in the mainstream up until the mid-19th century. Cory writes of his impressions of the homosexual experience at that time:

> "The homosexual feels that the many terms used for male inverts are all inadequate. First, they describe a stereotype, the effeminate male: *fairy, queen, sister, nance.* Secondly, those that did not originate as description of an effeminate person became that through the evolution of language and through association; an example is *pansy*" (p. 104).

The term *homosexual* emerged as a recognition in the late 1800s that some members of society did indeed exist that preferred to engage in romantic liaisons and sexual activities with members of the same sex. According to Shapiro (1988) (based on Katz 1976 and 1983), *homosexual* was first documented in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1892. Bergquist (1991) paraphrases Kulick (1989, p. 91):

> "The definition of "the homosexual" as a distinct personality was a turning point for the way homosexual behaviour was seen and expressed in western societies. It is important to understand that before the second half of the 19th century there were no particular personality types which could be identified from the point of view of sexual behaviour. It is true that before 1869 there were homosexual activities but there were no homosexual individuals" (p. 15).

Interestingly, even the word *homosexual* was not introduced without controversy. Bentley (1977) notes others' objections to mixing the Greek prefix *homo* with the Latin suffix *sexual* creating "[a] linguistic hybrid and monstrosity" (p. 288).[1]

Cory discusses the dissatisfaction that gay men felt towards *homosexual*, believing that the "scientific terminology was rather obscure" (p. 106). What was needed "was an ordinary, everyday, matter-of-fact word, that could express the concept of homosexuality without glorification or condemnation ... The word is *gay*" (p. 107). He proposes that the advantages of this word were that it is "easy to say" (p. 108), "free from the usual stigmas" (p. 108), and it served as a "code" word in circumstances where homosexuals wished to hint at their sexual identity because it was not understood by most heterosexuals:

> "The word serves as a signal, a sign of recognition. In a conversation there is an exploration, a search to know whether the other is likewise hiding behind a mask. And then one person uses the word and awaits a response. The cue cannot be misunderstood" (p. 108-9).

The word *gay* became increasingly popular in the 1970s, and began to appear in the mainstream press. Ashley (1979) documents the social climate at that time, and its relation to the use of *gay*:

> "There is a National Gay Task Force (NGTF) working for *gays*, just one of the many *gay rights* and *gay activist* groups using the word *gay* and spreading the *gay* gospel. Each June, parades in San Francisco and New York and other cities mark the Stonewall [Bar] Riot of 1969 in Greenwich Village which has been made to serve as

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[1]There is a long tradition, of course, of reliance on prescriptive rules to mask social attitudes and prejudices. (See Cameron 1995 for discussion.)

> the Concord Bridge of the new *Gay* (as opposed to **homosexual** or **homophile**) *Movement*. Once *The Village Voice* refused to run an advertisement for a "Gay Community Dance" alleging *gay* was "obscene ... equatable with 'fuck' and other four-letter words" and now it unabashedly prints *gay* (and *fuck*) and can be said to be the voice of one of the major **gay ghettoes** of America, a concentration of *gays* who have Christopher Street for their main drag and as the symbol of **cruising** sex" (p. 226).

Ashley also reports the sentiments of others who found that the word "sounds 'damned silly' and 'makes us into frivolous idiots, sort of bliss ninnies'" (p. 226). Some expressed concern with regard to the "loss of *gay* in the old sense" (p. 226-7). Others found the word could not be so easily disentangled from its "original" meaning, thus conjuring up images of "swishing" and "campy" behaviour. In spite of the opposition, for the most part, the word *gay* did become the preferred term. Perhaps this is partly due to "the butch stances of the 'I'm Gay and I'm Proud' activists, which may have made the word *gay* itself slightly more palatable to the public" (p. 229). Certainly *gay* regularly appeared in the mainstream through the 1980s, due mostly to the media attention focussing on gay issues in the context of the tragic introduction of AIDS to North America, which at first predominately surfaced in the male homosexual community.

From "Gay" to "Queer"?

In the 1990s, the lesbian and gay community is again witnessing another debate over the appropriate term for self-reference: the word *queer*. This word would have been immediately dismissed as an option in the time of Cory's observations in the mid-1900s, due to its then-common meaning of "strange" or "odd":

> "*Queer* is obviously unsuited, because of its typing of an individual's personality. Many homosexuals are, in the totality of their lives, not queer people at all, and many heterosexuals are extremely queer. The word *queer*, in every other sense, leaving aside its colloquialism, has a tainted characterization about it that is unattractive, and therefore is to be shunned" (p. 104-5).

In the late 1970s, Ashley provides an up-date: "These permissive times they are a-changin', and words assist and record the changes. The blacks may have shushed **nigger** but **honky** is often heard; heterosexuals may be called **squares** but homosexuals cannot be called **queers**" (p. 240). It is perhaps noteworthy to mention that the issue of the word *queer* was never raised in the 1982 style manual *Talk Back!: The Gay Person's Guide to Media Action* produced by the Lesbian and Gay Media Advocates.

A glance through the lesbian and gay media of the 1980s reveals that *queer* was used sparingly. The word did appear with more regularity towards the latter part of the decade, but this usually occurred with reference to arts-related events. For example, *XTRA!* (Toronto's main lesbian and gay newspaper since 1984), publicized a "Queer Culture Festival" in November 1989. In April 1990, *XTRA!* published a literary supplement entitled "Queer Words". No discussion took place with regard to this term's usage, and it elicited no reaction from its readers. In the late summer of 1990, the now-defunct Toronto chapter of Queer Nation (a lesbian and gay political activist organization modelled after the American group of the same name) arrived. Its mandate has been described as being "committed to

education through confrontation in the fight against homophobia and queerbashing" (*XTRA!*, Article, September 28 1990, p. 1). The group's use of the word *queer* was part of a political strategy intended to focus mainstream media attention on to the community. "If the group was to pursue education through confrontation, a confrontational name was a useful weapon" (*XTRA!*, Article, September 28 1990, p. 1).

This new confrontational style, in particular the use of the word *queer*, caught the attention of many lesbian and gay Torontonians as witnessed by the sudden explosion of opinion pieces, articles, and letters-to-the-editor that appeared in *XTRA!* following Queer Nation's arrival. The issue surfaced as a subject in two of *XTRA!*'s regular telephone polls. In the October 26 1990 issue, the question appeared: "What do you think about the public use of the word 'queer' by gay men and lesbians to describe themselves?" (p. 1). In the next issue two weeks later, the results were published: 520 people responded with most (60%) saying that "they think it's useful for us to use the word 'queer' publicly to describes [sic] ourselves" (p. 1).[2] On a similar theme, the December 28 issue of the same year asked the question: "Since last summer Queer Nation has blanketed the Church Wellesley area [Toronto's gay ghetto[3]] and other parts of the city with posters to make the public more aware of the gay and lesbian communities. What do you think of such campaigns" (p. 1). The following issue reported the results: 1,364 responses, with 89% arguing that this strategy "is just asking for trouble" (p. 1). Further evidence that this issue is of some importance to the community is provided when one considers that these two polls recorded the highest number of responses to the telephone surveys in a six-month period (September 14 1990 [the first *XTRA!* telephone poll] to March 8 1991); the average response being 383 callers. Clearly, the adoption of "confrontational" strategies that include disseminating *queer* into the mainstream has been a site of ideological friction within the lesbian and gay community.

XTRA! articles, opinion pieces, and letters-to-the editor in the early 1990s, have documented the struggle over the appropriate terms for self-reference, in particular the word *queer*. Some argue the necessity for a terminology that is gender inclusive, given the perception that *gay* has become associated predominately with male homosexuality: "Another consideration in deciding to reclaim the word 'queer' is that it is the most gender-neutral of all the words describing us. We mustn't forget that women are also very much a part of this community" (*XTRA!*, Letter-to-the-Editor, November 23 1990, p. 7). Furthermore, the community must find acceptable terminology to recognize other sexual minorities: "Fag, dyke, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transvestite – all this and more! 'Queer' can encompass a lot and that's exactly what organizers had in mind when they set up the academic but accessible conference Queer Sites ..." (*XTRA!*, Article, June 11 1993, p. 19). However, no study to date has assessed the extent to which the use of *queer* can actually alter a person's awareness of the range of existing sexualities. In other words, will gay men and lesbians really interpret *queer* and *gay* with these two distinct meanings in mind? Will members of the general public do so?

Another popular argument in favour of *queer* is that it ameliorates the word, thereby removing one of the homophobe's weapons: "It is very difficult for someone to use a word

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[2]The scientific validity of these surveys is questionable given that it reflects the opinions of only those who make the effort to respond. Accusations have occasionally arisen that some groups may organize coordinated attempts to inundate the phone lines with calls from their supporters.

[3]The term *ghetto* in this context is not used negatively among lesbian and gay Torontonians.

against you, in a derogatory sense, if you yourself use it in a positive and prideful manner" (*XTRA!*, Letter-to-the-Editor, November 23 1990, p. 7). Ashley describes this practice as:

> "verbal judo ... where often the majority attacker finds himself [sic] 'thrown' and deprived of his [sic] weapon; though we have not reached the point where the person who says queer is regarded as worse than the person who is 'queer,' many of the old words used to wound can no longer be spoken in civilized company without exception being taken by both the attacked and the enlightened" (p. 241).

However, the question remains whether we can truly deprive the "attackers" of their weapon, given that the same words uttered in different contexts can have opposite connotations: "We all know instantly the intent and context of words. When someone yells, 'Hey faggot!' we either smile and look yummy or turn and run like a weasel" (*XTRA!*, Column, December 11 1992, p. 1). The columnist in this instance acknowledged that words will still reflect a homophobic intent when coming from homophobes.

Another argument in favour of *queer* is the necessity to capture mainstream attention — the strategy adopted by Queer Nation. "*Queer* is confrontational and angry and brings the issue of our visibility to the forefront, something which your Jean-Paul Gaultier outfit does not" (*XTRA!*, Column, November 23 1990, p. 1). The counterargument is that this strategy merely alienates those heterosexuals from whom we are trying to gain acceptance:

> "The slogans that were being chanted, in my opinion, were inappropriate.
>
> "If we truly want same-sex benefits and adoption equality, we must start to show more responsibility. Public profanity amounts only to a mass public tantrum and only serves to trivialize the issue.
>
> "I am not a fag and I am not a queer, I am a gay or homosexual man. I am proud of who I am and I do not want to be slammed in the face because some immature people felt the need to show they could neck on the top of a bus shelter and needed to shout profanity to get our points across" (*XTRA!*, Letter-to-the-Editor, June 24 1994, p. 3).

The fear of "turning off" our oppressors with these "in-your-face" tactics is the argument used by most who have written to *XTRA!* to date to voice their disapproval of the word *queer*.

Readers and viewers of mainstream media have witnessed an increased usage of *queer* in the last several years. The word appears on book covers on the shelves of many popular bookstores (e.g., Signorile's *Queer in America*, 1993), in the headlines of daily newspaper articles written by lesbian and gay journalists, and on T.V. in the signs and banners carried by lesbians and gays at demonstrations and celebrations. On college campuses, *Queer Nights* in selected pubs are advertised widely, *Queer Studies* is routinely printed in university publications including course calendars, and *Queer Theory* appears to be the postmodernist term of choice.

Clearly, *queer* is a site of ideological struggle within the lesbian and gay community. In this rendering of this paper, I will explore reactions to the term by members of the larger society. How are people outside the lesbian and gay community being affected by these confrontational tactics? Is this strategy alienating those with whom we are trying to build bridges? The purpose of this paper is to explore whether mainstream use of *queer* affects level of homophobia.

THE PSYCHOLOGY LITERATURE

The social psychology literature which deals with the relationship between sexist language and its real-world effects involves study of the "generics" *he* and *man*. The majority of the published literature in this area provides evidence that the use of *he* and *man*, intended to include both sexes, actually produces more male-dominated imagery (Schneider and Hacker 1973; Moulton, Robinson and Elias 1978; MacKay 1980; Wise and Rafferty 1982; Sniezek and Jazwinski 1986; Hamilton 1988; Gastil 1990; and Switzer 1990). Furthermore, their usage has real-life consequences for girls and women such as disadvantaging their career development (Bem and Bem 1973; Stericker 1981; Briere and Lanktree 1983; and Brooks 1983), and worsening their recall and comprehension (MacKay and Fulkerson 1979; and Crawford and English 1984).[4]

With specific regard to labels, two studies have demonstrated that women may be affected by the ways to which they are referred. Lipton and Hershaft (1984) found that referring to a female artist as a *person* (as opposed to *girl* or *woman*) enhanced her status in the eyes of those evaluating her work. However, there were no statistically significant differences in rating her work when she was referred to as a *girl* or *woman*. However, Kitto (1989) was able to conclude that in some instances, referring to adult females as a *girl* or *woman* does in fact make a difference. In her experiment, she asked one group of subjects to evaluate women candidates for a low paying job, and another group to perform the same task for a more prestige position. "[F]or the low status job, the applicant was more likely to be chosen when she was referred to as a 'girl' in the reference. For the high status job she was more likely to be selected for the job if she was referred to as a 'woman'" (p. 186).

The psychology literature thus suggests that sexist language may in fact influence our attitudes, values, and opinions, resulting in beneficial or detrimental effects for disadvantaged groups. Do these effects have implications for how oppressed groups *choose* to label themselves? The present study explores whether *queer*, as used by some members of the lesbian and gay community, has any such real-world effects. In particular, does the term *queer* increase the level of homophobia of members of the larger speech community, as some lesbians and gays would predict?

THE EXPERIMENTS

Experiment 1

Subjects and Method

114 students in a first-year undergraduate Communications course were asked to complete a questionnaire (Appendix A) designed to measure their attitudes towards lesbians and gays. The questionnaire was a modified version of the "Index of Homophobia" developed by Hudson and Ricketts (1980). The changes to the original questionnaire included replacing the term *homosexual* with *lesbian* and/or *gay* under the assumption that the latter were more current, whereas the former was somewhat outdated and overly formal. The questionnaires were completed during class time, taking approximately 10-15 minutes.

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[4]For a comprehensive review of the literature, see Henley (1989).

Participants received the questionnaire in an envelope, and they were asked to return it in the envelope once completed. In the final analysis, 108 questionnaires were deemed usable. A score out of 100 was given for each participant. A higher score indicated a greater level of homophobia. A space was provided for those students who wished to provide written comments.

The questionnaires were identical, but there were three versions of the attached informed consent statement, the difference being the word used to refer to gays, with one group of respondents receiving *homosexual*, another *gay/lesbian*, and the third *queer*. The three different paragraphs were:

Version 1 — I am a graduate student interested in *lesbian and gay* issues. This specific project I am working on is looking at attitudes towards *lesbians and gay men*.

Version 2 — I am a graduate student interested in *homosexual* issues. This specific project I am working on is looking at attitudes towards *homosexual men and women*.

Version 3 — I am a graduate student interested in *queer* issues. This specific project I am working on is looking at attitudes towards *queer men and women*.

[The italics did not appear in the students' versions.]

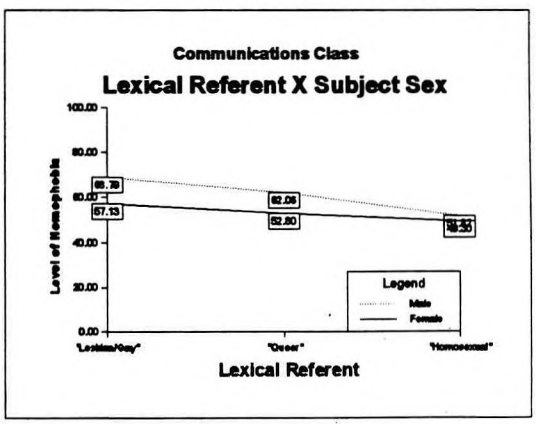
These sentences were the first in the informed consent statement, and they appeared as a separate paragraph. The typesetting was done in bold with a slightly larger font than the rest of the text. Furthermore, the questionnaires were all put in the envelopes in such a way that the informed consent statement would be the first page participants would see. As noted earlier, the questionnaires themselves used the terms *lesbian* and/or *gay* throughout.

Results

Table of Score Means

Labels				
	L/G	Q	H	Subject Sex Average
Male	68.79 N=18	62.06 N=11	51.82 N=10	62.54 N=39
Female	57.13 N=23	52.80 N=21	49.30 N=25	52.98 N=69
Label Average	62.25 N=41	55.98 N=32	50.02 N=35	

Graph



Statistical analysis[5] revealed main effects for the two independent variables of subject sex and lexical referent. The male subjects were more homophobic than the women (average scores were 62.54 and 52.98, respectively; p = .011). With regard to the lexical referents, *lesbian/gay* produced the highest average (62.25), while those who received the informed consent with *homosexual* had the least homophobic scores (50.02) (p = .0015). The term *queer* resulted in an average score between the other two terms (55.98). The only statistically significant result found with regard to the lexical referent was between the terms *lesbian/gay* and *homosexual* (p = .0015); the difference between *queer* and *homosexual*, and *queer* and *lesbian/gay* did not produce any significant results (p = .157 and p = .172, respectively).

Discussion

How do we explain the fact that subjects who received the *lesbian/gay* version had the highest levels of homophobia? Although the terms *lesbian* and *gay* have become quite common within the community itself, they may still appear quite militant and hostile to members in the society-at-large. This may have contributed to the students' dislike of gay men and women from the outset. Conversely, the term *homosexual* is still the common term used by most of those unacquainted with the lesbian and gay community.

The overall high scores and threatening comments reflect the students' unfamiliarity with lesbian and gay issues. A sample is provided below:

> "I really don't care if people are gay. However, I do think that men & men relationships are unnatural & therefore I think that a sexual relationship should be between member [sic] of the opposite sex."
>
> "Anyone who is gay has AIDS therefore I would never ever touch a fag because I might get AIDS too. ... I HATE FAGS!!! & THEY SHOULD ALL DIE."
>
> "I am 22 yrs. old. I from [sic] a very traditional Catholic conservative household. While these individual [sic] do not scare me a certain uncomfortness [sic] would be felt seeing same sex couples as opposed to opposite sex couples. A lot of this fear could be from not knowing anyone in such a situation of sexual preference."

The reaction to *queer* may have created some ambiguity, thus resulting in an average score closer to the overall mean. Some students expressed concern and confusion over the use of the term:

> "I feel that the use of the word 'QUEER', is not appropriate. I felt offended by seeing the word! Try homosexual next time! (Ignorant)."
>
> "Using the word 'queer' – wouldn't that be offensive to the gay/lesbian community? I'm not for gay/lesbian rights but I believe that anyone has the right to be who they want to be."

However, one factor that complicates these rationales is that the questionnaires

---

[5]Computer limitations precluded a between-groups 3 X 2 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), along with the appropriate comparison of means where necessary. Instead, two separate one-factor ANOVAs were conducted for both independent variables: lexical referent and subject sex. Separate t-tests were administered when the one-way ANOVA revealed a statistically significant effect between the means of the three-level factor of lexical referent. Eyeballing the data suggested that there was little reason to suspect any interaction effect; therefore this analysis was not pursued.

themselves used the terms *lesbian* and *gay*. If the term *homosexual* were responsible for lessening the students' homophobia, would this not have been offset by the impact of the supposed "radical" terms *lesbian* and *gay* throughout the questionnaire? It is doubtful that the cueing effect created by the students' initial encounter with the first label was so powerful that it successfully eradicated the effects of any subsequent exposure to other terms.

Experiment 2

Subjects and Method

To provide additional support to the results of Experiment 1, the questionnaire was administered to another 213 students from two first-year courses (Women's Studies and Linguistics). The questionnaire was modified in light of some of the observations made in the first experiment. Given that many of the students offered contradictory answers from one question to another, and others did not complete the questionnaire, some of the wording was reformulated and the questionnaire was shortened. In addition, it was noted that respondents' attitudes varied depending on whether the statement's referent was a lesbian or gay male, and therefore, the questionnaire was amended to refer to gay men only.

The two most important changes were: (1) clarifying on the informed consent statement that the researcher himself was gay since the purpose of the experiment was to elicit reactions to the use of various lexical referents as used by community members themselves; and (2) increasing the exposure to the label (*queer*, *homosexual*, or *gay*) by using the same lexical referent throughout the entire questionnaire.

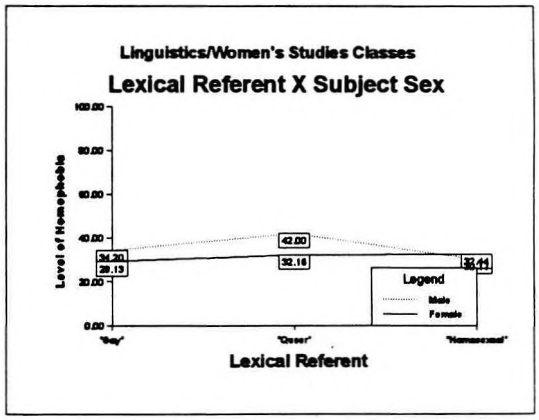
A copy of the amended questionnaire is attached as Appendix B.

Results (Overall)

Table of Score Means

	Labels			
	L/G	Q	H	Subject Sex Average
Male	34.20 N=7	42.00 N=5	30.17 N=11	33.97 N=23
Female	29.13 N=70	32.16 N=55	32.44 N=65	31.14 N=190
Label Average	29.59 N=77	32.98 N=60	32.11 N=76	

Graph



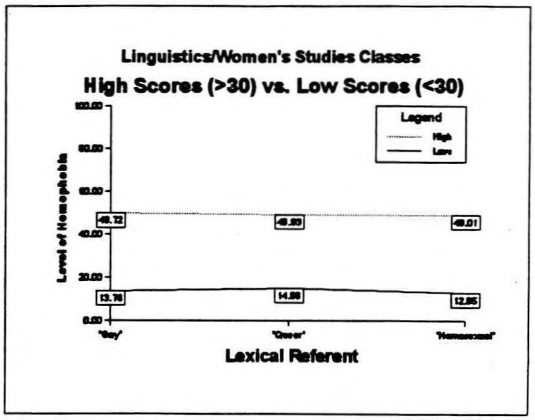
A three-level one-factor between-groups ANOVA revealed no significant effect between any of the labels ($p = .613$). The average score of those receiving the *gay* questionnaires was 29.59, *queer* 32.98, and *homosexual* 32.11.

Results (High versus Low)

Table of Score Means

Labels			
	G	Q	H
High (>30)	49.72 N=33	48.93 N=31	49.01 N=40
Low (<30)	13.76 N=42	14.88 N=27	12.85 N=35

Graph



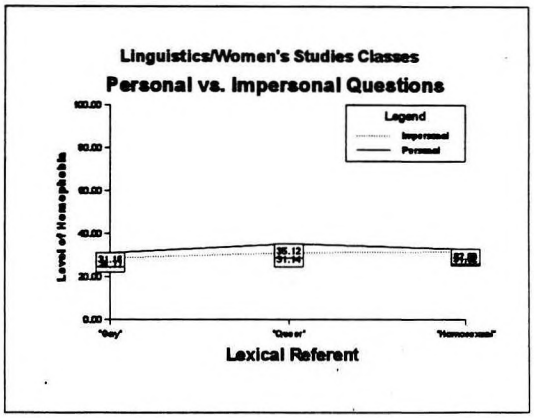
The results were then grouped by high scores (above the overall mean of 30), and low scores (below the overall mean of 30). Two separate three-level one-factor between-groups ANOVAs were conducted to see whether the lexical referent would affect those whose levels of homophobia were very high or very low.[6] No significant effects for either group were revealed (low scores, $p = .689$; high scores, $p = .970$).

Results (Personal questions versus impersonal questions)

Table of Score Means

Labels				
	G	Q	H	Question Type Average
Impersonal	28.77	31.14	31.62	30.46 N=211
Personal	31.16	35.12	32.68	32.81 N=211
Label Average	29.97 N=76	33.13 N=59	32.15 N=76	

Graph



[6]Computer limitations precluded a multiple regression analysis, which would have been a more appropriate design to compare higher scores to lower scores.

The questions were divided into two categories depending on whether they were of a more personal nature (e.g., "I would feel disappointed if I learned that my son was gay") versus those of a more impersonal nature (e.g., "I would feel comfortable attending social functions at which gays were present"). Ten questions were deemed to be of the personal type, and the remaining ten of the impersonal type.

Eyeballing the data suggests that there may be a slightly higher score for the more personal questions (32.81 versus 30.46), but this is not confirmed by the analysis ($p = .6384$).[7] Furthermore, the difference between the mean scores for the lexical referents was not significant ($p = .4944$). A slight rise in the average score with the word *queer* in the personal questions was noted (35.12), but the analysis revealed no interaction effect that would support this observation ($p = .6359$).

Discussion

The results of Experiment 2 contradict those of Experiment 1: The labels had no effect on the respondents' level of homophobia. How are the two studies to be reconciled? Confounding variables were likely to have played a role that resulted in the two distinct sets of data. While acknowledging that the different questionnaires in the two studies make any comparisons inappropriate, I suggest that one possibility may be that the labels do make a difference where the respondents are extremely homophobic, as with the Communications class. However, when the second experiment's high and low scores were compared, no significant differences were found. Furthermore, a comparison of personal and impersonal scenarios did not result in any significant differences. In other words, respondents would be just as comfortable (or uneasy) with a gay, queer, or homosexual brother as they would with a gay, queer, or homosexual Member of Parliament. No matter how the variables were manipulated, the respondents were not influenced by the labels. They appeared to be either so gay-positive or so homophobic that the different labels alone were unable to shake their convictions.

A pattern did emerge with the qualitative data collected as part of the survey. Fifty-four of the respondents in Experiment 2 accepted the invitation to provide comments, 33 of whom wrote a comment that required a lexical reference to homosexuals or homosexuality. Of these, 28 used the lexical referent that was provided to them in the questionnaire. Specifically, of the 10 respondents who had the *gay* questionnaire (who wrote comments requiring a term for homosexuals or homosexuality) 9 of them used the term *gay* itself. For the *homosexual* questionnaire, this occurred with 11 of the 13 applicable comments. For the *queer* version, the ratio is similar: 8 out of 10. In other words, respondents used whichever word they had encountered during the survey. Of significance is that the word *queer*, a previously pejorative term, seems to have ameliorated in the eyes of the respondents. This occurrence supports the results of Experiment 2 in that respondents' applied their own connotation to the label when they used it themselves.[8]

Overall, this study suggests that the labels *homosexual*, *gay/lesbian*, and *queer* may not

---

[7]The analysis used was a two-factor (subject sex X lexical referent) repeated measures ANOVA. Computer limitations required that each cell had an identical number of subjects. Therefore some scores in those conditions with greater Ns were randomly eliminated in order to round down to the condition with the least number of scores (59).

