

# **PAMAPLA 18**

PAPERS FROM THE  
EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

October 28-29, 1994

**University of New Brunswick - Saint John**  
Saint John, N.B.

# **ACALPA 18**

ACTES DU  
DIX-HUITIÈME COLLOQUE ANNUEL DE  
L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES

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Edited by / Rédaction

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John Benjamins will publish two volumes of papers presented at this conference: *Micro-parametric Syntax. Dialect variation in syntax* contains the papers on the conference theme; *Feature checking and movement* contains papers presented within non-theme sections and which were subsequently refereed.

John Benjamins publiera deux volumes d'articles présentés dans le cadre de cette conférence. *Micro-parametric Syntax. Dialect variation in syntax* contient les articles qui portent sur le thème de la conférence; *Feature checking and movement* contient des articles présentés dans les autres sections, et qui, ultérieurement, ont reçu les recommandations d'un comité de lecture.





OTHER PAPERS PRESENTED AT APLA 18  
AND NOT SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION  
IN THE THREE VOLUMES OF PROCEEDINGS

AUTRES COMMUNICATIONS PRÉSENTÉES  
QUI NE SONT PAS PROPOSÉES POUR PUBLICATION  
DANS LES TROIS VOLUMES D'ACTES

Patricia Balcom	:	Lexical Representations and Multicompetence
Louise Beaulieu	:	La variation si/si que dans le français acadien parlé dans le nord-est du Nouveau-Brunswick
Gisèle Chevalier	:	Le nom dans la modalisation
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# THE INTERPRETATION OF EMPHATIC REFLEXIVES BY ENGLISH SPEAKERS AND LEARNERS<sup>1</sup>

K. Connors and B. Ouellette

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## 1. Introduction

This paper comes out of a larger study in which 54 students in one of two matched university degree programmes in English<--->French translation interpreted two versions of a series of English sentences, one without and one with a *-self* pronoun form immediately after the finite verb form. They then judged the grammaticality of each sentence on each of the one or two interpretations they had offered for each version of it. They expressed these interpretations by translating or paraphrasing each version of each sentence. We have presented different aspects of the results of this study and of the larger research project elsewhere, and only wish here to focus on the ways in which these translation students interpreted what in much of the traditional and modern linguistic literature has been called the "emphatic" (Dirven 1973, Moyne and Carden 1974).

Edmondson and Plank (1978) point out that "intensive" *self*, as they call the emphatic, can have three readings, calling them *himself*<sub>1</sub>, *himself*<sub>2</sub>, and *himself*<sub>3</sub>. Our study, at the outset, instructed our interpreters to distinguish the emphatic from the

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<sup>1</sup>We wish to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the grant which made this and a series of related studies possible.

reflexive, since, in the sentences we presented to them, the *-self* form could almost always have one, the other, or both those readings after the verb, and it was that problem of syntactic analysis that interested us.

## **2. The Interpretation Study**

The *-self* sentence variants which we asked our respondents to interpret are shown in (1) to (15):

- (1) Mary sat herself down.
- (2) John learned himself to play the piano.
- (3) John showed himself to be successful.
- (4) John absented himself from class.
- (5) John remembered himself how the accident happened.
- (6) John reminded himself how the accident happened.
- (7) Mary weakened herself.
- (8) Mary dressed herself.
- (9) This jacket washes itself well.
- (10) I sang myself a song.
- (11) Paul believes himself to be intelligent.
- (12) Paul pretends himself to be intelligent.
- (13) I imagined myself on vacation.
- (14) I am applying myself to the task.
- (15) I am applying myself for the job.

Here are typical examples of the emphatic interpretations proposed by our



respondents for each of the sentences (1) to (15):

- (1') Marie s'est assise { elle-même.  
toute seule.  
Mary sat down on her own.  
Mary went to sit down by herself.  
Marie elle-même s'est assise.  
Marie s'est elle-même assise.
- (2') John lui-même a appris à jouer du piano.  
John also learned how to play the piano.  
John a appris lui-même à jouer du piano.  
John a appris à jouer du piano sans l'aide de personne.  
John learned to play by himself.
- (3') John a montré lui-même qu'il pouvait réussir.  
John s'est montré lui-même brillant.  
John lui-même a montré qu'il avait réussi.
- (4') John s'est absenté lui-même de la classe.  
s'est absenté  
John lui-même { de la classe.  
était absent  
John s'est lui-même absenté de la classe.  
John did not attend class as well.  
souvenu
- (5') John s'est { lui-même...  
rappelé  
John remembered the accident, and no one helped him.  
rappelé  
John lui-même s'est { comment...  
souvenu  
John himself recalled the details....  
John s'est lui-même souvenu comment....
- (6') John lui-même a rappelé (à quelqu'un) comment....  
John himself was reminded....  
John s'est rappelé lui-même....  
John se souvena lui-même comment....  
John s'est lui-même rappelé comment....

- (7') Mary { s'affaiblissait elle-même.  
s'est affaiblie  
s'est affaiblie.  
Mary elle-même {  
s'affaiblissait.  
Mary also weakened.
- (8') Mary s'est habillée elle-même.  
Mary dressed without the assistance of others.  
Mary elle-même s'est habillée.  
herself  
Mary { got dressed.  
also  
Mary s'est elle-même habillée.
- (9') Ce veston se lave bien { lui-même.  
tout seul.  
This jacket washed all by itself.  
Cette veste elle-même se lave bien.  
This jacket itself washes well.
- (10') J'ai moi-même chanté une chanson.  
J'ai chanté moi-même une chanson.  
by myself.  
I sang a song {  
alone.
- (11') Paul se croit lui-même intelligent.  
Paul croit lui-même qu'il est intelligent.  
Paul lui-même croit qu'il est intelligent.  
Paul lui-même se croit intelligent.
- (12') Paul prétend lui-même être intelligent.  
Paul se prétend lui-même comme quelqu'un d'intelligent.  
Paul fait semblant lui-même qu'il est intelligent.  
Paul lui-même prétend être intelligent.  
Paul also pretends to be intelligent.
- (13') Je me suis imaginé moi-même en vacances.  
I also imagined that I was on vacation.  
I myself imagined that I was on vacation.

- (14') Je m'applique moi-même à la tâche.  
 Je me suis moi-même employé à cette tâche.  
 I am also applying myself to the task.
- (15') Je fais moi-même une demande pour cet emploi.  
 J'applique moi-même pour l'emploi.  
 Je postule moi-même pour ce poste.  
 J'ai moi-même rempli une demande d'emploi.  
 I am also applying for the job.  
 Moi-même, je me présente en candidature pour la position.

We see that without having been asked to do so, our respondents, in their translations or paraphrases of sentences (1) to (15), differentiated sub-types of emphatic readings, which we idealize and characterize here as the

(a) 'even' or 'also' reading, and the

(b) 'by oneself' reading,

which we regard as maximally distinct from each other, and the

(c) 'personally' reading,

which we regard as underdetermined and neutral; i.e., (c) is compatible with (a) or (b), but the latter two are incompatible with one another. Edmondson and Plank (1978: 386) point out that this *himself*<sub>3</sub>, in their terms, "can co-occur with practically any predicate irrespective of its lexical content." This will be important for our understanding of the data from our interpretation study and from texts, below.

Our respondents had many occasions to write these kinds of translations or paraphrases, since in our directions, we had asked them to write their one or two interpretations for each sentence, and only then to decide, for each interpretation, whether the sentence was grammatical on that reading. Our written and oral explanation had

dwelt on the difference between the reflexive and the emphatic readings, and had explained both grammaticality and syntactic ambiguity. It was then possible for the respondent to write emphatic interpretations even for sentences that were not grammatical on an emphatic reading, since, again, he could simply declare the sentence ungrammatical on an interpretation which he had just written. This led, altogether, among the 54 respondents, and for the 15 original *-self* sentences, to hundreds of emphatic interpretations, which seemed clearly to distinguish reading types (a), (b), and (c) above.

More particularly to our purposes here, however, these three types of translations and paraphrases of emphatic *-self* were unevenly distributed over the positions open to the emphatic in the interpretations produced by our respondents. Having gotten this impression from preliminary inspection, we focussed on three positions which seemed to account for the distribution of the emphatic in our data, and, as we shall see, in texts:

I. The "head-bound" position, as Edmondson and Plank (1978, citing Moravcsik 1972) call it: in the case of our French and English data, this is immediately before or after the subject NP;

II. The "middle" position, here between the AUX and the past participle, in those cases where the interpretation created it (mainly by translating certain sentences in the *passé composé* ; this environment is in fact more general; it can be between AUX or BE and any participle or predicate, whether nominal or adjectival. But this range of contexts did not figure in the data from our interpretation study);

III. The post-verbal or sentence-final position, which were one and the same in our original sentences (7) and (8). Among emphatic translations and paraphrases, it did not



seem to us that the choice between post-verbal and final position for the *-self* form was motivated by a meaning difference, but rather by syntactic or stylistic conditions. Post-verbal and sentence-final position are therefore conflated hereafter.

The table below indicates the distribution of the emphatic interpretation types (a), (b), and (c) in positions I, II, and III:

**Distribution of emphatic readings in three positions**

		READINGS		
		a	b	c
	I	16	7	144
POSITIONS	II	2	1	38
	III	8	78	207

What we observe is a skewed distribution of the three readings. 'Even, also'-type readings appear, in the extremely simple sentences of our experiment, at least, to favour the head-bound (to subject NP) position, and 'by oneself'-type readings the post-verbal-sentence-final position. It is not the case, however, as we see in the table, that (a)-type readings are inexistent in post-verbal position, or that (b)-type readings are inexistent immediately before or after the subject NP. The question is whether this preferential distribution is a language fact (about French and English, in this case) or an artifact of the situation which the protocol of our study imposed on our respondents.

It already seems, from the sample interpretations in (1') to (15') above, that the request to propose interpretations, including ones that would resolve the syntactic

ambiguity between the reflexive and the emphatic (where it existed), incited many respondents to try to resolve the lexical ambiguity of the emphatic, even though that had not been requested. It also seems possible that the artificial simplicity of our sentences and the lack of extra-sentential context invites explicitation of meanings that, in normal conditions of language use, are often left underdetermined. That is, the attention we had drawn to emphatic, as distinct from reflexive, *-self* and the focus on the former may have led respondents to make its two clearly distinct meanings maximally explicit where they would not have done so in normal speaking or writing.

What struck us most particularly, however, was the above-mentioned fact that the 'even, also' reading, on the one hand, and the 'by oneself' reading, on the other, seemed largely confined to (subject) head-bound position and post-verbal position, respectively, though these, in many cases, were not the only positions which could have been used in the translation or paraphrase proposed by the respondent. Is what we see as an overly restrictive correspondence, between a sub-reading of the emphatic and what we shall call its "par excellence" position, a language characteristic or an extraordinary linguistic behaviour brought out by the out-of-the-ordinary disambiguation task that was to be part of interpreting our original sentences? Does the request to interpret so as to resolve a possible syntactic ambiguity lead to restricting relatively mobile adjuncts such as the emphatic, to a par excellence position, as a device for the resolution of all ambiguity, including cases of polysemy that ordinary performance leaves underdetermined? To try to resolve this question as to the artifactual vs. linguistically real nature of the meaning differentiation which we seem to have obtained within the emphatic, we studied the

distribution and apparent meanings of emphatic *-self* pronoun forms in texts.

### 3. The Text Study

On the one hand, we examined the positions of emphatic *-self*, and, on the other, the readings of it which appeared to be justified in the context. Do the positions described above, which we found in our artificially simplified corpus, exhaustively account for those of the emphatic in natural texts? Are the paraphrases proposed in (a), (b) and (c) above representative of those in such texts? Or do they constitute overinterpretation (notwithstanding Edmondson & Plank 1978)? Could it be that 'personally', which we have regarded as the default reading, is in fact the only type of gloss which is really motivated in natural contexts, because of their richness relative to isolated sentences? Are the distinctions made by our respondents a product of the interaction of the poverty of the context provided by isolated sentences, on the one hand, and the challenge of the interpretation task, on the other? Was the relative frequency of the 'by oneself' reading an artifact of the prominence of action verbs in our original sentences?

The kind of text which we decided to explore for this purpose, with a view to deciding which text genres would merit an eventual automatic search, are biographies. It seemed to us intuitively that, among written genres, this would provide, at least, *himself's*, *herself's*, and (in the case of autobiographies) *myself's*. Some of these would be explicitly or implicitly contrastive (with the rest of humanity, if not with other specific persons), and therefore emphatic. We shall now see what kinds of data this strategy yielded.

First, we must note that, like so many non-phonological phenomena of interest to linguists, emphatic *-self* pronoun forms are not frequent. In G.K. Chesterton's (1906) biography of Dickens, for example, a book of just over 200 pages, we detected only 30 occurrences of emphatic *-self*. In the first 186 pages of Behlmer's (1972) edition of Selznick's memos, we found only 21. This is in part because we excluded prepositional forms such as *in itself*, which, though usually appearing not to represent an argument and to be interchangeable with *itself* alone in the context, were not strictly comparable to the emphatics among our original sentences (1)-(15), at least in superficial analyses. As in our original sentences, then, we limited our text inspection to *-self* pronoun forms in clearly non-argument positions.

In addition to the rarity of the emphatic, another surprise was that these *-self* forms, intuitively felt to be colloquial, nevertheless seem to be characteristic of a relatively complex written style: In *June Allyson by June Allyson* (1982), we detected no emphatic *-self* forms at all in the first 50 pages. Like other popular (auto)biographies, the text was laced with quotation marks, and not characterized by long sentence sequences. Indeed, in scanning other, less popularly written books, we saw that emphatics were uniformly rarer than reflexives, and even than non-anaphor *-self* pronoun forms in argument positions, such as the second of two conjoined subject or object NPs. This rare and presumably marked status of the emphatic in relation to the reflexive is confirmed by the most general result of our larger study: that our respondents favoured reflexives over emphatic readings in interpreting and judging the grammaticality of sentences (1) to (15).

The first point to be gleaned from the study of examples in Chesterton's *Dickens*



and Selznick's *Memos* is that although the correspondence between head-bound *-self* and the 'even, also' reading, on the one hand, and between the post-verbal position and the 'by oneself' reading, on the other, can be found, the neutral 'personally' reading is the most frequent, as in our interpretation study, regardless of position. We shall now examine the occurrences of readings (a) and (b) which we found, in the contexts where we found them, for the second most important point is that (a) and (b) are both found in positions I and III, described in part B above.

In Chesterton's *Dickens*, it was extremely difficult to find a head-bound *-self* pronoun form that seemed to have the 'even, also' reading, which we had associated with this position. Here are the only two examples of which we are reasonably sure:

(16) "My friend," says Mr. Perker's clerk, "you've got the key of the street."...Let us hope that Dickens saw the strange, yet satisfying, imaginative justice of the words; for Dickens *himself* [our emphasis] had, in the most sacred and serious sense of the term, the key of the street (40).

(17) We know the Rosa Dartle type, the lonely woman in whom affection *itself* [our emphasis] has stagnated into a sort of poison (148).

This position-reading correspondence was found slightly oftener in Behlmer's edition of Selznick's memos. Here are the clear instances that we found:

(18) I was told I was wrong when I tore up my Paramount contract rather than subscribe to the Schulberg policies that I knew would tear us all down, and you *yourself* [our emphasis] urged me to go back to Paramount...(65).

(19) The actual original idea, the story line, and the vast majority of the story ideas of the

scenes *themselves* [our emphasis] are my own (106).

(20) I must concede many points of your wire are sound...if you will forgive me you *yourself* [our emphasis] make contradictory statements (109).

(21) Ann Rutherford, whom I saw on the train, told me something which might be the basis of some excellent publicity, which is that all the girls she knows are letting their eyebrows grow in as a result of Bergman's unplucked eyebrows, and that she *herself* [our emphasis] now feels very strongly about unplucked eyebrows...(133-4).

(22) I am frankly nervous about anybody's ability---even Miss Mitchell's---to figure out which is which. I think that she *herself* [our emphasis] might very well rewrite the book into a failure (146).

The 'by oneself' reading in post-verbal or sentence-final position, so frequent in our data from the interpretation study, seems, if anything, even more difficult to find throughout Chesterton's *Dickens*. Here is the only *-self* pronoun form which seems interpretable in this way:

(23) As for his relation to his two magazines, it is chiefly important, first for the admirable things that he wrote in the magazine *himself* [our emphasis]...and secondly for the fact that in his capacity of editor he made one valuable discovery. He discovered Wilkie Collins (170).