[8]Levesque (1995) found a similar result in a study of the effects of sexist language on perceptions of sexual harassment. For instance, if a questionnaire used the word *girl*, respondents tended to repeat it in their written comments; if they were exposed to *woman*, they used *woman*.

affect the attitudes held by members of the larger society towards homosexuals. However, responding to a questionnaire may not reflect real-life behaviour. The questionnaire made it clear that the researcher's aim was to test level of homophobia, and respondents seemed eager to advertise their homophobia or share their support for the gay community. However, parents may claim that they would be comfortable having a homosexual teach their child, but their reaction may be different if they were actually confronted with this scenario. Furthermore, they may react differently to their child should she/he choose to refer to her/himself as *gay*, *homosexual*, or *queer*. In addition, reactions may be more subtle than this survey recognized. When asked, respondents may deny, or not be aware of, any discriminating tendencies. However, in the real world, would they be less likely to hire applicants who have a background in *Queer Studies*, over those who represent their academic interest as being *Cultural Studies of Homosexuality*? In short, the research design, involving as it does an attitudinal scale, though common enough in social psychology, may be a rather brute measure of respondents' attitudes. Another important factor to be considered is that this study merely examined the effects of encountering these labels in a limited context, without considering the effects of long-term exposure.

CONCLUSION

The results of this particular study concur with Cameron's (1985) observations as to whether we can totally decontaminate language of sexism: "In the mouths of sexists, language can always be sexist" (p. 90). Likewise, Ehrlich and King (1994), in their study of the depoliticization of feminist linguistic innovations by the dominant culture, suggest:

> "Linguistic meanings are, to a large extent, determined by the dominant culture's social values and attitudes -- i.e. they are socially constructed and constituted; hence terms initially introduced to be nonsexist, nonracist or even feminist ... lose their intended meanings in the mouths and ears of a sexist, racist speech community and culture" (p. 60).

These experiments provide some evidence that terms will be interpreted by the larger speech community so that their meanings remain congruent with the speaker's attitudes towards homosexuality. Respondents may not interpret the terms as they are intended by the initiating community. Although the lesbian and gay community tends to use language as a shock tactic to confront their oppressors, or as a display of pride and in-group solidarity, this intended usage seems to have little significance to the larger speech community, or at least as yet. In her study of the ideological struggle over labelling within the African American community, Smitheran found that it was African Americans themselves who had the strongest opinions: Many African Americans disapproved of this shift more than did European Americans. She suggested that "[o]ne explanation for this difference is that African Americans have a lot more at stake in the naming controversy" (p. 127).

The fact that most of the respondents in my study were readily prepared to accept and use *queer* is further evidence that the larger speech community is unfamiliar with the current debate within the lesbian and gay community. On the other hand, I showed at the beginning of this paper that lesbians and gays themselves are quite familiar with the issues. The recent styleguide, *The "OUT!SPOKEN" Styleguide: A Guide for the Media on Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay and HIV/AIDS Issues* (1994) takes a more conservative stance:

> "**Do not use.** A term historically and currently used pejoratively towards lesbians, gays, and bisexuals. However, many people at whom the term was directed have reclaimed it and use it in a highly politicized sense. Among bisexuals, lesbians, and gays there are differing opinions as to whether this term should or should not be used. The term "queer" may be used appropriately by the community and quoted as such, but because of the pejorative and threatening connotations of the word when used by heterosexuals it should not be used by those outside the community" (p. 14).

It remains to be seen whether non pejorative *queer* will achieve some measure of success as it moves from the originating speech community to the larger society.

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I am a graduate student interested in queer (gay / homosexual) issues. This specific project I am working on is looking at attitudes towards queer (homosexual / gay) men and women.

There is no deception. There are no right or wrong answers. This is a genuinely straight forward way of measuring attitudes.

Please feel free to not answer any specific questions, or to not even participate at all. You are under no obligation to finish the questionnaire once you have started it. Total anonymity is assured given that it will be impossible to match students' identities with the questionnaires. It is hoped that you will feel comfortable enough to answer the questions honestly.

If you have any questions, I can be reached by e-mail: gjacobs@vm2.yorku.ca; or by phone (416) 658-1690.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Greg Jacobs
Ph.D. Candidate
Faculty of Graduate Studies
York University

Sex:

Male ____
Female ____

Age:

under 20 ____
20-24 ____
25-29 ____
30-34 ____
35-39 ____
40-44 ____
45-49 ____
50-54 ____
55-60 ____
over 60 ____

Answer each item by placing a number beside each one as follows

1 *Strongly agree*
2 *Agree*
3 *Neither agree nor disagree*
4 *Disagree*
5 *Strongly disagree*

---

1. I would feel comfortable working closely with a gay* man. ____
2. I would enjoy attending social functions at which lesbians and gays were present. ____
3. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbour was lesbian/gay. ____
4. If a member of my sex made a sexual advance toward me I would feel angry. ____
5. I would feel comfortable knowing that I was attractive to members of my sex. ____
6. I would feel uncomfortable being seen in a lesbian or gay bar. ____
7. I would feel comfortable if a member of my sex made an advance toward me. ____
8. I would be comfortable if I found myself attracted to a member of my own sex. ____
9. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my child was lesbian/gay. ____
10. I would feel nervous being in a group of lesbians and gay men. ____
11. I would feel comfortable knowing that my clergyman was lesbian/gay. ____
12. I would deny to members of my peer group that I had friends who were either lesbian or gay ____

Please turn over ... more questions are on the other side

* "gay" remained constants for each version

13. I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I learned that my child was lesbian/gay. ____
14. If I saw two men holding hands in public I would feel disgusted. ____
15. If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would be offended. ____
16. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my daughter's teacher was a lesbian. ____
17. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my spouse or partner was attracted to members of her/his own sex ____
18. I would like to have my parents to know that I had lesbian/gay friends. ____
19. I would feel uncomfortable kissing a close friend of my sex in public. ____
20. I would like to have friends of my sex who were lesbian/gay. ____
21. If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would wonder if I were lesbian/gay ____
22. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best friend of my sex was lesbian/gay. ____
23. If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would feel flattered. ____
24. I would feel uncomfortable knowing that my son's male teacher was homosexual. ____
25. I would feel comfortable working closely with a female homosexual. ____

If you have any comments, please feel free to write them here:

_____

_____

_____

_____

homosexuals
gays

I am a queer graduate student interested in attitudes towards queers.

There is no deception. There are no right or wrong answers. This is a genuinely straight forward way of measuring attitudes.

Please feel free to not answer any specific questions, or to not even participate at all. You are under no obligation to finish the questionnaire once you have started it. Total anonymity is assured given that it will be impossible to match students' identities with the questionnaires. It is hoped that you will feel comfortable enough to answer the questions honestly.

If you have any questions, I can be reached by e-mail: gjacobs@vm2.yorku.ca; or by phone (416) 658-1690.

Yours sincerely,

Greg Jacobs

Greg Jacobs
Ph.D. Candidate
Faculty of Graduate Studies
York University

Sex

Male _____
Female _____

Age

under 20 _____
20-39 _____
over 40 _____

Answer by circling the number under each sentence.

1 Strongly agree
2 Agree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Disagree
5 Strongly disagree

Important Note: For the purpose of this study, the individuals referred to in each item are males.

1 I would feel comfortable if my co-worker was queer.*

1 2 3 4 5

2. I would feel comfortable attending social functions at which queers were present.

1 2 3 4 5

3. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my neighbour was queer.

1 2 3 4 5

4. It would not bother me if my daughter's teacher was queer.

1 2 3 4 5

5. I would feel comfortable in a queer bar.

1 2 3 4 5

6. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my son was queer.

1 2 3 4 5

7. I would feel comfortable having a queer look after my daughter.

1 2 3 4 5

8. I would feel nervous being in a group of queers.

1 2 3 4 5

9. I would feel comfortable knowing that my member of parliament was queer.

1 2 3 4 5

Please turn over ... more questions are on the other side

*gay or homosexual for other two versions

1 *Strongly agree*
2 *Agree*
3 *Neither agree nor disagree*
4 *Disagree*
5 *Strongly disagree*

---

10. **I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I learned that my son was queer.**

1 2 3 4 5

11. **If I saw two men holding hands in public I would feel disgusted.**

1 2 3 4 5

12. **It would be embarrassing to me if people knew I had queer friends.**

1 2 3 4 5

13. **I would be angry if another man made a pass at my best male friend.**

1 2 3 4 5

14. **I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best male friend was queer.**

1 2 3 4 5

15. **I would feel uncomfortable if my son's teacher was queer.**

1 2 3 4 5

16. **It would not bother me to have queer friends.**

1 2 3 4 5

17. **I would not shop in a store if I knew it was owned by a queer.**

1 2 3 4 5

18. **I would never let a queer babysit my son.**

1 2 3 4 5

19. **I would be ashamed if I learned that my brother was queer.**

1 2 3 4 5

20. **I wish newspapers would not publish articles on queer issues.**

1 2 3 4 5

If you have any comments, please feel free to write them here:

ON THE NATURE OF AGGLUTINATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the currently debated linguistic issues in generative grammar concerns the status of morphological principles, a recurring issue since Chomsky (1972). Three positions under the debate are: (i) all affixation takes place in the lexicon (cf. Anderson (1992) and Chomsky (1993)), (ii) all affixation takes place in syntax (cf. Baker (1988), Kayne (to appear), Lieber (1992), and Pollock 1989), and (iii) affixation is lexical or syntactic depending on the type of affix in question (cf. Halle and Marantz (1993) and Marantz (1984)).

In one of the agglutinative languages, Japanese, the issue has been debated most representatively in the context of the complex causatives of the form "V-sase." The debate is known as the lexicalist/nonlexicalist controversy. The lexicalist position has been presented by Farmer (1980), Kitagawa (1986), Miyagawa (1980; 1989), and Sugioka (1984), who argue that the causative morpheme sase is a lexical suffix and the lexically formed "V-sase" is a coherent single unit in the lexicon. The nonlexicalist, syntactic, position has been presented by Kuroda (1981a; 1981b; 1986; 1990; 1993) and the traditional transformationalists, who argue that sase is an independent lexical entry and "V-sase" is rather defined in syntax.

In this paper, I discuss multiple causativization phenomena in Japanese that may revive the lexicalist/non-lexicalist debate. I demonstrate that a crucial concept to get across is the lexical versus syntactic affixation distinction and that neither of the two extreme views of morphology, biased to the lexicon as in (i) or to syntax as in (ii), is untenable. The right conception of morphology should rest on the third view as in (iii) that both the lexicon and syntax are the relevant levels for affixation to take place.

2. Multiple Causativization Phenomena

The phenomenon I draw attention to concerns the number of possible arguments associated with "V-sase." Descriptively, when compared with the constituent sentence (1a), its causative counterpart (1b) is accompanied by an

additional Causer argument, taityoo 'the commander', a hallmark of a causativization process. (1c) shows that sase may attach only once; double sase-suffixation accompanied by double Causer arguments, syoogun 'the general' & taityoo 'the commander', result in ungrammaticality of the sentence, or oddity of the sentence at best.

(1)a. Gun-ga mae-e susum-ta.
troop-Nom forward advance-Past
'The troop advanced forward.'

b. Taityoo-ga gun-o mae-e susum-(s)ase-ta.
commander-Nom troop-Acc forward advance-SASE-Past
'The commander had the troop advance forward.'

c. ???Syoogun-ga taityoo-ni gun-o mae-e
general-Nom commander-Dat troop-Acc forward

susum-(s)ase-sase-ta.
advance-SASE-SASE-Past

'The general had the commander make the troop advance forward.'

The prohibition of double occurrences of sase appears more clearly, as in (2c), when the constituent verb is vowel-ending; ki-sase-sase is clearly ungrammatical.

(2)a. Kodomo-ga huku-o ki-ru.
child-Nom clothes-Acc wear-Pres
'The child puts on the clothes.'

b. Hahaoya-ga kodomo-ni huku-o ki-sase-ru.
mother-Nom child-Dat clothes-Acc wear-SASE-Pres
'The mother makes the child put on the clothes.'

c. *Titioya-ga hahaoya-ni kodomo-ni huku-o
father-Nom mother-Dat child-Dat clothes-Acc

ki-sase-sase-ru.
wear-SASE-SASE-Pres

'The father has the mother make the child put on the clothes.'

The difference between (1) and (2) is purely phonological; the initial s of sase is dropped in the former (when the consitutent verb is consonant-ending), but retained in the latter. Viewing that the dropping of the initial s is a type of morphophonological modification, the increased acceptability in (1c), but not in (2c), is consistent with a general linguistic phenomenon reported by Kulikov (1993)-

-that causative morphemes are reiterated but often with some morphophonological modifications, as illustrated in (3) drawn from Mansi, a Vodgal language, and (4) drawn from Hanzib, a Daghestan language.

(3) Mansi (Vogal lang.) (Rombandeeva (1973))
rūpit(a) 'to work'
rūpita-pt(u) 'to cause to work'
rūpita-pt-u-pt(u) 'to ask to work'

(4) Hanzib (Daghestan) (Isakov (1986))
ut' 'to sleep'
ut'-k' 'to make sleep'
ut'-k'-ek' 'to cause to make sleep'

If double sase is not possible, more than double occurrences of sase are naturally prohibited; the forms in (5) are not possible.

(5) *susum-(s)ase-sase-sase '*advance-SASE-SASE-SASE'
*ki-sase-sase-sase '*wear-SASE-SASE-SASE'

Interestingly, however, the intended double causal interpretation of (1c) or (2c) can be achieved by dropping one sase, as in (6). A single occurrence of sase allows double Causers. This observation is originally due to Tokieda (1950) and discussed by Shibatani (1973; 1976).

(6)a. Syoogun-ga taityoo-ni gun-o mae-e
general-Nom commander-Dat troop-Acc forward

susum-(s)ase-ta.
advance-SASE-Past

'The general had the commander make the troop advance forward.'

b. Titioya-ga hahaoya-ni kodomo-ni huku-o
father-Nom mother-Dat child-Dat clothes-Acc

ki-sase-ru.
wear-SASE-Pres

'The father has the mother make the child put on the clothes.'

Shibatani's discussion is limited to double occurrences of the Causer argumens. However, the number of the Causer arguments allowed by a single sase is, in principle, unlimited, though the longer the expansion, the oddness of the sentence, perhaps due to processing reasons such as limitations of short term memory. The examples in (7) illustrate the unlimited expansion of the Causer arguments;

the verb hatarak-(s)ase `work-SASE' may take one Causer butyoo `the manager' as in (7b), two Causers senmu `the executive' and butyoo `the manager' as in (7c), three Causers syatyoo `the president', senmu `the execututive', and butyoo `the manager' as in (7d), and so on.

(7)a. Buka-ga hatarak-(r)u.
staff-Nom work-Pres
`The staff works.'

b. Butyoo-ga buka-o hatarak-(s)ase-ru.
manager-Nom staff-Acc work-SASE-Pres
`The manager makes the staff work.'

c. Senmu-ga butyoo-ni buka-o hatarak-(s)ase-ru.
executive-Nom manager-Dat staff-Acc work-SASE-Pres
`The executive has the manager make the staff work.'

d.?Syatyoo-ga senmu-ni butyoo-ni buka-o
president-Nom executive-Dat manager-Dat staff-Acc

hatarak-(s)ase-ru.
work-SASE-Pres

`The president gets the executive to have the manager make the staff work.'

Multiple causativization as discussed above is one of the distinguishing properties between sase-causatives and lexical causatives. The examples in (8) and (9) are with the lexical causative morpheme e and se respectively. These examples show that the lexical causative allows only one Causer argument: taityoo `the commander' in (8b) or hahaoya `the mother' in (9b); when another Causer argument is added such as syoogun `the general' in (8c) or titioya `the father' in (9c), the result is ungrammatical, unlike sase-causatives (6a) and (6b).

(8)a. Gun-ga mae-e susum-ta.
troop-Nom forward advance-Past
`The troop advanced forward.'

b. Taityoo-ga gun-o mae-e susum-e-ta.
commander-Nom troop-Acc forward advance-LC-Past
`The commander advanced the troop forward.'

c. (cf. (6a))
*Syoogun-ga taityoo-ni gun-o mae-e
general-Nom commander-Dat troop-Acc forward

susum-e-ta.
advance-LC-Past

(9)a. Kodomo-ga huku-o ki-ru.
child-Nom clothes-Acc wear-Pres
'The child puts on the clothes.'

b. Hahaoya-ga kodomo-ni huku-o ki-se-ru.
mother-Nom child-Dat clothes-Acc wear-LC-Pres
'The mother puts the clothes on the child.'

c. (cf. (6b))
*Titioya-ga hahaoya-ni kodomo-ni huku-o
father-Nom mother-Dat child-Dat clothes-Acc

ki-se-ru.
wear-LC-Pres

In order to allow the outer Causer argument in (8c) or in (9c), the lexical causative must undergo sase-suffixation. This is illustrated in (10).

(10)a. Syoogun-ga taityoo-ni gun-o mae-e
general-Nom commander-Dat troop-Acc forward

susum-e-sase-ta.
advance-LC-SASE-Past

'The general had the commander advance the troop forward.'

b. Titioya-ga hahaoya-ni kodomo-ni huku-o
father-Nom mother-Dat child-Dat clothes-Acc

ki-se-sase-ru.
wear-LC-SASE-Pres

'The father has the mother put the clothes on the child.'

Once sase is suffixed, additional Causer arguments, such as daitooryoo 'the president' in (11a) or isya 'the doctor' in (11b), may further be added. And this addition can be done without limit.

(11)a. Daitooryoo-ga syoogun-ni taityoo-ni gun-o
president-Nom general-Dat commander-Dat troop-Acc

mae-e susum-e-sase-ta.
forward advance-LC-SASE-Past

'The president had the general make the commander advance the troop forward.'

b. Isya-ga titioya-ni hahaoya-ni kodomo-ni
doctor-Nom father-Dat mother-Dat child-Dat

huku-o ki-se-sase-ru.
clothes-Acc wear-LC-SASE-Pres

'The doctor gets the father to have the mother put the clothes on the child.'

3. Problems for the Lexical Analysis of "V-sase"

A problem raised for the lexical formation of the sase-causative by the multiple causativization phenomena concerns the nature of the lexicon. If the predicate "V-sase" is a single lexical entry with its own argument structure, as lexicalists claim, multiple Causers are all arguments associated with the single predicate. This would mean that the lexicon contains the arbitrary information that the number of argument slots for "V-sase" is variably n, as long as this variable is greater than or equal to 2. This is not a favorable result, especially given the concept of Universal Grammar with respect to language acquisition. Though it does contain parametric knowledge learnt by experience, as opposed to principles (Chomsky (1981)), the lexicon should be as tightly structured as possible so that the role of experience in language acquisition is minimized. In short, the predicate-argument structure should be finite and the arbitrariness of the lexicon should be disfavored.

Note that the behavior of lexical causatives is consitent with this view of the lexicon. As we have seen earlier, lexical causatives do not allow multiple causativization. They are either transitive exactly with two arguments as in (8b) or ditransitive exactly with three arguments as in (9b).

A more promising treatment of the sase-causative is then to form them not in the lexicon, but elsewhere in the grammar.

4. Nonlexical Analysis

An initial clue to an analysis of multiple causative constructions is offered by the well-known subject-oriented antecedence property of the long-distance reflexive zibun. As (12a) illustrates, the antecedent of zibun can be either the local subject Ziro or the nonlocal subject Taro but cannot be the nonsubject Masao even if it is a clausemate. This is unlike that of the English reflexive illustrated in (12b), which is known as a strict local anaphor with no particular orientation.

(12)a. Taro$_i$-ga [Ziro$_j$-ga Masao$_k$-ni zibun$_{i/j/*k}$-no
Taro-Nom Ziro-Nom Masao-Dat self-Gen

koto-o hanasita to] omotteiru.
matter-Acc told Comp think

'Taro$_i$ thinks that Ziro$_j$ told Masao$_k$ about self$_{i/j/*k}$.'

b. John$_i$ thinks that Bill$_j$ told Jim$_k$ about himself$_{*i/j/k}$.

This basic characteristic of zibun can be used to test the grammatical nature of multiple Causers, as in (13). The result is that all the Causer arguments syatyoo and hisyo, as well the local subject buka, can bind zibun, and thus multiple Causers are subjects.

(13) Syatyoo$_i$-ga hisyo$_j$-ni buka$_k$-o zibun$_{i/j/k}$-no
president-Nom secretary-Dat staff-Acc self-Gen

ie-de hatarak-(s)ase-ta.
house-in work-SASE-Past

'The president$_i$ had the secretary$_j$ make the staff$_k$ work in self$_{i/j/k}$'s house.'

This would lead us to propose that multiple causatives involve syntactically defined sentence embeddings as in (14) in which sase is recursively represented and each sase takes the subject Causer and a sentential complement.

(14) [$_s$ NP$_n$ [$_s$ NP$_{n-1}$ [...[$_s$ NP$_1$ [$_s$ NP...V] sase$_1$]...]
| | |
Caus Caus Caus ...sase$_{n-1}$] sase$_n$]

Multiply represented sase's in (14) then undergo some version of a postlexical morphological reduction principle, as characterized in (15), which I discuss in section 6.

(15) V-sase$_1$-...-sase$_{n-1}$-sase$_n$ --> V-sase

In (14), each sase, except the first occurrence, does not appear adjacent to the base predicate V. This may argue that sase has a lexical status independent of V, and its argument structure is specified for a single subject Causer and a sentential complement.

One may argue that analysis (14) is equally a problem because it involves an arbitrary number of setence embeddings. However, the recursive, arbitrary, nature of the setence embeddings in (14) is syntactic, much like the English periphrastic sentences illustrated in (16), whose recursive nature no one would find problematic.

(16)a. The father made the daughter make the grandson make his aunt buy some toys.

b. John said that Betty said that Bill said that Mary wanted to study linguistics.

Analysis (14) can be strengthened by evidence drawn from such agglutinative languages as Turkish, Tuvan, and Tsez. In these languages, causative morphemes actually show up on the surface recursively, as illustrated in (17).

(17)a. Turkish (Lewis (1967))

öl	`to die'
öl-dür	`to kill'
öl-dür-t	`to have someone to kill'
öl-dür-t-tür	`to get someone to get someone to kill.'
öl-dür-t-tür-t	`to get someone to get someone to get someone to kill'

b. Tuvan (Kulikov (1993))
Kara-kys ool-ga ašak-ka Bajyr-ny
Kara-kys boy-Dat old man-Dat Bajyr-Acc

don-ur-t-kan
freeze-CAUSE-CAUSE-Past

`Kara-kys caused the boy to make an old man get Bajyr frozen.'

c. Tsez (Matthew by personal communication)
Kid-baa uzhi-q R'waj-q-or k'et'u
girl boy-Loc dog-Loc-towards cat

xan-re-re-r-si
bite-CAUSE-CAUSE-CAUSE-Past

`The girl made the boy have the dog bite the cat.'

The fact that multiple sentence embeddings are betrayed in these languages constitutes directly observable evidence compatible with (14).

5. Clarification

One might argue in defense of the lexicalist hypothesis that syntactically defined sentence embeddings as claimed in (14) do not argue unambiguously for a syntactic treatment of "V-sase" because such lexicalists as Farmer (1980), Grimshaw (1990), and Kitagawa (1986) do posit a level in which sase-causatives are represented as biclausal, thus achieving a similar effect as (14). For

Kitagawa it is Logical Form in which Affix Raising creates comlementation, an operation which originates in a simplex syntactic strucuture that is configurational. For Farmer and Grimshaw such a level is the lexicon in which the argument structure of "V-sase" is represented as involving complementation as in:

(18)a. (Agent (Agent Theme V) sase) (Farmer (1980))

b. V-sase[x [y (z)]] (Grimshaw (1990))

However, these analyses achieve a similar effect as (14) but only up to a specified number of complementations. For them to deal with multiple causativization, a lexical representation of "V-sase" must be associated with an arbitrary number of Causer arguments, which goes against the nature of the lexicon. Thus, these do not have a case as counteranalyses to (14).

One might also argue in defense of the lexicalist hypothesis that multiple causative predicates entered in the lexicon as in (19) may not be a problem with respect to the arbitrariness of the number of arguments, since each lexical entry takes a different but predictable number of arguments: n+1 when V is intransitive, and n+2 when V is transitive, where n is the number of the Causer arguments.

(19)a. V
b. V-sase$_1$
c. V-sase$_1$-sase$_2$
d. V-sase$_1$-sase$_2$-...-sase$_{n-1}$-sase$_n$

Such a treatment, however, inevitably causes a problem because it would force the lexicon to contain an infinite number of related forms of V. In fact, a list of infinite items is conceptually untenable. A single representation (19d) may suffice, but again it contains infinite information n, which does not go with the nature of the lexicon. In this conncetion, the following remark is relevant. Di Sciullo and William (1987) notes that Passamaquoddy, for example, has more than 10,000 forms for every verb and in such highly agglutinative languages it is inconceivable that every lexical item could be listed.

6. Morphological Reduction

As an explanation of a surface realization of a single occurrence of sase characterized in (15), I examine two morphological principles and explore some implications to morphological theories.

First, (15) could be due to lower-level morphological operation (20) which reduces phonologically identical multiple morphemes into one, just as reducing the double

occurrences of sase into one suggested by Shibatani (1973; 1976).

(20) Phonologically identical multiple morphemes reduce to one.

Alternatively, (15) may fall under some version of a principle of prohibiting redundant affixation such as (21) proposed by Marantz (1984).

(21) (Marantz' (4.9))
The No Vacuous Affixation Principle (NVAP):
For a certain class of features F, an [alpha F_i] affix may attach only to a [-alpha F_i] root.

As they are presently formulated, however, neither (20) nor (21) can be accepted as a general principle, though for different reasons, and some reformulation for each is called for. First, (20) is too strong incorrectly disallowing all reduplication of phonetically identical morphemes. The iterative nature of the English prefixes in (22), for example, should not be subjected to (20).

(22) outoutwit/sub-sub-contract/pre-pre-analysis
(drawn from Roeper and Keyser (1995))

As for (21), problems are twofold. First, (21) refers to which morphemes may or may not attach, but says nothing about which ones must or may not delete. Therefore (21) plays no role in accounting for reduction (15). Rather it has much to do with whether or not the multiple suffixation of sase in (14) is allowed in the first place. And this raises the second problem. Very crucially, (21) incorrectly disallows affixation of a causative morpheme to a transitive verb, due to their sharing the feature [+transitive]. This is analogous to how it correctly disallows a passive morpheme to attach to an intransitive verb in English; specifically but roughly, the passivization in (23) is not possible because the verb dance and the perssive affix share the feature [-transitive], unlike in (24).

(23)a. Someone danced.
b. *It was danced.
(24)a. Elmer wrote the book in twenty days.
b. Elmer's book was written in twenty days.

By extention, sase cannot attach to another sase regardless of transitivity of the base verb because the two sase's in adjacent positions share the identical feature values including [+transitive]. NVAP (21), in other words, does not agree with analysis (14) in the first place. This is a highly undesirable effect.