This correspondence too was found a little oftener in Behlmer's Selznick. Here are the clear cases which we found:

(24) ...employing a writer for the adaptation of a book was money thrown down the drain, in as much as Selznick did, possibly without realizing it, eighty per cent of the work *himself*

[our emphasis] and the writer, however good he is, became merely a super-secretary (xv).

(25) Although he was always a strong collaborator on his scripts, in the 1940s he began to do all of the writing on many of the films *himself* [our emphasis] (xv).

(26) He allowed no one on the sound stage, presumably lest the secret leak out; he relaxed this rule only for short periods. He insisted on handling everything *himself* [our emphasis], which included the direction of the scene (17).

(27) She was amazed about having a stand-in and said that despite the fact that she was starred in ten pictures in Sweden she never had a stand-in and did all of the standing-in for lights, etc., *herself* [our emphasis] (131).

As was occasionally the case in our respondents' interpretations, it was also possible in the texts to find the 'even, also' reading in a position other than head-bound. Here, from Behlmer (1972), are the instances we found of that reading post-verbally:

(28) I write you instead of telling you verbally because I have learned that I write much better than I talk; because I want to be sure I tell you exactly how I feel, and by reading the letter *myself* [our emphasis] before sending it to you, I know I am saying what I want to say...(63).

(29) ...I know what you feel *A Tale of Two Cities* should be, but really, Kate, I am astonished *myself* [our emphasis] at the fact that the more I work on it, the more I feel the difficulties of getting onto the screen what you and I both like to think is in the book (83).

(30) ...it leaked out that we were thinking about it and you know *yourself* [our emphasis] what an outcry was raised (162).

We also found a case of post-verbal 'even, also' in Chesterton's *Dickens* :

(31) We all immediately detect exaggeration in an exposition of Mormonism or a patriotic speech from Paraguay. We all require sobriety on the subject of the sea-serpent. But the moment we begin to believe a thing *ourselves* [our emphasis], that moment we begin easily to overstate it...(21).

In addition, we found, as in our interpretation study, an instance of the 'even, also' reading in the "middle" position (II, above), in Behlmer (1972):

(32) The picture would have been nothing without the ending, and in fact, the entire story was built in terms of the gambler suffering for his own code: he had killed a man for violating this code and was *himself* [our emphasis] killed when he violated it (41).

We also found a few cases of the 'by oneself' reading in other-than-post-verbal-or-final position, as in our interpretation data. In Chesterton's *Dickens*, we find the following occurrences of this reading head-bound:

(33) The incurable poetic character, the hopelessly non-realistic character of Dickens's essential genius could not have a better example than the story of the *Dombeys*. For the story *itself* [our emphasis] is probable; it is the treatment that makes it unreal (140).

(34) It is as well, however, to make at this point a pause sufficient to indicate the main course of the later life of the novelist. And it is best to begin with the man *himself* [our emphasis], as he appeared in those last days of popularity and public distinction (158).

(35) He could make his face fall suddenly into the blank inanity of Mrs. Raddle's servant, or swell, as if to twice its size, into the apoplectic energy of Mr. Serjeant Buzfuz. But the outline of his face *itself* [our emphasis], from his youth upwards, was cut quite delicate and decisive...(159).

(36) He left behind him this almost sombre fragment "The Mystery of Edwin Drood". As one turns it over the tragic element of its truncation mingles somewhat with an element of tragedy in the thing *itself* [our emphasis] (178).

In Behlmer's Selznick, we also found one such example:

(37) Before starting on the notes on the script *itself* [our emphasis], I'd like to make a few observations about the picture as a whole (123).

All the 29 remaining occurrences of emphatic *-self*, regardless of position, appeared to us only to have reading (c), which we glossed as 'personally'. What is important is its neutral, underdetermined character relative to (a) and (b), whose occurrences we have just examined. The 'personally' reading, often realized as 'lui-même' in the interpretation task of part B above, only marks contrast: explicit or implicit contrast between its referent and another NP in the implicit or explicit context. Its meaning clearly seems less specific than readings (a) and (b), exemplified above. It appears to be the unmarked reading of the emphatic. This would explain its overwhelming frequency in natural texts as well as in our interpretation study.

Thus, though we still think we have correctly described the meanings and positions of emphatic *-self*, the relative frequency of one of its two distinct readings, the 'by oneself' meaning, appears to have been exaggerated in our interpretation study. This may be because of the compatibility of this reading with the numerous action verbs in our sentences, and the fact that the disambiguation task seems to have encouraged our respondents to eliminate lexical vagueness.

As to the hypothesis of a specially frequent correspondence, between the 'even,

also' reading and head-bound position, on the one hand, and the 'by oneself' reading and post-verbal position, on the other, the text study did not support it. The extent to which we found it in the interpretation study may again be the result of a disambiguation strategy. Yet if it exists, such a strategy does support the idea that each distinct emphatic *-self* reading, like those of many adverbs, has a par excellence position---a position strongly favouring that reading at the expense of any other(s).

#### **4. Conclusion**

It is not, then, that our respondents' readings were unrelated to the language of natural texts: just as they often transplanted the emphatic *-self* form to other positions in which it is indeed also found in texts, they proposed paraphrases and translations for it which are often equally justified for emphatic *-self*'s found in texts. The corpus of emphatics generated by our respondents appears to be more highly differentiated, in comparison with that which can be gleaned from texts, insofar as the 'by oneself' meaning was better represented there. The default emphatic *-self*, which we have glossed as 'personally', but which only marks contrast with an NP in the (usually preceding) context, seems, as we have seen, to be the most frequent reading in texts, as in our interpretation corpus. In the vast majority of cases, we were unable, with any certainty, to supply either of the more specific glosses, (a) and (b) above. Indeed, the context provided by natural texts usually even excludes these more specific readings.

It is often said that attempts to elicit grammaticality and meaning judgments should supply the judge with contexts representing those which the construction of interest would

have in normal production. In our interpretation study, it appear to have been the lack of context which led to an unsolicited type of differentiation which is not found particularly often in texts. In other terms, the interpretative performance which we unwittingly provoked in our respondents brought out, among other things, authentic meaning differences which authentic contexts usually either blur or exclude. Judging from the results of this study and those of related ones which we present elsewhere, it seems to us that it is precisely simplified, idealized, decontextualized representations of a language that bring out the linguistic awareness of learners and speakers, unfettered by the limitations normally imposed by context.

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# PURISM, PRESCRIPTIVISM AND LANGUAGE ACADEMIES

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## 1. Introduction

Notions of linguistic prescriptivism and purism are arguably among the most interesting aspects of language, not least because they exist at the interface of academia and society. They have not, however, been systematically studied; the recent volume by George Thomas (1991) is thus really the only thoughtful and theoretical booklength work to try and cover the whole field. Attempts to prescribe have not, historically, been the province of language *shamans* only (to use Bolinger's 1980 term). One of the most widespread and continuous thrusts here has been that of national academies. A few of these are quite well-known -- the *Académie française* (established 1635), the *Accademia della Crusca* (1582) and the *Real Academia Española* (1713) among them -- but most are not. In Canada, for example, how much is generally known of *L'académie canadienne-française*, founded in 1944 "servir et défendre la langue et la culture françaises du Canada" (Barbeau, 1960, p. 7)?

As part of an ongoing project, it is my aim to provide an overall consideration of academies, their functions and their effects. At one level, this is an historical-descriptive project, to bring under one roof some quite basic information. At another, it is linguistic: what were (and are) the major language aims of the academies, and how successfully were these prosecuted? At the broadest level, though, this is an undertaking at the point



of intersection of studies of nationalism and the sociology/social psychology of language.

This paper will provide some initial information, will sketch out future directions and -- not least in importance -- will attempt to generate some discussion on purism and prescriptivism generally. It is just a brief synthesis, aiming to make one or two points along the way. Let me begin with four generalizations:

- (a) prescriptivism is probably inevitable;
- (b) in its subtler forms, prescriptivism is probably necessary;
- (c) it is essentially a *psychological* phenomenon;
- (d) the field is now often left to amateurs -- especially in English-speaking societies, where linguists have usually shied away from prescriptivism. In the early days it was understandable that "professionals" should be prescriptive.

### **The project**

Wherever languages and dialects co-exist -- wherever, that is, that one sees multilingualism or multidialectalism -- the elements of linguistic struggle are present. In some cases, the combatants are more equally matched than in others, and sometimes there are periods of more or less peaceful coexistence. Contests do arise, however, and one form they often take, both between and within languages, is a prescriptive or puristic stance which, given free rein, would often lead to proscription.

Of course, languages and dialects cannot -- linguistically or aesthetically -- be seen in terms of "better" or "worse". Rather, perceived qualitative differences rest upon social

convention, which, in turn, derives from social inequalities and stratification, power and status relationships among speakers, and the ebb and flow of historical fortunes in a broad sense. But if these views are generally held by professional students of language, it is clear that they are not widespread. At the level of intra-linguistic variation especially, people have very strong ideas about (for example) "good" and "bad" English, about "incorrect" grammar and pronunciation, about allegedly deficient articulation and linguistic "laziness", about the failure of certain varieties to adequately convey meaning. At the same time, concern also exists for the "contamination" of one language by another, for infiltration and borrowing, and for the bullying of small languages by larger ones; the desire to keep one's language "pure" has always been strong. In a way, both intra-linguistic and inter-linguistic anxieties are expressions of a larger issue, one that is powerful precisely because it possesses emotional and symbolic qualities -- the relationship between language (or dialect) and group identity.

The project itself, funded by SSHRC, aims to do a number of things:

- (i) to outline as completely as possible the basic facts pertaining to all academies, world-wide -- i.e., date of establishment, official or stated aims, length of existence, degree of autonomy, type of "academician-members", important publications and activities, relationship to other bodies (local or otherwise), and so on;
- (ii) to understand the social, linguistic and political context in which each body arose and was (is) maintained;
- (iii) to assess the type of publications/activities engaged in, and to evaluate

these in the light of existing literature on nationalism, sociolinguistics and purist/prescriptivist language planning. One important thrust here will be to determine the role of academies in promoting and supporting standard dialects;

(iv) to consider the ways in which academies have (or have not) enjoyed official support and, in general, to assess their impact upon emerging, or "at-risk", or changing ethno-national identities;

(v) to consider the social and individual "precursors" of academies;

(vi) to consider the formative influences the early academies had upon later ones;

(vii) to consider developments (or the lack thereof) in academies' activities in response to changing conceptions of language and group identity;

(viii) to consider the ways in which academies have aligned themselves (or not) to extra-academic social trends and to both educated and "mass" opinion;

(ix) to assess the value of the academies' language productions (dictionaries, grammars, linguistic regulations, etc.) -- both in the time in which they were produced and from a contemporary perspective;

(x) to place all of the foregoing within a theoretical perspective which links purism and prescriptivism, language "standards" and national-group identity.

Beyond these major thrusts are several related themes:

(xi) the study of formal constitutional provisions for languages, world-wide

(these are, in many but not all instances, allied to the aims of the academy; in some cases, they "stand in" for nonexistent academies; in other instances, they are quite opposed to the proposals of academies -- consider, for example, those bodies representing minority groups within a state (e.g., the Fryske Akademy in Ljouwert) vis-à-vis state governments);

(xii) a consideration of prescriptive work and opinion *outside* the academy. In the contemporary context, one thinks of books by "popular" writers like Safire (1980), Barzun (1986, 1989), Newman (1988) and Simon (1980). Examples abound historically, too; in fact, there is an uninterrupted line here, from Quintilian and Priscian to our own time;

(xiii) special attention to the interesting question of why there has arisen no English or American academy (nor, indeed, any important body in any part of the anglophone world) and how -- in the absence of such institutions -- England and America dealt with their own demands for language prescription.

### **Context of the research programme**

As noted, the formal literature on prescriptivism is not extensive, even though there is clearly much information to be mined from a variety of sources. On language academies (and similar agencies) themselves: "there is hardly a country in the world that does not have some sort of public or private language planning body" (Mackey, 1991, p. 55) -- but our knowledge of them remains scattered and fragmentary. There has been some attempt

to at least list the various bodies, and Mackey goes on to note that "the inventories that are available – none of them really complete – do give a good idea of the number and variety of such bodies." In fact, the inventory he then cites is Rubin's *Directory of Language Planning Organizations* (1979). Not only, however, is it only the merest beginning (for present purposes), it is also quite uneven. For example, while Rubin's description of the Bangla Academy in Dacca extends to two pages, there are two lines for the *Académie française* -- its name on one, its address on the other. An asterisk beside the name indicates that Rubin lacked "full information". A more recent production entitled *Speaking of Language* (Conru, Lewelling & Stewart, 1993) has similar problems. And -- to repeat -- even if these listings were adequate in themselves, they would only constitute an approximation to Objective (i) of this project.

Beyond this initial (but necessary) objective lies, of course, my wish to firmly place academies within the literature on purism, prescriptivism and language planning. In order to do this, it is necessary to understand the social contexts in which they evolved. As well, it is apparent that the study of prescriptivism (within or without the academy), as part of the larger language planning literature, cannot usefully exist outside an historical awareness; the two must interpenetrate. Having said this, let me turn to the language planning literature in general, and to the place of prescriptivism (and academies) within it.

The main features of language planning as an academic exercise were outlined by Haugen in 1966. They are: the selection and codification of norms, functional implementation, and elaboration. While codification and elaboration deal directly with language, selection and implementation are more broadly social in nature. In a typical

case: (i) a choice is to be made among varieties; (ii) standardization and regularization of orthography, grammar and lexicon may thus be required; (iii) the variety must be promulgated, spread and encouraged; (iv) elaboration, modernization and expansion may be needed to keep the variety "viable" in a changing world. Selection and implementation are sometimes said to represent *status* planning, while codification and elaboration are seen as exercises in *corpus* planning. However, as I have argued (Edwards, 1994; see also Williams, 1986), these divisions are probably too neat. Nonetheless, if we accept that some parts of language planning are clearly the domain of linguists, we can perhaps also accept that others usually originate in a less academic constituency.

Although language planning has in some senses "come of age" -- there are now books and journals in the field (e.g., *Language Problems and Language Planning*, and the *Language Planning Newsletter*), one or two basic texts (e.g., Eastman, 1983) and, more importantly perhaps, descriptions of language planning activities throughout the broader applied linguistics literature -- there is no unifying theory which takes us much beyond Haugen's original formulations (which, incidentally, he reviewed in 1983, and saw no reason to substantially alter). Jahr (1992) and other recent writers have commented upon the continuing atheoretical nature of language planning literature.

In 1983, Neustupny outlined a language planning "paradigm", the key features of which emphasized "problems" to be solved and methods of "correction". He also noted (rightly, in my view) that theoretical advances would most probably reside in some typological approach. If this is the case, then we are still largely in a pre-theoretical phase, since most work involves the case-study; the area awaits its Linnaeus. This is not to say,

of course, that careful descriptive work should be downgraded; one could argue that, in much social science, there has been a premature rush to immature and undoubtedly ephemeral theorizing. Neustupny goes on to make two further salient points: first, language planning is not a free-standing enterprise, to be understood only through attention to language itself; second (and relatedly), it is not a "value-free politically neutral discipline" (1983, p. 2). Indeed, language planning generally -- and the exercise of purism and prescriptivism specifically -- are often reflections of political power, status and dominance.

This is nowhere seen more clearly than in the work of the academies. At the *Académie française*, to cite a well-known case, Cardinal Richelieu's forty "immortals" were given "absolute power ... over literature and language" (Hall, 1974, p. 180), even though only a tiny handful of trained linguists have ever been academicians. Hall goes on to observe that the academy's first major production (the *Dictionary* of 1694) was "manifestly an inferior job", as one would expect from a "group of dilettantes". Where did the members come from? From the church, the aristocracy, the military -- i.e., from among the ranks of those who would have naturally been considered the inheritors of the best French and the obvious arbiters of good linguistic taste. But, if the efforts of the French academy (and other similar bodies) have not been generally successful -- either in their production of grammars and dictionaries, or in their attempts to intervene in language change -- this hardly detracts from their importance as manifestations of will and intent, nor does it vitiate their symbolic role (see Eastman, 1983). In fact, lack of success may indirectly tell us much about the power of the "natural tide of language" (Thomas, 1991, p. 111) to resist

direction. And, the continued existence of "unsuccessful" institutions may tell us much about the importance of language as a marker of national identity.

Thomas (1991, p. 111) notes that "it has become fashionable to lampoon language academies for their stuffiness, their smugness and their otherworldliness", but he is clearly aware of their powerful symbolism. And, although their activities -- their very existence -- may indeed become symbolic for most people, their pronouncements may continue to mark linguistic and nationalistic anxieties which, whatever the logic of the matter, obviously persist in the popular imagination. They are, in a word, still very much with us. A recent example is given in a report in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (14 May 1993): Maurice Druon, the "secrétaire perpétuel" of the *Académie française*, has called for language watchdogs to guard against poor French on television. We should remember, too, that academies often arose to deal with problems of language regularization which increasing literacy and conceptions of nation "groupness" necessitated -- necessitated not just in the minds of some élite, but also among those whose daily usage was so often at odds with academic strictures.

Consider Caxton, having to make a selection from varying English dialect forms because of the imperatives of printing; consider Samuel Johnson, who was at once contemptuous of any attempt at linguistic "embalming" and hopeful that his dictionary might stabilize the language and help prevent its "degeneration". The tension between a prescriptivism for its own, sometimes capricious, sake, and the desire or need for *some* standards is surely important in any consideration of the work of academies (even if they were only one-person bodies, as Johnson and Caxton -- and Noah Webster -- essentially



were). It is a tension we can observe in virtually all contexts in which a standard variety is struggling to emerge.

As I have indicated, the existing work on academies is sparse indeed. They are certainly mentioned (often in passing) in many studies of language planning generally, there are descriptions of individual academies (usually not very disinterested ones -- although, even in the most mindlessly adulatory treatments, there is much material to be sifted and assessed), and there is a small number of more scholarly works. There is nothing, however, of the broadly comparative nature I intend here.

If language planning theory is lacking, it follows that a theory treating the prescriptivist tendencies of academies is also lacking. There is, however, one very useful recent book (Thomas, 1991) which, while not dealing with academies *per se*, does -- for the first time -- impose some order. Although "it is clearly premature to attempt a comparative history of purism" (p. 195), Thomas presents a list of hypotheses about purism/prescriptivism which can serve to anchor my own approach; these appear on pages 195 to 209 of his book:

-- Purism [for present purposes, we can read here "academic prescriptivism"] ... is a universal characteristic of standardised languages.

-- Purism has arisen autochthonously in many parts of the world as a response to specific problems facing individual languages.

-- [However] puristic attitudes operative in one language community may be transferred to another [Thomas refers, *inter alia*, to academies modelling themselves on others].

-- The most widespread type of purism is that which is directed at external sources [although elsewhere Thomas acknowledges that prescriptivism clearly operates *within*

languages, too].

-- The most widespread form of purism is concerned with elements of the lexico-semantic system [again, however, Thomas is well aware that grammatical purism is often also important -- especially within languages, of course].

-- Combining the two previous hypotheses, the dominant target of purism is vocabulary of foreign origin [but note my additional comments on these two hypotheses].

-- Standard languages vary in terms of their stance on taking in "foreign" elements, and varieties of long national standing are less prone to "xenophobic purism" than are those more recently "emancipated" from other-language domination.

Throughout, the aim is to produce a comprehensive compendium of historical/descriptive/comparative value, but one which also uses the basic facts gathered as the starting point for a theoretical analysis of academies, and the "academic spirit" -- both within and without actual institutions themselves. This will take shape under the general heading of prescriptivism and will follow (and expand upon) Thomas's outline. To stay with Thomas for a moment, and to re-emphasize the major thrust of this work, in its broadest sense, I hope to better embed our knowledge of purism and prescriptivism in a "theory about the social and psychological impulses which affect language use, language attitudes and language planning" (1991, p. 8). And, indeed, one could reverse the equation, too, and consider how language use, attitudes and planning affect broader "impulses" -- how, in the social psychological terminology, information about language can refine our thoughts on social identity and social categorization.

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# NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION IN QUEBEC FRENCH<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

In Quebec French as in several other dialectal and sociolectal varieties of French but unlike standard French, sentence negation *pas* "not" can occur in the same clause as a negative quantifier like *personne* "nobody" for instance:

(1) *Il (ne) a pas vu personne.*

He ne has not seen nobody

"He didn't see anybody."

This paper proposes that *pas* in these contexts marks negative association, in the same way that *ne* does in standard French. Negative association is the concord relationship between negations in a given clause with a single negative interpretation. The

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<sup>1</sup>Parts of this paper were prepared for Claude Poirier's seminar on dialectal variation during the 1993 winter term at Université Laval. I'd like to thank him as well as Jean-Marcel Léard for their comments and advice. I'd also like to thank the students of that seminar as well as my own students who have helped to check the data. I'm further deeply indebted to Stefan Frisch who read and commented on a previous version of this paper. Thanks finally to my colleague Peter Enns who has checked my English. The usual disclaimers apply.

paper is organized into two parts. In the first part, it will be shown that negative association in Quebec French obeys the general constraints to which it is submitted in standard French. The second part evaluates, in the light of the relevant facts, the existing analyses of negative association and suggests a treatment relying on coindexing, along the lines of Muller (1991).

## 2. Negative Association

Negative association between sentence negation and a negative quantifier must be realized within the limits of a syntactic domain (Kayne 1983, Lemieux 1982, Milner 1979). Hence, in the following examples (from Daoust-Blais 1975:75):

(2)a. *Il y a que personne n' est venu.*

There there has that nobody ne is came

"The fact is that nobobdy came."

b. \* *Il y a personne qui n' est venu.*

There there has nobody who ne is came.

"There isn't anybody that came."

c. *Il n' y a personne qui est venu.*

There ne there has nobody who is came

"There isn't anybody that came."

*ne* is unacceptable as an association marker when it is in a different domain than that of the negative quantifier *personne*; it can only be used as a sentence negation, leading to

a double negation reading<sup>2</sup>:

(3) *Il y a personne qui n' est venu.*

There there has nobody who ne is came

"There isn't anybody that didn't come."

Similarly, in Quebec French:

(4) a. *Il y a que personne est pas venu.*

There there has that nobody is not came

"The fact is that nobobdy came."

b. *\*Il y a personne qui est pas venu.*

There there has nobody who is not came

"There isn't anybody that didn't come."

c. *Il y a pas personne qui est venu.*

There there has not nobody who is came

"There isn't anybody that came."

*pas* changes status from an association marker to a sentence negation when in a different domain than that of the negative quantifier<sup>3</sup>, leading to a double negation reading.

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<sup>2</sup>This reading is limited to formal style; thus, *ne* would be required in the main clause to mark association with *personne*, as association is compulsory in this style of French.

<sup>3</sup>It is unclear what the status of *pas* is in the following sentence (adapted from Kayne 1983:24):

a. ? *J' ai pas exigé qu' ils arrêtent personne.*

The following sentences, in standard:

(5) a. *Je ne dirai à personne de partir.*

I ne will-tell to nobody of to-leave

"I won't tell anybody to leave."

b. \* *Je dirai à personne de ne partir.* (Kayne 1983:39, n. 4)

I will-tell to nobody to ne to-leave

"I won't tell anybody to leave."

and in Quebec French:

(6) a. *Je dirai pas à personne de partir.*

I will-tell not to nobody of to-leave

"I won't tell anybody to leave."

b. \* *Je dirai à personne de pas partir.*

I will-tell to nobody of not to-leave

"I won't tell anybody to leave."

further illustrate the necessity for the association marker to be in the same domain as that of the negative quantifier. In this case, and contrarily to *pas*:

(7) a. *Je dirai à personne de pas partir.*

"I will tell no one not to leave."

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I have not demanded that they arrest nobody.

"I didn't ask them to arrest anybody."

mainly because of the uncertain status of the structure itself (Lemieux 1982:179, Muller 1991:353-354).

*ne* cannot have a sentence negation status:

b. \* *Je dirai à personne de ne partir.*

"I will tell no one not to leave."

since *ne* as a sentence negation has a limited distribution (see Larrivée 1995a).

The presence of a specified subject, which apparently determines in some cases a syntactic domain, diminishes the acceptability of negative association in standard (see Milner 1979:84):

(8) a. *Je ne vois personne parler à Jean.*

I ne see nobody to-talk to Jean

"I don't see anyone talking to Jean."

b. ? *Je ne vois Jean parler à personne.*

I ne see Jean to-talk to nobody

"I don't see Jean talking to anyone."

c. *Je ne le vois parler à personne.*

I ne him see to-talk to nobody

"I don't see him talking to anyone."

and Quebec French:

(9) a. *Je vois pas personne parler à Jean.*

I see not nobody to-talk to Jean

"I don't see anyone talking to Jean."

b. ? *Je vois pas Jean parler à personne.*

I see not Jean to-talk to nobody



"I don't see Jean talking to anyone."

c. *Je le vois pas parler à personne.*

I him see not to-talk to nobody.

"I don't see him talking to anyone."

The position of the quantifier with respect to a subordinate infinitive induces parallel variations in the acceptability of association in both varieties under study:

(10) a. ? *Elle n' a envie de rien voir.* (Kayne 1983:39, n. 4)

She ne has envy of nothing to-see

"She doesn't feel like seeing anything."

b. ? *Elle n' envisage de jamais revenir.* (Kayne 1983:39, n. 4)

She ne considers of never to-come-back.

"She doesn't consider ever coming back."

(11) a. ? *Elle a pas envie de rien voir.* (QF)

She has not envy of nothing to-see

"She doesn't feel like seeing anything."

b. ? *Elle envisage pas de jamais revenir.* (QF)

She considers not of never to-come-back

"She doesn't consider ever coming back."

Further, the negative quantifier must have semantic scope over the verbal predicate in order to trigger negative association (Damourette et Pichon 1940:150, Larrivée 1993:59ff, Muller 1991:346). Thus, in the following sentences:

(12) a. *Elle se satisfait de rien.*

She herself satisfies of nothing

"She is satisfied with very little."

b. *Elle ne se satisfait de rien.* (SF)

She ne herself satisfies of nothing

"She isn't satisfied with anything."

c. *Elle se satisfait pas de rien.* (QF)

She herself satisfies not of nothing

"She isn't satisfied with anything."

the presence of *ne* and *pas* implies the negation of the verbal predicate. Likewise, in literary French, the presence of the association marker *ne* distinguishes in polarity contexts the quantifier use of *personne* that takes semantic scope over the verbal predicate:

(13) a. *Je ne crois pas que personne ne les connaisse.*

I ne believe not that nobody ne them knows

"I don't think that nobody knows them."

from the polarity item use of *personne* still found in this style:

b. *Je ne crois pas que personne les connaisse.*

I ne believe not that anybody them knows

"I don't think that anybody knows them."

Similarly, a negation that modifies specifically a quantifier or an adjective, for instance, does not trigger association since it fails to entail the negation of the verb:

(14) a. *Pas plus de cinq (\*ne) sont venus.* (SF)

No more of five ne are came

"No more than five came."

b. *Pas plus de cinq sont (\*pas) venus.* (QF)

No more of five are not came

"No more than five came."

(15) a. *Un gars pas très gentil (\*ne) nous a crié après.* (SF)

A guy not very nice ne to-us has shouted after

"A not very nice guy shouted at us."

b. *Un gars pas très gentil nous a (\*pas) crié après.* (QF)

A guy not very nice to-us has not shouted after

"A not very nice guy shouted at us."

Hence, *pas* marks negative association in Quebec French in the same fashion as *ne* does in standard French.

### 3. Current Analyses of Association

Various analyses have been proposed to account for negative association.

Ever since Klima (1964), many analyses have assumed that negative association is a polarity phenomenon (Ladusaw 1991, Piñón 1993:398, Progovac 1993:50-51) where one item is taken to be the 'real' negation which licenses all the other negative elements analyzed as negative polarity items (NPIs). This analysis has been proposed to account for association phenomena in Quebec French (Daoust-Blais 1975, Lemieux 1982, Vinet

1982). Thus, in the following sentences:

(16) a. *J' ai pas vu personne.* (QF)

I have not seen nobody

"I haven't seen anybody."

b. *J' ai pas vu qui que ce soit.*

I have not seen anybody

"I haven't seen anybody."

*pas* is taken to license *personne* in the same way as it licenses the NPI *qui que ce soit*.

The rejection by certain speakers of sentences of the type *Personne y est pas allé* has been taken as a proof of the NPI status of *personne* in Quebec French (Daoust-Blais 1975:89ff, Vinet 1982:174), since NPIs such as *qui que ce soit* are generally unacceptable as the subject of a negative sentence in French (\**Qui que ce soit y pas allé*). This might however be due for those speakers to a particular construal of the syntactic domain of association. This is suggested by the difference of behavior between *ne* and *pas* with respect to preposed negative modifiers; thus, while such constituents can associate with *ne*:

(17) *Jamais je n' y suis allé.* (SF)

Never I ne there am gone

"Never did I go there."

(18) *À aucun de ces garçons elle ne veut que tu parles.*

(Kayne 1983:39, n.4)

To none of these boys she ne wants that you talk

"None of these boys does she want you to talk to."

their association with *pas* is barely if at all possible:

(19) \* *Jamais j' y suis pas allé.* (QF)

Never I there am not gone

"Never did I go there."

(20) ?? *À aucun de ces garçons elle veut pas que tu parles.* (QF)

To none of these boys she wants not that you talk

"None of these boys does she want you to talk to."

Indeed, (19) can only be interpreted with a double negation reading:

(21) *Jamais j' y suis pas allé.*

"In no cases I didn't go there."

The preposed constituents adjoined to the sentential node can be analyzed as lying outside of the domain of the VP modifier *pas*, but inside that of the sentence modifier *ne* (on the function of *pas* and *ne*, see Larrivée 1993:49-50).

This analysis disregards the distinct distribution of negative quantifiers and NPIs (von Bremen 1986, DeGraff 1993:75-78, Haegeman 1993, Muller 1984:64ff, Muller 1991:316ff, Zanuttini 1988:540ff). While negative quantifiers can be used without an association marker in colloquial and Quebec French:

(22) *J'ai vu personne.* (CF, QF)

I have seen nobody

"I haven't seen anybody."

NPIs require the presence of a licensing negation in all varieties:

(23) a. *Je n' ai pas vu qui que ce soit.* (SF)

I ne have not seen anybody

"I haven't seen anybody."

b. \**J' ai vu qui que ce soit.* (SF)

I have seen anybody

"I haven't seen anybody."

NPIs can further be licensed by polarity elements, not negative quantifiers. Similarly, negative quantifiers can be used alone as answers, but not NPIs:

(24) *Qui as- tu vu?*

Who have you seen?

"Who did you see?"

a. - *Personne.*

"Nobody."

b. - \**Qui que ce soit.*

"Anybody."

Quantifiers can be modified by *presque* "almost" but not polarity items<sup>4</sup>:

(25) a. *Il n' a vu presque personne.*

He ne has seen almost nobody.

"He has seen almost nobody."

b. \**Il n' a pas vu presque qui que ce soit.*

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<sup>4</sup>This is probably due to the fact that while the NPI *qui que ce soit* requires to be licensed by the scope of negation, PPI *presque* refuses to figure in that scope.

He ne has not seen almost anybody

"He has seen almost nobody."

NPIs are sensitive to the surface position of the licensing negation (Williams 1994:239-241):

(26) a. *Il n' a rien dit à qui que ce soit.*

He ne has nothing said to anybody

"He didn't say anything to anyone."

b. *?\* Il n' a dit quoi que ce soit à personne.*

He ne has said anything to nobody.

"He didn't say anything to anyone."

(27) a. *Il n' y est pas allé qui que ce soit.*

There ne there is not gone anybody

"There didn't go anybody there."

b. *Jamais qui que ce soit n' y est allé.*

Never anybody ne there is gone

"Never did anybody go there."

c. *\* Qui que ce soit n' y est pas allé.*

Anybody ne there is not gone

"Anybody didn't go there."

but negative quantifiers are not:

(28) *Il n' a rien dit à personne.*

He ne has nothing said to anybody

"He didn't say anything to anyone."

(29) a. *Il n' y est allé personne.*

There ne there is gone nobody

"There didn't go anybody there."

b. *Jamais personne n' y est allé.*

Never nobody ne there is gone

"Never did anybody go there."

c. *Personne n' y est allé.* (SF)

Nobody ne there is gone

"Nobody went there."

d. *Personne y est pas allé.* (QF)

Nobody there is not gone

"Nobody went there."

Thus, a polarity analysis of negative association leads to suppose that only the first in a sequence of negative items is the real negation, which entails a counterintuitive change in the status of *plus*, *jamais* and *personne* in the following sentences (Muller 1984:69):

(30) a. *Plus jamais!*

No-more never!

"Never again!"

b. *Jamais plus!*

Never no-more!