To do away with these dilemmas, (20) and (21) should be refined in such a way so that the former applies to syntactic affixes such as sase, but not to lexical affixes such as the English prefixes; conversely, (21) applies to lexical affixes such as the English passive morpheme, but not to syntactic affixes such as sase. In other words, they both are sensitive to the distinction between lexical affixation and syntactic affixation. Grammar must accommodate this distinction as a significant feature. When the reformulation of (20) and (21) is properly worked out as such, reduction of sase (15) is achieved at the level in which low-level morphological operation (20) is applicable, and the desired result obtains accordingly.

Finally, one may wonder why multiple causatives in many languages do not undergo morphological reduction. The examples in (25) are from French.

(25)a. Je lui ferai faire batir la maison.
I him CAUSE CAUSE build the house

b. Je vais lui faire faire batir la maison.
I will him CAUSE CAUSE build the house
'I am going to have him have the house built.'

Presumably, (25a) is not a problem because the two causative morphemes are not phonologically identical and thus falls under a general linguistic phenomenon presented in (3-4); that is, causative morphemes are reiterated but often with some morphophonological modifications. This leaves (25b) under the issue since it has the identical causative morphemes in adjacent positions. Such a case, however, is truly problematic only if Romance causatives are similar to the Japanese sase in that they also are syntactic affixes, as suggested by Baker (1988) and Guasti (1991). If, on the other hand, Romance causatives are lexical affixes, as Rosen (1989) proposes, or Romance causatives are non-affixal, as Reed (1991) suggests, then (25b) is not a problem to the present analysis and the crosslinguistic variation on multiple causatives follows straightforwardly.

7. Conclusion

A crucial concept underlying the analysis of multiple causativization discussed here appeared to be the necessity for the lexical versus syntactic affixation distinction. This would argue for a theory of morphology that is neither entirely syntactic nor entirely lexical. Such extreme views of morphology biased to the lexicon or to syntax are equally untenable. The right conception of morphology instead is a moderate one; it is lexical or syntactic depending on the type of affix in question.

Notes

More elaborated analysis of the material given in this paper was presented in Katada (1995), to which I wish to refer the readers for full discussion and citations. I am grateful to the audience of APLA 19 for comments, suggestions, and kind help with French examples. All shortcomings are mine.

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La puissance des pronoms faibles en français terre-neuvien

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1. Introduction

Dans notre présentation, on se propose d'examiner les clitiques sujet dans différentes variétés de français, notamment le français acadien. Les données sur lesquelles nos analyses sont basées proviennent d'un corpus du français parlé de Terre-Neuve. On a décidé d'examiner le français terre-neuvien étant donné le caractère conservateur de cette variété, ce qu'on peut relier au fait que le terre-neuvien a eu très peu de contact avec le français standard ou québécois. Donc la question d'interférence entre la variété locale et d'autres variétés ne se pose pas dans le contexte terre-neuvien, ce qui n'est pas le cas partout en Acadie (cf. Flikeid et Péronnet, 1989). Par exemple, l'emploi des formes du type "je travaillons" dans le sens de "nous travaillons" qui est très fréquent en terre-neuvien, est assez rare dans l'acadien du Nouveau Brunswick où c'est la forme "on travaille" qui est la plus courante.

Les questions qui nous intéressent pour la présente discussion concernent en particulier le statut grammatical des clitiques sujet en terre-neuvien, car ces pronoms semblent se comporter différemment de ce qu'on trouve dans les autres variétés de français canadien que nous appelons collectivement le français canadien hors Acadie (FCHA). Par la suite on proposera une explication historique de cette différence.

2. Les clitiques sujet en français standard

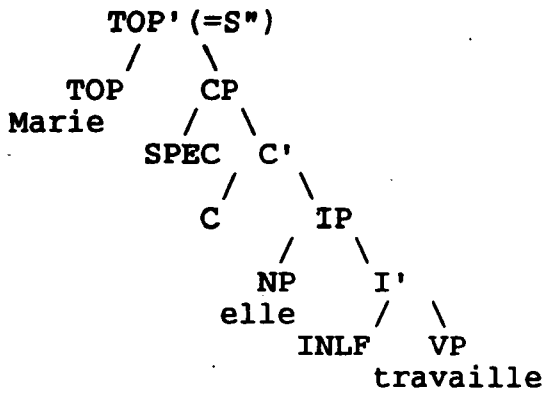
Commençons par un survol rapide des analyses précédentes qui portent sur les clitiques sujet en français. La plupart des travaux génératifs ayant considéré le statut grammatical des clitiques sujet en français prennent comme point de départ le système pronominal du français standard (cf. Kayne, 1975; Rizzi, 1986; Brandi et Cordin, 1989). Ce qu'il faut retenir de ces études, c'est que les clitiques sujet sont considérés comme des syntagmes indépendants qui occupent la position syntaxique de sujet, soit SN, IP et donc ce sont des éléments syntaxiques. D'après cette façon de voir les choses, la dépendance phonologique des clitiques sujet serait le reflet d'une règle phonologique qui cliticise le pronom sujet de la série faible a une tête verbale fléchie, ce qui rendrait compte des faits comme la liaison obligatoire, l'impossibilité de coordonner deux clitiques et le fait que ces clitiques ne peuvent pas porter un accent d'insistance. Ces faits sont illustré dans les exemples de (1) à (3).

Le statut syntaxique des clitiques en français standard se confirme notamment par le fait que les clitiques sujet du français standard sont en distribution complémentaire avec les SN lexicaux:

4) a. Marie, elle travaille.
   b. *Marie elle travaille.

Comme on peut le voir en 4)b., le français standard, ne permet deux sujets corréférentiels que lorsque le premier se trouve dans une position disloquée, comme en 4)a. La représentation structurale d'une dislocation de ce type est donnée en 5) où le clitique se trouve en SPEC de IP et le SN est dans une position topique et le clitique est en position syntaxique de sujet:

5) *dislocation à gauche*:



L'analyse d'après laquelle les clitiques sujet du français standard occupent une position syntaxique s'appuie aussi sur le fait que les clitiques sujet, tout comme les SN, peuvent être ellipsées dans les VP coordonnées:

4) a. Marie mangera beaucoup de tofu et __ boira de l'eau minérale.

b. Elle mangera beaucoup de tofu et boira de l'eau minérale.

Ce comportement parallèle laisse croire que les SN et les clitiques sujet du français standard subissent tous les deux un même type de règle syntaxique qui rend compte de l'absence du sujet syntaxique d'une structure coordonnée, tel qu'indiqué dans Rizzi (1986).

3. Les clitiques sujet en Italie septentrionale

Le classement des clitiques sujet français parmi les SN syntaxiques a souvent été évoqué pour faire une distinction binaire entre d'une part les variétés du Nord de l'Italie, par exemple le trentais et le florentin et d'autre part le français standard. A cet égard, Brandi et Cordin (1989) proposent que les clitiques des dialectes de l'Italie septentrionale sont des affixes verbaux car leur emploi est obligatoire dans la plupart des contextes. Par exemple, en trentais, une phrase sans "clitique" sujet est agrammaticale même si la position de sujet est remplie par un SN, comme en 7):

7) a. La Maria la parla.
b. *La Maria __ parla.

Donc, le redoublement du sujet, c'est-à-dire l'emploi d'une structure qui contient et un clitique sujet, et un SN en SPEC de IP, s'avère obligatoire dans ces variétés (cf. Nadasdi, 1995). Les différent(e)s auteur(e)s ayant considérés ces variétés notent que le redoublement du sujet se trouve également avec les SN quantifiés, ce qui écarte la possibilité que ce soit une dislocation à gauche. La représentation structurale d'un redoublement du sujet est donnée en 8).

Si le SN lexical d'une structure comme 7)a. occupe la position syntaxique de sujet, il s'ensuit que le clitique fait partie intégrante de la morphologie verbale, telle que proposé par Schogt (1968). Cette analyse se confirme par le fait que dans ces variétés un clitique sujet ne peut pas être ellipsés dans un syntagme verbal coordonné. Donc, contrairement à ce qu'on trouve en français standard, les clitiques sujet du trentais ne se comportent pas comme les SN lexicaux. D'après Miller (1991: 157) la répétition obligatoire d'un clitique force une analyse affixale de cet élément.

On se retrouve donc avec une division binaire pour les langues romanes à clitiques sujet: on a d'un côté le français (standard) dont les clitiques occupent la position syntaxique de sujet et, de l'autre, les parlers de l'Italie septentrionale dont les clitiques sont des marques d'accord, ce qui est en gros ce que proposent Brandi et Cordin (1989).

4. Les clitiques sujet en français non standard

Toutefois, la prise en compte des variétés de français non standard suggère que cette division binaire est moins exacte qu'on ne le croyait. Des travaux comme Roberge et Vinet (1989), qui prennent comme objet d'étude le français non standard, notent que les clitiques sujet de ces variétés fonctionnent plutôt comme ceux des dialectes italiens et peuvent s'employer avec un SN sujet en position d'argument, comme en 9):

9) a. En Ontario, les gens ils hésitent.
b. Un homme il dit à l'homme ...

De plus, les structures de ce type sont aussi possibles avec les SN quantifiés. De telles données constituent un appui très fort pour une approche qui analyse les clitiques sujet du français non standard comme des affixes verbaux, tout comme en trentais ou en florentin:

5. Le français terre-neuvien

Passons maintenant à une autre variété de français non standard, le français terre-neuvien. Donnons d'abord quelques détails relatifs à cette variété de français acadien. Nous nous limiterons à des informations d'ordre morphosyntaxique.

Des exemples de verbes acadiens tirés de notre corpus sont présentés dans les phrases que vous avez en 10):

10) a. Je vas en bas la côte.
b. Tu l'entends souvent à soir.
c. Il nous apportait des cadeaux.
d. Elle s'en vient avec nous-autres.
e. Je faisons ça souvent.
f. Vous faisiez-ti ça aussi vous-autres?
g. Il contiont beaucoup de, des histoires des esprits.

Les différences les plus évidentes entre l'acadien et les autres variétés de français canadien se trouvent à la première et à la troisième personne. A la première personne, on note que la personne verbale et toujours indiquée par le clitique *je* que le verbe soit au singulier ou au pluriel, comme on peut le voir en contrastant 10)a. avec 10)e. Quant à la troisième personne, l'acadien permet toujours de savoir le nombre grammatical étant donné que le pluriel est indiqué par la désinence *-ONT*.

6. Absence de redoublement

Passons maintenant au comportement morphosyntaxique des clitiques sujet en terre-neuvien. Etant donné le comportement de ces éléments dans les variétés non standard qu'on vient de mentionner, on devrait s'attendre à ce que les clitiques sujet du français terre-neuvien se prêtent aussi à l'analyse affixale. Une première indication du statut affixal serait la présence du redoublement du sujet, c'est-à-dire de l'emploi d'un clitique sujet à côté d'un SN lexical en position de sujet comme en 8). Toutefois, on ne trouve pas d'exemple de ce type dans notre corpus de sorte que le terre-neuvien se comporte plutôt comme le français standard à cet égard.

En fait, les seuls exemples qu'on peut trouver qui ressemble au redoublement de sujet sont ceux de 11):

11) a. Asteure, Francis est couché avec Peter pis Baptiste dans la même bunk. **Moi**, j'ai couché sur la grève là pis **Willie Alain il** pêchait avec mon défunt père en bas-là.

b. **Moi, je** parlais de les poissons d'or pis **eux il** parliont de la morue que j'avais cuit sur le poêle.

Le premiere exemple de 11)a. ("Moi, j'ai couché ...") est évidemment un exemple de dislocation à gauche étant donné la pause qui sépare le pronom fort du clitique. Mais que faire de "Willie Alain il pêchait" ou bien de "eux il parliont"?. Est-ce que ce sont de véritables redoublements du sujet? Notons d'abord que l'absence de pause n'indique pas qu'il s'agit forcément d'un redoublement du sujet. Comme l'indiquent Deshaies et al. (1992), il n'y a pas de pause après la plupart des dislocations à gauche en français québécois, bien que ces sujets portent un accent d'insistance qui sert à des fins contrastives. Et c'est justement le cas dans les exemples de double sujet sans pause en français terre-neuvien: les seuls exemples qu'on trouve dans cette variété sont ceux où le sujet lexical porte un accent tonique, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans les autres variétés de

français non standard. De plus, on ne trouve aucun exemple de double sujet avec un SN quantifié. Notons enfin que notre conclusion relative à l'absence du redoublement du sujet en terre-neuvien est aussi appuyée par l'analyse quantitative d'un corpus de terre-neuvien que vous avez dans le tableau2:

Tableau 2: Pourcentage de clitiques sujet avec SN*

Clitique sujet seul	1012	(93%) (e.g. **Je** parlions pas anglais "We didn't speak English")
Dislocations à gauche	45	(4%) (e.g. **Lui, il** le croyait "Him, he believed it")
Sujets "séparés"	16	(1%) (e.g. Asteure **Frank** you know **il** pêchait "Now Frank you know he used to go fishing..."
Dislocations à droite	14	(1%) (e.g. **Je** faisons ça aussi, **nous-autres** "We do that, too, us")
Redoublement du sujet	0	(0%)

7.1. D'autres diagnostiques à l'appui d'une analyse syntaxique

Mentionons que notre conclusion d'après laquelle les clitiques sujet en terre-neuvien se distinguent des autres variétés canadiennes (les premiers ne sont pas des affixes), ne se base pas uniquement sur les faits relatifs au redoublement du sujet. Il existe aussi d'autres diagnostiques qui, bien qu'ils forcent une analyse affixale pour le français canadien hors acadie, nous poussent à rejeter cette même analyse pour le français terre-neuvien. Ces diagnostiques concernent des faits relatifs à la coordination des syntagmes verbaux, l'emploi dans clitiques dans les relatives, la forme phonologique des clitiques sujet à la troisième personne et l'emploi des pronoms forts en position de sujet (cf. King et Nadasdi, ms.).

7.2. Résumé des arguments contre une analyse affixale des clitiques en Terre-Neuvien.

Le tableau 3 présente un résumé des différents arguments qui militent en faveur d'une analyse non-affixale des clitiques sujets en Terre-Neuvien:

Tableau 3

Critères à l'appui d'une analyse affixale des clitiques sujet	**Français canadien hors Acadie**	**Français terre-neuvien**
redoublement du sujet	fréquent	absent
VP coordonné	clitique obligatoire	clitique facultatif
relative sujet	clitique possible	aucun clitique
réduction phonologique de "il/ils"	catégorique	conditionnée
emploi de "chus"/"m'as"	fréquent	rare
pronom fort en SN,IP	3 pers. seulement	toutes les pers. grammaticales

Les données qu'on vient de voir sont telles qu'une analyse affixale semble peu motivée pour les clitiques sujet du terre-neuvien tout comme c'est le cas en français standard.

8. Origine de la différence entre le terre-neuvien et le FCHA

La question qu'on voudrait maintenant aborder est la suivante: pourquoi les clitiques sujet du terre-neuvien sont restés des éléments syntaxiques alors que ceux des autres variétés canadiennes ont été réanalysés comme des affixes? Nous croyons qu'il est possible de répondre à cette question en tenant compte des différences dans les marques de nombre grammatical dans ces différentes variétés.

Revoyons donc les paradigmes verbaux des différentes variétés en cause qui sont présentés dans le tableau1. Faisons d'abord une comparaison entre le français standard et les variétés populaires. En français standard, un clitique indique le nombre pour les trois personnes grammaticales. De plus, la différence entre le singulier et le pluriel à la troisième personne est réalisée par une liaison obligatoire entre le clitique et le verbe (ex.: "il arrive/ils arrivent"). Il est vrai que cette distinction disparaît lorsque le verbe commence par une consonne, mais si on accepte que le français standard est fortement influencé par la langue écrite, il nous semble permis de suggérer que cette distinction est toujours présente à un certain niveau.

Pour ce qui du français canadien hors Acadie, le nombre est indiqué par le biais d'un clitique sujet pour les deux première personnes, mais n'existe par à la troisième personne étant donné l'homophonie du singulier et pluriel (cf. /j'arrive/).

Passons ensuite au français terre-neuvien. Dans cette variété, le nombre est indiqué par la morphologie verbale (cf. "j'arrive/j'arrivons") étant donné la présence du suffixe dialectale "-ONT" pour le pluriel. Donc le terre-neuvien et le français standard partage le fait que le nombre est explicite à la troisième personne. Par contre, dans les autres variétés canadiennes, cette distinction n'est pas explicite, vu que ces variétés ne permettent pas de liaison entre le clitique sujet et le verbe et n'ont pas recours à une morphologie relativement riche. Donc, si on veut indiquer le nombre du sujet, on est

obligé d'employer un syntagme nominal, par exemple le nombre de "il arrive" serait rendu explicite par l'ajout d'un pronom fort, comme "Eux-autres" ou bien par l'emploi d'un substantif, par exemple "mon frère". Ce qui est arrivé, à notre avis, c'est qu'au moment où on a perdu la distinction du nombre à la troisième personne, les gens ont commencé à se servir des structures à double sujet, probablement des dislocations à gauche, pour rendre explicite le nombre grammatical. Par la suite, dû à la fréquence élevée de ces structures, le rôle grammatical du substantif et du clitique ont été réanalysés; le substantif disloqué a été réanalysé comme sujet syntaxique, le clitique a été réanalysé comme affixe, ce qui nous donne la situation actuelle en FCHA. La raison pour laquelle un tel développement ne s'est pas produit en français standard ou en français terre-neuvien c'est que les locuteurs de ces variétés ressentaient moins le besoin d'employer des sujets doubles étant donné qu'on pouvait toujours déduire le nombre à partir des indices sur le verbe.

Cette explication trouve de l'appui dans une analyse synchronique de deux variétés canadiennes qu'on a examinées: il s'agit du terre-neuvien et du français ontarien qui, tout comme le québécois, ne rend pas explicite le nombre grammatical à la troisième personne. Notre hypothèse de départ dans cette comparaison était la suivante: si un des rôles éventuels d'un structure à double sujet est d'expliciter le nombre grammatical, on devrait s'attendre à ce que cette stratégie soient employée plus souvent à la troisième personne qu'à la première personne dans les variétés comme le français ontarien où la suite "clitique + verbe" est ambigue pour ce qui est du nombre. Il s'ensuit aussi que dans une variété comme le terre-neuvien, il n'y aurait pas de différence dans le taux de double sujet si on compare la première et la troisième personne étant donné que dans les deux cas, la suite "clitique + verbe" permet de savoir le nombre grammatical. Examinons maintenant les tableaux 4 et 5 qui présentent des données quantitatives qui appuient notre hypothèse.

Table 4: Analsye des NP à l'aide de GoldVarb à L'Anse-à-Canards (Terre-Neuve)

Personne	SN + clitique	clitique seul	poids relatif
1re pers. sing.	27 (7%)	345 (93%)	Non signifiant
1re pers. plur.	7 (9%)	69 (91%)	Non signifiant
3e pers. sing.	31 (7%)	401 (93%)	Non signifiant
3e pers. plur	10 (5%)	197 (95%)	Non signifiant

Table 5: Analyse GoldVarb de l'emploi des SN à Hawkesbury, Ontario

Personne	SN + clitique	Clitique seul	Poids relatif
1re pers. sing:	10 (5%)	178 (95%)	0.409
1re pers. plur.	3 (6%)	50 (94%)	0.425
3e pers.sing.	7 (15%)	41 (85%)	0.672
3e pers. plur.	10 (32%)	21 (68%)	0.841

Comme on peut le voir dans ces tableaux, les emplois de SN lexical dans à côté des suites du type "clitique + verbe" ont une distribution inégale en français ontarien où on les trouve plus souvent à la troisième personne, c'est-à-dire, là où cela perment de désambiguiser le nombre grammatical. Par contre, aucune différence n'est pas perçue entre la première et la troisième personne en terre-neuvien, ce qui cadre bien avec notre hypothèse de départ. On propose donc que ces résultats reflètent la même situation qui existaient à l'époque où les clitiques sujet sont devenus dans affixes dans certaines variétés, tout en restant des éléments syntaxiques en français terre-neuvien et en français standard.

8. Conclusions

Les résultats qu'on vient de présenter font montre du fait les données non standard sont très utiles dans la mesure où elles nous permettent de raffiner nos analyses. Par exemple, on a vu que contrairement à ce qu'on trouve au français standard, les clitiques sujet du FCHA sont de véritables affixes verbaux. Mais il faut quand même faire attention de ne pas établir une dichotomie trop rigide qui escamote les faits. Jusqu'ici, la tendance a été de dire que les clitiques sujet de toute variété non standard sont des affixes alors que ceux du français standard ne le sont pas. Par exemple, en parlant du redoublement du sujet, Roberge et Vinet (1989) disent: "il faut préciser que cette caractéristique se retrouve dans le français populaire, peu importe la région de France ou le pays du monde". Zribi-Hertz (1993), pour sa part, suggère que le redoublement du sujet est "entériné comme structure déclarative par la grammaire du français avancé qui comprend toutes les formes perçues comme substandard ou dialectalement marquées". C'est aussi le point de vue de Miller (1991) lorsqu'il parle de la présence obligatoire d'un clitique sujet dans les VP coordonnés en disant que l'absence de clitique indique toujours un français littéraire ou une variante "démodée".

Dans notre communication, nous avons montré qu'il existe au moins un dialecte qui s'alligne avec la variété standard pour ce qui est du statut grammatical des clitiques sujet. Une étude préliminaire des parlers acadiens de l'Ile du Prince Édouard suggère qu'on pourra aussi étendre cette analyse à d'autres variétés acadiennes. Mais là encore, nous sommes d'avis qu'il faut examiner une variété à la fois avant d'accepter à des conclusions générales.

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The Effects of Sexist Language on Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

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This paper is a partial summary of research that I conducted for my M.A. thesis in Interdisciplinary Studies at York University. It documents some examples of linguistic sexism commonly employed in media accounts of crimes against women and reports the results of an empirical investigation into the effect of sexist language use in the context of sexual harassment scenarios.

Empirical work investigating linguistic sexism has often sought to demonstrate that sexist language has harmful, real world consequences for women. The starting assumption is that language plays a role in influencing our perceptions of reality, specifically our ideas about women. Much of this literature has been concerned with forms such as the so-called masculine generics *he* and *man*, or the use of the term *girl* to refer to adult females. The use of these forms has been found to influence readers' perceptions of the women they are employed to describe and, more broadly, to have effects in terms of women's career interests and self esteem.[1] While I would agree that so-called masculine generics and the term *girl*, often derogatory when used to refer to adult women, are in fact examples of linguistic sexism, they do not represent fully the kind of sexist discursive strategies that are common in print media reports of crimes against women. For example, delineating the sexist nature of newspaper reports of rape, wife assault and sexual harassment often requires a closer look at the broader patterns of use and the context of that usage. Here my argument is reminiscent of Deborah Cameron's (1990) who suggests that sexist language is best seen as a "multifaceted phenomenon occurring in a number of complex systems of representation, all with their places in historical traditions." (p. 14). Cameron's definition of linguistic sexism allows for an investigation into a wider range of discursive practices and provides the basis for empirical investigations into their use. A view of sexist language that merely identifies a checklist of words and phrases for speakers and writers to learn to avoid is not as helpful as Cameron's broader definition in analyzing the sexism present in many media report of crimes against women. Consider the following excerpt from a *Toronto Star* article (Feb 2, 1994, A5) reporting on a case of sexual assault and sexual harassment.

Example #1

Cashier in tears at Boss's sex trial

> Sobbing "I don't want to put this man in jail", a supermarket cashier broke down yesterday while testifying against her boss at his trial on 13 sexual assault charges involving eight female employees.
>
> "I didn't think it would go this far," the 21-year-old witness told the jury.

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[1]For an excellent review of the social psychological literature on this topic see N. Henley (1989) "Molehill or mountain? What we do and don't know about sex bias in language."

The above excerpts are the headline and opening two paragraphs of the article. There are two points to be made regarding them. First, there is the possibility that these quotes will function to evoke the readers' sympathy for the accused since even the victim felt sorry for him and expressed some degree of remorse. Second, the choice to describe her as *in tears* and *sobbing*, particularly in the context of expressing sympathy for her boss, does not serve to raise our concern for her because she is distressed. Rather, her credibility may be diminished by the author having painted a picture of an emotional female.

The media, specifically newspapers, make common use of sexist language in general. This pattern continues in the nature of their coverage of crimes against women. The evidence to support my claim that sexist language use is common in the media in all contexts is overwhelming. In addition to the rampant linguistic sexism that has been found in newspapers generally, it has also been noted that some news items are more typically/consistently presented using sexist discursive strategies. Ann Jones (1994) documents examples from American newspaper reports of violent crimes against women. Jones addresses how violence against women is often discussed and shows that the news media falsely and dangerously portray crimes against women in ways that diminish and/or justify these crimes. Her examples are news articles and/or headlines reporting on violent crimes perpetrated by men against women. Her examples all contain euphemistic language or metaphors which implicitly excuse the males' actions by presenting them in what she refers to as the "language of love":

Example 2: In New York City a cop drags his ex-girlfriend out of police headquarters where she works, shoots her four times, killing her, then kills himself. The New York Post headlines: "Tragedy of a Lovesick Cop."

Example 3: A man kidnaps his estranged wife, rapes her, accuses her of an imaginary affair and chokes her to death (all in front of the children); a reporter writes that he "made love to his wife," then strangled her when "overcome with jealous passion."

Jones argues that reporting such as this may have an effect on the ways in which violent crime against women will be understood by the readership.

> This slipshod reporting has real consequences in the lives of real men and women. It affirms a batterer's most common excuse for assault: "I did it because I love you so much." It supplants a woman's experience of fear and pain with a confusing "explanation" that may snare her forgiveness: "He did it because he loves me so much." And it provides all readers and listeners - all policy makers, voters, taxpayers, jurors - with an understanding: Things happen this way because of love" (p. 09A).

Jones' examples are particularly powerful. My own analysis of sexual harassment reports has revealed similar patterns. It is common to see reports on sexual harassment which contain

inappropriate descriptions of the harasser's behaviour, characterizing it as touching, kissing or fondling. The effect of these characterization is to paint harassment as a gentle act of intimacy. Also common is the systematic discrediting of the victim (as in Example 1) where the woman is portrayed as overly emotional, as over reacting and consequently as potentially untrustworthy. I am concerned, as is Jones, that sexist language of this nature may function to shape the reader's perceptions of sexual harassment. Given the frequency of their use, such discursive strategies may ultimately serve to undermine the credibility of victims of harassment and trivialize harassment as an issue. It is important that we understand how sexist discursive strategies and other examples of sexist language are involved in shaping our understanding of sexual harassment and how sexual harassment gains legitimacy or is discredited in the public eye.

There has been relatively little empirical work testing the effect of such a broad spectrum of forms, however. In addition to theorizing such reporting strategies as constituting linguistic sexism we need to broaden our research to systematically investigate the effects of these forms as well. In light of these issues, the present study was constructed to investigate whether a person's ability to recognize and willingness to name instances of sexual harassment is reduced if the language used to describe the victim of the harassment or the situation is sexist.