"Never again!"



c. *Plus jamais personne ne vient.*

No-more never nobody ne comes

"Nobody ever comes here anymore."

d. *Plus personne ne vient jamais.*

No-more nobody ne comes never

"Nobody ever comes here anymore."

e. *Personne ne vient jamais plus.*

Nobody ne comes never no-more

"Nobody ever comes here anymore."

The polarity analysis improperly assimilates negative quantifiers and polarity items. Negative association therefore does not depend on the nature of the associated negations, which retain their negative value, but on the nature of the relationship between those negations.

The second type of analysis proposes that the negations are related at some level of representation.

It has been proposed that negative elements associate in a hypothetical negative projection (NegP); thus, in the following sentence:

(31) *Je n' ai vu personne.*

I ne have seen nobody

"I haven't seen anybody."

*personne* would be the specifier of the head of NegP *ne* (at DS according to Pollock 1989, at LF according Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991 and Haegeman 1993):

(32) [NegP [SpecNeg personne]][Neg ne]

This categorial model faces the problem of the optionality of the association markers in colloquial and Quebec French:

(33) *Je (n') ai vu personne.*

I ne have seen nobody

"I haven't seen anybody."

the negative quantifier would constitute in such cases the specifier of a headless projection<sup>5</sup>, which would violate x-bar theory principles. Most varieties of French would turn up with an empty head projection, since *ne* is most often omitted; according to Sankof and Vincent (1977) and Lemieux (1982), *ne* is omitted in 95% of negative sentences in Quebec French. This situation would force us to suppose that the association marker *ne* remains present, in order to satisfy the requirements of x-bar structures, until being deleted at PF (Haegeman 1993, Ouhalla 1990:190ff). Clitic placement data however bar this solution since in standard French, while the presence of *ne* impedes clitic postposition in imperative context:

(34) a. *Ne le dis à personne!*

Ne it say to nobody!

---

<sup>5</sup>*Pas* remains in Quebec French a specifier of NegP, as opposed to Haitian (DeGraf 1993) and Mauritian (Adone 1993) creoles for instance where it syntactically behaves like the head of NegP. Even if *pas* were analyzed as a head in QF, its optionality would raise the same problems as the optionality of *ne*, while leaving the status of *ne* unspecified in that variety.

"Don't say it to anybody!"

b. \* *Ne dis-le à personne!*

Ne say-it to nobody!

"Don't say it to anybody!"

the clitic can be preposed or postposed to the verb in the absence of *ne*:

(35) a. *Le dis à personne!*

It say to nobody!

"Don't say it to anybody!"

b. *Dis-le à personne!*

Say-it to nobody!

"Don't say it to anybody!"

which leads to suppose that *ne* is absent at least in the second case, thus creating an irrecoverable violation of x-bar theory<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup>Stefan Frisch notifies me that:

"[t]here is a paper by [Speas (1994)] which proposes that the head position can be radically empty if the specifier position is occupied. (The proposal was made to deal with pro-dop, but it works nicely with negation.) I have been using this proposal in my analysis of Middle English negation changing from *ne* system to the *ne V not* system, to the *not* system. The change is one from a head-licensed NegP to a specifier-licensed NegP with an intermediate step in between where the NegP is redundantly licensed."

This analysis changes radically the assumptions about syntactic structures; in any case,

Furthermore, in contexts of multiple associated negative items:

(36) *Personne ne dit plus guère jamais rien à personne.* (SF)

Nobody ne says no-more not-much never nothing to nobody.

"Nobody ever says anything much to anyone anymore."

the negative elements that cannot figure either in the head or specifier position of NegP are adjoined to the specifier of the negative projection (Haegeman 1993); thus (36) would be represented as follows:

(37) [NegP [SpecNeg' personne [SpecNeg' rien [SpecNeg' jamais  
[SpecNeg' guère [SpecNeg' plus [SpecNeg' personne]]]]]]][Neg ne]]

It is probable that such a complex adjunction would lead to some problem as to the relationship between the adjoined negation and its surface position.

The hypothesis of a negative phrase is more generally problematic, given the reverse ordering of *pas* and *ne* in NegP with respect to their S-structure (Ouhalla 1990:190, Hirschbühler and Labelle 1993) and the required verb movement across this maximal projection which is barred by the binding theory<sup>7</sup> (Ernst 1992, Ouhalla 1990).

Lemieux (1982) proposes that the association marker *pas* in Quebec French is the specifier of the negative quantifier. This is supported by data such as the following:

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it would have to be restricted to functional projections, as classical specifiers like determiners and complementizers are in no way able to license by themselves NPs and Ss.

<sup>7</sup>According to Stefan Frisch, *ne* forms a 'syntactic word' with the verb and moves along it; it thus would not constitute a barrier to binding.

(38) a. *Personne y est pas allé.* (QF)

Nobody there is not gone

"Nobody went there."

b. *Pas personne y est allé.* (QF)

Not nobody there is gone.

"Nobody went there."

Similarly, for Williams (1986:271), the association marker *ne* is base-generated as an adjunct of the negative quantifier and then moved to its surface position. However, as formulated, both models would give rise to several association markers in multiple associated negation contexts, a case observed neither in French nor in any language that I know:

(39) a. \* *Personne ne ne n' a rien dit à personne.* (SF)

Nobody ne ne ne has nothing said to nobody

"Nobody said anything to anyone."

b. \* *Personne a pas pas pas rien dit à personne.* (QF)

Nobody has not not not nothing said to nobody

"Nobody said anything to anyone."

It seems more appropriate to relate associated negations through coindexing at S-structure, as proposed by Muller (1991:321ff) and indirectly by Milner (1979) and Aoun (1985). In the same respect that coindexed pronouns evoke the same reference, coindexed negations partake of the same negative value. Coindexing provides sufficient flexibility to account for the various observed association patterns:

(40) a. *J'ai vu personne.*

b. *Je n'ai pas vu personne.* (QF)

c. *Personne ne dit plus guère jamais rien à personne.* (SF)

It allows the stipulation within that general framework of more specific requirements for other dialectal varieties, such as the forbidden association between *pas* and a negative quantifier in standard French (on this, see Muller 1991). Coindexing further allows the capture of the domanical constraint on association (see section 2, above, examples (2) to (14)), since coindexing is naturally realized within a given syntactic domain. It also allows accounting for the semantic constraint on association (see section 2. examples (12) to (15)); a relationship between a negative quantifier and a negation on VP or on the S node can only be justified if the quantifier has scope over the verbal predicate. Further, such data as the following:

(41) *Je t'ordonne de ne plus jamais ne rien faire.* (Muller 1991:325)

I to-you order of ne no-more never ne nothing do.

"I order you not to do nothing anymore."

confirm a coindexing analysis in the respect that the presence of two association markers signals two different series of association which in turn induce the double-negation reading (see Larrivée 1995b). The following interaction, discussed along with other cases by Corblin (in press:section 4.4), similarly confirms a coindexing analysis:

(42) - *Qui n' a rien fait?*

Who ne has nothing done?

"- Who didn't do anything?"

- *Personne*.

Nobody

"- Nobody."

as *personne* is involved in a different relationship than that between the other negative quantifiers, which bring about the double-negation reading.

Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991) discuss some data that would allegedly preclude a coindexing analysis of association. They consider that the fact that a negative quantifier doesn't give rise to association when coordinated with a non-negative NP, as in the following example:

(43) *Il (\*ne) gagnera tout ou rien.*

He ne will-win all or nothing.

"He will win (either) all or nothing."

constitutes a counterexample to a binding analysis. This is assuming that simplex NPs behave as coordinated NPs do with respect to binding relationships, an assumption that the following examples contradict:

(44) a. *Valère<sub>i</sub> a vu la photo de son frère et lui<sub>ij</sub>.*

Valère has seen the photograph of his brother and him

"Valère saw the photograph of his brother and him."

b. *Valère<sub>i</sub> a vu la photo de lui<sub>ij</sub>.*

Valère has seen the photograph of him

"Valère saw the photograph of him."

Indeed, negative quantifiers do not get involved with an association marker when

coordinated with a NP of positive value; they behave like 'local' negations and do not seem to affect the verbal predicate, as opposed to those cases where it is the first member of the coordinated structure:

(45) *Il ne gagnera rien ou alors tout à la fois.*

He ne will-win nothing or then everything at the time

"He will win either nothing or everything at once."

and where it does take semantic scope over the predicate.

Negative association thus can be conceived as a surface coindexing relationship between negative items.

#### **4. Conclusion**

In this paper, I have shown that Quebec French exhibits negative association similar to that in standard French, and obeys parallel constraints, in line with the general hypothesis that a language's dialectal varieties are governed by the same underlying principles (Roberge et Vinet 1991). I have proposed the analysis of association as a coindexing relationship between negations, and provided arguments against analyses resorting to polarity or functional categories.

The Quebec French data further show that the general hypothesis of Zanuttini (1988) on negative concord doesn't hold. She claims that languages with concord have a surface marker in Infl node; languages with negation inside VP do not exhibit concord allegedly because the negation raises to LF where it takes wide scope over the sentence. Yet, it is obvious that in Quebec French as in Standard French, *pas* is a VP modifier, and



still exhibits concord. It follows that concord cannot be correlated with the syntactic status of negation in a language, and can be considered as constituting a parameter of its own.

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# THEMATICITY AND CLEFTABILITY

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## 1 Introduction

This paper examines a cleftability hierarchy (Luo 1993) based on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy (hence the AH), in an attempt to discuss some limitations of the NP-based theory and explore an alternative account for cleftability in general.

The AH-based Cleftability Hierarchy (hence the CH), (1), is expressed in terms of grammatical functions, with the higher positions presumably more cleftable than the lower ones.

(1) SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

The Hierarchy represents a set of implicational universals, whereby the implicatum of the prior universal becomes the implicant of the following one. Thus, if in a language an NP on the Hierarchy is cleftable through a given strategy, so are all higher NPs.

Luo (1993) shows crosslinguistic evidence supporting the CH in terms of grammaticality, clefting strategies, distribution, frequency of occurrence, promotion, and precedence in language change. However, it should be noted that its applicability has been limited to NP arguments only. This is not surprising, given that the AH was originally based on studies of relativization, which can operate only on NPs. Clefting, on the other hand, differs from relativization in that it can operate on non-NPs as well as NPs.

Therefore, for a grammar to adequately describe and account for cleftability, it must consider non-NP as well as NP cleftability.

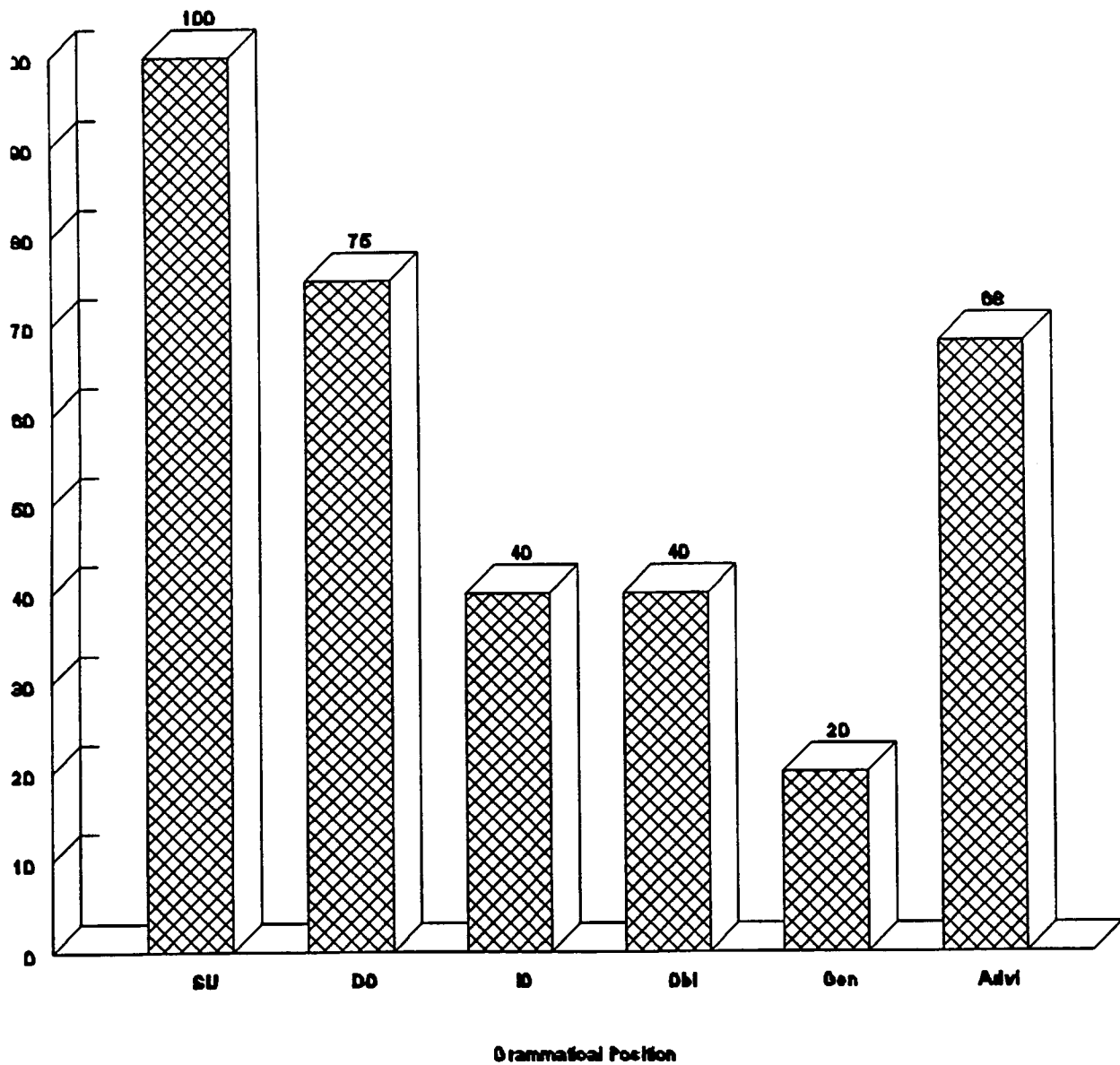
A possible solution to this problem, as suggested by Pinkham and Hankamer (1978), is an extended CH that entails non-NPs in certain order at the lower end of the Hierarchy. However, there are some difficulties with this approach. First, in many languages (e.g. English, Tera, Malagasy, Chinese, and Danish), adjuncts enjoy higher cleftability than most types of NPs. For example, Collins' (1987) comparison of frequency of occurrence among cleftable constituents in English texts finds adverbials (36.7%) only second to SU's (38.3%), as compared with DO's (7.2%) and IO's or oblique objects (3.2%). High cleftability of adjuncts is also attested crosslinguistically, in terms of the number of languages capable of clefting a certain grammatical position as against the number of languages capable of clefting another. The results of a survey of 40 languages (Table 1) show that SU is found cleftable in all 40 languages (100%), DO, in 31 (75%), and adverbials, in 27 (68%). These differences are recapitulated graphically in Figure 1. Despite the slight difference between DO and ADVL, adverbials do show high cleftability crosslinguistically. Therefore, to place adjuncts after NP positions on the Hierarchy would be empirically unsupportable.

Secondly, an extended CH assumes a certain degree of inherent, context-free cleftability of non-NPs. However, as shown in Luo (1994a), many apparently uncleftable non-NPs often become more cleftable in certain contexts. Moreover, varying degrees of grammaticality with clefted non-NPs in different contexts make it difficult to specify fixed positions for them.