The current study is based on the following hypothesis: the use of sexist language in scenario descriptions of sexual harassment will correlate inversely with the subject's likelihood to name the behaviour as sexual harassment. That is, where sexist language is used it will lower individuals' impressions of the harassment. Additionally, it was predicted that this result would be most pronounced for participants who held conservative attitudes toward women since sexist language is thought to confirm one's bias and would allow some readers to discredit the victims and/or discount the harassing behaviour unless their general lack of tolerance for harassment overrides this tendency. Since it is believed that those with the least traditional attitudes towards women will be less tolerant of harassment (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1993) it was predicted that they would be less susceptible to the effects of linguistic sexism.

Method

Participants

The participants in this study were undergraduate students at a large urban university in Metropolitan Toronto. The study included 198 participants - 148 females, 44 males, 6 did not indicate their sex. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 45 (mean age 21.88 years) and in year level from 1 to 5 (mean year level 2.94 years).

Materials

The questionnaire used in this study contained three parts, the order of which was varied: i) the Short Version of the Attitude Towards Women Scale developed by Spence, Helmreich (1972);[2] ii) a set of 7 scenarios describing incidents of sexual harassment which I developed

[2]The Short Version of the Attitude Toward Women Scale is a 25 item test designed to measure the subjects' attitudes towards the rights, roles and privileges of women in society.

myself,[3] and iii) a brief section which asked the participants to define sexual harassment as they understood it. After reading the scenario descriptions participants were asked to indicate the degree of harassment they believed to be present. The scale measuring harassment ranged from 1-5 where 1= not at all harassing and 5 = severely harassing. Participants were also provided space to comment on their reason(s) for choosing a particular rating. On the last page participants were asked to provide the following biographical data: age, sex, year level and major.

Procedure

Participants were told prior to the distribution of the questionnaire that the study was designed to investigate how students define sexual harassment. They were told that the questionnaire was completely anonymous and that they were not obliged to complete the survey but that if they did so the data would be used in my M.A. thesis. They were instructed to read each question thoroughly and, since I was interested in their first response, not to go back to change their answers. They were given approximately 45 minutes to complete the questionnaire and were reminded at the end that it was optional to turn them in.

At no time prior to the completion of the survey were the participants told that I was interested in the effect of language manipulation. When the surveys were collected I debriefed the groups and told them that in addition to investigating definitions of sexual harassment I was interested in the effects of the presence of sexist language on their ratings. I spent time in each class talking about the sexist language that was included in some of the scenarios. I explained what the Attitude Toward Women Scale (AWS) was designed to measure and led a general discussion about sexual harassment and sexist language.

Analysis

For each scenario multiple regression analysis was applied to the data to determine main effects and/or interaction effects for the independent variables sexist language manipulation, subject sex, and subjects attitudes towards women (AWS). Harassment rating was the dependent variable. The results of the regression analysis were used to generate a "best fit" model of the data. These are plotted as regression lines in Figures 1 and 2. Also, all of the comments provided by the particpants in the comment section following each sceario were coded and organized thematically.

Results and Discussion

The results of this study were different for each scenario. The following is a brief summary of the results from 2 of the 7 scenarios. My interpretation of the results should, of course, be read with appropriate caution since this was a fairly original investigation into these specific forms of linguistic sexsim. As previously mentioned there is not a wealth of

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[3] Each questionnaire contained a combination of scenarios where some scenarios were written describing the victim of harassment using sexist language and some scenarios using non-sexist language. In both versions of each scenario the details of the harassment were held constant.

research with which to compare my work.

Shelley Scenario: Stereotypical Description

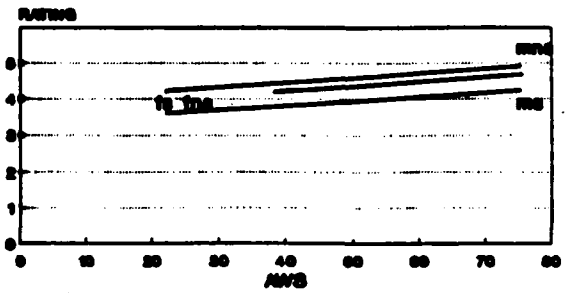
The sexist language used in the Shelley scenario consisted of a stereotypical portrayal of Shelley: she was described as *complaining, sobbing hysterically* and saying to her supervisor *you've got to help me* (versus asserting that something needs to be done in response to the harassment and talking in a calm, unemotional manner). Such stereotypical descriptions of women are common (as in the *Cashier in tears* article discussed earlier, for example) and are considered sexist in that they perpetuate negative attitudes about women and in that there is a lack of parallel descriptions of men. It was predicted that the harassment ratings in the sexist language condition would be lowered as a result of the sexist language used, given that the respondents would be likely to view Shelley's emotion as negative.

> Non-sexist language condition. Shelley works part time at the neighbourhood supermarket. On her break she goes to see her supervisor to talk about a problem she has been having with another stock clerk, Jim. Shelley says, "I don't want to work with Jim anymore. For weeks now whenever I bend over to restock the shelves Jim comes up behind me and rubs up against me. He always apologizes but he smiles sarcastically when he does it. I don't think it's an accident. You've got to do something about this."
>
> Sexist Language condition. Shelley works part time at the neighbourhood supermarket. On her break she goes to see her supervisor to ***complain*** about a problem she has been having with another stock clerk Jim. ***Sobbing hysterically Shelley cries***, "I don't want to work with Jim anymore. For weeks now whenever I bend over to restock the shelves Jim comes up behind me and rubs up against me. He always apologizes but he smiles sarcastically when he does it. I don't think it was an accident. ***You've got to help me!***"

The main effect of the AWS score in the Shelley scenario approached significance ($r = 0.13$), $F(1,165) = 3.14$, $p<.08$ (see Table 7). There was a 2-way interaction between the effects of subject sex and language manipulation ($F(1,165) = 7.18$, $p<.01$) with the males giving higher ratings on the non-sexist language scenario. The females did not differ with respect to language. They did, however, differ from the males in that their ratings were higher than the males in the sexist language condition but lower than the males in the non-sexist language condition.

Figure 1 Shelley Scenario

Key
fs - females responding to the sexist version
fns - females responding to the non-sexist version
ms - males responding to the sexist version
mns - males responding to the non-sexist version



The sexist language present in the Shelley scenario was perhaps the most blatant. The stereotypical portrayal of Shelley as *complaining, sobbing hysterically* and *crying you've got to help me*, paints a picture of her as a more emotional, less rationale character than in the non-sexist condition. It is reasonable to suggest that the males who read the sexist portrayal of Shelley saw her as a less sympathetic character and that this accounts for the lower harassment ratings given by them. Females, on the other hand, may be less prone to interpret these particular forms of sexist language as negative in this context given that *complaining* and *sobbing hysterically* may be recognized as relatively reasonable responses to the situation.

The results from the qualitative analysis support this interpretation. I coded all the comments given by the 44 males (21 in the non-sexist condition and 23 in the sexist condition). Some tentative conclusions can be drawn. In the non-sexist condition all of the males rated the harassment as 4 or above (6 ratings of 4 and 14 ratings of 5). In the sexist language condition the ratings were slightly more varied (1 rating of 2, 2 ratings of 3, 18 ratings of 4, 10 ratings of 5 and 1 no answer). While generally the nature of the comments were similar (focusing on the physical and repeated nature of the harassment), there were three comments made by males in the sexist language condition that support my interpretation. The first was the following: "Shelley is very disturbed however, Jim's actions are not severe. Shelley may have over-reacted". Two other comments emphasized the need to hear from Jim in order to get "both sides of the story." While this is not an unreasonable suggestion, no such comments were made by males with regards to the non-sexist version. Perhaps the desire to hear from Jim in this case was prompted by a view of Shelley as less credible, given her display of emotion.

While the qualitative analysis revealed only three comments in the sexist condition differing in kind from the comments in the non-sexist condition, the quantitative analysis revealed a statistically significant result. When combined these results suggest that the use of stereotypical descriptions of sexual harassment victims serve to reduce judgements in their favour.

Janet Scenario: Use of an Agentless Passive

The language manipulation in this scenario involved the use of an agentless passive (Bill left another photo ... pinned to her office bulletin board... versus a photo... *was pinned* to her office bulletin board. This time...) In both the sexist and non-sexist conditions it was indicated that the note was signed by Bill. Several writers have previously argued that the use of the passive voice distances an actor from his/her action (Penelope 1990; Benedict, 1992; Henley 1995). It was predicted that the use of an agentless passive in this scenario would alter the degree of certainty the reader would have that it was actually Bill responsible for leaving the photo.

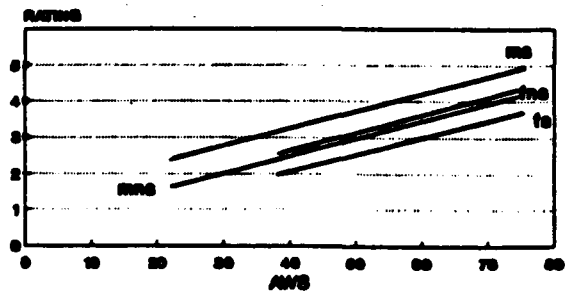
> Non-sexist language condition. Janet returned to work on Monday and found that Bill has left another photo from Penthouse magazine pinned to her office bulletin board, along with a note from him saying "I thought you would enjoy this. - Bill". Janet crumpled up the photo and put it in the trash. When she sees Bill in the cafeteria at lunchtime she ignores him.
>
> Sexist Language condition. Janet returned to work on Monday and found that **a photo** from Penthouse magazine **was** pinned to her office bulletin board. This time there is a note attached saying "I thought you would enjoy this. - Bill". Janet crumpled up the photo and put it in the trash. When she sees Bill in the cafeteria at lunchtime she ignores him.

The main effect of the AWS score in the Janet scenario was significant($r=0.30$), $F(1,162)$

= 18.62, p<.001. There is a 2-way interaction between the effects of subject sex and language manipulation (see Table 8) F(1,162) = 12.00, p<.002. The males and females performed similarly on the non-sexist scenario; however, their ratings on the sexist language scenario differ significantly in that the males give a much higher rating than the females in the sexist condition.

Figure 2 Janet Scenario

Key
fs - females responding to the sexist version
fns - females responding to the non-sexist version
ms - males responding to the sexist version
mns - males responding to the non-sexist version



What we see here is that males and females are responding quite differently to the use of an agentless passive; when this form is used males are giving much higher ratings than the females. If the agentless passive is indeed functioning to obscure Bill's responsibility (that is, to make it less clear that Bill is the culprit), this is counter-intuitive and contradicts Henley's (1995) finding in which using an agentless passive decreased male participants' perception of harm to the victim and perception of perpetrator responsibility. Why, in this case, would male participants' give higher harassment ratings in a situation where Bill is attributed less responsibility? Why would females give lower ratings in this condition? A possible explanation has to do with the frequency with which we encounter male human beings written about as grammatical subjects and strong actors in a sentence. When the language is syntactically "weaker" with Bill no longer occupying a strong agent position the male participants respond negatively to Bill as a character (that is, see him as less potent, less in control, etc.). This negative response to Bill may serve to weaken the male participants' identification with him and may contribute to their overall offense to the scenario and, consequently they may give higher ratings. Females on the other hand may be responding in the way that I predicted, that is, the ambiguity in the sentence is read as lower culpability. To the degree that they are evaluating Bill's behaviour, they are generating lower harassment ratings.

An analysis of the comments provided in this scenario was done in an attempt to provide insight into the quantitative results. While there were no direct references to the use of an agentless passive in the sexist condition, there were several interesting comments made and there is a notable difference in the nature of those comments versus the comments in response to the active version. The most frequently addressed theme related to perceptions of harm. Comments such as "Bill made Janet angry" or "Janet was humiliated" were coded as relating to the degree of harm done to Janet. In total 40% of the subjects' comments addressed their perceptions as to the degree of harm, with 38% of those indicating that the action was harmful to Janet. However, proportionately, male subjects who read the sexist version (that is, the version in which the agentless passive was used) commented more frequently on the harmful nature of Bill's behaviour than did any other group of subjects (A total of 14 of the 19 males who read the sexist version

indicated that Bill's behaviour harmed Janet, an additional 2 males in this condition mentioned harm as a dimension but indicated that Bill's bevaiour was not harmful. In the non-sexist version only 6 of the 25 males mentioned harm as a theme and all 6 saw Bill's behaviour as harming Janet). The females responding to the agentless passive condition mentioned harm as a dimension about as frequently as females who responded to the non-sexist version (27 out of 78 females in the sexist version and 30 out of 74 in the non-sexist one).

This pattern does not explain why the male and female participants responded differently to the use of an agentless passive. However, this pattern does give us some indication of what dimension (for the males) was made more or less salient by its use.

It is also possible that the language manipulation (*Bill... left another photo... pinned* versus, *A photo... was pinned. This time...*) served to signal the repeated nature of the action differently. In hindsight, perhaps it would have been wiser to construct the sentences as *Bill left another photo* versus *another photo was left*. This would have ensured that repetitiveness was being signalled in exactly the same way. A male friend of mine offered the helpful insight that when he hears "this time" he hears it as an expression of greater anger than *another*. For example "THIS TIME, I've had it", or "THIS TIME, I'm going to..." Perhaps the male participants responding to the sexist version are "hearing" the use of this time in a similar way and for them it functions to highlight the repetitiveness factor. An analysis of the qualitative data did not bear out this interpretation; that is, there were no males in either condition who mentioned repetitiveness as a theme in this scenario.

Conclusions

The results of this analysis provide some tentative support for the claim that, like so-called masculine generics, other forms of sexist language may potentially affect readers' perceptions of an event described to them. Specifically, the results from the *Shelley* and *Janet* scenarios suggest that our impressions of the severity of sexually harassing behaviour can be influenced by the use of stereotypical descriptions of women who are victims of harassment or by the use of agentless passives when describing a harasser's actions. Of course, these results are far from conclusive and further investigation is neccessary.

Individuals' perceptions of sexual harassment and their responses to sexist language are complex processes and a number of variables are at play. While we may wish to argue that the use of sexist language is capable of negatively affecting the perceptions of an individual and/or of an event, it is not reasonable to assume that all forms of sexist language will function in the same way. Likewise, it is not reasonable to assume that any given form will have the same effect in all contexts. The results from this study indicate that various forms of linguistic sexism may function in some cases, for some individuals, to decrease the likelihood that sexual harassment will be seen as more severe while, for other individuals, the same form may prompt stronger severity ratings. Other forms of linguistic sexism may have a different effect. Although describing a sexual harassment complainant in a stereotypical way (as in the *Shelley* scenario for example) may function to lower the harassment ratings given by men but not by women, we cannot conclude that the same stereotypical description, used within a different context, would have the same effect. It is important that we continue to investigate the effects of a variety of forms of linguistic sexism, that we include an investigation of sexist discursive practices (such as the practice of reporting on violent crimes against women in the passive voice); and that we locate our investigation in the context of realistic, real-life usage. In order to develop a fuller

understanding of the effects of linguistic sexism this kind of systematic empirical investigation needs to continue. Replication of this study would be valuable, particularly replication where each form of sexist language is used in each scenario in order to address the possible conflation of sexist language form with sexual harassment content.

I have argued that newspaper journalists are frequent users of sexist language, particularly in the contexts of reports on sexual harassment and violence against women. The use of sexist language may sabotage feminist's efforts to raise public awareness about sexism and may hurt our chances of rallying support. How individuals form impressions about the seriousness and pervasiveness of sexual harassment may be influenced by what they read in the newspaper. If sexual harassment is being presented from an anti-feminist stance, then it follows that sexual harassment will continue to be seen as a trivial issue. Much is to be gained by investigating the effects of linguistic sexism in a broad range of contexts and in relation to attitudes about issues and events. Further research here is needed. It would be useful to employ forms of sexist language similar to those used in this study and locate them within scenarios more closely resembling news reports in order to determine results more generalizable to the critique of the print media. It would also be useful to investigate the relative importance of sexist language in relation to other aspects of sexual harassment which have been deemed influential in lay judgments of harassment. While there is much to be done, much has been accomplished. This study has political implications in terms of public policy on sexist language use and the necessity for language reform. We are raising public awareness about the offensiveness and, perhaps, about the harmful effects of linguistic sexism. By continuing to investigate the effects of linguistic sexism in media reports of sexual harassment and violence against women, we can gain a fuller understanding of how that representation may contribute to attitudes towards the crimes themselves.

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Ms. Revisited: She's Still a Bitch, Only Now She's Older!

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Introduction

The courtesy title Ms., while predating the inception of *Ms* magazine by many years, began to gain currency in the 1970's, with the growth of that magazine. Feminists hoped that Ms. would replace both Miss and Mrs., and become the only courtesy title used for women, in the way that Mr. is the only courtesy title used for men.[1] In the quarter century since feminists began promoting the use of Ms., however, much debate has occurred about how and even whether it should be used, and it is fair to conclude on the basis of available evidence that up to this point, proponents have not been successful in getting the wider public to accept and use Ms. in the way that it was originally intended. In this paper, I present the results of a recent questionnaire survey on the use of Ms. and I discuss the possibilities for language reform as it pertains to courtesy titles in English.

The studies reported in the literature have tended to look at two aspects of Ms.: people's perceptions or stereotypes of women who use Ms., and self-reporting on whether or not people use Ms. of themselves. What has emerged as common among these studies is the widespread perception that women who use Ms. are more career-oriented, assertive, independent, and feminist than their counterparts who use Miss or Mrs. (see Heilman 1975, Feather et al 1979, Anderson 1983, Jacobson and Insko 1984, Connor et al. 1986, Atkinson[2] 1987, Dion 1987, Dion and Schuller 1990, Dion and Schuller 1991, Dion and Cota 1991, Weinniger 1994). In direct reporting, Hook (1974) found that 33.7% of respondents to a *Ladies Home Journal* poll preferred Ms. over Miss or Mrs. for themselves, and Atkinson (1987) found that approximately 20% of women answering her questionnaire always or often used Ms. of themselves, 22% sometimes used Ms., and 58% never used Ms. Of those who used Ms. at least some of the time, many reported that they used it primarily in business contexts, while using Miss or Mrs. in other situations. Furthermore, in reporting how they address (other) women, both men and women respondents indicated that they found Ms. useful in business contexts, particularly when they did not know the marital status of the woman that they were addressing.

Since previous studies had indicated that Ms. was often associated with business contexts, the survey which formed the basis of the present study was framed within a business context. Subjects were asked to read and respond to a written questionnaire containing the following instructions:

> Suppose the company you work for is doing a mailing to all its women clients. Your boss gives you a list of the clients, along with whatever personal information they have on record. Your job is to prepare the mailing labels. How will you address the letter to each of the women described on the following pages? You must choose one of the options provided for each woman.
> Circle only ONE choice for each woman.

The purpose of the study was to determine whether or not, or to what degree, subjects would use Ms. in the intended way, as a title for all women. It was predicted that if they did understand and use Ms. in the way feminists intended, then they would use Ms. in all 15 scenarios presented to them. If they did not understand or use Ms. in the intended way, then they would variously use Miss, Mrs., and Ms., depending on the attributes of the women described in each scenario. Although it will be important in future research to

examine the interactions of race and ethnicity on use of Ms., the exploratory nature of this questionnaire made it advisable not to introduce those variables into the present study. All the women described in the 15 scenarios were therefore given fairly unambiguously anglo-saxon names so that subjects' judgements would not be influenced by perceived differences in race or ethnicity. A list of the scenarios used in the questionnaire is included at the end of this paper.

Earlier studies suggested that women who were feminists would be judged likely to use Ms., so the scenarios included one woman who was explicitly identified as a feminist, and several others who could be perceived in varying degrees as sympathetic to feminism. Youth has also been reported as a factor is people's ideas of whether or not Ms. is an appropriate title, so the women described in the questionnaire were identified by their age, ranging from 17 up to 83 years old. Since Ms. is understood variously to apply to single women (see Graddol and Swan 1987), divorced women, and/or widowed women, the present study included a variety of relationship statuses, ranging from single, single parent, heterosexual common-law, lesbian common-law, married, separated, divorced, widowed, and unspecified. Various indications about women's choice of names were also given. When the woman was identified as married, her husband was also named, sometimes with the same surname as her, sometimes with a different surname. Two women, one common-law and one married, were given hyphenated names. Information was also given concerning the occupation, whether paid or volunteer, of the women described. Subjects who understood the intended use of Ms. and who were committed to using it would be expected to ignore all personal information about the woman, and to use Ms. in every case. It was expected that while some subjects would respond this way, more subjects would vary their choices according to the descriptions of the women they were given, thus reflecting the widespread misunderstanding of the intended meaning of the term Ms.

In the second part of the questionnaire, subjects were asked to indicate what titles they would ever use of themselves, by circling all the applicable titles from the list "Mrs. Ms. Miss Mr. Dr. Other___", and to explain their choice if they circled more than one option. They were then asked to describe briefly what the title Ms. meant to them, and to give their age and sex.

Results of the Study

The questionnaires were answered by 184 students from York University and Queen's University in Ontario, and by 63 students from the University of Prince Edward Island. Although it would have been preferable to have recruited a range of subjects representing all ages, occupations, and social groupings, the study was largely exploratory, testing the design of the questionnaire and looking for promising areas for further research, so no effort was made to obtain a representative sampling of the population.

For each scenario, subjects had 3, 6 or 9 choices of how to address the woman described. Where no male partner was named, only 3 choices were offered: Miss X Ms. X Mrs. X. Where a male partner was named, the first three choices were given using her surname, and three additional choices were given involving his surname: Miss Y Ms. Y Mrs. Y. Where the women were given hyphenated names, the first three choices involved the hyphenated name, the second three involved the partner's surname, and the last three involved the woman's previous, unhyphenated name. In scoring, use of either form of unhyphenated name, as opposed to use of the correct hyphenated form, resulted in the same coding. The coding of the choices for each scenario was as follows:

1 = Ms. Woman's surname	4 = Ms. Man's surname
2 = Miss Woman's surname	5 = Miss Man's surname
3 = Mrs. Woman's surname	6 = Mrs. Man's surname

Obviously, some choices were far less likely than others to occur. For example, codings of 5 were quite rare and were probably the result of error, not intent. Codings of 4 were generally taken to indicate intent to use Ms., with some confusion, perhaps due to haste, about surname. For the purpose of analysis, scores of 4 were combined with scores of 1,

TABLE 1: PROPORTION OF ANSWERS USING MS.

SCENARIO	RANKING					
	ONTARIO (n=184)		P.E.I. (n=63)		TOTAL (n=247)	
#1: 23, student, common-law	9	n=116, $\hat{p}$=.630	9	n=31, $\hat{p}$=.492	9	n=147, $\hat{p}$=.595
#2: 35, lawyer, married	12	n=68, $\hat{p}$=.369	11	n=26, $\hat{p}$=.412	12	n=94, $\hat{p}$=.380
#3: 19, single mother, no partner	7	n=121, $\hat{p}$=.657	8	n=33, $\hat{p}$=.523	8	n=154, $\hat{p}$=.623
#4: 38, homemaker, married, 3 kids	15	n=38, $\hat{p}$=.206	15	n=7, $\hat{p}$=.111	15	n=45, $\hat{p}$=.182
#5: 17, highschool, lives with parents	13	n=61, $\hat{p}$=.331	14	n=9, $\hat{p}$=.142	13	n=70, $\hat{p}$=.283
#6: 57, widow, shelter volunteer	11	n=84, $\hat{p}$=.456	12	n=24, $\hat{p}$=.380	11	n=108, $\hat{p}$=.437
#7: married, hyphenated name	14	n=39, $\hat{p}$=.211	13	n=16, $\hat{p}$=.253	14	n=55, $\hat{p}$=.222
#8: 42, stock broker, lesbian	3	n=135, $\hat{p}$=.733	3	n=45, $\hat{p}$=.714	3	n=180, $\hat{p}$=.728
#9: 63, retired teacher, never married	8	n=117, $\hat{p}$=.635	5	n=39, $\hat{p}$=.619	7	n=156, $\hat{p}$=.631
#10: 27, heavy equip. operator	6	n=127, $\hat{p}$=.690	7	n=35, $\hat{p}$=.555	6	n=162, $\hat{p}$=.655
#11: 43, common-law, kids, hyphenated	10	n=110, $\hat{p}$=.597	10	n=30, $\hat{p}$=.476	10	n=140, $\hat{p}$=.566
#12: 29, single, bank, will keep name	5	n=131, $\hat{p}$=.711	6	n=36, $\hat{p}$=.571	5	n=167, $\hat{p}$=.676
#13: 83, living alone	4	n=132, $\hat{p}$=.717	4	n=40, $\hat{p}$=.634	4	n=172, $\hat{p}$=.696
#14: 34, separated, resumed birth name	2	n=151, $\hat{p}$=.820	1	n=51, $\hat{p}$=.809	2	n=202, $\hat{p}$=.817
#15: 52, divorced, feminist	1	n=158, $\hat{p}$=.858	2	n=48, $\hat{p}$=.761	1	n=206, $\hat{p}$=.834

to yield a total score of use of Ms. This decision is not unproblematic, since use of Ms. with the "wrong" surname is not equivalent to use of Ms. with the "right" surname, however, in this study, the aim was to measure willingness to use the title Ms. for a range of women, so the choice of surname was disregarded in the analysis.

For each scenario, a count was made of how many males, how many females, and how many subjects in total used each of the available options. The data were first tabulated separately for Ontario and for P.E.I., and then all the results were pooled to obtain overall figures. The raw tallies were converted to proportions by dividing the actual count of how many times Ms. was used by the number of possible occurrence of Ms. for a given sample of subjects. For example, in Ontario, 184 subjects each answered 15 scenarios, yielding 184 x 15 = 2760 possible uses of Ms. The actual number of uses of Ms. in Ontario was 1588, so the proportion of uses of Ms. in Ontario was 1588 / 2760 = 0.575. The corresponding figures for P.E.I. were 63 x 15 = 945 possible uses of Ms., 470 actual uses of Ms., for a proportion of 0.497. Similar calculations were carried out for each scenario individually and the results of these calculations are summarized in Table 1. The first column gives the scenario number, as it appeared in the questionnaire, along with a synopsis of the key elements of each scenario. The second and third main columns contain the results for Ontario and P.E.I. respectively, starting with the ranking based on relative frequency of Ms.-use and including the count and the proportion of answers for each province. The last column shows the overall ranking, count, and proportion for each scenario, combining the Ontario and P.E.I. results.

The overall proportion of answers using Ms. was 0.555, with the Ontario figure being $\hat{p}$=0.575, and the P.E.I. figure being $\hat{p}$=0.497. Statistical tests comparing two proportions revealed a significant difference between Ontario and P.E.I. ($p < .001$). While the data provide no explanation for this difference, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the lower scores for Ms.-use in Prince Edward Island can be attributed to a generally greater social conservatism in P.E.I. as compared to Ontario.