Table 1 *Crosslinguistic frequency of cleftability of grammatical functions*

Language	SU	DO	IO	OBL	GEN	ADVL	Sources
Bade	+						Schuh 1971
Basque	+	+					Saltarelli et al. 1988
Berber	+	+	+	+		+	Ennaji & Sadiqi 1986
Breton	+	+				+	Timm 1987
Chinese	+		+	+		+	Huang 1982; Ross 1983; my data
Danish	+	+			+ <sub>su</sub>	+	Smits 1989
Dera	+						Schuh 1971
Dutch	+	+	+	+	+	+	Smits 1989
English	+	+	+	+	+	+	<i>ibid.</i>
French	+	+			+ <sub>do</sub>	+	<i>ibid.</i>
German	+	+	+	+	+	+	<i>ibid.</i>
Icelandic	+	+				+	<i>ibid.</i>
Indonesian	+						Chung 1978
Irish	+	+	+	+		+	McCloskey 1979
Ivatan	+	+				+	Reid 1966
Italian	+	+	+	+	+	+	Smits 1989
Kanuri	+	+				+	Lukas 1967
Karekare	+						Schuh 1971
Kihung'an	+	+					Takizala
Kinyarwanda	+	+	+	+		+	Kimenyi 1978
Kpelle	+	+		+		+	Welmers 1964
Malagasy	+					+	Keenan 1985; Harries-D 1978
Malay	+	+	+			+	My data
Maori	+	+					Chung 1978
Margi	+						Hoffmann 1966
Ngizim	+						Schuh 1971
Norwegian	+	+		+		+	Smits 1989
Pukapukan	+	+	+	+		+	Chung 1978
Rennellese	+	+	+	+		+	<i>ibid.</i>
Samoan	+	+	+	+		+	<i>ibid.</i>
Somali	+	+				+	Bell 1953
Swedish	+	+	+		+	+	Smits 1989
Taba-Batak	+						Percival 1981
Temne	+	+	+				Nemer 1987
Tera	+	+	+	+		+	Newman 1970
Tojolabal	+	+					Brody 1984
Tongan	+	+	+	+			Chung 1978
Welsh	+	+				+	Dik 1980
Yapese	+	+				+	Jensen 1977
Yoruba	+	+		+	+	+	Bamgbose 1966
TOTAL							
% (N=40)	40	31	16	16	8	27	
	100	75	40	40	20	68	

**Figure 1** Cleftability of Grammatical Functions  
Crosslinguistic Frequency (%)



**Note:** The percentage shows the proportion of all languages under study which allow a given grammatical function to be clefted.

Finally, even if an extended CH was possible, it would not explain why some PP adjuncts (e.g. of time/place) are more cleftable than most kinds of NPs, nor why some PP adjuncts (again, of time/place) are more cleftable than others (e.g. dative PPs) in many languages.

Given these considerations, it seems that insight may be gained from alternative accounts. In the rest of this paper, I will explore such an alternative, by proposing and verifying a Thematicity Principle as a general account of cleftability. I will first introduce the notions *theme* and *thematicity* and discuss the pragmatic function of clefts, and then state the principle. Qualitative and quantitative evidence from analysis of English and Chinese texts will be presented, in support of the Thematicity Principle.

## **2. Theme and Thematicity**

### **2.1 Theme**

The concept of *theme* has not enjoyed consensus. Halliday (1985:38) defines it as the communicative 'point of departure of the clause, that with which the clause is concerned'. Structurally, theme unmarkedly occupies initial position in many languages, although other markings are also possible. The implication of this variation to cleftability is that in some non-configurational languages in which the cleft focus does not occur initially, it may still have thematic force.

While Halliday rightly points out crosslinguistic variation of thematic realization, Chafe (1976) notes inadequacies of defining topic/theme as 'what the sentence is about', which 'applies better to English subjects' (p.50) but does not apply to external topics in



topic-prominent languages like Chinese. Since the function of such a topic/theme is to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain, it is more appropriate to define it as that which 'sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.'*(ibid.)* This definition seems to enjoy more crosslinguistic plausibility.

Another discrepancy is whether theme and topic are distinct semantico-pragmatic notions. Chafe (1976) and Declerck (1984) think they are not. However, according to Dik (1980:15-16), theme 'specifies the universe of discourse with respect of which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant. It is assigned to constituents which precede the predication ... [and] often presented in 'absolute' form, i.e. without any specified semantic or syntactic function.' Topic, on the other hand, is 'the entity about which the predication predicates something in the given setting. Topic is assigned to constituents of the predication proper.' Compared with theme, topic has a more limited scope in that it has to function within the setting defined by theme. This view coincides with Foley and Van Valin's (1985:300) distinction between external topic and subject, where the former is not a clause constituent and does not necessarily bear semantic relationship to the predicate or its arguments, whereas the latter is a basic NP constituent of the clause and must correspond to an argument of the verb semantically. We will return to this distinction later.

Given the diverse use of the term and possible confusion therefrom, I operationalize *theme* as in (2):

(2) A theme is that which specifies a spatial, temporal, or individual framework

with respect of which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant.

## 2.2 Thematicity

While *theme* can be viewed as the *actual* discourse framework within which the main predication holds true, *thematicity* is defined as the *potential* for a constituent to act as theme. As Givón (1984:137) notes, human discourse is 'prototypically about the fate, affairs, doings, trials and tribulations of individual - most commonly nominal - topics.' Potentially, all nominal arguments in propositions are topics in this sense, especially SU's, DO's and IO's, which can be ranked in the order  $SU > DO > IO$ , according to their potential to code the most important, recurrent, and continuous topic. Much of what Givón says applies to thematicity. In discourse, theme is typically conflated with subject, i.e. the unmarked theme. On the other hand, a theme realized by constituents other than SU, such as a DO, IO or adjunct, may be called a marked theme. According to Halliday (1985:45), 'the most usual form of marked theme is an adverbial group ... functioning as ADJUNCT in the clause, [and] least likely to be thematic is a COMPLEMENT... [S]ometimes even the Complement from within a prepositional phrase functions as Theme.'(p.45) Put together, the rank of thematicity can be shown as:  $SU > Adjunct > DO > IO > OBL$ . That adjuncts have high thematicity is echoed in Sanders (1984), Thompson and Longacre (1985), and Collins (1987), and attested in Collins (1987) and Luo (1994a).

Now, if we assume that genitive NPs, which as non-heads have only quasi-argument status, have even less thematic potential, and other non-argument elements have still less thematic potential, then it is possible to posit a thematicity scale as in (3):

### (3) The Thematicity Scale

SU > ADJUNCT > DO > IO > OBL NP > GEN NP > OTHER

(3) states that the grammatical positions toward the left on the scale tend to have greater thematic potential than those toward the right. In terms of markedness, the leftmost position will occur as the most unmarked theme, whereas the rightmost position as the most marked theme. Of special interest here is the relatively high position of adjuncts, especially those of time and location. This is because adjuncts of time and location in general have typical thematic properties by virtue of occurring in initial position in many languages, thus setting a temporal or spatial world for particular discourse that is taking place (Thompson & Longacre, 1985).

### **3. The Thematicity Principle**

#### **3.1 Function of clefts**

Functionally, cleft sentences serve to contrastively focus on a clause constituent morpho-syntactically singled out for such prominence. Another way to look at the function of clefts is in terms of thematicity, as suggested in Prince (1978), Brömser (1984), Declerck (1984), Timm (1987), and Collins (1987, 1991).

While in non-clefts, there is usually some presupposed element, in clefts, it is the focused element that functions as theme (Declerck 1984; Halliday 1985). What this means is that

- (4) a. clefting is in some important way associated with thematization;
- b. given the high cleftability of subjects and adjuncts (of time and location), it seems that the function of clefting is, among other things, to imbue an already thematic

element', or at least a potentially thematic element, with 'further prominence' (Declerck 1984:277) by focusing it; and

c. the effect of clefting is focused thematization (Brömser 1984).

(4a) has been noted in many languages, for instance English (Chomsky 1977), Kinyarwanda (Kimemyi 1978), where a cleft pattern contrastively focuses on a topicalized NP, and Ivatan (Reid 1966). In relation to (4b) above, thematic prominence is generated through highlighting the theme part of a sentence. This can occur in two ways: thematic potential and thematic actual. Thematic potential is the general statistical probability of a focused grammatical function that occurs as theme in non-clefts. Thematic actual refers to the actual occurrence of the cleft focus as theme in the preceding text. For example, in English, elements that continue the thematic line of the preceding discourse tend to be placed in initial position in a cleft. This is in line with Givón's (1983) view that the focused element tends to be an 'important ... rather persistent topic in terms of the succeeding discourse context' (p.265). This is supported in (5), an excerpt from an article on Kim Campbell in *the Toronto Star*<sup>1</sup> (italics mine):

(5) ... I turn and bump into a rock: Pat Carney. *She's* not smiling. The plot thickens.

.....

Loyal British Columbian that *she* is, *Carney* does not support Campbell's leadership bid; there is no love lost between these two, but *Carney* will not speak

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<sup>1</sup>Judy Steed, 'In pursuit of power: Kim Campbell: a portrait', in *The Toronto Star*, May 1, 1993, D1-D6.

about Campbell, except to explain *they* are related by marriage. *Carney's* cousin Marguerite Parkinson is the third wife of George Campbell, Kim's father.

It was *Carney*, the senator, who flew from Vancouver to Ottawa on Feb. 1, 1991, to cast the crucial vote (in a 43-43 tie) that killed Justice Minister Campbell's legislative effort to recriminalize abortion, making *Carney* a hero to a broad range of medical and feminist groups.

In (5), the italicized words mark the continued theme. As noticed, the cleft sentence appears in the last paragraph, with the proper noun *Carney* as the cleft focus. The same NP had been introduced into the discourse three paragraphs back and has persisted as theme throughout the paragraphs immediately preceding the cleft sentence before it becomes the cleft focus. Thus it clearly shows that what appears as the cleft focus continues the thematic line of the preceding discourse. A similar example is found in another article in the same issue of *the Toronto Star*<sup>2</sup>:

(6) His partner in North Drive Estates is his 31-year-old son, *Danny*.

*'We've been building homes together since he was a teenager.*

*'It was Danny who found this site. I've driven past this corner hundreds of times but never paid any notice to it because you can't see anything for the trees...'* [italics mine]

Here again, the italicized words represent the continued theme, and it can be seen how the NP *Danny* persists as theme in the preceding text before it becomes the cleft focus.

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<sup>2</sup>Pat Brennan, 'Custom builder falls in love with "pocket of wilderness"', *The Toronto Star*, May 1, 1993, E1.

These examples clearly show high thematicity of the cleft foci as reflected in their thematic actual in the context.

Crosslinguistic evidence is found in Chinese, as in (7-9) [translation mine].

(7)            *Doctor Gu* took great care of me and Old Zhou. It was *he* who offered to lend us a share of his two bags of glucose powder .... (Wang 1990:227)

(8)            *He* was a well-known expert on international issues, and had done quite a lot for the communists. It was *he* who organized the translation and publication of *Snow's Red Star Over China*. (Wang 1990:240)

(9)            After the 'Cultural Revolution' had begun, these people turned the Duyong Village into a living hell. They searched houses and made arrests at will, and used more than twenty types of torture. During the daytime, numerous 'criticism meetings' were held. At night, sounds of beating and swearing, screaming and howling of the tortured, and their relatives' crying filled the air .... It was *to such a (production) brigade* that Zhang Shuqu was sent to do supervised hard labour. (Liu 1987:6)

In both (7) and (8) from the same author, the cleft focus has occurred as theme in the immediately preceding text, thus continuing the thematic line of discourse. (9), on the other hand, involves a circumstantial phrase (i.e. the locative *to such a brigade*) as cleft focus, which had been introduced in the first sentence of the paragraph and has served as a locative setting wherein various events are described to support the assertion that the village had become a 'living hell'. Compared with (7) and (8), the thematic line before the

cleft focus in (9) is continued through whole-sentence descriptions of the setting rather than through the subject-theme as in (7) and (8). In all the cases, we see how clefting helps highlight theme in discourse. Thus, the crosslinguistic data shows 'focused thematization' as a viable and plausible function of cleft sentences.

There is, however, a problem of underspecification with Brömser (1984), Declerck (1984), and Collins (1987), when they propose focused thematization as a distinct function of cleft sentences. Consider

(10) a. In the hallway, we waited.

b. It is in the hallway that we waited.

(11) a. As for the book, he's signed a contract with the publisher.

b. \*It is as for the book that he's signed a contract with the publisher.

(12) a. ...these three little sisters, they were learning to draw.

b. \*It is these three little sisters who<sub>i</sub> they<sub>i</sub> were learning to draw.

By definition, *in the hallway* in (10a), *the book* in (11a), and *these three little sisters* in (12a) are all themes. If Brömser (1984), Declerck (1984) and Collins (1987) were right, we would expect these themes to be all cleftable, because they are 'already thematic'. However, we find that only the theme in (10a) is cleftable, as in (10b); whereas the themes in (11a) and (12a) are not, as in (11b) and (12b), respectively. It seems, then, that not all elements that are already thematic in the discourse context are cleftable. Clearly, the thematization theory of Brömser (1984), Declerck (1984) and Collins (1987) overgenerates. The problem, I think, is underspecification of the function of clefts, i.e. the theory does not specify what kind(s) of theme can be cleft focused and what kind(s) can not. A closer look

at (10)-(12) shows that the cleft focus in (10b) is a clause-internal constituent that participates in the transitivity or argument structure of (10a), in this case an adjunct of location. On the other hand, those in (11b) and (12b) do not participate in the transitivity or argument structure of (11a) and (12a), respectively, i.e. they are not part of the proposition. This difference is recognized by Foley and Van Valin (1985) as topicalization vs. left-dislocation (p.355). However, to keep our terminology consistent, I will call the kind of theme in (10a) clause-internal theme, much like Halliday's (1985) topical theme, and those in (11a) and (12a) clause-external theme. This difference, along with the subsequent difference in cleftability, shows that clefting is proposition-bound, i.e., it affects only constituents with thematic force which are part of the proposition. Since the themes in (11a) and (12a) are both external themes, they can not be clefted. For the theory of cleftability to accommodate this, I suggest that 'clause constituents' be specified in a statement of the function of clefts, as in (13).

- (13) The function of cleft sentences is to highlight clause-bound constituents which have relatively high thematic potential or which are actual themes, and to highlight the most salient information in the clause.

### 3.2 The Thematicity Principle

Based on the above discussion on theme, thematicity, and cleft functions, I propose a Thematicity Principle as in (14):

#### (14) **The Thematicity Principle (TP)**

**The more thematic a clause constituent is in non-clefts, the more cleftable it is.**



In (14), *thematic* refers to the potential for a clause constituent to be a clause-internal theme, which is realized prototypically by NP arguments and adjuncts of time and location and which basically excludes non-arguments and disjuncts. The term *clause constituent* refers to constituents that participate in the transitivity or argument structure of a sentence, and properly excludes clefting of constituents which occur as clause-external theme. Thus, the TP captures an important distinction in the function of clefting, which is neglected in Brömser (1984), Declerck (1984) and Collins (1987).

#### **4. Further Empirical Evidence**

An important assumption of the TP is that the grammatical positions on the Thematicity Scale are rankable in a similar order to those on the CH, and that the Thematicity Scale subsumes the CH in that it includes both NP and non-NP positions. Given the validity of the CH (Luo 1993), and given the expected correspondence between the Thematicity Scale and the CH, one way to further validate the TP would be to see if in actual discourse the Thematicity Scale indeed correlates with the CH. More specifically, if we find correspondence between the ratio of frequency of occurrence for different grammatical positions on the Thematicity Scale and that for the same positions on the CH, it would further support the TP.

A text study is carried out in which sentences from two English texts are analyzed and compared with regard to the ratio of different grammatical functions serving as topical theme in written discourse. The texts represent two common genres: a newspaper report

from *Toronto Star*<sup>3</sup> and four chapters from the novel *Alice in Wonderland*. The purpose is to test the hypothesis that in terms of frequency of occurrence, the relative order of grammatical functions as topical theme in non-clefts will correspond to that as cleft focus in clefts. Since topical theme concerns mainly NP arguments and adverbials (Halliday 1985), the categories being investigated include SU, DO, IO, OBL, and Adjuncts, the last being further divided into adjuncts of time/place and those of other semantic roles. As clauses, especially adverbial clauses, may be cleft foci themselves, sentence is used as the unit for measuring frequency of occurrence.

Based on Halliday's (1985) classification of themes, the following are excluded from consideration: (i) sentences without explicit themes such as imperatives or verbless sentences (e.g. *Bang.*); (ii) Yes/No questions starting with a finite rather than topical theme; (iii) sentences with initial expletive forms (e.g. *there, it*); and (iv) disjuncts. The main reason is relevancy: they are all without an initial, explicit topical theme.

Results are presented in Table 2 and Table 3, respectively. According to the results, subjects are by far the most frequent theme in both texts (78.9% and 75.1%), followed by adjuncts of time and location (13.5% and 17.7%), and adjuncts of other semantic roles (5.7 and 6.9). There are seven instances (1.7%) of DO-themes in *Alice in Wonderland* and none in *the Toronto Star* report, probably due to stylistic difference between the two genres. Finally, while no instance of IO-theme is found in either text, one instance of OBL-theme is found in both texts. However, this difference is statistically trivial.

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<sup>3</sup>Judy Steed, 'In pursuit of power: Kim Campbell: a portrait', in *The Toronto Star*, May 1, 1993, D1-D6.

To find out if and to what extent the results from the two texts correlate with each other, the Pearson's correlation test is performed to test the hypothesis that there is a significant correlation between the two sets of frequency counts. The results show a correlation coefficient of .99 at  $p \leq .001$  (1-tailed significance), suggesting that there is a very significant correlation between the two sets of frequency counts, and that stylistic variation probably plays a minor role in using the TP to account for cleftability of different grammatical positions.

On the whole, the thematic scale as attested in both texts can be shown as

(15)  $SU > \text{ADJUNCT}_{\text{time/loc}} > \text{ADJUNCT}_{\text{other}} > \text{DO}^4 > \text{IO} = \text{OBL}$

which corresponds to the order on the CH as far as NP positions are concerned, and which ranks thematicity of adjuncts between subjects and other NP positions, as predicted by the Thematicity Scale presented in (3). In general, therefore, the results of the textual study lend further support to the TP, in that more thematic constituents tend to have higher cleftability.

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<sup>4</sup>As pointed above, this is attested in only one of the texts.

Table 2 *Comparison of frequency of occurrence for different grammatical positions as topical theme in Chapter3 3-6 of Alice in Wonderland*

Category	Number of Occurrence	Percentage of Occurrence
Subject	333	78.9
Adjunct		
	57	13.5
time/location	24	5.7
other	7	1.7
Direct	0	0
Object	1	0.2
Indirect Object		
Oblique Object		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3 *Comparison of frequency of occurrence for different grammatical positions as topical theme in a Toronto Star news report*

Category	Number of Occurrence	Percentage of Occurrence
Subject	336	75.2
Adjunct		
time/location	79	17.7
other	31	6.9
Direct	0	0
Object	1	0.2
Indirect Object		
Oblique Object		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>100%</b>

## 5. Conclusion

A Thematicity Principle is proposed which attributes cleftability to thematicity. By defining theme as that which specifies a spatial, temporal or individual framework for the subsequent discourse, thematicity of various grammatical functions may be measured in terms of thematic potential and/or thematic actual, and presented on a thematicity scale

that subsumes, and corresponds to the order of, the NP positions on the CH. A crucial difference between the Thematicity Scale and the CH is that the former, by referring to high thematicity of adjuncts, makes it possible to account for high cleftability of adjuncts (of time and location) in terms of the TP; whereas the CH does not provide a full account. Therefore, the TP is considered superior to the CH in descriptive adequacy, explanatory adequacy, and simplicity, although the CH is valid in its own domains.

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# CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE TYPE [<sub>v</sub>N + EGIN].

## AN INCORPORATION HYPOTHESIS

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### ABSTRACT

*Frequent constructs of the type [N + EGIN] play a very important role in the grammar of Basque as productive verbal complex forms. In this paper I present a number of [Noun + EGIN] constructs of Basque that derive from transitive predicates. An Incorporation hypothesis is presented to account for these verbs. I consider degrees of Incorporation. I understand that both transitive verbs and locutions of this type have the same structural representation. The crucial difference between them is that the former have a non-bound D.O. NP whereas the NP of the locutions is bound. Evidence for transitivity and incorporation at the various levels is presented, with tests such as insertion, word order change, partitive marking, scrambling and so on. For example:*

(i) a. *Mikel-ek negar egin du.*

*Mike(erg) cry make aux(abs-erg).*

*Mike has cried.*

b. *Mikel-ek berehala egin du negar.*

*Mike(erg) suddenly make aux(abs-erg) cry.*

*Mike has suddenly cried.*

*An Incorporation Theory in the sense of Baker (1988) accounts for the compound form of*



*the verbal locution through Object Incorporation at the lexical level of representation with consequences in the syntax of the language. Incorporation is considered a grammatical phenomenon which is in progress at present and exhibits a certain amount of variation among speakers. In order to account for this process we distinguish the three main levels at which NI takes place; lexical incorporation, syntactic level and incorporation at the level of the Logical Form. Application of different interacting levels lead us to group a number of incorporated constructions of Basque into two main classes:*

***Class 1 or hitzegin 'to talk' type; class 2 or negar egin 'to cry'.***

*I understand that the phenomenon of Incorporation is basically a lexical phenomenon, except in the case of the type **negar egin**, which requires Incorporation at the level of Logical Form in order to derive the incorporated verbal meaning.*

*In conclusion, I assert the transitivity of [Noun + EGIN] locutions and I propose that the various degrees of incorporation of certain locutions in Basque, can be explained if we understand that Noun Incorporation falls into an implicational hierarchy in the sense of Mithun(1984) which in turn suggests a path along which Noun Incorporation develops.*

## **1. Introduction**

This paper argues that the [<sub>v</sub>Noun + EGIN] constructs in Basque derive from transitive predicates. An Incorporation hypothesis is presented to account for these locutions, and degrees of Incorporation are considered.

Locution is a compound verbal construction formed by a non-determined common noun and a dummy verb. The non-determined characterization of the noun of the

locution can function as a formal reason justifying incorporation, as suggested by Richard Kayne(p.c.). The fact that the determiner position is empty, as far as the syntactic projection is concerned, can also function as a justification for incorporation; there is no barrier blocking the noun rising to the agr position where N+V incorporation takes place. The fact that the verb is dummy on the other hand is also a reason for incorporation in terms of semantic features. The dummy verb needs to receive a meaning from the incorporating noun.

The various syntactic behaviours shown by the [<sub>v</sub>N+EGIN] structures are explained as displaying more or less advanced stages of Incorporation. Application of different interacting levels at which incorporation takes place lead us to group a number of incorporated constructions of Basque into two main classes:

**Class 1 or hitzegin** 'to talk' type; **class 2 or negar egin** 'to cry'.

## 2. Evidence for degrees of incorporation

### 2.1. PHONOLOGICAL-PHONETIC ARGUMENTATION

#### (a) Writing

(1) Zer egin du Jonek?

what make/do aux(abs-erg) John(erg)

What has John done?

(2) a. Hitzegin, aldegin, galdegin, hotsegin

he has spoken, he has run away, he has asked, he has called

Common phonetic processes occur only with the forms *aldegin* and *galdegin*, as the

fusion of two "e" vowels (final -e of the noun constituent and initial e- of the verb constituent) resulting into a single vowel: Alde + Egin. --> aldegin.

(2) b. negar egin / \*negaregin

he has cried

amets egin / \*ametsegin

he has dreamt

lo egin / \*loegin

he has slept

farre egin/\*farregin

he has laughed

(b) Stress Pattern:

álde egin - aldégin, hítz egin - hitzégin, gálde egín - galdégin, hóts egín - hotségin.

negár egín - \*negarégin, \*ametsegin, \*loegin, \*farregin

In the case in which the NV constitutes a single word, we also have a single heavy accent.

## 2.2. SYNTACTIC ARGUMENTATION

### (a) WORD ORDER AND INSERTION

Insertion of adverbial phrase in linear order for NEGAR EGIN type:

(3) Mikel-ek batbatean<sub>FOCUS</sub> negar egin du.

Mike(erg) suddenly cry aux(abs-erg)

Mike has suddenly cried.

The intonational pattern of this structure involves a heavy stress on the adverbial phrase and a phonological unity between the adverb and the verb.

(4) Mikel-ek negar batbatean<sub>FOCUS</sub> egin du.

Mike (erg) cry suddenly make aux (abs-erg)

Mike has cried suddenly.

(5) Mikel-ek batbatean<sub>FOCUS</sub> egin du negar.

Mike (erg) suddenly make aux cry

Mike has suddenly cried.

(6) Mikel-ek<sub>FOCUS</sub> egin du batbatean negar.

Mike (erg) make aux suddenly cry

Mike has suddenly cried.

*Batbatean* 'suddenly', functions as the argument on focus or *galdegaia*. In examples 4,5, and 6 it is placed in the position immediately preceding the verb *egin*, and thus, the complex form *negar egin* does not show a tight union. *Amets egin*, *farre egin*, *lo egin* e.g. show the same behaviour. Non-incorporation at the lexical and syntactic level.

Insertion of adverbial phrase in HITZ EGIN type

(7) \* Jon-ek hitz batbatean egin du.

John (erg) word suddenly make aux (abs-erg)

'John has made word suddenly'.

(8) \*Jon-ek batbatean egin du hitz.

We can justify the ungrammaticality of these structures in syntactic terms, as a result of the rising movement of both the N and the V to the agr position.

(9) Jon-ek batbatean hitz egin du.

John suddenly word make aux

' John has suddenly talked'.

Only when the adverb refers to the locution as a whole is the structure grammatical.

The adverbial constituent does not complement the individual constituents independently but the resulting construction of the union as a whole.

We have incorporation at the lexical level.

However, not all the Basque dialects show this advanced evolution of Incorporation:

A.- Dialect of Bizkaia: *berba egin - hitzegin*

a.1. Berba asko eitten dau

word much make aux (abs-erg)

**Incorporated meaning: he talks a lot**

Notice that in contrast with *hitzegin*, a numeral can be inserted in between the noun and the verb *egin*, which shows that the constituents behave freely. The same independence is shown by the partitive marking of the D.O. in the following construction, as well as in the WH question:

a.2. Ez dau ein berba-rik

neg aux make word(part)

Incorporated meaning: He hasn't spoken

a.3. Ein su berba orregas?

make aux word that with

Have you spoken about that?

B. Dialect of Nafarroa in Goizueta: Insertion of numeral between *hitze*gin.

b.1. Nekane-k hitza asko itten do.

Nekane (erg) word much make aux (habere)

**Nekane talks a lot. Incorporated meaning**

b.2. Nekane-k ez do hitza asko itten.

Nekane neg aux word much make

Nekane doesn't talk a lot

We not only have evolution concerning the different locutions, but evolution within the same locution itself. *Berba egin* and *hitza egin* show incorporation at the level of Logical Form exclusively, whereas *hitze*gin shows incorporation at the lexical level as well.

## (b) WORD ORDER AND LOCATIVE ARGUMENTS

Distributional evidence shows a different placement for standard arguments and arguments of locutive constructions.

As stated by I. Laka (1992), "the arguments in the transitive constructions occupy positions outside the VP in [spec, Agr2]. They in fact move out of the VP to receive case, as well as to check D features. The crucial difference between common transitive verbs and locution verbs is that transitive verbs project a free non-bound variable at the syntactic

level, whereas the main verb of the locution type *hitzegin* projects a bound variable.

Let us consider the following transitive structure:

(10) Ni-k liburua liburutegia-tik hartu dut. NEUTRAL WO

I(erg) book det. library from (loc.)take aux(abs-erg)

I have taken the book from the library

(11) Liburutegiatik liburua<sub>FOCUS</sub> hartu dut.

Library- from book det. take aux(abs-erg)

The book, I have taken it from the library

The second sentence has a peculiar emphatic intonational pattern, which involves a pause after the locative element, and a phonological unity of the noun+verb phrase. Within this phrase the noun receives a heavy stress.

HITZ EGIN

(12) Alkatea-k balkoiatik hitzegin du.

Lord-mayor balcony from talked aux(abs-erg)

The lord-mayor has talked from the balcony.

(13) \* hitz balkoiatik egin du alkateak.

word balcony from make aux(abs-erg) lord-mayor(erg)

The lord mayor has spoken from the balcony

Incorporation taking place at the lexical level of representation accounts for the non grammaticality resulting from the insertion of a locative between the two constituents undergoing incorporation.

The neutral order for locution predicates involving locative arguments (12), is the opposite to the order of the neuter transitive construction (10). Within an incorporated construction, the locative precedes the internal noun argument of the complex verb.

The noun constituent of the locution cannot function as an independent constituent but together with the verb with which it forms a close unity.

### NEGAR EGIN

(14) Haurrak ikastolan negar egiten du. (NEUTRAL WO)

The child(erg) school in(loc.) cry make aux(abs-erg)

'The child cried in the school'.

(15) Haurrak negar ikastolan<sub>FOCUS</sub> egiten du.

The child cry school in (loc.) make aux(abs-erg)

In the school cried the child.

Placing the locative argument in between the two constituents does not lead to ungrammaticality. Once again, we can confirm that the union in this case is not as tight as in the case of *hitz egin*. Thus, the data accounts once again for non-incorporation at the syntactic level in this case, which implies non-lexical incorporation.

### (c) WORD ORDER AND WH-MOVEMENT

(38) Mikel-ek liburua irakurri du.

Mike(erg) book read aux(abs-erg)

Mike has read the book.



Based on the assumption that, the WH phrase must be left-adjacent to the V, we can have the following possible Word Orders:

Wh (Subject) V O

Wh (DO) V S

Wh (IO) V O S

\* WH O V

HITZ EGIN

(16.a) Nork hitz egin du?

'Who has talked?'

(16.b) \*hitz nork egin du?

word who has made?

NEGAR EGIN

(17) Nork egin du negar?

Negar nork egin du?

Nork negar egin du?<sup>1</sup>

Who has cried?

In the first example (16.a), the Wh-V word order adjacency is respected as the incorporated noun with the verb behave as a complex verb.

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<sup>1</sup>As suggested by Tarald Taraldsen (p.c.), the grammaticality of this structure must be questioned. There is a contradictory behaviour shown by the non-lexical incorporation and the word order resulting from the left adjacency to the verb of wh question restriction.

In the case of *hitzegin*, the two constituents form a strong unit and they cannot be separated from each other, whereas in the case of *negar egin*, the union is not that strong and the insertion of a constituent in between leads to grammatical results.

We can conclude that distributional argumentation functions as evidence to confirm that there is a different degree concerning the union of the locution forming constituents.

#### WH-QUESTION

(38) Mikel-ek liburua irakurri du.

Mike has read the book.

We obtain the following:

(19) Zer irakurri du Mikel-ek?

What has Mike read?

(20) Liburua.

the book

#### ALDEGIN

(21) Mikel-ek aldegin du.

Mike has run away

(22) Zer egin du Mikel-ek?

What has Mike done?

(23) Alde egin du.

Run away.

but,

(24) \*alde/\*hitz /\*galde

### NEGAR EGIN

(25) Mikel-ek negar egin du.

Mike has cried.

(26) Zer egin du Mikelek?

What has Mike made?

(27.a) negar(cry)/farre (laugh)

(27.b) negarra(the cry)

(27.c) negar egin du / farre egin du

He has cried/he has smiled

This test functions as an argument to identify the direct object of the structure on the one hand, and to argue in favour of lexical incorporation in those cases in which this object cannot function independently anymore.

### 2.3. PARTITIVE NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION:

Partitive case can only be assigned to deep DO NPs in Basque.

Transitive Construction:

(28) Mikel-ek liburu-a irakurri du.

Mike-erg book det read aux(abs-erg)

'Mike has read the book'.

(29) Mikel-ek ez du liburu-rik irakurri.

Mike -erg neg. aux(abs-erg) book-part read

'Mike has not read any book'.

NEGAR EGIN type.

Non-incorporated structure:

(30) Mikel-ek negarra egin du.

Mike(erg) cry-det make aux(abs-erg)

'Mike has made the cry'.

(31) Mikel-ek ez du negar-ik egin.

Mike(erg) not aux cry (part) make

'Mike has not made a cry'.

In this case, the negation refers more to the noun itself 'the cry'.

Incorporated construction:

(32) Mikel-ek negar egin du.

Mike(erg) cry make aux

'Mike has cried'.

(33) Mikel-ek ez du negar egin.

Mike(erg) not aux cry make

'Mike has not cried'.

The negation applies to the whole verbal action of crying rather than to the noun in

particular.

The only way I could interpret this dual behavior is by considering the phenomenon of Incorporation within an evolution that has already been suggested. Looking at the process from an historical point of view, the first construction, the one with the partitive, corresponds to the very initial status or rather to the status right previous to Incorporation.

The union between the constituents in this case, is not significant, as shown by its independent syntactic behavior.

The second construction could be interpreted as a more advanced status within the continuum. The structure has been incorporated semantically with consequences in the syntax.

Extensive use of the negative construction with the semantically incorporated construction:

Mikel-ek ez du negar-rik egin.

Mike hasn't cried.

This phenomenon could be explained by analogy with the common transitive construction, which necessarily requires the use of the partitive to negate the non-specific D.O. noun constituent.

#### ALDE EGIN

(35) Jon-ek aldegin du.

'John has run away'.

(36) \*Jon-ek ez du alderik egin

'John has not make any run'.

The only corresponding negative to the affirmative is:

(37) Mikel-ek ez du aldegin.

Mike hasn't escaped.