Statistical tests for differences between two proportions were carried out for the variable of sex of respondent. In Prince Edward Island, the proportion of answers using Ms. was 0.517 for females, and 0.443 for males. Tests revealed a trend for sex, with $p<.05$. In Ontario, the proportion of answers using Ms. was 0.597 for females, and 0.553 for males, and tests reveal no statistically significant difference between females and males ($p>.05$). Combining the data from P.E.I. and Ontario, no significant difference emerges between male and female respondents in their overall frequency of use of Ms. Thus, in the rest of the analysis, scores will not be separated according to sex of respondent.

It is not surprising that the scenarios which generated the highest proportion of uses of Ms. were #14 ($\hat{p}$=0.817), describing a woman is separated from her husband has returned to using her birth name, and#15 ($\hat{p}$=0.834), describing a woman who is both divorced and an overt feminist, since these are characteristics which have been shown in the past to be part of the stereotype of women who use Ms. In Ontario, #15 was ranked first ($\hat{p}$=0.858) and #14 was ranked second ($\hat{p}$=0.820), but the reverse pattern was shown in P.E.I., with #14 ranked first ($\hat{p}$=0.809) and #15 ranked second ($\hat{p}$=0.761).

The third highest ranking was for scenario #8, involving a lesbian, and this ranking was consistent for both Ontario ($\hat{p}$=0.733) and P.E.I. ($\hat{p}$=0.714) and for the overall totals ($\hat{p}$=0.728). Since being openly lesbian is an explicit rejection of the values of the heterosexual roles implied by the use of the titles Miss and Mrs., it is not surprising that subjects used Ms. for this scenario.

Of surprise was the relatively high proportion of people who used Ms. for scenario #13, involving an 83-year-old woman living on her own, of unspecified marital status or occupation (overall $\hat{p}$=0.696, Ont. $\hat{p}$=0.717, PEI $\hat{p}$=0.634). On the basis of my previous study, which showed that Ms. is generally associated with younger women, I had predicted that almost no one would use Ms. for this scenario. Although comments were optional in the questionnaire, some people did offer explanations for their choices and those explanations suggest that Ms. is associated in the minds of many subjects with *older*

women. This surprising finding may have something to do with the age of the subjects used in this study. They were almost all in their early to mid twenties, and thus grew up always knowing of the existence of the title Ms. Women they know who use it may be feminists a generation older than themselves, so they may associate the title with "older" women. Not ever having lived at a time before Ms. was used, they may conclude that if people a quarter century older than them use it, then those a half a century older would use it even more. Given the apparent contrast between this and my earlier findings on age stereotyping and Ms., this question is worthy of further investigation in a follow-up study.

Scenario #12, ranked fifth overall ($\hat{p}$=0.676), fifth in Ontario ($\hat{p}$=0.711), and sixth in P.E.I. ($\hat{p}$=0.571), involves an unmarried woman who intends to keep her own name when she marries. The high correlation found in my previous work between name retention and use of Ms. makes this result unsurprising. In P.E.I., however, scenario #9 ranked higher than #12, which is consistent with their tendency to associate older women, in this case a 63-year-old, with Ms. This scenario was ranked eighth in Ontario, however, where it is likely that single status and occupation as teacher likely outweighed the age factor. The absolute proportions were fairly close, with $\hat{p}$=0.619 in P.E.I. and $\hat{p}$=0.635 in Ontario, but compared to the ranking of the other scenarios, this represents a lower relative score in Ontario than in P.E.I. for scenario #9.

Scenario #10 ranked sixth overall ($\hat{p}$=0.655), sixth in Ontario ($\hat{p}$=0.690), and seventh in P.E.I. ($\hat{p}$=0.555). It did not specify the marital status of the woman, but merely identified her as being 27 and working as a heavy equipment operator. Since her occupation would be considered non-traditional for a woman, it was predicted that she would be identified as Ms. more often that if she were in a stereotypically "female" occupation. Several subjects wrote comments complaining that her marital status was not identified, as they did also in the case of the 83-year-old woman in scenario #13. Given that few subjects wrote comments on any scenario, the fact that they bothered to comment on what they saw as important missing information reveals the premium placed on knowledge of women's marital status, particularly where choices of titles are involved.

Scenario #3, eighth overall ($\hat{p}$=0.623), eighth in P.E.I. ($\hat{p}$=0.523), and seventh in Ontario ($\hat{p}$=0.657), described 19-year-old single parent. Some subjects commented that since she had a child, it would be inappropriate to call her Miss, but that otherwise they would call her that. Thus, parental status appears to outweigh marital status in this case.

Scenario #1 was ranked ninth overall ($\hat{p}$=0.595), and ninth in both Ontario ($\hat{p}$=0.630) and P.E.I. ($\hat{p}$=0.492). In this scenario, the fact that this 23-year old student was living with her boyfriend was commented on by some people as being salient in their choice of Ms. This decision is reminiscent of a comment made by a subject in a previous study: "For women who are too experienced to be called 'Miss' and are not married, I think Ms. is a perfect title" (Atkinson 1987).

Results for scenario #11 are difficult to interpret. Due to a printer error which was not detected until after the questionnaires had been distributed, much of this scenario was unreadable. Some people were able to read it, and some asked and were told what it said, but it is impossible to know how much the printing problem influenced the answers. Unfortunately, this was one of only two scenarios in which the woman was given a hyphenated name. The other scenario involving a hyphenated name, #7, received a very low Ms.-rating (overall $\hat{p}$=0.222, Ont. $\hat{p}$=0.211, P.E.I. $\hat{p}$=0.253). This woman was identified as married, and approximately two thirds of the subjects called her Mrs. Hyphenated Name. A future study should explore in greater depth the interaction between choice of titles and use of hyphenated names.

More subjects chose Mrs. than Ms. in scenario #6 involving a 57-year-old widow. Her widowhood appears to be more salient for many people than her potential association with feminists as a volunteer at a shelter for battered women and children. This scenario was ranked eleventh overall ($\hat{p}$=0.437) and in Ontario ($\hat{p}$=0.456), but twelfth in P.E.I. ($\hat{p}$=0.380), behind scenario #2 involving a married lawyer.

The results of scenario #2 are among the most startling to come out of this study.

Given the stereotypes about career-oriented women using Ms., and the association of birth name retention with use of Ms., I expected that 35-year-old Elaine Parker, lawyer, married to Alex Wilson, would get a very high Ms.-score. The overall score of 0.380 is rather low (Ont. $\hat{p}$=0.369, P.E.I. $\hat{p}$=0.412). More people called her Mrs. Wilson than called her Ms. Parker, in spite of that fact that she was introduced as Elaine *Parker*. In fact, a number of subjects wrote comments indicating that this was a difficult question since they did not know whether or not she had kept her own surname. By default, since they were unsure, they chose Mrs. Wilson. Prior to distributing the questionnaires, I had done a pretest, and none of the subjects of that pretest had perceived any ambiguity or confusion about whether or not Elaine Parker had retained her birth name. People's ambivalence about this, together with some of the results of the second part of the questionnaire (see below) strongly suggests that being a Mrs. is more highly valued than being a Miss or a Ms., and that people would rather err on the side of bestowing a more "valued" title and name than a less valued one where they perceive that a choice has to be made.

Few people said that they would use Ms. for the 17-year-old in scenario #5 (overall $\hat{p}$=0.283, Ont. $\hat{p}$=0.331, P.E.I. $\hat{p}$=0.142). This result is not unexpected. Subjects who see Ms. as applying to older women would not be inclined to use Ms. here. Indeed, many people do not perceive a 17-year-old as being a woman, especially if she is living with her parents. They are thus inclined to use the more juvenile "Miss" for this woman. This tendency was even more pronounced in P.E.I. than in Ontario.

Scenario #4 received the lowest scores and the lowest rankings in all groups. Overall, the proportion of responses indicating Ms. was $\hat{p}$=0.182, in Ontario $\hat{p}$=0.206, and in P.E.I. $\hat{p}$=0.111. This woman was described as being 38, and a homemaker with 3 children. Evidently, her "traditional" role as full-time married homemaker made her appear an unlikely candidate for use of the non-traditional title Ms. This is an important result, and combined with the results to be discussed concerning the second part of the questionnaire it suggests that a high value is placed on women not only being married, but being explicitly named and titled as married.

In Part B of the questionnaire, subjects were asked to indicate which titles they would use of themselves by circling from the choices given, and to explain when they would use each if they selected more than one. The responses of the males to this question are not relevant to this study, since they do not have the option of calling themselves "Ms." under normal circumstances, and responses of "Dr." were also not relevant. Of interest were people's choices with respect to Ms., Miss, and Mrs. Table 2, below, shows the number of women answering in each of the combinations found in the study and the proportion represented by that number.

Only about one quarter of the women indicated that Ms. was the only title that they would use ($\hat{p}$ =0.230). This figure is very close to the 20% of women in Atkinson 1987 who reported that they would always or often use Ms. of themselves, suggesting that Ms. has not gained much ground in the past decade as the preferred sole choice of women. The explanations offered in the 1995 survey by those who opted for Ms./Mrs. were similar to those offered by those who chose Miss/Mrs., which was that they would use Ms. or Miss only until they were married, at which time they would then switch to using Mrs. with their husband's name. Those who chose Ms./Miss either indicated little preference for one over the other, or else said that they would use Miss socially and Ms. in business contexts or in cases when they did not want to reveal their marital status. Although they did not indicate what they might use if they were married, the tone of their remarks suggests that they would very likely opt for Mrs. if they were married, just as those who opted for Ms./Miss/Mrs. did. On their own, these data do not provide startling or new information, but rather, they confirm that for the majority of women, Ms. does not function as a preferred title for use throughout their lives. Even those who use Ms. when single very often report that they would revert to the traditional Mrs. when and if they got married.

TABLE 2: Women's Self-Reporting on Choice of Titles

Response	Ontario	P.E.I.
MS. only	n=28 $\hat{p}$ =0.243	n=9 $\hat{p}$ =0.195
MISS / MRS.	n=23 $\hat{p}$ =0.200	n=8 $\hat{p}$ =0.173
MS. / MISS / MRS.	n=19 $\hat{p}$ =0.165	n=6 $\hat{p}$ =0.130
MS. / MRS.	n=16 $\hat{p}$ =0.139	n=8 $\hat{p}$ =0.173
MS. / MISS	n=13 $\hat{p}$ =0.133	n=3 $\hat{p}$ =0.065
MISS only	n=12 $\hat{p}$ =0.104	n=7 $\hat{p}$ =0.152
MRS. only	n=2 $\hat{p}$ =0.017	n=3 $\hat{p}$ =0.065
No Answer	n=2 $\hat{p}$ =0.017	n=2 $\hat{p}$ =0.043
TOTAL	n=115	n=46

Although cumbersome to count and classify, the answers to the question of what Ms. means to the individual subjects are revealing of how people understand the term. While no two comments are identical, general themes do emerge from among the various subjects. The comments quoted below are representative of the main themes.

A number of people, both women and men, describe the meaning Ms. has for them in terms very close to the way feminists would describe it themselves.

"Ms: any woman of any age, stature, racial or ethnic background"

Others see Ms. as being used to hide something. The tone of comments range from being suspicious of the desire not to reveal marital status to being neutral or even supportive of it.

"Someone's hiding something"
"The term will be used in a transitional stage before I get married. I respect others rights to use Ms at all stages of their lives but I personally have no qualms about people knowing I'm married."
"It is commonly used when women do not want to make their marital status known."

Many people report that they use it only if they don't know what title a woman prefers, or if they don't know her marital status.

"Largely I use Ms to mean that I don't know how the person wants to be referred to. (It's a default.)"

Most people attempt to identify subgroups of women for whom they think Ms. is appropriate. As the sampling of comments below demonstrates, there is no consensus about the make-up of these subgroups.

"An adult woman who is using her own last name or a conjunction of hers and her husband's."
"Ms - independent women, not married. beefy lady that can take care of herself. A lady who wears a lot of pant suits & comfortable oxfords."
"For myself Ms. means that I am an independent and strong person. Ms. also doesn't seem as condescending as the term Miss which seems outdated to me."
"contemporary version of Miss for all single women."
"Ms. to me, means a woman who is either divorced, widowed or separated from her husband."
"I assumed that Ms. was used when a woman was widowed or if she was single and in her middle ages."
"With no name. Miss - Young Girl. Ma'am - other female.
As Title: Miss - Young Girl (Adolescent, obviously younger than speaker)
Ms. - Usually not married, young woman - for example older lady with no partner & no aspirations to one. NO KIDS usually.
Mrs - Formally married."

There is no doubt that Ms. is associated with feminism, but there is not always agreement on whether that is a good thing or a bad thing.

" 'Ms' to me, and I hope that I do not offend, is charged with what I believe to be militant feminism. It is a title that is used as a weapon/tool to remind people of the caution that must now be exercised in day-to-day life."
"Ms. in my opinion, is simply a form of address that doesn't give away irrelevant information about a woman, such as marital status. In my view Ms. simply serves to equalize women and men in terms of the way in which they are address[ed]. Although some feel 'Ms' announces that an individual is a 'feminist' (in the militant sense), I feel this interpretation is misguided and counter-intuitive to the purpose of the title."
"I always thought Ms was for divorced women - Now I know that its' just feminist bullshit"
"Ms should be used as a professional term to avoid the problems that can occur with Miss, Mrs etc. I think that it is equivalent to Mr and should not be thought of as a feminist insult (I have encountered some people who object to being called Ms as they don't want to be associated with the feminist movement, but I still continue to use it)." [This comment was from a 23-year-old male.]

As one must expect when one does a study on issues related to feminism, or indeed related to any politically and socially contentious issue, one gets a certain number of hostile, deliberately inflammatory comments. While the subjects have the right to express those views in that manner, I have chosen not to quote from this grouping, since the substance of the comments has been covered by the other comments quoted, and the emotional content is not worthy of being quoted.

Discussion

The comments made by the subjects, together with the quantified data suggest that there has been very little change in the way Ms. is understood by people in the past decade or so. A notable exception to that is the one alluded to earlier in this paper, that youth is not necessarily associated with the title Ms. in the 1990's. People offered varying ages for when Ms. would be appropriate, ranging from 18 to 30 to 50 or 60, as well as less specific

criteria such as "mature" or "middle-aged and single" or "older" or "too old for Miss". Other than the possible shift in age associated with the title Ms., a majority of people in this study still consider it to be a way of identifying a woman's relationship status even more specifically than that can be done using just Miss or Mrs. Far from eradicating the practice of identifying women by their relationship to a man, it has refined that practice. Miss now connotes youth and singleness, and possibly a lack of independence. Mrs. connotes (and denotes) formally married (in contrast to common-law) and for many people widowed. Ms. denotes some version of "unmarried", either never married and past what is considered the "normal" age for a woman to marry, or unmarried with still the potential to marry, but self-sufficient and independent, or literally un-married, as in divorced or separated.

According to my research, only a minority of people understand that Ms. is intended as a term parallel to Mr. and indicating nothing about age or relationship status. Of those whose written comments indicate that they do understand that intended meaning, only a fraction report actually using it that way. Indeed, pressure is very strong, and perhaps irresistible, to address women as something other than Ms., if they so request. There is a sense in which that is "only common courtesy", and I too tend to call a woman whatever she says she prefers. There are subtle ways of resisting this, but they are limited in their applicability. For example, both of my married sisters have taken their husband's surname and use the title Mrs. My response to this is to use their chosen name, but never to address mail to them as Mrs. Glass or Mrs. Gardner, and never to introduce them or refer to them as Mrs. G___. Such strategies are more passive in nature than strategies of defiantly using Ms. for them in spite of their protests would be. They ruffle fewer feathers. On a personal level, I suspect that most of us use strategies similar to this one, making political reform subordinate to politeness. Certainly this conclusion would be warranted by the results of my studies. Nevertheless, it could be that the result of giving in to pressures of politeness in this case is that we reinforce the idea of Ms. as just one option among several equally acceptable choices.

Ruth King and Susan Ehrlich study gender-based language reform, investigating, among other things, what happens to feminist linguistic innovations when they enter the mainstream. Three strategies they identify as being used by the mainstream media to depoliticize feminist terms are redefinition as omission or obscuring, redefinition as expansion, and redefinition as obliteration (Ehrlich and King 1994). While they discuss these strategies as they apply to the terms *feminism*, *sexism*, *sexual harassment*, and *date rape*, their work also deals with Ms. as an example of a feminist linguistic innovation (Ehrlich and King 1992, 1994).

I would expand Ehrlich and King's analysis by discussing *Ms.* under the heading of redefinition as omission or obscuring. They define this process as "...involv[ing] the elimination or obscuring of crucial aspects of a term's definition" (Ehrlich & King 1994:65). One might give a somewhat expanded definition of the term Ms., as intended by feminists, as something like, "a courtesy title to be used of all females, whether they are children, young adults, middle aged, or old; whether they are straight or lesbian, whether they are never-married, married, living common-law, separated, divorced or widowed; whether they are feminists or not; and whether they are self-supporting or partially financially dependent on another person." Obviously, this is an awkward and unwieldy definition, but it is not intended as a practical general definition. Rather, it is intended to be used merely to illustrate the process of omission or obscuring.

According to the results of empirical studies, few people include in their definitions of Ms. all the elements listed above. Specifically, most people would exclude children from the term Ms., and some would exclude either young adults or very old people, or both. Almost everyone would exclude married women from the category to which Ms. applies, and some would exclude widows as well. Many would exclude everyone other than divorced women. Although feminism does not seem to be as strongly linked to the term Ms. as it once was, many people would still exclude non-feminist women from their definition of who is eligible to use Ms. Finally, for at least some people, Ms. connotes

independence, rendering it inappropriate for use by women who are financially dependent on another person, whether that is a parent or a partner.

As soon as one removes even one category of women from those considered eligible for the term Ms., one has destroyed it for use as a truly inclusive title. The more categories one removes from it, the further away it gets from its intended meaning and the stronger the idea is implanted in speakers' minds that rather than being the only term for women, it is one alternative among several. Since not everyone removes the same women from the definition of Ms., confusion increases, and people begin to report that they do not use it because they do not know what it means, or because it has lost its meaning. At this point, the mainstream anti-feminists have all but won the battle.

As Ehrlich and King cogently illustrate, this process of redefinition is in no way limited to the term Ms., or even to feminist linguistic innovations, but rather, it is observed in the case of other terms, such as *racism*, *oppression*, and other terms whose meanings challenge the power of the dominant patriarchy (Ehrlich & King 1994). What is particularly disturbing in the case of Ms., however, is the degree to which feminists themselves may be contributing to the demise of the intended meaning of the word. As long as we continue to conduct ourselves "politely" and to refrain from using Ms. when women request that we do so, we reinforce the idea that Ms. is a third option, rather than the only option, and we set the stage for the continuing erosion of the inclusivity of Ms. The fact that a shift in courtesy titles is possible is illustrated by the fact that even though it is seldom used as intended, Ms. has carved out a niche for itself in the quarter -century since it has come to people's attention. For some that niche is for divorced women, for some it is for older singles, etc., but it is there in people's consciousness where it was absent thirty years ago, and so it proves that terms of address are open to change.

The challenge now for feminists is to capitalize on the malleability of the title system and on the lack of consensus about the meaning of Ms. and to actively work to promote the intended, inclusive meaning of the term, and to use it as consistently as possible. In advocating this, I am not advocating rudeness or disrespect to people who have not yet adopted the title Ms., but the time has perhaps come for gently but firmly ignoring people's requests that we use Miss and Mrs. and simply using Ms. for all women in all contexts in which a title is required and in which professional titles such as Dr. or Professor are unavailable. We should lobby groups such as The Federation of Women's Teachers' Associations of Ontario, the largest all-female union in the world, as well as other teachers' associations, to pass a resolution to use Ms. exclusively in their correspondence and in their publications. We should lobby our departments and ministries and boards of education to pass resolutions and laws to make Ms. the only title used in English for women (aside from professional titles) in their official documents and the only title used in signs, such as those posted on the doors of classrooms and offices to identify the occupant of the room. In Ontario, use of inclusive, non-discriminatory language is mandated in all official documents and curriculum materials, by the Ministry of Education. It could be argued that using Ms. instead of Miss or Mrs. for all women is in keeping with the spirit of these existing policies. If we can succeed in getting educators and educational jurisdictions to use Ms. appropriately, then we are in an excellent position to raise up future generations to understand and use Ms. appropriately. There is no question that there would be resistance from all sectors of the education community if Ms. were mandated as the only acceptable title for women, and people would violate this guideline just as they violate others with respect to inclusivity and non-discrimination. Some people's resistance to change should not, however, prevent us from attempting to push it forward in this case.

As well as lobbying on a large scale, we can lobby on a small scale. For example, I collect mail-in cards and order forms that come in advertising flyers and magazines. If they give options for titles other than Ms. and Mr., then I write to them objecting to their use of titles and explaining how Ms. is intended to be used. I have never had a reply from any of the companies I have written to, but I did notice some time after I had written to the Ontario Lottery Corporation about their mail-in lottery form that the form had been revised in

keeping with the spirit of my recommendations. I cannot take credit for that myself, but I can imagine that I was perhaps one voice among many who expressed a similar concern, and that collectively, we had an impact.

There is no doubt that feminists are largely excluded from the main bases of power in our society, and that feminist meanings are excluded from most of the public domain. Where feminist terms do enter the public sphere, they are vandalized and mutilated by the supporters of the dominant culture. Nevertheless, as long as feminists are here, we have voices and we can make ourselves heard. As participants in the institutions of society, we can bring pressure to bear to try to change the status quo. There are some battles we may not win, or not win right away, but we will surely not win if we do not *each* take up the struggle in whatever way we have at out disposal. Language reform is not a trivial side-issue to other types of nonsexist reform. As Ehrlich and King (1994:72) point out, "...nonsexist and feminist language reform is not merely a reflex of nonsexist social reform, but enacts reform in individual interactions." Every time one of us uses Ms. in its intended, inclusive way, we enact reform in one particular individual interaction. If people object to our use of the term, then we can use the opportunity to educate them about its intended meaning. Few people will change instantaneously as a result of this process, and some may never change, but over time, like tiny droplets of water that eventually fill a bucket, our individual interactions with people, using the title Ms., will gradually turn the tide in our favour and result in most people understanding and using Ms. appropriately.

As feminists and language reformers, we are at a decision point. We can abandon our attempts to promote Ms. as an inclusive title for women. While this may be a seemingly inconsequential battle relative to battles to achieve safety for abused women and children, the loss of such a pivotal linguistic battle would, nevertheless have serious detrimental effects not only our attempts at language reform, but on all of our attempts to validate our own reality in the eyes of the larger world.

We can alter our tactic in the direction suggested by one of the subjects in my study: "Perhaps we should have...every woman/girl refer to herself as 'Mrs.' regardless of age or marital status." This would achieve the goal of having a term that all women could use, and as such would represent an improvement over the current situation in which minute distinctions are made about women every time a courtesy title is used of them. It would, however, be a defeat at the same time, and not just because Ms. would have "died". That would be a relatively trivial loss relative to the gain that would be made in having a truly inclusive term for women. The loss would come in that the comments made by people in both my studies make it clear that for the vast majority of people, the "noblest" title for a woman is Mrs., because it signals that she has been attached to a man and has accepted her role as wife. It signals that she was acceptable to at least one man, and that she is therefore worthy of the approval of society. To use Mrs. for all women might temporarily bestow a certain status on women who have not previously been "eligible" for the title, but to accept the term would be to imply acceptance of the values that place marriage as the highest achievement a woman can obtain.

Finally, we can struggle on, working for the day when definitions such as the one below, given by a 22-year-old male, are the rule, not the exception:

"Ms = Women, that's all."

Notes

1. Ms. was intended to replace Miss and Mrs., not to replace professional titles such as Dr., Professor, Sergeant, or aristocratic titles such as Baroness, Princess, etc.

2. This paper was published under my former surname, Atkinson. In 1990, I legally changed my surname to Lillian, in honour of my grandmother, Lillian (Meades) Atkinson.

Scenarios from Questionnaire on Forms of Address

1. Julia Allen is a 23-year-old university student. She is not married, but she has been living with her boyfriend, Fred Rogers, for two years. You would address the letter to:

2. Elaine Parker is a 35-year-old lawyer, married to Alex Wilson.

3. Sandra Brant is a 19-year-old single mother living on her own with her child. The child's father, Stan Morris, has no contact with Sandra or the child.

4. Leanne Norton is 38 years old. She is a full-time homemaker with three children. Her husband works full-time and supports the family.

5. Selina Farley is a 17-year-old high school student living with her parents.

6. Grace Dawson is a 57-year-old widow, who works as a volunteer at a shelter for battered women and children.

7. Fiona Stevens-Harper and her husband, Frank Harper, are co-owners of a small hardware store.

8. Barb Elliot is a 42-year-old stock broker who lives with her lesbian lover, Judy Albright.

9. Mildred Jenkins is a 63-year-old retired teacher. She has never been married.

10. Allison Moore is 27 years old and works as a heavy equipment operator for the municipality she lives in.

11. Erica Jones-Carter is 43 years old with 3 children in high school. Her partner, Felix Carter, is the father of her children. Erica and Felix have lived common-law for over 20 years, but have never formally been married.

12. Rita Prentice is 29 years old and works at a bank. She thinks she might marry someday, but she has already decided that if she does, she will keep her own last name, and not take her husband's name.

13. Esther Smith is 83 years old and is living on her own.

14. Lori Owen is 34 and is separated from her husband, Oliver Hanson. He has custody of their children. She attends university and works part-time. When she got married, she changed her last name to Hanson, but now she has gone back to using her own last name.

15. Mary Walston is 52 years old, and is divorced. She has just been elected to chair the organization, *Feminists for Safe Transit Systems*.

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AGENCY, ADVERSITY AND ANIMACY IN THE CHINESE PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

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ABSTRACT

Two forms of the passive in written Chinese, the marked and unmarked forms are examined. In the corpus, marked forms were found to be more frequent than unmarked forms, and forms without an agent were more frequent than with an agent. However, in marked forms, structures containing an agent were more frequent.There are two kinds of passive markers in Chinese, bèi and the variant markers. The data revealed a continuum based on agency, animacy and adversity, from the umarked forms to forms marked by the variant markers, with the forms marked by bei occupying a central position.

According to Li and Thompson (1989: 492), "The term passive in Mandarin is generally applied to sentences containing the coverb bèi with the following linear arrangement (where NP = noun phrase) NP1 bèi NP2 verb. For example: tā bèi jiějie mà LE 3sg BEI elder: sister scold PFV/CRS S/He was scolded by (his/her) older sister." They analyse the sentence as follows: "The first noun phrase, tā 's/he', is the direct object of the verb mà 'scold'; the bèi noun,jiějie 'elder sister', is the agent, the one who did the scolding." According to the same authors, an important variation occurs when the agent, NP2 is not present: NP1 bèi verb and they give the following example: tā bèi mà LE, 3sg BEI scold PVS/CRS, S/He was scolded.