### 3. Conclusions

The examples provide evidence to demonstrate that there are different degrees concerning the union between the constituents of the locutions in question, which can be grouped in two main classes characterized in the following way:

CLASS I. HITZ EGIN type

- 2 ARGUMENTS. NO OTHER POSSIBLE ARGUMENT/THETA CRITERION

- HITZ-2,1

-HITZ IS NOT ACTIVE SYNTACTICALLY

-HITZ IS NOT DETERMINED AND EGIN IS A DUMMY VERB.

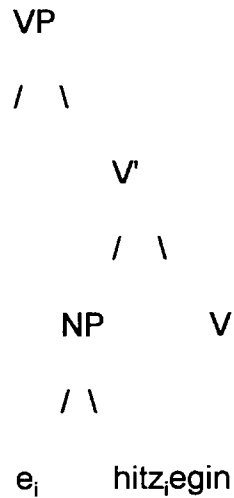
-THE OBJECT OF THE LOCUTION -HITZ- IS ADJOINED TO EGIN VIA INCORPORATION RULE:

[EGIN: HITZ- ,1]

adjunction

egin: e-2, 1

- SYNTAX PROJECTION:



- INCORPORATION AT THE LEXICAL LEVEL WITH CONSEQUENCES IN THE SYNTAX.

CLASS II. NEGAR EGIN type

-2 ARGUMENTS. NO OTHER POSSIBLE ARGUMENT IN ADDITION TO NEGAR/ THETA CRITERION.

- DANTZA-2, 1

- DANTZA IS SYNTACTICALLY ACTIVE

- DANTZA IS NOT DETERMINED AND THE VERB EGIN IS DUMMY.

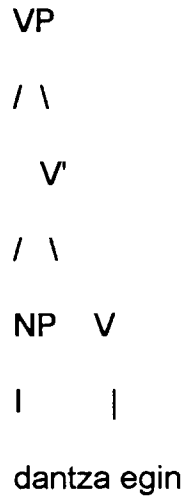
- THE NOUN IS NOT INCORPORATED AT THE LEXICAL NOR AT THE SYNTACTIC LEVEL:

LEXICAL REPRESENTATION:

EGIN: [2-DANTZA, 1]

EGIN: 2    1

SYNTAX PROJECTION:



- INCORPORATION AT LF.

In conclusion, I assert the [Noun + EGIN] locutions to be syntactically transitive. I propose that the various degrees of incorporation of certain locutions in Basque, can be explained if we understand that Noun Incorporation falls into an implicational hierarchy in the sense of Mithun(1984) which in turn suggests a path along which Noun Incorporation develops.

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# FÉMINISATION DES TITRES DE PROFESSIONS EN FRANCE ET AU QUÉBEC

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L'écart entre le français parlé en France et celui parlé au Québec s'est amplifié par la féminisation des titres de professions qui s'est appliquée quelque peu différemment de part et d'autre de l'Atlantique. Ainsi, parlant d'une femme, le Français dira: «Hier, j'ai invité le maire à déjeuner», tandis que le Québécois pourra formuler sa pensée en ces termes: «Hier, j'ai invité la mairesse à dîner». Le contenu sémantique des deux phrases est identique, mais les mots pour le dire viennent différemment selon que l'on est français ou québécois.

Afin de déterminer l'origine et la nature de ces nouvelles différences lexicales, nous comparerons, dans cette communication, les recommandations émises, en France, par la Commission de féminisation des noms de métiers à celles émises au Québec par l'Office de la langue française. Puis, nous comparerons l'état actuel de la féminisation dans ces deux communautés francophones en nous basant sur la presse écrite et, finalement, nous proposerons une explication des divergences observées.

En France, la Commission de féminisation a été constituée en février 1984 par M<sup>me</sup> Yvette Roudy, alors ministre des Droits de la Femme. Leurs travaux furent achevés en janvier 1986 et leurs propositions (largement réécrites, comme le souligne Houdebine (1987), membre de la Commission) ont paru sous la forme d'une circulaire dans le *Journal Officiel de la République française (JO)* en mars 1986.

Au Québec, dès juillet 1979, on peut lire, dans la *Gazette officielle du Québec*, un avis de recommandation à propos de la féminisation qui émane de l'Office de la langue française. Deux autres avis suivront: l'un en 1981 et l'autre en 1984. Un document intitulé: *Titres et fonctions au féminin: essai d'orientation de l'usage* sera publié par l'Office en 1986. Finalement, en 1991, paraît *Au féminin Guide de féminisation des titres de fonction et des textes*. C'est à partir de ce guide et de la circulaire parue dans le *JO* que nous avons basé la présente comparaison.

La Commission française et l'Office québécois sont unanimes sur un point fondamental, soit la féminisation de toute profession, tout titre ou tout grade. Leurs divergences se manifestent dans le choix de la forme recommandée pour certaines terminaisons à dérivations multiples, c'est-à-dire celles qui possèdent plus d'une forme féminine attestée, exemple: *teur* a quatre dérivations *teuse*, *trice*, *oresse* ou *eresse* comme dans *chanteuse*, *directrice*, *doctoresse* et *enchanteresse*. Par la force des choses, les terminaisons à dérivation unique (c'est-à-dire celles dans lesquelles une seule forme féminine est attestée, exemple: *ier-ière* comme dans *épicier*, *épicière*) ont donné lieu à des recommandations communes; puisque les règles de la morphologie française, à partir desquelles les deux organismes basent leurs recommandations, n'offrent qu'une seule possibilité de féminisation.

Nous analyserons les recommandations des deux organismes pour chacune des trois terminaisons à dérivations multiples suivantes: *e*, *eur*, *teur*. Les noms déjà terminés à l'écrit par un *e*, qui est la marque du féminin, présentent deux formes possibles: la forme

épicène, exemple: un artiste, une artiste; la dérivation en esse, exemple: un comte, une comtesse. Toutefois, le suffixe esse, n'étant plus productif en français moderne, n'a pas été retenu ni par la Commission ni par l'Office. C'est donc unanimement que la forme épicène est recommandée, exemples: un ministre, une ministre; un juge, une juge.

Les féminins déjà attestés en esse sont conservés. Toutefois, le terme *mairesse* présente un cas particulier. En effet, à ce signifiant correspondent maintenant deux signifiés: l'un français, l'autre québécois. En France, ce terme, selon les recommandations de la Commission, continue à désigner l'épouse du maire; bien que, comme le souligne Houdebine (1987), cet usage s'éteigne peu à peu et, avec lui, le signifiant lui-même. Par contre, au Québec, l'Office propose *mairesse* pour désigner la personne élue à la mairie. *Madame la mairesse* dans le sens d'épouse du maire n'a plus cours.

La terminaison *eur* possède quatre dérivations attestées: *euse*, *eure*, *eresse*, *ice* comme dans *vendeuse*, *supérieure*, *vengeresse*, *ambassadrice*. L'Office en retient deux, soit *euse* et *eure*; tandis que la Commission n'en retient qu'une seule, soit *euse*, et propose comme deuxième dérivation la forme épicène *eur*.

Deux dérivations étant proposées, une règle est nécessaire afin de répartir les noms entre elles. La Commission énonce cette règle de distribution: «...si le verbe de base est reconnaissable, un féminin en « euse »: une vendeuse... Si le verbe de base n'est pas reconnaissable, que ce soit pour la forme ou le sens...» (JO, 16 mars 1986:4267), c'est la forme épicène: une proviseur, une professeur. L'Office, quant à lui, se base sur la règle générale suivante: «Les noms en -eur forment régulièrement leur féminin en -euse.» (L'Office, 1991:11). Les féminins en *eure* sont donc considérés comme des exceptions.

L'Office ajoute qu'«une valeur péjorative est attachée parfois aux féminins en *euse* et que la résistance à employer ces formes est plus forte lorsqu'il s'agit de professions de type intellectuel.» (L'Office, 1991:11). *Camionneuse*, par exemple, serait plus facilement acceptable que *chercheuse*. L'Office n'a pas pour autant, comme nous venons de le voir, basé la répartition des féminins en *euse* et en *eure* selon cette distinction. C'est ainsi que des professions de type intellectuel ont comme forme recommandée, soit *euse*, exemples: une chercheuse, une chroniqueuse, soit *eure*, exemples: une gouverneure, une procureure.

C'est la terminaison *eur* qui est à la base des plus nombreuses divergences dans les recommandations des deux organismes. En effet, non seulement, diffère-t-elle par la dérivation: *eur* et *eure*, (qui n'est marquée que sur le plan graphique), mais elle diffère également par la règle de distribution des noms selon les deux dérivations. Ainsi, des substantifs dérivés d'un verbe qui, selon la Commission, ont leur forme en *euse*, sont recommandés en *eure* par l'Office, exemples: une réviseure (réviser), une annonceure (annoncer).

Quant à la terminaison *teur*, elle présente quatre dérivations attestées: *teuse*, *trice*, *oresse* et *eresse*. Les deux premières, soit *teuse* et *trice* sont retenues par les deux organismes. Toutefois, la Commission et l'Office proposent une dérivation supplémentaire, soit respectivement la forme épïcène *teur* et la forme féminine en *teure*. Ces choix suivent le modèle de la terminaison en *eur* pour laquelle *eur* et *eure* sont des formes recommandées.

Les deux organismes se réfèrent à une même règle de distribution qui, bien que

formulée différemment, produit les mêmes féminins. La Commission l'énonce ainsi: «... - si le «t» appartient au verbe de base, un féminin en «teuse»: une acheteuse...; - si le «t» n'appartient pas au verbe de base, un féminin en «trice»: une animatrice...» (JO, 16 mars 1986:4267). L'Office, pour sa part, présente ainsi la règle de distribution:

«Les noms en *-teur* forment régulièrement leur féminin en *-teuse*, (comme **chanteuse**) ou en *-trice* (comme **actrice**). Lorsqu'on hésite entre le suffixe *-teuse* et le suffixe *-trice*, il faut se demander si l'on peut former, à partir du nom masculin, un participe présent en remplaçant *eur* par *ant*. Si tel n'est pas le cas, le féminin est en *-trice*.» (L'Office, 1991:12).

Quant à la troisième dérivation, la Commission la réserve aux noms dont «la forme féminine en «trice» n'est pas aujourd'hui acceptée» (JO, 16 mars 1986:4267), exemple: une auteur qui devrait donner selon la règle une autrice. À ce sujet, l'Office mentionne seulement que les mots *auteur*, *sculpteur* et *docteur*, pour lesquels plusieurs formes féminines étaient en concurrence, le féminin en *eure* a été retenu. C'est en consultant la liste incluse dans le *Guide* qu'il est possible de connaître les autres cas d'exception, tels que metteure en scène qui selon la règle énoncée par l'Office devrait donner *metteuse en scène*. Comme nous pouvons le constater par *metteure en scène* et *sculpteure*, l'Office, contrairement à la Commission, ne réserve pas la troisième dérivation uniquement aux noms dont la dérivation, selon la règle de distribution, serait en *trice*.

Quel sort ont connu ces recommandations dans la presse écrite? Au Québec, la féminisation s'est appliquée, sans restriction, à toutes les professions donnant aussi bien une greffière qu'une première ministre. Tous les journalistes ne l'appliquent cependant pas

encore à tous les termes féminins, mais la tendance générale est nettement vers la féminisation au point de surprendre peut-être le lecteur qui découvre, dans la collection Chanel, une tenue vestimentaire pour «une motarde de luxe» (*La Presse*, 27 juillet 1994:E2).

Les féminisations sont, en général, conformes aux recommandations de l'Office. Cependant, les dérivations en *eure* et en *teure* s'avèrent très productives et s'appliquent au-delà des termes recommandés faisant ainsi concurrence à la forme en *euse*. Ainsi, les chercheuses, les chroniqueuses, les traiteuses côtoient les chercheurs, les chroniqueuses et les traiteuses.

En France, malgré le tollé de protestations qu'a soulevé la mise en place de la Commission (voir Houdebine 1987), la féminisation s'effectue. Le souci de féminiser est bien présent dans la presse écrite et les guillemets permettent l'utilisation de féminins dont on est encore incertain. Ainsi, l'auteur commence son article sur les femmes dans la franc-maçonnerie en s'interrogeant: «Faut-il les appeler des «franc-maçonnnes»?» (*L'Express*, 12 mai 1994:34). Dans la suite de l'article, il emploie *les maçonnnes* évitant ainsi la querelle de langage, à laquelle il fait allusion (*L'Express*, 12 mai 1994:37), et qui porte sur l'appellation de *franc-maçonnnes* ou de *franches-maçonnnes*. Un journaliste du *Figaro*, pour sa part, présente le retour du style marin dans la mode en titrant son article: «Les nouvelles «matelotes»» (*Le Figaro*, 29 juillet 1994:VII-8). Dès l'accès de la gent féminine à de nouvelles occupations, les néologismes féminins correspondants apparaissent. Ainsi, dans un article au sujet du Vatican qui vient d'accorder officiellement aux filles le droit de servir la messe, droit jusque là réservé aux servants de messe, elles sont appelées les

servantes de messe (*Le Figaro*, 15 avril 1994:B-9). Finalement, la féminisation s'étend au-delà des titres de professions. Ainsi, dans le domaine sportif, on peut lire «Selon vous, c'est la future numéro un mondiale?» (*Le Figaro*, 4-5 juin 1994:A-13).

Toutefois, la féminisation s'impose plus difficilement dans certains secteurs, dont le domaine politique. Afin de bien montrer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une question de dérivation, les termes suivants, relevés dans la presse écrite, sont groupés par terminaisons identiques: la chorégraphe, la psychiatre, mais le ministre et le maire; la chargée des relations, l'attachée de presse, mais le député. Il y a également résistance à l'emploi de formes féminines pour certaines fonctions administratives de prestige. «Isabelle Magnard, directeur général des Éditions Magnard...» (*Le Figaro*, 29 juillet 1994:B-1) et «...cette belle Vauclusienne de 32 ans est le nouveau conservateur du Palais des Papes» (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 4-10 août 1994:17). Ces réticences, comme l'ont souligné des linguistes, telles que Yaguello (1989:68) et Houdebine (1987:30), sont d'ordre social et psychologique.

Toutefois, à notre avis, toutes les réticences ne peuvent pas s'expliquer par des raisons d'un tel ordre. Ainsi, en est-il des formes épïcènes *eur* et *teur* qui n'ont pas connu de succès auprès des locuteurs peu importe la nature de l'emploi.

Les formes épïcènes proposées constituent une innovation. En effet, nous ne trouvons aucun exemple dans la langue française de substantifs masculins en *eur* ou en *teur* qui désignent le féminin par l'utilisation d'un déterminant féminin. Par contre, la forme en *eure*, proposée au Québec, est une dérivation attestée, exemples: mineur-mineure, supérieur-supérieure. Bien que la dérivation *teure* ne soit pas attestée, elle s'est intégrée

à la forme en *eure*. Comme nous l'avons mentionné, la dérivation en *eure*, que ce soit pour les substantifs en *eur* ou en *teur*, est très bien passée dans l'usage. Si bien même que Radio-Canada, la télévision d'État, soucieuse de suivre les recommandations de l'Office, voit la nécessité de recommander à son personnel de ne pas abuser des formes en *eure* et de s'en tenir aux formes proposées. Tout porte à croire que les formes épiciènes proposées sont responsables de l'échec de la féminisation des noms en *eur* et en *teur* qui ne relèvent pas du domaine politique ou administratif. Des raisons linguistiques semblent donc être à la base de ces blocages.

En résumé, nous constatons que les différences lexicales proviennent, d'une part, d'une non-féminisation de certains termes en France alors que ceux-ci se sont féminisés au Québec. Il s'agit de certains termes du domaine politique et administratif ainsi que des masculins en *eur* et en *teur* dont le féminin est recommandé à la forme épiciène. Elles proviennent, d'autre part, d'une féminisation qui s'est appliquée différemment, en France et au Québec, à certains noms en *eur* et en *teur*. Les mots d'emprunt et les homophones, que nous n'avons pas traités dans cette communication, peuvent également conduire à des divergences (Parent, 1994:126-127). Un Québécois dira par exemple: «C'est une excellente jockey», tandis qu'un Français pourra s'exprimer ainsi: «C'est une excellente jockette» (d'après une communication personnelle de Marianne Duval-Valentin, *jockette* est attestée en France). Mais ceci nous entraînerait dans un autre exposé.