In their analysis of the Chinese passive one obvious difference from the traditional analysis of English and French is that the subject of a passive verb is considered to be the object and the agent is considered to be the subject.

A third major variation is NP1 bèi NP2 verb NP3 where NP1 and NP3 are both objects of the verb.Examples of this variation will be provided later. Ren Xiaobao

(1991: 222) summarizes the above three variations in one formula:(NP1) + BEI + (NP2-agent) + V (+C) and states that "C is a post-verbal constituent, which could be object, aspectual particle, result clause, stative clause, locative clause, directional clause etc."

It is generally accepted that the bèi passive construction in Chinese is used to describe an adverse situation. Li and Thompson note (1989: 493) that the same is true of Japanese, Vietnamese, Thai and other Asian languages. However, it is also agreed that the use of bèi in constructions which do not express adversity are increasing especially in the written language, a tendency which is believed to be the result of direct translation from western languages. Chao (1970: 115), quoted by Li and Thompson (1989: 496), writes, "a Chinese translator .... uses a preposition bèi 'by' whenever he sees a passive voice in the original verb, forgetting that Chinese verbs have no voice.... Once this sort of thing is done often enough, it gets to be written in originals, even where no translation is involved.... Such "translatese" is still unpalatable to most people and no one talks in that way yet, but it is already common in scientific writing, in newspapers, and in schools." What Chao is referring to here is the use of the passive marker bèi in constructions of the type NP + bèi + verb. Constructions of the type NP1 + bèi + NP2 + verb where NP2 is the agent have a long history. Kratochvil (1968: 143) states ," This marker (ie bèi) used to occur almost exclusively in constructions containing a functive verb and two nominal referents, ...; it is now also commonly used in formerly rare constructions containing a single nominal referent, such as wǒ bèi dǎlé yí dùn 'I was beaten up.' Its occurrence in the latter type of constructions is redundant, since a nominal referent in them denotes the receiver of a given action (unless there is something in the context which specifically marks it as denoting the performer): wǒ dàle yí dùn also means ' I was beaten up'". However since this construction could mean "I beat up" the addition of bèi certainly clarifies whether wǒ is the subject or object of the verb.

In spite of objections to the NP bèi Verb constructions, when bèi first appeared in Chinese[1] it was used in just such constructions, although without any post verbal constituent. Ren Xiaobo (1991: 222) gives four examples, of which one will suffice as an illustration:

jīn xiōngdì bèi qín
now brother BEI to attack
'Now, when your brothers are attacked...'

What is confusing in Chinese is that bèi is both a passive verb marker and also a marker of the agent. When bèi is followed directly by the verb it may be argued that this simply an ellipsis of the NP2 - agent. For example, xìn bèi xiěle 'the letter was written' is a short form of xìn bèi wǒ xiěle 'the letter was written by me.' V. Alleton (1973: 121) argues precisely this: " Dans la forme écrite (influences étrangères?) on le trouve (ie bèi) dans des contextes plus variés. Il est souvent suivi de formes indéfinies, comme rén "les gens,des gens, quelqu'un." C'est ce qui explique sans doute la construction de bei "quasi préposition", précédant immédiatement le verbe: il s'agirait d'une ellipse du groupe nominal qui constitue normalement la base du groupe prépositionel." On the other hand, as shown above, when bèi first appeared it could precede verbs directly without the presence of an agent. This would not be unusual. According to Croft (1990:279), there is in English and other languages an absence of agents in most passive sentences and an outright prohibition against agents in passive constructions in many languages.

In this article, I shall describe the structure and use of the passive form in the modern Chinese written language. The corpus was composed of two pages of a Hong Kong newspaper, Ming Pao Daily News[2]. It should be borne in mind that the description is based on the written language, and that use of the passive construction in the spoken language would be different, probably not so much in form as in the frequency of the various types. It should also be borne in mind that while the written language in Hong Kong newspapers is Mandarin, local Cantonese influence is also evident.

For this article I examined both the marked and unmarked forms of the passive. As mentioned above, Li and Thompson state that " The term passive in Mandarin is generally applied to sentences containing the coverb bei..." and most research on the passive concentrates almost exclusively on these types of sentences. Ren Xiaobo, for example, writes (1991: 240): "The passive form, which I will discuss in this paper, is the marked passive form", implying that there is an unmarked form. Research into the unmarked forms is important, both for

comprehensive view of the passive in Chinese as well as for cross-linguistic comparisons. For the latter purpose, it is essential to know which of the various forms of the passive are the marked or more marked forms, in the sense given to the terms by the Prague School of linguistics and in accordance with general markedness theory. One criterion for establishing the degree of markedness of the various forms and for ascertaining the basic, dominant form is of cause frequency of occurrence.

A major problem in examining the unmarked passive is deciding which verbs are in fact being used passively, and the identification of these forms, which has to be based mainly on their meaning, is fairly subjective. Moreover, as Chao has pointed out (1970:155), Chinese verbs lack voice, and sentences can often be translated into English in the active or passive voice, the Chinese version being the same in both instances. Where such ambiguity existed, I counted the form as an unmarked passive. A more structural, objective approach would be only to count those forms, where the marker bèi could be inserted, but passive forms exist where bèi would not be permitted. It is perhaps due to these problems that little attention seems to have been paid to unmarked passives.

Two examples taken from the corpus illustrate respectively the marked and unmarked types:

> ér cù niángzi shì hòu yì yīn yǐnfú qiāng shuǐ qǐtú zìshā tóng bèi sòng yuàn
> (lit. and jealous wife event after also because drank strong acid attempted to commit suicide also bèi taken hospital.)
> And the jealous wife, after the event, because she drank strong acid and attempted to commit suicide, was also taken to the hospital.

The second example contains an unmarked passive:

> Tā ... sòng yuàn hòu zhèngshí sǐwáng
> (lit. she ... taken hospital after certified dead.)
> After she was taken to the hospital, she was certified dead.

In the first example the verb sòng 'to take' is preceded by bèi whereas in the second example bèi is

omitted. In neither example is an agent present. The passive construction of the first example is NP + bèi + verb whilst in the second example it is NP + verb. Li and Thompson (1989: 499) do not consider the second example to be a passive construction and state that such constructions "which are normally considered the equivalents of the English passive sentence in translation either from English to Mandarin or vice versa, are topic constructions in which the direct object of the verb is serving as the topic." However, even when the passive marker bèi is present, the direct object is still considered to be the direct object and is also serving as the topic. According to Kratochvil (1968: 143) xìn bèi xiěle and xìn xiěle both mean "the letter was written" with the verb marked in the first case and unmarked in the second, and he states that both forms are now used in MSC. It seems difficult to me to state that one is a passive construction and the other is not, when both have the same meaning and the only difference is the presence or absence of bèi.

The two examples above, taken from the corpus, do not contain an agent. The following is a typical example of a passive construction which does contain an agent:

> zhōng bèi Zhōnggòng kāichú chū dǎng
> (lit.) Finally bèi Communist Party expelled from the party
> Finally he was expelled by the Communists from the Party.

As already mentioned, the passive verb may be followed by a compliment which could be an object, an aspectual particle, a result clause, a stative clause,a locative clause, a directional clause etc. The following is an example of a sentence in which the passive verb contains two objects, one preceding and one following:

> JǏngfāng chūbù diàochá fāxiàn xiànchǎng dānwèi wú bèi sǎolǜèguò hénjī
> (lit.) The police initial investigation discovered the scene room not bèi clean the marks
> The police discovered during the initial investigation that the scene of the crime had not been swept clean of the marks.

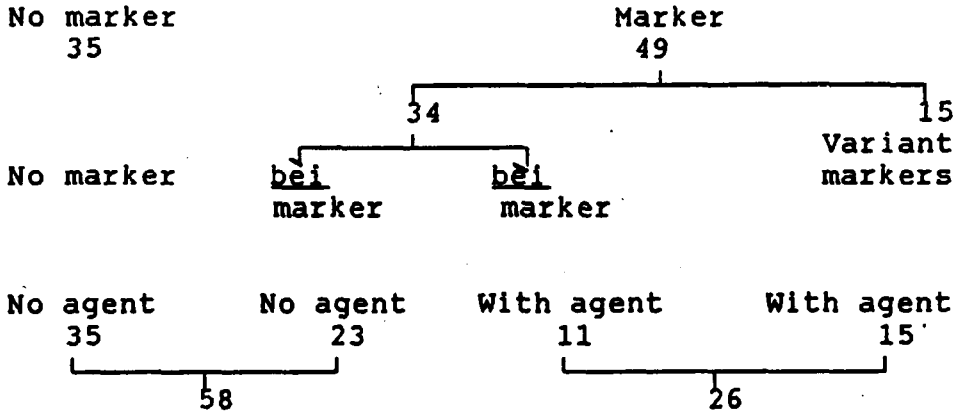
In this example both xiànchǎng dānwèi 'the scene of

the crime' and hénjǐ 'marks' are both objects of the passive verb sǎolüè 'to sweep clean'.

Altogether I found 84 passive constructions in the corpus. Of these 51 were marked and 35 unmarked. The markers used were bèi (34), zāo (7), yóu (6), yù (1) and wéi (1). Li and Thompson (1989: 506) mention three variants forms which may replace bèi: gěi, jiào and ràng stating that the choice seems to depend on which dialect is being spoken. They also state that while bèi has no meaning of its own, the other three are content words with independent meanings. Thus gěi means 'to give', jiào means 'call,be named, order' and ràng means 'let, allow'. They do not mention the four other variant markers which occurred in the corpus, namely zāo, yóu, yù and wéi. Zāo means 'to meet with (disaster, misfortune etc.)', 'to suffer'. Interestingly its meaning perfectly fits in with the traditional use of the passive to express adversity. Yóu is a preposition meaning 'from, by, through', and wéi is a preposition meaning 'by'. Yù is a verb meaning 'to meet' and does not seem to have any connotation of adversity.

Of the 49 marked forms, 26 contained an agent and 23 did not. However, there was a striking difference according to which marker was being used. In the case of bèi, only 11 out of 34 contained an agent while 23 did not, whilst an agent was present with the other markers in all cases. The results concerning the variant non bèi markers can be explained by the fact that those with a verbal meaning would normally require a following object while the two prepositions (yóu and wéi) would normally precede nouns.

The situation is complicated when the overall picture, including the marked and unmarked forms, is examined. The data seems to provide a contradictory situation. On the one hand 49 of the passives were marked and 35 were not. On the other hand, an agent was present in only 26 cases and absent in 58 cases. One might have expected a positive correlation between the marked forms and the presence of an agent. The reason that this is not so is that a minority of the marked forms have no agents. When these are combined with the unmarked verbs, which do not allow agents, the forms without agents constitute a majority. The situation is shown in the following diagram:



It is very difficult to establish a dominant form from these data, since most forms are marked but the majority also have no agents. One might say that the dominant form should be marked without an agent which is in fact not the case. However it is clear that bèi occupies a central position between the two other forms. While the unmarked forms do not allow an agent and the variant markers require an agent, bèi may be used both with or without an agent. It is this use of bèi without an agent that has been criticized, and blamed on the influence of western languages. However this use may be related to the central position occupied by bèi between the two other forms. While the use of bèi without an agent is very common, the unmarked forms are even more frequent. This is probably to be expected since in general marked forms are less frequent than unmarked forms.

Concerning the question of the use of marked passives to express adversity, the overwhelming majority of the marked constructions in the corpus did indeed describe an adverse situation. Constructions containing the marker yóu were the only exception, 3 of the 6 being used in neutral situations. All the other variant markers occurred exclusively in constructions expressing adversity. In the case of bèi, 30 expressed adversity and 4 were neutral. The latter 4 occurred in constructions where no agent was present. Although this is a very small percentage, it seems to indicate that in this respect as well, bèi occupies a central position between the passives marked by the variant markers and the unmarked passives, where adversity is not a dominant feature.

Finally I examined the marked passives from the

point of animacy. In all cases NP2 (ie the agent following the marker) was animate, although according to Li and Thompson (1989: 504) it can be inanimate in certain situations:"Inanimate noun phrases that can effect action on their own can occur as bèi noun phrases in the passive construction as long as an adverse situation can be inferred." However, "The noun phrase immediately following bèi cannot refer to something that is being used by a person or an animate being to carry out an action; in other words, the bèi noun phrase cannot be an instrument noun phrase." In the case of NP1 the data again reveal a progression from the unmarked verbs to the verbs marked by the variant markers with bèi occupying an intermediary position. Thus NP1 was inanimate with 37.2% (13 out of 35) of the unmarked verbs, and with 11.8% (4 out of 34) of the verbs marked with bèi. However with the variant markers NP1 was inanimate in only 6.7% of the cases (1 out of 15). (In zero cases with zāo, wéi and yù (0 out of 9) and in 1 case out of 6 with yǒu.)

This study of the passive in Chinese is based on a very small corpus and concerns its use in a particular form of the written language, namely that of newspapers. Overall, marked forms are more frequent than unmarked forms and forms without an agent are more frequent than forms with an agent. However if one compares the unmarked forms and the forms marked with bèi, the unmarked forms are more frequent. If one further compares the unmarked forms with the forms marked by bèi with no agent present there may well be a tendency to prefer the latter where NP1 is animate. Thus in unmarked forms there were 23 animate and 12 inanimate NP1s, whereas in forms marked by bèi with no agent there were 19 animate and only 4 inanimate NP1s. Furthermore the data revealed a progression based on the criteria of agency, animacy and adversity from the unmarked forms to the forms marked by the variant markers with bèi occupying a central position.

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1. "... the bei passive form first appeared by the end of the Warring-States period (403-221 B.C.) or during the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.)..." (Ren Xiaobo 1991:222)

2.June 1st, 1992, p. 2, and June 11, 1992, p. 5.

The Phonology of Cantonese Onomatopoeia

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In this paper, I will focus on two fundamental issues with regard to the phonological characteristics of onomatopoeia based on Cantonese data: 1. the phonotactic constraints of onomatopoeia vis-à-vis the core vocabulary, and 2. the tone patterns and tone change in onomatopoetic words. I will present evidence to show that while the vast majority of onomatopoetic words in Cantontese do reflect the phonotactics of the core language, some items actually deviate from core phonology (i.e. phonology of the regular lexicon) by allowing nonnative segments or sequences of segments that are otherwise not permissible in the language. Several peculiarities in tone patterns and tone change are found in the data and will be discussed in detail. Various hypotheses will be proposed to account for such observations. Finally, I will address relevant theoretical issues concerning the tone-bearing unit, contour tones, the Obligatory Contour Principle, and the relationship between onomatopoeia phonology and core phonology.

1 What is onomatopoeia?

In the literature, onomatopoeia is a concept with fuzzy borders in its broadest sense. To avoid confusion, I will follow Sobkowiak (1990) and employ the definition of onomatopoeia given by Pharies (1979):

> An onomatopoeia is a word that is *considered by convention to be acoustically similar* to the sound, or the sound produced by the thing to which it refers. (p.84, cited in Sobkowiak 1990: 16)

This definition of onomatopoeia excludes mimetic words whose meanings lack acoustic qualities, for example, "zig-zag", "itsy-bitsy" and "shilly-shally" in English.

2 Earlier studies on Chinese onomatopoeia

In the past decade or so, there have been sporadic reports on the onomatopoeia in Chinese languages[1], mostly Mandarin, e.g., Geng 1986, Meng 1983, Wu 1991, Zhang 1988, and Zhu 1982. All of the reports are predominantly descriptive and some are rather fragmentary and impressionistic. As far as phonology is concerned, none of the previous accounts have looked deeply enough into the phonotactics of onomatopoeia and its theoretical implications.

In Wu (1991), Mandarin (variety unspecified) onomatopoeia is classified into two types, namely, fixed and unfixed. This distinction, which most researchers failed to take into account, is especially important to the analysis of onomatopoeia in languages such as Cantonese that maintain two separate styles for writing and speaking. Fixed onomatopoetic words are mostly used in written texts and are usually disyllabic reduplicatives with a stable form and meaning generally agreed upon by their users. Unfixed onomatopoetic words, on the other hand, are mostly heard in speech and show a greater variety of word formation patterns. Their sounds and

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[1] I prefer to use the term "language" to refer to the mutually unintelligible Chinese dialects and call the mutually intelligiable varieties of the same language "dialects." In the literature, the term "dialect" is often used to cover both.

orthographic representations are more complex and may vary from one speaker to another. The unfixed forms also tend to have a wider range of meanings. On the phonetic level, Wu found that in Mandarin the second syllable of quadrisyllabic onomatopoetic words in the unfixed forms is always pronounced with a reduced tone, whereas fixed forms are lexicalized (i.e. fossilized) and thus resistant to tone reduction or any type of segmental reduction. To my knowledge, there have been no studies specifically concerned with Cantonese onomatopoeia.

3 Cantonese Phonology

Before we turn to the present study, let us take a look at some of the aspects of Cantonese phonology which will be relevant to the analysis of the collected data.

3.1 Syllable structure

In discussing Chinese phonology, it is conventional to take the syllable as the point of departure. The syllable is considered to consist of three core components[2] --initial, final (or rhyme) and tone. The initial refers to the onset of a syllable and the final to the nucleus and the coda. The tone belongs to a suprasegmental level separate from the initial and the final. Schematically, the Chinese syllable can be illustrated as in Chart (1).

(1)

Tone		
	Final	/Rhyme
Initial	Nucleus	Coda

The syllable structure outlined in the above chart is assumed in most accounts of Chinese phonology. The representation implies two theoretical assumptions. First, tone spreads across the whole syllable. Second, the syllable is the tone bearing unit in Chinese (Yip 1989). The first assumption has been supported by acoustic evidence (Shen 1990). I will return to the second assumption later.

For simplicity, I will follow Western scholars in taking the segmental approach to the Chinese syllable and discuss it in terms of onset, nucleus and coda. Roughly speaking, the Cantonese syllable can be characterized as having the superficial canonical shape of (C)V(C) (Adrendrup 1994).

3.2 Segments

(2)

p	p^h	t	t^h	k	k^h kw $k^h{}_w$
f		s			h
		ts	ts^h		
m		n		ŋ	
		l			
w		j			

(3)

i	y	u
ɛ	œ	ɔ
	a ɐ	

Cantonese has 19 consonants--bilabial, labial-dental, alveolar, velar and glottal. Aspiration is a contrastive feature in stops. All consonants shown in Chart (2) are possible initials but only p,t,k/ and /m,n,ŋ/ are allowed to close a final. While /l/, /n/, /ŋ/, /k/ and /kw/ are all contrastive phonemes, there is a tendency among young speakers to either delete initial /ŋ/ or replace it with a syllabic bilabial nasal /m̩/ when the segment is syllabic, and to replace /n/ with /l/ and /kw/ with /k/ when they occur initially (Bauer 1983; Cheung 1972).

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[2]Some scholars adds the medial, an onglide, as a fourth constituent of the Chinese syllable. The presence or absence of the medial depends on whether segments such as labiovelars in Catonese (/kw/, /k^hw/) are treated as single initials or as initials plus a glide. The distinction varies from dialect to dialect. For our discussion here, we will simplify the structure by ignoring the medial.

In addition to the main vowels in Chart (3), there are diphthongs and triphthongs which are derived from the main vowels and/or their variants. Both /m/ and /ŋ/ can stand alone as monosyllabic morphemes.

3.3 Tones and tone sandhi

Cantonese has six contrastive tones[3] but no reduced (or neutral) tone. For purposes of illustration, I will make use of both the tone category (i.e., number) system and the pitch variation notation. See Chart (4).

(4)

Tone	Pitch variation	Tone	Pitch variation
1	high level (H)	4	low falling (ML)
2	mid rising (MH)	5	low rising (LM)
3	mid level (M)	6	low level (L)

Tone sandhi is a phenomenon involving change of tone shapes due to the effect of neighboring tones upon one another. Its occurrence in Chinese languages, especially Mandarin, has been much discussed in the literature. Several Cantonese tone changes (lexically conditioned) are mentioned in Cheung (1972) and Qiao (1975), but no systematic analysis is provided. Due to the fact that little is known about Cantonese tone sandhi, its existence is largely ignored by some linguists (e.g., Shen 1990).

4 The present study

The research questions to be addressed in this study are: 1. Insofar as onomatopoetic words are, like speech sounds, arbitrary symbols speakers create to approximate sounds in nature with their phonological resources, what are the phonotactic constraints of onomatopoeia? 2. In what ways is onomatopoeia phonology identical to or distinct from the phonological system of the standard language 3. In what ways do tone language speakers make use of their tonal systems in creating onomatopoeia?

4.1 Background to the data

The database for this study consists of a corpus of 197 onomatopoetic words from Hong Kong Cantontese. The data come primarily from Gao (1980) and Zeng (1988) but only those items which are frequently used by native speakers of the chosen variety are considered. To ensure the validity of the written data, the researcher presented all of them orally and/or visually to three native speakers (aged 27-37) for their acceptability judgment. Over 90% of the selected data were judged acceptable. The unaccepted ones either only appear in formal writing or are used in other varieties of Cantonese. The researcher also collected additional data from the same speakers. The selection of data is to a large extent arbitrary in that they represent a high proportion of the onomatopoeia in use but not the entire repertoire (See Appendix).

4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Word formation patterns

Given the spoken nature of the data, it can be said that most Cantonese onomatopoeias are "unfixed," i.e., there can be one form corresponding to more than one meaning and vice versa. For example, a crack is [pak^{1}] or [pik^{1} pak^{1}]. In terms of morphology, reduplication is the most common word-formation process

[3] I follow Cheung's (1972) and Ho's (1987) descriptions of Cantonese tones throughout this paper. In addition to the six tones, there are three entering tones which correspond to the three level tones (High, Mid, Low). These tones are only found in words ending in /p, t. k/, e.g. /sik^{1}/ 'color', /sit^{3}/ 'to leak', and /sik^{6}/'to eat'. Since these tones are always predictable, they are usually subsumed under the level tones.

smong these words. The data show that 68% of the items contain total reduplicatives. However, if we take Zhu's (1982) approach and regard syllables having the same rhyme or alliteration as being derived from the same syllable (i.e. partial reduplication) as in [pik^1 lik^1 pak^1 lak^1] 'sound of firecrackers,' we find that almost all onomatopoetic sounds in Cantonese except for the monosyllabic ones demonstrate reduplication of some sort. The number of morphemes (also syllables) per word ranges from one to four. A total of ten patterns are identified. Their frequencies are shown in chart (5):

(5)

Word Pattern	%	Word Pattern	%
A	19.6	AAA	3.0
AA	13.1	AAB	0.6
AAX	31.5	AABB	14.9
XAA	1.2	ABAB	3.6
AB	4.8	ABCD	7.7

Note: The X-element in AAX and XAA refers to a non-onomatopoetic morpheme.

Chart (5) shows that Cantonese onomatopoeia favors the AAX pattern (31.5%). In the case of AAX, the obligatory element is always [seŋ^1] which literally means "sound", as in [tsi^{1}tsi^{1}seŋ^1] 'squeaky squeaky sound'. There are only three instances of XAA all of which have the verb [siu^1] 'laugh' in the X position.

4.2.2 Phonotactics

The consonants found in Cantonese onomatopoeia are more or less identical to those in the core consonant inventory except that the alveolar nasal /n/, which is a permissible onset and coda in the core language, is absent in onomatopoeia. The data exhibit two other interesting phenomena. One of them involves variation between the velar nasal /ŋ/ and zero element in initial position as commonly found in the core language; for example, [ŋœ^4 ŋœ^4 seŋ^1] and [œ^4 œ^4 seŋ^1] 'sound of crying.' The other involves a phonotactic violation, namely, the presence of the consonant cluster /k^{h}l/, as evidenced in [k^{h}lŋ^1 k^{h}lŋ^1] 'clink.'

All of the five main vowels occur in onomatopoeia. However, only three out of the eleven diphthongs and triphthongs available in core Cantonese phonology are found in the onomatopoeia. There are also two nonnative vocalic segments, namely, [ɔ-] and [jɛu], as in [ɔ-t^4] 'sound of vomiting' and [mjɛu^1] 'meow.'

4.2.3 Tone patterns and tone change

Not all of the six tones in Cantonese are utilized in onomatopoeia. Chart (6) summarizes the identified tone patterns (numbers indicate tone categories):

(6)

monosyllabic	1, 2, 4, 6
disyllabic	11, 22
trisyllabic	111, 113, 421, 441, 444
quadrisyllabic	1111, 1313, 4144, 4444

As shown in Chart (6), there are a variety of tone arrangements in Cantonese onomatopoeia. All of the six tones in the core tonal system are found in the collected data except for the low rising tone (Tone 5). The tri- and quadrisyllabic groups exhibit two interesting tone raising phenomena. In cases where there are two consecutive low falling tones (Tone 4 plus Tone 4) followed by a high level tone (carried by the "sound" morpheme suffix [-seŋ^1]), the tone pattern can be optionally changed to 421, e.g. [sa^4 sa^4 seŋ^1]-->[sa^4 sa^2 seŋ^1] 'rush, whistle'. The other change, which involves the second tone in four-syllable words happens only in

the 4444 pattern with a particular arrangement of the vocalic elements in the syllable sequence. Here the affected tone is "raised" to the high level tone (Tone 1) rather than the mid rising tone (Tone 2) as in the case of the trisyllabic words, thus changing the 4444 sequence into 4144, e.g. [tsi^4 tsi^4 tsɐm^4 tsɐm^4]-->[tsi^4 tsi^1 tsɐm^4 tsɐm^4] 'whisper.' Unlike the tone raise observed in the trisyllabic group, this particular change is obligatory.

5 Discussion

5.1 Phonotactic constraints

Retroflexes and consonant clusters are practically non-existent in Cantonese. The unexpected occurrences of the stop-liquid consonant cluster [k^{h}l] and the r-colored schwa [ɚ] in the Cantonese onomatopoeia data are inexplicable from the point of view of the core phonology. To explain why such nonnative sounds would exist in the speakers' repertoire, we may consider two possibilities.

First, we may assume that like many items in the core vocabulary, onomatopoeia can be borrowed. Under this assumption, we may postulate that the sound of vomiting ([ɚt^4]), the sound for sheep ([m̩ɛɳ^1]), and the sound of clashing metal ([k^{h}liŋ^1] and [k^{h}laŋ^1]) are borrowed into Cantonese onomatopoeia from another language and that the existence of the r-colored schwa, triphthong and the stop-liquid cluster is also a result of language contact. However, this hypothesis quickly becomes untenable if we consider the mechanism of loanword phonology, which is based on the premise that native phonotactic constraints hold at both perceptual and operative levels (Silverman 1992). For example, if we assume that the sounds [k^{h}liŋ^1] and [k^{h}laŋ^1] in Cantonese onomatopoeia are borrowed from the English sounds "clink" and "clang" (given the long-term contact between the two languages in Hong Kong), the sounds in question should undergo the following derivations according to Silverman's model:

(7) Derivational process

input			'clink'	'clang'
Perceptual Level			[k liŋ^1]	[k laŋ^1]
Operative Level	a. epenthesis		[kɐi liŋ^1]	[kɐi laŋ^1]
		or	[ki liŋ^1]	[ki laŋ^1]
	b. tone insertion		[kɐi^6 liŋ^1]	[kɐi^6 laŋ^1]
		or	[ki^6 liŋ^1]	[ki^6 laŋ^1]
	output		*[kɐi^6 liŋ^1]	*[kɐi^6 laŋ^1]
		or	*[ki^6 liŋ^1]	*[ki^6 laŋ^1]

The analysis given in Chart (7) follows Silverman's multiple scansions in loanword phonology. It shows that at the perceptual level, aspiration of the velar stop is lost before a liquid and the monosyllabic word receives a high level tone. At the operative level, either the diphthong [ɐi] or the high front vowel [i] is inserted to break the cluster[4], resulting in a disyllabic form. Finally, the low level tone is assigned to the first syllable. This derivational process gives us the wrong results. Although one might argue that the reason why Silverman's multiple scansion mechanism fails to yield the present forms is perhaps because of the insufficiency of the model to account for such items, several of his observations about the phonotactics of loanword vocabulary in Cantonese do pose problems for this hypothesis. First, no consonant clusters are allowed. Second, an

[4] Compare with cream --> [kɐi[L] lim[H]] and print--> [pi[L] lin[H]] in Silverman (1992: 317). Phonetic transcriptions are translated into IPA here.

epenthetic vowel must be inserted to separate consonant clusters. Third, all unstressed syllables are assigned the low tone. As clearly shown in the forms in question, none of these requirements are satisfied.

An alternative explanation for the existence of the consonant cluster is that given the physiological fact that all human beings are born with the same articulatory apparatus, it is not true that a "bizarre" sound in Speaker A's language can never be produced by Speaker B whose language lacks that particular sound. It has to be admitted that one's capabilities of exploiting various configurations of one's vocal tract are by no means entirely determined by one's native language. Simply put, although one's phonological resources are to a great extent dependent upon one's native phonological system, they are not restricted to it. Evidence in support of this hypothesis can be found in second language acquisition and loanwords. Many English-speaking learners of Spanish, for example, can produce a perfect trilled /r/ without difficulty. This is especially true of those who can produce the trill in such onomatopoeia as the sound of machine guns. In Thai, the high tone is never associated with syllables consisting of a long vowel followed by a stop in native vocabulary; however, the rule can be violated in onomatopoeia and loanwords, e.g. [no:t[H]] "notebook' and [kri:t[H] kri:t[H]] 'sound of screaming by females' [5].

5.2 Tone issues

5.2.1 Tone patterns

Among the five tones found in Cantonese onomatopoeia, the high level and low falling tones occur most frequently. The frequent use of the high level tone can be attributed to the nature of its unmarkedness. Studies of tone acquisition in both Mandarin and Cantonese (Leather 1990; Li and Thompson 1977; Light 1977; Tse 1978) show that the high level tone is acquired the earliest both by children learning the languages as their L1 and by foreign adult learners, suggesting that the high level tone is the easiest, the most prominent, and perhaps also the most natural, and thus the most likely to be adopted for words imitating natural sounds.

With regard to the semantic relationship between sound and tone, the data provides no evidence for a positive correlation between the pitch of words and the pitch of their corresponding sounds. As exemplified by the tone patterns in the data, the generalization suggested by previous studies of phonetic symbolism that high pitch (vs. low) onomatopoetic words connote high-pitched (vs. low-pitched) sounds in nature proves to be an oversimplification of the whole issue of tone assignment in onomatopoeia.

5.2.2 Tone change

There are two tone raising phenomena observed in the tri- and quadrisyllabic onomatopoetic words in the Cantonese data, both of which affect the second syllable (cf. the case in Mandarin described in Wu 1991). In the three-syllable onomatopoetic words consisting of a reduplicative in Tone 4 followed by the "sound" morpheme, the second syllable is raised from the low falling tone to the high level tone. This change can be best analyzed from a non-linear approach as a consequence of "tone assimilation" triggered by the following high level tone. Schematically, it can be represented like this (Rule 8):

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[5] I thank Professor Ken Rehg and Varisa Osatananda for calling these two observations to my attention.

(8)

The above representation shows that the second syllable first gets delinked from the second element of the contour tone (ML) with which it is associated and then gets reassociated with the following high level tone, resulting in a new contour tone MH, i.e., 441-->421, as in [sa^{4} sa^{4} sɛŋ^{1}]-->[sa^{4} sa^{2} sɛŋ^{1}] 'rush, whistle.'

The other tone raising phenomenon involves the four-syllable words. See Chart (9).

(9)

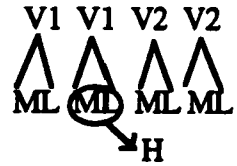
Tone pattern	Word pattern	Vowel pattern	Change to
4444	AABB	$V_1V_1V_2V_2$	4144
4444	ABCD	$V_1V_1V_2V_2$	4144
4444	ABAB	$V_1V_2V_1V_2$	unchanged
4444	AABB	$V_1V_1V_1V_1$	unchanged
4444	ABAB	$V_1V_1V_1V_1$	unchanged

This phenomenon is more complex but at the same time more interesting to theoretical linguists. In the quadrisyllabic group, about 70% of onomatopoetic words are formed by means of total reduplication. In the cases which exhibit the AABB pattern (e.g. [t^{h}i^{1} t^{h}i^{1} t^{h}at^{1} t^{h}at^{1}] 'sound of walking heavily or noisily'), there are two pairs of identical syllables. Since in total reduplication, all features are presumably copied directly from the original syllable to the reduplicated one, both syllables must have the same underlying tone associated with them. We observed from the data that in cases of this particular morphological shape, AABB, when the underlying tone pattern of a four-syllable onomatopoetic word is 1111 (i.e., all high level), there is no change in the sequence. In the 4444 (all low-falling) tone pattern, however, the second syllable raises to Tone 1 without exception. This change results in a phonetic realization of the tone pattern as 4144, e.g. [p^{h}i^{4} p^{h}i^{1} p^{h}at^{4} p^{h}at^{4}] 'thump.' The same change is also found in cases which show the ABCD pattern, e.g. [piŋ^{4} liŋ^{1} pɛŋ^{4} lɛŋ^{4}] 'crash', suggesting that this particular tone change is *not* morphologically conditioned.

On the other hand, there are words in the data of the pattern AABB which remain 4444, e.g. [ɐm^{4} ɐm^{4} ts^{h}ɐm^{4} ts^{h}ɐm^{4}] 'murmur', and none of the ones showing the ABAB pattern undergo any tone change at all, e.g. [kiŋ^{4} kʊŋ^{4} kiŋ^{4} kʊŋ^{4}] 'sound of trains' and [ku^{4} lu^{4} ku^{4} lu^{4}] 'gurgle'. Further analysis reveals that there are two striking characteristics commonly shared by the two groups (AABB and ABCD) which undergo tone raising. First, both groups consist of a sequence of two identical pairs of vocalic elements in the syllable nucleus position, that is, $V_1V_1V_2V_2$. Second, V_1 is always a high front vowel (/i/ or /ɪ/) and the two pairs of vowels always exhibit a high/low or front/back contrast. The items which preserve the 4444 tone pattern do not share this vowel arrangement. Instead, they have either $V_1V_1V_1V_1$ or $V_1V_2V_1V_2$.

Tentatively, a tone raising rule can be formulated like this (Rule 10):

(10)



Note that there are two major differences between this rule and Rule (8). First, while it is unclear to us when Rule (8) applies, this rule must apply at the phonetic level. This is based on the observation that the rule applies to allophonic vowels as well, e.g. [ti^4 ti^1 tɪk^4 tɪk^4] 'dripping' where [i] and [ɪ] are variants of /i/. If the rule operated at the phonemic level, the tone pattern of this word would remain 4444, which is not correct.

Second, this rule changes a contour tone into a level tone without the influence of an adjacent level tone. In this sense, this change appears to be dissimilative in nature rather than assimilative as in the case of Rule (8). On the other hand, like the tone neutralization phenomenon in quadrisyllabic onomatopoetic words in Mandarin (Wu 1991), this rule seems to result from an interaction between tone and stress where the affected tone is associated with the second syllable, i.e. the least stressed syllable in the string. This view is supported by the fact that contour tones are by nature more complex than level tones. If one interprets the rule this way, one can say that the underlying low falling tone is "reduced," resulting in a raising effect on the second syllable.

With specifications of vowel pattern, Rule (10) makes the precise prediction that no tone change should occur in items which show the same tone pattern but different vowel arrangement, e.g., $V_1V_2V_1V_2$ as in [kiŋ^4 kuŋ^4 kiŋ^4 kuŋ^4] 'sound of trains', or $V_1V_1V_1V_1$ as in [ku^4 lu^4 ku^4 lu^4] 'gurgle' where Tone 4 is preserved in the second syllable.

Acoustic evidence seems to favor this particular tone change. In acoustic terms, the height of tone correlates to the height of fundamental frequency (F_0). It has been shown that vowels have an intrinsic F_0 depending on their height. As a natural articulatory effect, high vowels have a higher F_0 than low vowels (Ohala and Eukel 1987). Given these facts, the observation that the tone raising phenomenon only occurs in sequences of four low falling (ML) tones where V_1 is a high vowel but not in those which are already in high level (H) tones seems to be a natural result of tone and vowel interaction.

However, the acoustic explanation does not give us the whole picture. It provides no clues as to why tone raising does not occur in such items as [ku^4 lu^4 ku^4 lu^4] 'gurgle' where the vowel in the second syllable is also a high vowel and the tone pattern is also all low-falling. One possible answer to this question might be that front and back vowels interact with tone in a different manner. Other things being equal, front vowels might be more susceptible to tone raise than back vowels. This hypothesis is subject to confirmation by acoustic experiments.

As for why the tone raising rule does not apply to those items which show vowel alternation (also known as apophony or vowel gradation), as in [tik^4 tɐp^4 tik^4 tɐp^4] 'tick tock,' it is conceivable that application of the rule is blocked by the intrinsic rhythm of the word structure as a consequence of vowel alternation. To the extent that the adjacent vowels in the sequence are always in contrast with each other either in retraction or

height, that is, to borrow a term from Natural Phonology, they are already in opposition in their 'vowel color' (Donegan, 1985), there is simply no perceptual motivation for tone raising to occur.

In short, the tone raising phenomenon in the quadrisyllabic group can be said to be both phonetically and phonologically motivated. The change breaks the monotony of the 4444 tone sequence not only for ease of articulation, but also for perceptual reasons.

Despite all the good reasons for this tone-raising phenomenon to occur, however, the same rule does not seem to operate within the core phonology. In standard Cantonese, there are such reduplicated adjectives as [$p^hɪŋ^4$ $p^hɪŋ^4$ soeŋ^4 soeŋ^4] 'usual, ordinary', [$p^hɪŋ^4$ $p^hɪŋ^4$ fan^4 fan^4] 'not extraordinary, homely', [ts^hin^4 ts^hin^4 min^4 min^4] 'entangled, intimate' and [lɪŋ^4 lɪŋ^4 lʊŋ^4 lʊŋ^4], 'delicate and elegant'. Contrary to the prediction made by our tone raising rule stated in (10), none of them undergo tone change. These examples seem to suggest that tone-raising is not in operation in core phonology. Does it mean that the application of the tone-raising rule is limited to onomatopoeia? This question leads us to a more fundamental issue concerning the relationship between onomatopoeia phonology and core phonology. If we say that the tone raising rule only applies to onomatopoeia, we are implying one of the following two possibilities--either the rule is lexically governed in that it only applies to a particular class of words, namely, onomatopoeia, or onomatopoeia phonology is distinct from core phonology in that rules may operate in one system but not the other.

To salvage the idea that onomatopoeia phonology is not merely a collection of idiosyncrasies but is in fact closely related to standard phonology, and that the phonotactic constraints of onomatopoeia do to a large extent reflect the phonological tendencies of native speakers in their natural speech, we can take yet another alternative. This alternative is to admit that the tone raising rule is indeed a natural process. In other words , it represents a phonological constraint on pronunciation rather than a morphophonological one. Here we have to consider the fact that unlike Mandarin, Cantonese lacks a complete writing system for all its lexical items. Hence it is often the case that there are no written symbols available to represent all Cantonese words, let alone the onomatopoetic sounds. And yet the frequency of occurrence of onomatopoeia in natural speech is so high that one cannot ignore their existence. This leads one to believe that onomatopoeia represents authentic speech data in that it is to a great degree free from the phonological constraints superimposed by written words (such as tone). In other words, onomatopoeia is allowed more latitude than regular vocabulary for natural processes to apply. It is noteworthy that tones are lexical in Cantonese and change of tone almost always entail change of meaning. For this reason, tone change must be suppressed in lexicalized items to avoid creating lexical ambiguity. In other words, the reason why the tone raising rule does not apply within core phonology, or so it seems, is not because it does not operate in the domain of core phonology; rather, it is because the rule is overridden by the constraints superimposed by the written forms. In other words, rather than saying that the tone-raising rule is peculiar to onomatopoeia, we could view the items in the core language which meet the conditions of the rule but remain unchanged as exceptions to the process as a result of lexical constraints.

5.3 Other issues

I now turn to some theoretical issues concerning the tone bearing unit (TBU) in Chinese languages, the status of contour tones and the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP), and further discussion of the relationship between onomatopoeia phonology and that of the core language.

5.3.1 Tone bearing unit

There has been much discussion of whether or not the TBU in Chinese languages is the syllable or a phonological unit smaller than the syllable. For years, it has been assumed that the TBU in Mandarin is the syllable (Yip 1989). On the other hand, there is still disagreement about whether the TBU in Cantonese should be the syllable, as Mandarin, or if it should be a vowel or a mora (Cheung 1986; Yip 1989).

As shown in Rules (8) and (10), the two tone raising phenomena observed in Cantonese onomatopoeia can both be characterized by tone change rules without making reference in the structural description to whether or not the syllables are open or closed or what the coda elements are.

It is found that the Cantonese syllable which undergoes tone change may have a stop, a nasal or zero in its coda position, suggesting that the nucleus and coda do not behave like a single unit in their interaction with tone. In other words, the only component in the syllable interacting with tone is the nucleus. This leads one to believe that the tone change in onomatopoeia is a result of the interaction between vowels and tone rather than between syllables and tone. On the basis of this observation, one might question the theoretical motivation for positing that TBU in Cantonese necessarily involves the syllable as a whole.

5.3.2 Contour Tone and Obligatory Contour Principle

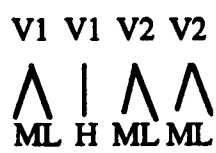
McCarthy (1986) formulates the Obligatory Contour Principle as a morpheme structure constraint to prohibit adjacent identical elements at the melodic level. If we assume that the OCP is correct, it should apply to onomatopoeia data as well. As Cantonese onomatopoetic words are clearly made up of separate morphemes, any tone within a word must not clash with a neighboring tone. For ease of discussion, Rules (8) and (10) are restated as 11 and 12 here.

(11) ML ML H --> ML MH H
(12) ML ML ML ML --> ML H ML ML

The non-violation of the OCP can be explained only if we treat contour tones as sequences of level tones and assume that adjacent identical tones are brought about by the operation of a spreading rule. Under these two assumptions,. the outcomes of the two tone change rules can be stated as follows:

(13)

(14)



Another advantage of the assumption that contour tones are not underlying unit-contour tones is that it can easily explain the delinking and reassociation operations of part of a contour tone in Rule (13).

6 Conclusion

Two seemingly paradoxical conclusions can be drawn about the nature of the phonology of onomatopoeia. On the one hand, we have seen that onomatopoeia is not as highly restricted by core phonology as one might think. In fact, it does not even have to obey the phonotactic constraints in the core language, confirming Marchand's (1966) view that onomatopoetic coining is *only* "largely dependent on the phonemes and phonemic combination of the language" (p. 27). On the other hand, onomatopoeia is by no means unconstrained. The present study shows that there are phonotactic constraints in onomatopoeia and that those constraints may in fact be identical to the constraints of the core language. Some phonological peculiarities which at first sight seem to be unique to onomatopoeia in fact have their roots in the core phonology. It is precisely these two unusual characteristics of onomatopoeia that makes the subject intriguing and at the same time difficult to study. There is no doubt that onomatopoeia provides a valuable resource for linguistic research. This study shows that the nature of onomatopoeia phonology and its relationship with core phonology is a rich area for investigation. Further research based on data from more languages should no doubt bring to light many unanswered questions about the similarities and differences between the two domains. While the details provided here may at times be confusing, it is hoped that this study has fostered interest in these issues.

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Appendix

GLOSS	CANTONESE
quack	kwep^4 kwep^2(seŋ^1) kwep^4 kwep^4(seŋ^1)
chirp, tweet, twitter	tsi^1 tsi^1 tsa^1 tsa^1
bow-wow, woof, arf	wou^1 wou^1 wou^1 wou^1 wou^1 wou^4 wou^4 wou^4
oink oink	koe^4 koe^4
baa, bah	mɐɛ^{1}mɐɛ^1 mɐɛ:^{1}
giggle	hi^{1}hi^1 kit^{1}kit^1 kʰi^4 kʰi^{1}kʰe^{4}kʰe^4
titter, snigger	kit^1
chuckle	kit^1 kit^1 hi^{1}hi^{1}hi^1 he^{1}he^{1}he^1
gabber, jabber	tsi^1 tsi^1 tsa^1 tsa^1 fi^4 li^1 fe^4 le^4
sound of laughing heartily, ha-ha	hi^1 hi^1 ha^1 ha^1
sound of crying, wah, boo-hoo	we^{2}we^2 ki^1 ki^1 kwa^1 kwa^1 ŋoe^{4}ŋoe^2 (seŋ^1) ŋoe^{4}ŋoe^4 (seŋ^1) we^{2}we^2(kiu^3)
pant, gasp	hi^4 hi^1 he^4 he^4 hoe^4 hoe^2 (seŋ^1) hoe^4 hoe^4 (seŋ^1) hi^4 hi^{1}hoe^4 hoe^4
sound of kissing	tsyt^1 tsyt^1 tsyt^1
mutter, murmur	sm^{4}sm^{4}tsʰsm^4 tsʰsm^4 i^4 i^1 ŋ^4 ŋ^4 i^4 i^1 ɔ^4 ɔ^4 i^4 i^1 sm^4 sm^4 ji^4 ji^1 ŋ^4 ŋ^4 ji^4 ji^1 ɔ^4 ɔ^4 tsi^{4}tsi^{1}tsɐm^{4}tsɐm^4
snore	koet^4 koet^2 (seŋ^1) koet^4 koet^4 (seŋ^1)
clap	pʰat^4 pʰat^4
foreign talk	ki^{1}li^{1}ku^{1}lu^1
noise coming from the stomach when feeling hungry, growling	ki^{4}li^{1}ku^{4}lu^4 ki^{4}ki^{1}ku^{4}ku^4 ku^4 ku^2 (seŋ^1) ku^4 ku^4 (seŋ^1)
sound of banging doors	paŋ^4 paŋ^4
sound of small explosion, pop	puk^4 pɔk^1

GLOSS	CANTONESE
cuckoo	ku^4 ku^2 (seŋ^1) ku^4 ku^4 (seŋ^1)
meow	mɐɛu^1 mɐɛu^1 (seŋ^1)
squeak	tsit^1 tsit^1 tsit^1 tsi^1 tsi^1 (seŋ^1)
hiss	tsi^4 tsi^4
sound of sneezing, ah-choo	het^1 tsʰi^1
sound of vomiting	jyt^2 ɐt^4 ɐt^4 ɐt$^{2/4}$ (seŋ^1)
sound of shouting	kwa^1 kwa^1(seŋ^1)
guffaw	(siu^3) he^4 he^4 (siu^3) kʰe^4 kʰe^4 (siu^3) hi^1 hi^1
whisper	tsi^4 tsi^{1}tsɐm^{4}tsɐm^4 ki^1 ki^1 ku^1 ku^1
sound of swallowing, gulp	kut^4 kut^4 kut$^{2/4}$ seŋ^1
sound of pouring rain	si^4 li^1 sa^4 la^4 fi^4 li^1 fe^4 le^4 piŋ^4 liŋ^1 peŋ^4 leŋ^4 sa^4 sa^4 (seŋ^1) sa^4 sa^2 (seŋ^1)
sound of screaming with pain or groaning, ouch, ow	ja^4 ja^2(seŋ^1) ja^4 ja^4(seŋ^1 ji^4 ji^{1}ja^4 ja^4
sigh	haj^4 haj^2(seŋ^1) haj^4 haj^4 (seŋ^1)
sound coming from trains, choo-choo	kuŋ^4 kuŋ^2 (seŋ^1) kuŋ^4 kuŋ^4 (seŋ^1) kweŋ^4 kweŋ$^{4/1}$ (seŋ^1) kweŋ^4 kweŋ$^{4/1}$ (seŋ^1) kuŋ^{4}kuŋ^{4}kuŋ^{4}kuŋ^4
sound of heartbeating, pit-a-pat	pep^4 pep^2 (seŋ^1) pep^4 pep^4 (seŋ^1)
gurgle	ku^4 lu^4 ku^4 lu^4
babble	ji^4 ji^1 a^4 a^4
sound of flowing water, rush, whistle	sa^4 sa^2 (seŋ^1) sa^4 sa^4 (seŋ^1) tsa^4 tsa^2(seŋ^1) tsa^4 tsa^4(seŋ^1)
sound of fire enjines, wee-woo	wi^1 wu^3 wi^1 wu^3 wu^1 wu^1(seŋ^1)
sound of splashing water	tsa^4 pʰat^4

sizzle	tsa^{4} tsa^{4} (seŋ^{1}) tsa^{4} tsa^{4} (seŋ^{1}) tsa^{4}
fizz	fyt^{1} fyt^{2}
thud	tup^{6} puŋ^{4}
flop, thump	tup^{6} tum^{4} t^{h}a:t^{4} p^{h}a:t^{4} pum^{4} p^{h}i^{4} p^{h}at^{4} p^{h}i^{4} p^{h}a:t^{4}
sound of heavy things or people falling or jumping into water, splash	tum^{2}
sound of gun shooting pow-pow, bang	puŋ^{4} puŋ^{4} puŋ^{4} puŋ^{4} puŋ^{4}puŋ^{4}
clink, clang	puŋ^{1} k^{h}iŋ^{1} k^{h}iŋ^{1}k^{h}iŋ^{1} k^{h}aŋ^{1} k^{h}aŋ^{1}k^{h}aŋ^{1} tiŋ^{1}tiŋ^{1}tɕŋ^{1}tɕŋ^{1}
sound of walking heavily or noisily, thump	p^{h}i^{4} p^{h}at^{4} p^{h}i^{4}p^{h}at^{4} p^{h}i^{4} p^{h}i^{1} p^{h}at^{4}p^{h}at^{4} t^{h}i^{4} t^{h}i^{1} t^{h}at^{4} t^{h}at^{4} t^{h}i^{1} li^{1} t^{h}at^{1} lat^{1}
crash	puŋ^{4} p^{h}iŋ^{4}liŋ^{1}p^{h}aŋ^{4}laŋ^{4} piŋ^{2}piŋ^{2}puŋ^{2}puŋ^{4} p^{h}iŋ^{1}liŋ^{1}p^{h}aŋ^{1}laŋ^{1}
sound not coming out as easily as it should be	kut^{4} kut^{4}
crunchy, crispy	sɔk^{4} sɔk^{2} (seŋ^{1}) sɔk^{4} sɔk^{4} (seŋ^{1}) lɔk^{1} lɔk^{1} (seŋ^{1})
ringing in the ears	waŋ^{1} waŋ^{1} (seŋ^{1})
hoot, toot	put^{1} put^{1} (seŋ^{1}) pip^{1} pip^{1} (seŋ^{1}) pi^{1} pi^{1} (seŋ^{1})
slap	p^{h}i^{4} p^{h}at^{4} p^{h}at^{4}
noise coming from heavy machines	kuŋ^{4} kuŋ^{2} (seŋ^{1}) kuŋ^{4} kuŋ^{4} (seŋ^{1}) kwaŋ^{4} kwaŋ^{2}(seŋ^{1}) kwaŋ^{4} kwaŋ^{4} (seŋ^{1})
sound of hitting against something made of metal, bang, clang	p^{h}aŋ^{1} p^{h}ɔŋ^{4} p^{h}aŋ^{4} tɔŋ^{1}
sound of thunder	kuŋ^{4} kuŋ^{2}(seŋ^{1}) kuŋ^{4} kuŋ^{4}(seŋ^{1})
clink, clank	k^{h}iŋ^{1} k^{h}iŋ^{1} k^{h}waŋ^{1} k^{h}waŋ^{1} k^{h}iŋ^{1} k^{h}waŋ^{1} k^{h}iŋ^{1}liŋ^{1}k^{h}waŋ^{1} laŋ^{1}

sound of light things falling or jumping into water, splash	tɕŋ^{2}
crack, snap	pak^{1} pik^{1} pak^{1}
rustle	si^{4} si^{1} sa^{4} sa^{4} tsi^{4} tsi^{1} tsa^{4} tsa^{4}
sound of howling wind or waving a stick, whoosh	fit^{4} fit^{2} (seŋ^{1}) fi^{4} fi^{4} (seŋ^{1}) fit^{4} fi^{2} (seŋ^{1}) fi^{4} fi^{4} (seŋ^{1}) wu^{4} wu^{2} (seŋ^{1}) wu^{4} wu^{4} (seŋ^{1})
drip	tik^{4}tik^{2} (seŋ^{1}) tik^{4}tik^{4} (seŋ^{1}) tik^{1}tik^{1} ti^{4} ti^{1} tik^{4}tik^{4}
sound of machine guns rat-a-tat-tat	tat^{1}tat^{1} (seŋ^{1})
clatter	k^{h}iŋ^{1} k^{h}waŋ^{1} k^{h}iŋ^{1}liŋ^{1}k^{h}waŋ^{1} laŋ^{1} k^{h}waŋ^{1} k^{h}iŋ^{1}k^{h}iŋ^{1}k^{h}waŋ^{1} k^{h}waŋ^{1}
click	ts^{h}i^{4} ts^{h}at^{4} ts^{h}it^{1} ts^{h}at^{1} ts^{h}ɐp^{1} ts^{h}ɐp^{1} ts^{h}at^{1}
sound of firecrackers, bang	p^{h}ik^{1}lik^{1}p^{h}ak^{1}lak^{1} p^{h}i^{1}lik^{1} p^{h}ak^{1}lak^{1} pik^{1}lik^{1} pak^{1}lak^{1} pi^{1} lik^{1} pak^{1}lak^{1}
sound of wiping glass windows or glasses	tsyt^{1} tsyt^{1} tsyt^{1} tsit^{1} tsit^{1}
sound of cymbals, crash	ts^{h}a^{4} ts^{h}a^{2} ts^{h}aŋ^{4} p^{h}aŋ^{4} p^{h}aŋ^{2}
knock	kɔk^{4} kɔk^{4}
rat-a-tat, clop	k^{h}ik^{4}k^{h}ik^{1} k^{h}ɔk^{4} k^{h}ɔk^{4} k^{h}ɔk^{4} k^{h}ɔk^{4}
music of Chinese opera	tuk^{1} tuk^{1} t^{h}aŋ^{3}
tick tock	tik^{4} tik^{2}(seŋ^{1}) tik^{4} tik^{2}(seŋ^{1}) tik^{1} tak^{1} tik^{1} tak^{1} tik^{4} tɐp^{4} tik^{4} tɐp^{4}
jingle, tinkle	tiŋ^{1} tɕŋ^{1} tiŋ^{1} tiŋ^{1} tɕŋ^{1}tɕŋ^{1} tiŋ^{1} tiŋ^{1}
sound of hammering nails	tiŋ^{1} tiŋ^{1} (seŋ^{1}) k^{h}aŋ^{1} k^{h}aŋ^{1}

ON NUCLEUS VOCABULARY OF ENGLISH

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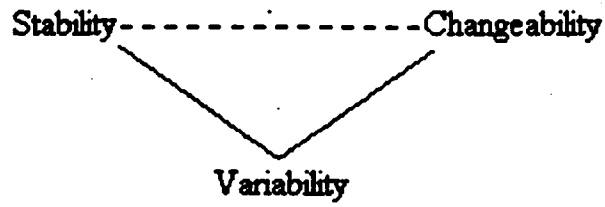
The paper deals with the general tendencies of the English language evolution and the role of the so- called 'nucleus' vocabulary (NV) in the support of the language system integrity and equilibrium that are ruled by the mechanism of self-regulation characteristic of complex hierarchically structured systems. We admit that language evolution is guided by the needs of constant adaptation toward permanently changing conditions of operation. Taken as a whole, adaptation is the process of correlation among three immanent language properties : changeability, stability and variability, the latter one being the pivot of the adaptation mechanism.

Figure 1
Mechanism of adaptational factors interaction



Variability must be the most complicated phenomenon in this triad as far as its function is very contradictory. On the one hand, variation creates conditions for changes, on the other hand, it makes these changes unnecessary. The more tolerant towards variation the community is the less possible and necessary changes are.

The course of adaptation is the same at every language level: altered environment activates accommodative routine that, first of all, disturbs the relations inside the established sets of variants. There are two possible consequences of such instability. If it lasts for a long time it will most possibly lead to changes; in case new relations are quickly instituted changes are unlikely to develop. Yet , when changes are generated they aggravate stabilization mechanism acting in the direction of the language equilibrium restoration. Transformation of the language system as a whole follows the same pattern of adaptation.

The English language variation on system level has long been in the focus of linguistic and social linguistic research.[Avis 1986; Bailey & Gorlach 1983; Bailey & Robinson 1973; Baker 1966; Chambers 1975; Greenbum 1985, Kachru 1983; Marckwardt 1958; Pocheptsova 1970; Quirk 1985; Spencer 1971, Trudgill & Hannah 1982 , to mention only a few]. Different points of view have been expressed as to the character and structure of the forms of English now in use.The most widely accepted idea is that English is a polyvariant system composed by a number of variants the taxonomy of which reveals their functional differentiation.Thus linguists speak of English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL). Linguists argue as to the nature of these forms and structural parameters of the language interpreted as a macrosystem consisting of microsystems of separate variants. It should be noted that

such interpretation hints on some structural independence of English in different regions of its domain. Being interested in the structure of English wordstock I first of all had to know whether it is a single system or a composition of partially independent lexicons sharing a definite volume of common properties. To do this I had to investigate the nature and tendencies of development of English which is a nationally non-homogenous language[1].

Having studied the use of English in the majority of speech communities I realized that in order to understand the development of English as a system in contemporary period it is necessary to concentrate on its national varieties. My reasons are based on the understanding of the nature of processes taking place in ESL .Though one can not but observe the language elements which are mostly characteristic of these varieties, it is obvious that they appeared in the language due to extra- linguistic causes not in the result of intra- linguistic processes. Besides, the fact of their functional restriction limits their impact into English to a restrained number of lexical units, most of which are not being assimilated by the language. That is why English as used in Great Britain (BrE), the USA (AmE), Canada (CanE), Australia (AuE) and New Zealand (NZE) is in the focus of the investigation. The main goal of this part of the research is to determine what kind of transformation English is undergoing, mainly, whether the language is in the process of divergency or it is on the way of regular evolution as a whole system .

In general, it is possible to differentiate between four types of the language system transformation: (1) change that results in substitution of one *etat de langue* by another; (2) changes that result in the initial system divergence; (3) changes taking place in the course of convergence and (4) changes that bring about pidginization and creolization, that is the destruction of the evolution pattern.Under the term 'type of language change' we understand a whole complex of factors: prerequisites for changes, the state of the initial system, conditions, mechanisms and results of changes. The changes of the system's elements, their relations, the rules of their creation and usage are the same for every type. On phonological level they are: changes in articulation of existing phonemes, loss of the old and formation of the new ones, changes in accentuation; on morphological level - development of new morphemes, loss or transformation of existing ones that can in its extreme case lead to the change of the language typology; on lexical level changes are connected with wordbuilding, derivation, borrowing and rearrangement of the lexical system units.

As far as the same procedure can bring different results direct observation of the processes taking place in English does not give answer to the question as to the type of changes that the language is undergoing. To obtain it I had to compare them with the well known examples of structural rearrangement of languages: the divergency of Indo-European and vulgar Latin. The mechanism of a language adaptation to the altered conditions of operation that lead to splitting of one language into several other forms was the main object of research. First, the prerequisites that laid foundation for linguistic differentiation were studied and then the divergency itself.

The factors that create grounds for divergency are linguistic, social linguistic,

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[1]This term is applied to languages which function as mother-tongues for more than one nation, for example, English or Spanish.

social and chronological. Linguistic factors can be subdivided into some groups. First come those that activate and aggravate differentiation of the initial system. Here, the processes that took place before language dissemination to new territories should be mentioned. It is the increase of structurally relevant phonological differences between dialects within a single language system. As far as English is concerned, the beginning of the language transportation and the start of its development into a nationally non-homogeneous language took place when literary English had already been established and codification of its norms was in progress. It is well known that this levels the differences between dialects as a generally accepted standard is recognized by the people. Second come the factors that are determined by the character of interaction with the local languages. For languages to diverge the assimilation with autochthonous languages should take place. This assimilation presupposes changes of basic language structures and elements. The more close the contacting languages are structurally the deeper is their penetration into each other's system.

Sociolinguistic factors reveal the situation of ethnic contacts which can be of three types (see George Hempl's taxonomy in [Jespersen 1964: 200-206]). But only one is relevant for divergency. That is the situation when a more powerful nation conquers a people of approximately the same social and economic level and annexes its territory. The intruders constitute the higher and middle strata of society. In case this colonial rule goes on for centuries (chronological parameter) colonists acquire habits of local speech, traditions and the mode of life of local population. That means race-mixture and as a result assimilation of contacting languages. In all national varieties English had totally different types of contacts. Generally speaking, the situation developed as follows: a few waves of the English language speakers came to the new territories and composed middle or higher strata of society (in New Zealand) or just removed local population from the territories it had occupied (the USA, Canada, Australia). Aboriginals either relinquished their positions in social and linguistic aspects or were socially and linguistically ignored. In the result, the only impact of these languages on English was on lexical level through borrowing.

Social factors comprise conditions of a language or its dialects transportation to the new territories and adaptation there. Thus, the decline of Roman Empire gave vulgar Latin freedom for development entirely according to linguistic laws without any influence of literary norms. With English we observe quite a different situation : dissemination of the language started at the period of national consolidation, moulding of the literary language and establishing of its norms.

As far as we can see, prerequisite and conditions characteristic for the divergency processes are not observed in the history of the English language. Next I shall deal with the processes of divergency themselves.

Linguistic investigations carried out since XIX th century have proved that phonetic shifts form the basis of divergency. Phonetic changes give birth to new sounds out of which new phonemes are created in the course of time. Sporadic changes can not influence the development of the system. Relevant are only the changes which at a definite period of the language development include all (or nearly all) cases of the sound use in a given position. In national varieties of English there have been no phonetic shifts. Phonetic differences observed among these variants are of dialectical nature and are

mostly characteristic of oral communication (cf. Labov 1994).

Phonetic shifts are the main cause for the language morphological structure changes that go in the direction of morphemes rearrangement (some are blended, others are splitted, still others disappear and new ones are formed [Doza1956: 234]) and reorganization of grammatical structure. Hypothetically, this might be either the result of linguistic contact or the development of the initial language system potential. Thus, grammar systems of Romance languages develop in the same direction (unlike their phonetic systems) and are not only genetically related but also typologically alike. All of them are languages of the analytical type and in this way different from Latin. At the same time structurally relevant grammatical elements and forms have developed in every language. In English all grammatical differences among variants are not innovations developed in the process of their development on different territories but archaic or dialectical remnants that coexist with the standard forms. Their use is mostly due to linguistic preference. To mention some of these forms I will refer to the use of PP *gotten* in AmE vs *got* in BrE and the like, the use of the infinitive with and without *to* in AmE whereas only the latter is used in BrE (AmE: Let's go meet him vs BrE: Let's go to meet him); there also some differences in the use of the subjunctive, articles, adjectives and adverbs, conjunctions and pronouns, tenses and word order.

It is common knowledge that lexical level is the first one in the language structure to start adaptation to the altered environment through borrowing, derivation and word-building resulting in creation of thousands of local innovations: words, meanings, shades of meaning., etc. But the fact is that the use of the overwhelming majority of these elements is restricted to the territories where they were coined, being most characteristic of non-standard oral practice. The majority of such forms are short-lived. Besides, it is a generally recognized fact that the basis of a language lexicon is formed by a relatively small number of lexical items which reveal the language origin. And those are regular changes in this very layer of the wordstock that are characteristic of divergency[2]. Such changes have not taken and are not taking place in native Englishes.

The arguments mentioned make it possible to interpret divergency as a complex of linguistic and extralimguistic phenomena. The former comprise regular phonetic shifts leading to creation of new sounds (which later become phonemes), to destruction of some phonologically relevant signs and then the phonemes for which these signs were pertinent; morphological consequences of phonetic shifts consisting of grammar structural transformation; changes of lexicon, mainly deviation from a standard phonetic development of the basic vocabulary, high frequency lexical items and grammatical morphemes. Divergency can only be initiated by the structurally relevant differences which take place under certain conditions (see pages 3-4). Initial system's differentiation serves as divergency prerequisite. The main extralinguistic factors of divergency are: language community dissemination, a long period of the development in isolation out of written tradition. No such processes have ever been observed in English. That is why the national language transportation to new territories took place, not its dialects

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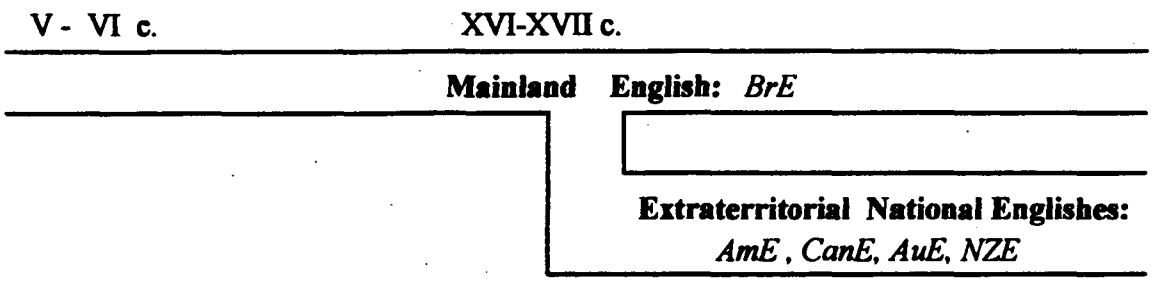
[2]The basis of the Romance languages lexicon, for example, is laid by the items of Latin heritage. They came from late vulgar Latin through direct oral tradition. That is why they underwent all phonetic changes typical for every particular area.

isolation stipulated by the expansion of language domain.

Comparison of differences in the use of English as a national language by separate speech communities gives grounds for the following conclusions: the English language is not in the process of divergency, it preserves its integrity and is functioning as a **polymorphous** system, that is as an indivisible system that in different parts of its domain adapts to the environment in the mode which has been characteristic of this very system for centuries. The peculiarities observed are of dialectical character and they cannot start the process of disintegration. Functional equality of native Englishes might not disturb the system's stability as far as in contemporary world prerequisites for divergency can hardly be created.

Figure 2

The scheme of the ENL dissemination and structure



As the most flexible and exposed part of the language system lexicon actively responds to environmental changes, thus, giving perfect material for investigation of adaptation mechanisms. With English interpreted here as a single system its wordstock is considered to be an indiscrete setup and its structure is analyzed as a whole.

As far as structurally relevant are mostly changes of the basic vocabulary I had first of all to make a decision as to the meaning of this terms. The fact is that this term is used to determine different parts of lexicon. Thus, G. Hughes and H. Jackson consider that the nucleus of English wordstock consists of anglo-saxon lexis that have been functioning in the language since Old English [Hughes 1988: 21; Jackson 1888: 22]. M. McCarthy affirms that totality of nucleoli of semantic fields comprises the wordstock's core [McCarthy 1990:49]. Being guided by the concept of language evolution and adaptation I was mainly interested in the lexical items which have revealed stability in space and time hypothesizing that this stability is not only casual but, on the contrary, is the result of these items structural significance. Having compared data from Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles, Longman New Universal Dictionary, Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary, Australian National Dictionary, Gage Canadian Dictionary, Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles, Dictionary of New Zealand English, I selected words and morphemes that correspond to two main criteria: those that exist in English since OE period and are functioning in all forms of ENL[3]. The list obtained includes 2166 items which were called nucleus vocabulary . They are words and word building morphemes. The latter include 6 prefixes, 23 suffixes , 5 combination forms. Since OE

[3] The total number of stable lexical items equals to approximately 4500 words that constitutes 1% of Oxford English Dictionary entries, but most of them are restricted by dialectical usage.

60% of the items have function as nouns, 23 % - as verbs, 12% - as adjectives and 4% as adverbs; there are also 26 prepositions and 6 conjunctions. 30% of the words have served as basis for conversion.

Etymological analysis showed that nucleus vocabulary elements are of Indo-European (beard, *n*; ache, *n*; beg, *v*), Latin and Greek (candle, *n*; canon, *n*; can,*n*), Celtic (Gael, *n* ; garda, *n*; garter, *n;* band, *n*) , Germanic (but, *conj.*; even, *adj*) and North-Germanic (hail, *interj*; happen, *v*) origin. Numerically. roots of Germanic origin prevail, much less is the number of Indo-European elements; Latin borrowings are few.

One (82%) and two-syllable words prevail in NV .There are only a few derivatives and compounds formed in OE. Alderman *n*, almighty *adj*, between *prep*, candlemas *n*, forthooth *adv*, groundsell *n*, hawthorn *n*, listless *adj*, midwife *n*, neighbour *n*, offspring *n* may serve as examples.

. The most important index of lexical items functional significance is their frequency[4]. The examination showed that in the first hundred of the most frequent English words NV items comprise 95 words, in the second - 91, in the third - 79, in the fourth - 74, in the fifth - 61, in the sixth - 67, in the seventh - 49, in the eighth - 45, in the ninth - 48, in the tenth - 46 . The data vividly demonstrates the role of NV in the English language communication. With transferative usage that increases word frequency the role of NV becomes even more impressive because 52% of NV are represented by polysemantic words for which this type of usage is most characteristic. Besides, I studied non-NV items of the first thousand of the most frequent words only to find out that practically all of them are borrowings into ME from Latin through Old- or Middle French . Thus, in the first hundred there are such words as 'just', 'people', 'their', 'use', 'very'; in the second - 'air', 'around', 'because', 'big', 'different', 'give', 'number', 'place', 'seven'; in the third - 'across', 'animal', 'boy', 'change', 'city', 'country', 'during', 'example', 'important', 'once', 'page', 'paper', 'point', 'second', 'several', sometimes', 'story', 'study', 'sure', 'try', usually'. Only adjective 'important' and pronouns 'their' and 'some' are etymologically different; the former was borrowed from Latin through Old Italian, the latter - from North-Germanic dialects[5].

The NV evolution embraces changes of both form and semantics. As to the form it has undergone transformation due to phonetical and grammatical development of the language. Almost every item of NV has also changed semantically but what really matters is the fact that all the changes are the result of the initial semantic structure transmutation. That means continuity of semantic ties and stability of paradigmatic relations among the elements of NV.

Words pertaining to the concept *emotion* may illustrate the case. This semantic field includes such items as 'ashamed ' *adj*, 'bliss' *n*, 'blithe' *adj*, 'crave' *v*, 'dread' *v*, 'fear' *n*, 'feel' *v*, ' fright' *n*, 'glee' *n*, 'hate' *n*, ' hope' *v*,'laugh' *v*, 'laughter' *n*, 'loath' *adj*, 'loathe' *v*, 'long' *v*, 'love' *n*, 'love' *v*, 'merry' *adj*, 'mirth' *n*, 'mood' *n*, 'rue' *v*, 'sad' *adj*, 'shame' *n*, 'shy'

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[4] 85% of every text in any language is formed by the first thousand of the most frequent words

[5]It seams possible to assume that the fact of these borrowings assimilation accounts for some mechanism of adaptation of borrowings from Romance languages to structural peculiarities of English that has been worked by the language in the course of its evolution.

adj, 'smile' *v*, 'smirk' *v*, 'smoothe' *v*, 'sore' *adj*, 'sorrow' *n*, 'squeal' *v*, 'thrill' *v*, 'weep' *v*, 'whine' *v*, 'wonder' *n*, 'worry' *v*, 'wrath' *n*, 'yell' *v*, 'yelp' *v*.

Transformation of NV

ME form	*OE form*	*OE meaning*
ashamed	āscamond	feel shame
bliss	bliðs	= ModE
blithe	blīðe	joyful, gentle
crave	crafian	demand with authority or by right
dread	ondrædan	cousel or advise against
fear	fær	uneasiness caused by posible danger
feel	fēlan	feel
fright	fyrhto	fear, dread
glee	glēo	entertainment, mirth, jest
hate	hete	hatred, spite
hope	hopian	wish & expect, look forward
laugh	hliehhan	= ModE

Word-building and derivational analysis of NV provided empirical data which proved its elements activity as a derivational basis . To mention the most impressive examples I would refer to the word-building nest of lexeme 'back' that counts 362 derivatives and compounds 65% of which are local neologisms[6] or the lexeme 'bush' that gave 122 neologisms in Australian English only. In general. all the elements of NV served the basis for derivation thus establishing structural and semantic ties with the rest of the lexicon. It turned out that these ties are the most numerous and tightest between the NV and lexical items that have function since ME (circle2 in Fig 3) as well as with local neologisms (circle 4 and petals in Fig 3). This fact is a crucial one for understanding of the English wordstock stability which is obvious in spite of language's notorious openness to borrowings[7].

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[6]The term 'local neologism ' is used to denote any lexical element which has been formed in British English, American English, Canadian English, Australian English or New Zealand English

[7] I made a comparative study of local innovations (briticisms, americanisms, canadianisms, australianisms, newzealandisms). The results obtained were correlated the data from some well-recognized dictionaries: Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Longman New Universal Dictionary, Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary, Gage Canadian Dictionary, Dictionary of New Zealand English. The analysis showed that only 4 - 5 % of aboriginal borrowings have survived; they are exotisms and almost all of them are characteristic of local speech. None of them has become part of the basic lexicon. This analysis convinces that the role of borrowings in English is in many cases overestimated .

For nomination in English as well as in other languages the use of the elements which have already been tested in the language is preferable. That means that neologisms are mostly coined on the solid basis of well-known language elements and innovations formed of English lexical material prevail. As local neologisms creation is circumscribed by the needs of adaptation new words, as a rule, nominate endemic referents and comprise local lexical fund. Nevertheless, being the result of word-building and derivation these innovations are characterised by double reference: reference towards the world of reality and reference towards the world of words that is typical for secondary nomination [Kubryakova 1981: 9; Vinokur 1959: 421]. Being motivated by the initial lexical items local neologisms are not the factor of divergency, as one might expect, but ,on the contrary , they intensify lexical ties that protect wordstock's integrity and stabilize its equilibrium.

It is generally admitted that the wholeness of the wordstock is the reflection of the wholeness of the world manifested through the system of semantic relations. The number of semantic ties of a lexical item indicates its structural weight : the wider is the network of semantic connections the more secure is the word, the bigger is its role in the maintenance of the system's homeostasis. Synonymy is the main type of semantic relations that's why NV was analysed so as to estimate the volume of its synonymous relations. The examination displayed that 75 % of nucleus lexicon is in synonymous relations, the ratio being 1:40[8]. It must be emphasized here that all the items studied are the dominants of synonymous lines. Etymological, semantic and stylistical analysis of NV synonyms gave the following results: the bulk of these words is represented by French and Latin borrowings into ME, some - by NV items and their derivatives. Only a few NV synonyms belong to stylystically marked lexis (colloquialisms, slang, terms), the rest are part of the standard vocabulary.

The data presented prove that the density of semantic connections is increasing from the periphery to the core of the wordstock (see Fig 3). At the same time, due to the word-building and derivational activity of NV items in the formation of local neologisms these ties are very strong between the centre and the extreme periphery (between circles 1 and 4-5 in Fig.2).In the result , the bulk of the lexicon consisting of borrowings (with the exception of those in circle 2) and Modern Englih coinage is "locked" between the layers with durable ties. According to my observation, it is this part of the lexicon where the main ammount of variation and changes is taking place. But the structure of the wordstock controls the limits of these precesses thus propping the system's stability.

One more indication of structural significance of the NV is the scope of semantic notions covered by it. The comparison of nucleus vocabulary with the data in M. Roge's thesaurus shows that lexis under investigation covers 31 % of all the rubrics of the dictionary classification : 1.Universe (being, conscience, relation, number and quantity, order; space, time, cause, motion, change); 2. Nature (sky and celestial bodies, weather,

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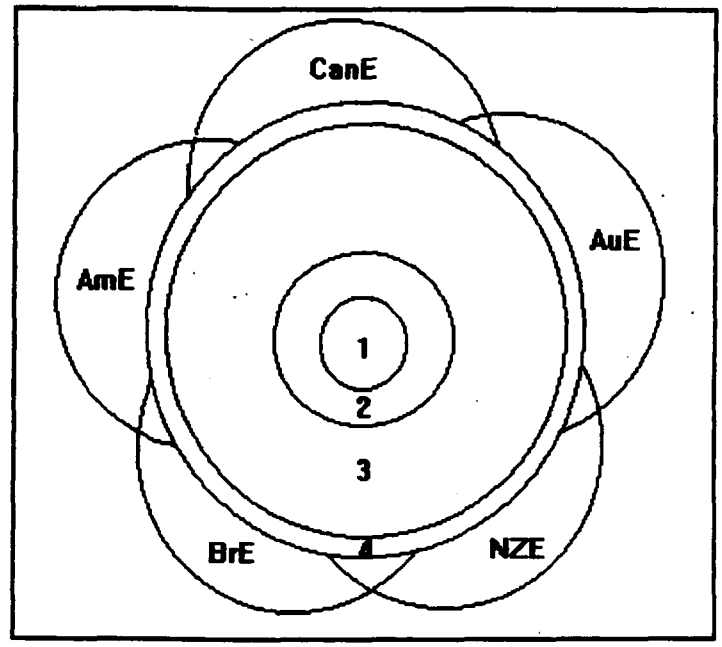
[8] 25% of NV is out of this type of relations because of their semantics. The following items can be refered to as examples: 'fang' *n*, 'farrow' *v*, 'farthing' *n*, 'fellow' *n*, 'felt' *n*, 'fennel' *n*, 'fern' *n*, 'fey' *adj*, 'fin' *n*, 'finch' *n*, 'fir' *n*, 'fit' *n*, 'fail' *n*, 'flea' *n*, 'fledge' *v*, 'fleet' *v*, 'fluke' *n*, 'font' *n*, 'ford' *n*, 'forthooth' *adv*, 'fortnight' *n*, 'fox' *n*, 'Frank' *n*, 'Friday' *n*, 'frog' *n*, 'furlong' *n*, 'four' *n*, 'forteen' *n*, 'forty' *n*

land; flora, fauna); 3. Human being (parts of body, organs; senses and feelings; intellect and intellecual activity; family and family relations; dwelling; food and drinks; social relations: -intellectual relations; - emotional relations; -society, its structure and institutions; - labour /agriculture & crafts/; - culture, art, education). The largest part of NV belongs to the semantic field 'Human being', while the smallest group - to the semantic field 'Intellect and intellectual activity'. Out of 60 verbs relating to man's physical and intellectual activity only 4, pertaining to human intellect, belong to NV (to believe, to mean, to think, to understand), the rest are borrowings. Although these words constitute less than 7 % of the list they dominate semantically: their meaning is of generalizing character while the borrowings present particular aspects of intellectual actions.

The research of the English language evolution, its varients, their history and contemporary state made it possible to represent English wordstock in the following way:

Figure 3. The English wordstock structure[9]



Nucleus vocaulary (1) holds the central part of the structure. It is composed by the elements that have been functioning since Old English and are represented in full in all native Englishes. The second circle embraces lexical items which appeared in English not earlier than at Middle English times and are dirrect or indirrect borrowings from French, Latin and Greek; the third - items that were borrowed or coined in the period from the XVth till the XVIIth century; the fourth cicle and the petals - items which have been formed in different varients of ENL since the beginning of its territorial expansion. The fourth circle embraces local innovations which are used by the whole or the majority of theEnglish-speaking community. This layer has been formed in the result of lexical exchange among native Englishes.

To summarize the principle points made in the present study, it should be stated that in spite of dissemination English is a single language with polymorphism being its essential characteristic. Adapting to specific environment (both natural and social) in different parts of its domain the language developed a number of peculiarities in every region. As lexicon is the part of the language that is quickly responding to changes in the conditions of language operation, the greatest number of differences is found just on the

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[9] This figure is a section of a sphere

lexical level. Nevertheless, English wordstock, in spite of the influences it has been subjected to , preserves its wholeness and maintains its structural stability , that one could hardly expect knowing the history of English. It is here suggested that structural stability of the wordstock of a nationally non-homogeneous language rest upon a lexical core which we call nucleus vocabulary. Steadiness of NV in time and space is not casual, it reflects structural and functional significance of this part of the wordstock.

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