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**Rôle argumentatif des négations, interrogations, exclamations  
et points de suspensions dans la publicité française et québécoise**

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**Abstract**

*Several comparative studies on negative and interrogative sentences in English and French have shown that French texts contain more negative and interrogative forms than English (Pons-Ridler, Quillard 1992 and 1993). This difference came from socio-cultural as well as linguistic factors. If such socio-cultural factors are significant one would expect that they would be reflected in North American writings such as publicity. This study examines publicity in France and in francophone Quebec, and shows that while the former uses negatives and interrogatives, Quebec publicity uses exclamation marks and suspension points. It is well known that the anglophone milieu has influenced Canadian French in various aspects of morphology, syntax and semantics; but this study illustrates that the very way of thinking has been influenced, and is reflected in the different formats used for publicity as well as argumentative strategies.*

**1. Introduction**

Cette étude fait suite à plusieurs analyses montrant que la presse française comportait un nombre nettement plus élevé de négations et d'interrogations que la presse anglaise (Pons-Ridler, Quillard 1992, 1993). L'analyse des corpus avait permis de noter

que cette différence relevait de contraintes linguistiques, mais qu'intervenient également des facteurs socio-historico-culturels. Par ailleurs, deux études sur le slogan négatif dans la publicité française (Pons-Ridler, 1994) soulignaient le rôle linguistique essentiel joué par la négation pour renforcer l'effet persuasif de l'argument, et l'importance que revêtait le public ciblé dans l'argumentation. Nous avons alors émis l'hypothèse suivante : si, d'une part, les slogans publicitaires reflètent le milieu auquel ils s'adressent et si, d'autre part, les éléments socio-culturels expliquent en grande partie la différence d'usage que présentent les textes anglais et français, l'utilisation de la négation et de l'interrogation dans la presse canadienne française devrait être influencée par le milieu anglophone nord-américain.

Pour tenter de vérifier cette hypothèse, nous avons comparé les articles et les publicités de revues françaises et canadiennes françaises. Ce travail rend compte du premier volet de cette étude, l'analyse de la publicité de quatre numéros de deux magazines canadiens et de quatre numéros de deux magazines français (janvier - avril 1994). Nous avons arrêté notre choix sur les magazines de plus grand tirage du côté canadien, *L'Actualité* et *Châtelaine*, et sur les revues françaises qui nous ont paru être les plus comparables : *Le Nouvel Observateur* et *Prima*. Donc deux magazines d'actualité et deux revues féminines. En cours de recherche, il s'est avéré nécessaire d'étendre l'étude à l'exclamation et à la suspension pour avoir une vision plus complète des outils linguistiques à la disposition des publicitaires.

## 2. Résultats quantitatifs

Pour toutes les publicités, nous avons relevé, répertorié et compté toutes les phrases contenant une négation, une interrogation, des points d'exclamation et de suspension. Nous avons également fait une distinction entre le slogan et le texte publicitaire. À partir de ces données nous avons établi les tableaux A et B. Le premier porte sur **toutes** les publicités de chaque numéro, tandis que le second porte seulement sur les slogans et ne prend en considération que les publicités **différentes** dans chacun des deux corpus : la même publicité ayant paru et dans *L'Actualité* et dans *Châtelaine* n'est comptée qu'une fois dans le total; il en est de même pour les revues françaises. Ce second tableau nous permet donc d'obtenir des chiffres comparables pour chaque corpus.

## A. Tableau comparatif des textes publicitaires

		nbre de publicités différentes	nbre de pages publicitaires	négations		semi-nég.		excl.		interr.		susp.	
				occur.	pourc.	occur.	pourc.	occur.	pourc.	occur.	pourc.	occur.	pourc.
<b>Actualité</b>	J	30	35	23		4		17		9		10	
	F	23	35	50		13		18		12		7	
	M	32	47	32		2		21		10		13	
	Av	32	42	37		4		31		10		13	
<b>Chate-laine</b>	J	38	42	5*		6		21		13		13	
	F	34	47	35		6		42		8		15	
	M	54	78	58		3		37		8		20	
	Av	89	124	75		6		112		13		53	
<b>Total Can</b>		<b>332</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>111,7</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>13,25</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>90,06</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>43,37</b>
<b>Nouvel observateur</b>	J	12	19	8		3		1		2		1	
	F	18	23	13		3		3		1		2	
	M	25	37	10		2		2		3		7	
	Av	33	49	22		3		3		9		21	
<b>Prima</b>	J	25	29	21		6		28		8		10	
	F	35	42	34		1		39		21		18	
	M	42	83	77		5		32		31		18	
	Av	63	98	49		2		55		31		32	
<b>Total Fr.</b>		<b>253</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>92,49</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>9,88</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>64,42</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>41,89</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>43,08</b>

## B. Tableau comparatif des slogans

	négations		exclamations		interrogations		suspensions	
	occur.	pourc.	occur.	pourc.	occur.	pourc.	occur.	pourc.
<b>Actualité</b> (4 numéros) 28 slogans différents	9	32,14	10	35,71	3	10,71	6	21,42
<b>Chatelaine</b> (4 numéros) 72 slogans différents	14	19,44	28	38,88	12	16,66	18	25
Total magazines québécois 100 slogans différents	23	23	38	38	15	15	24	24
<b>Nouvel observateur</b> (4 numéros) 21 slogans différents	12	57,14	1	4,76	5	23,80	1	4,76
<b>Prima</b> (4 numéros) 78 slogans différents	23	29,48	23	29,48	23	29,48	8	10,25
Total magazines français 99 slogans différents	35	35,35	24	24,24	28	28,28	9	9,08

Les données obtenues montrent qu'il existe une nette différence dans l'emploi des quatre éléments étudiés. Les slogans français recourent beaucoup plus souvent aux formes négatives (35,35% contre 23%) et interrogatives (28,28% contre 15%), les slogans canadiens aux exclamations (38% contre 24,24%) et aux points de suspension (24% contre 9,08%). Si, pour l'ensemble des textes publicitaires, les revues canadiennes ont un pourcentage supérieur de négations, cela tient au fait qu'au Canada les produits sont longuement décrits, alors qu'en France l'accent est mis sur le slogan et l'image; le texte explicatif, quand il y en a un, est généralement bref. C'est pourquoi une comparaison valable ne pouvait être faite qu'au niveau du slogan.<sup>1</sup>

La plus grande fréquence des négations et des interrogations dans les slogans français, des exclamations et des points de suspension dans les slogans canadiens reflète les différences stylistiques et stratégiques de l'argumentation. En effet, la langue étant la même, les groupes ciblés de même niveau socio-économique et également répartis entre les deux sexes, seuls des facteurs socio-culturels sont susceptibles d'expliquer ces écarts. D'après nos données, ils relèvent principalement de trois domaines : code linguistique, rapports inter-personnels (notamment en ce qui concerne l'intervention de l'énonciateur, que les publicitaires appellent un prescripteur), stratégies argumentatives (et raisons qui président au choix d'une forme au détriment d'une autre).

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<sup>1</sup>Ou alors il aurait fallu faire un comptage des mots de toutes les publicités étudiées.

### 3. Analyse comparative des slogans

#### 3.1. Code linguistique

Les publicités canadiennes françaises n'hésitent pas à reproduire les formes orales:

. Interjections : (2 en CF, aucune en FF)<sup>2</sup>.

(1) ...renverser, oups ! faire chauffer...sapristi ! (Acuvue)

(2) Ah ! le beau rêve Whirlpool.

. Disjonctions : (2 en CF, aucune en FF)

(3) Éblouissants, les reflets ! (Garnier)

. Tournures nominales : (14 en CF, 4 en FF)

(4) Nouilles sans jaunes ! (Catelli)

(5) Un adorable petit lapin ! (Godiva)

. Altérations morpho-syntaxiques : "J'en reviens pas", "Y'a rien comme le boeuf" "C'est pas vrai"

. Exclamations (38 en CF contre 24 en FF). Elles permettent de transcrire à l'écrit un phénomène qui est essentiellement d'ordre phonostylistique. Or, à en juger par notre corpus, le français de France répugne à faire appel à des marqueurs d'oralité (pourtant, s'il existe des textes pragmatiques où la forme parlée est privilégiée, ce sont bien les annonces publicitaires).

. Les points de suspension qui servent, eux aussi, à reproduire des phénomènes qui relèvent de l'oral, sont presque trois fois plus nombreux dans les publicités canadiennes françaises (24 contre 9). Qu'ils marquent une simple énumération,

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<sup>2</sup>CF = canadien français; FF = français de France.



engagent au rêve par des sous-entendus charmeurs :

(6) Keri connaît les secrets...d'une belle peau. (CF)

(7) Romance italienne...Venezia (CF)

ou plus simplement qu'ils accordent un temps de pause pour inciter le lecteur à réfléchir ou à bien assimiler le message :

(8) Si la détente vous tente...faites-vous plaisir ! Sung Spa (CF)

(9) A condition...d'être la plus confortable aussi ! Variance (FF)

les points de suspension sont, avec l'exclamation, des marques privilégiées qui se substituent à l'intonation pour faire du destinataire un ami, et ainsi le sécuriser et le séduire.

### 3.2. Rapports inter-énonciateurs

Ils s'expriment très différemment dans les deux cultures. Ainsi, les publicités canadiennes françaises préfèrent les questions personnalisées, c'est-à-dire celles qui comportent un marqueur de relation (vous ou tu), et qui s'adressent donc spécifiquement au lecteur (6 en CF contre 4 en FF).

(10) Que cherchez-vous ? (Energide)

Les publicités françaises, elles, ont tendance à s'adresser indirectement au destinataire, soit par l'intermédiaire de questions générales (4 en CF, 11 en FF<sup>3</sup>)

(11) Le nettoyage démaquillage peut-il embellir la peau ?

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<sup>3</sup>dont l'une est la même dans les deux corpus (Biotherm : Cellulite, Aujourd'hui peut-on agir efficacement ?)

soit par l'intermédiaire de questions qui sont censées reprendre un commentaire du destinataire :

(12) Ballonnements ? N'y pensez plus.

Cette préférence pour les rapports interpersonnels plus indirects pourrait aussi rendre compte du nombre plus élevé d'actes de communication trilogiques (1 en CF, 4 en FF). Les questions sont alors censées être posées par une tierce personne qui, sur le plan visuel, ne participe pas à l'acte de communication :

(13) Elle a 40 ans ? C'est pas vrai. (Maybelline)

(14) 16 soupapes ? Il ne s'ennuie pas le petit Lambert. (Nissan)

On peut en effet émettre l'hypothèse que le trilogue permet de ne pas établir de rapports directs avec le destinataire. Il présente aussi l'avantage d'offrir plus de vie et plus de variété.

Il semble également que le français de France réalise beaucoup plus indirectement les FTAs (Face Threatening Acts) et qu'il hésite plus à donner des ordres ou des conseils. On ne trouve dans les interrogations des publicités françaises aucun impératif (ou impératif déguisé), alors qu'on en trouve deux en canadien français, dont l'un sous une forme adoucie (ex 15) :

(15) Pourquoi vous contenter d'exercices ordinaires quand vous pouvez conditionner votre corps entier...

(16) Peut-on paraître 10 années plus jeune [sic] ? Jugez-en vous-même... (Arden)

Dans les journaux français, l'acte directif de cette publicité est gommé par la syntaxe:

(17) 10 ans de moins ? À vous de juger.

L'exclamation peut aussi être un moyen de renforcer des formes directives. Étant donné la réticence du français pour ces formes, les chiffres n'ont rien d'étonnant : 6 exclamations accompagnent des impératifs dans les revues canadiennes, 2 dans les françaises :

(18) Minceur : Jetez-vous à l'eau ! (FF)

(19) Offrez une cure de beauté à vos cheveux ! Neutrogena (CF)

(20) Ayez l'air plus jeune ! Ultima (CF)<sup>4</sup>

Il est intéressant de noter que l'exclamation ne souligne jamais un jeu de mots dans les publicités françaises, alors qu'elle le fait à trois reprises dans les publicités canadiennes. Est-ce parce qu'en France on considère que le jeu de mots se suffit (ou devrait se suffire) à lui-même et qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'avoir recours à un second procédé pour le mettre en relief ?

(21) Montez le volume ! (L'Oréal)

(22) Pas laid votre poulet ! (Ragu)

La négation est un outil permettant au locuteur de prendre ses distances par rapport à l'énoncé, puisque l'énoncé négatif comporte deux actes : l'assertion de la personne qui parle et le refus de cette assertion. C'est donc une façon indirecte et plus neutre de présenter une proposition ou une invitation, ce qui pourrait expliquer le plus grand nombre d'occurrences de slogans négatifs en français. De plus, les publicitaires font souvent appel soit à un prescripteur qui s'exprime à la première personne du singulier (5 en FF et 1 en CF), n'engageant alors que lui, ou à la première personne du pluriel, soit

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<sup>4</sup>L'impératif de cette phrase nous paraît très contestable!

à des formes impersonnelles, **il** ou **ce** (12 en FF et 6 en FC), qui généralisent le message et évitent qu'il puisse paraître au destinataire trop direct et dirigiste.

(23) Je n'ai jamais aimé les robes de chambre et les pantoufles. Ce n'est pas à mon âge que je vais commencer. (La Redoute)

(24) On n'a jamais été plus près des femmes. (Variance)

(25) Il n'y a pas que les câlins qui font les jolies mamans, il y a aussi le fromage.

### 3.3. Stratégies argumentatives

Elles varient, elles aussi, considérablement dans les deux cultures.

Les slogans français évitent toute familiarité de ton ou de langage et veulent donner l'impression de ne pas vouloir influencer le destinataire. En choisissant des tours impersonnels ou négatifs, ils font passer le message de façon indirecte. Cependant, sous couvert de neutralité, ils sont très percutants et attirent, nous semble-t-il, davantage l'attention<sup>5</sup>.

Les publicités canadiennes usent plus fréquemment d'arguments concrets et pragmatiques; les publicités françaises ont plus tendance à manipuler le public par l'appel à certains sentiments. S'il est certain que l'essentiel de l'argumentation publicitaire s'établit autour d'une opposition, et ceci se retrouve dans les deux corpus, les moyens de persuasion sont plus riches et l'effet généralement plus percutant en français. Prenons par exemple les publicités sur les voitures, qui foisonnent dans les revues à orientation plus

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<sup>5</sup>Il faut remarquer aussi, car cela a son importance, que les publicités qui paraissent dans les revues canadiennes que nous avons sélectionnées sont presque toutes des publicités traduites de l'anglais.

masculine, *L'Actualité* et *Le Nouvel Observateur* : on en trouve deux qui sont négatives dans la première, huit dans la seconde. Au-delà de la différence numérique, on note dans les publicités canadiennes une mise en évidence de la qualité par opposition :

(26) Nos Nissan ont une option qui n'est pas offerte par nos concurrents. La disponibilité !

et l'intervention du prescripteur : un client satisfait qui s'étonne et se réjouit de la maniabilité d'un gros véhicule :

(27) "J'en reviens pas : c'est comme conduire une voiture sport sept-passagers!"

(Pontiac)

Dans les deux cas l'exclamation souligne l'étonnement admiratif pour les qualités vantées: disponibilité et maniabilité; cette forme ne figure dans aucune des publicités négatives du *Nouvel Observateur*.

L'argumentation des slogans français use largement du prescripteur, mais ce personnage reste dans l'ombre. Il ne s'adresse directement au public que très rarement, préférant, on l'a vu, des tournures indirectes. Puisqu'il s'adresse à quelqu'un qui est absent, ou présent seulement dans l'illustration, il ne menace apparemment pas le destinataire; celui-ci ne se sent pas du tout visé personnellement. Le prescripteur peut donc se permettre une plus grande liberté de ton, et mettre en oeuvre, si bon lui semble, des moyens que d'autres sociétés réprouvent. Ainsi, ce que l'on ne voit pas encore dans la publicité nord-américaine, sauf pour les produits qui les touchent directement, les enfants sont ceux qui incitent à l'achat. L'argument avancé paraît légitime dans certains cas, comme :

(28) Seat Cordoba. La voiture qui n'oublie pas qu'il y a des pilotes qui sont aussi des papas.

où sont mises en relief la sécurité et la responsabilité paternelle. Toutefois, l'incitation à la vitesse (c'est **pilote** qui a été retenu, et non **conducteur**) soulève certaines questions. Elle implique en effet que l'acheteur pourra, en toute bonne conscience, conduire son véhicule comme s'il participait aux 24 heures du Mans, puisqu'il ne risquera pas de mettre sa famille en danger. Mais est-ce vraiment sans danger ?

L'enfant intervient parfois plus ouvertement pour pousser à un achat de luxe, parce qu'il ne veut pas paraître socialement inférieur à ses camarades. Il en est ainsi dans la publicité de Renault (Laguna) :

(29) Je ne veux pas aller à l'école dans une voiture moche.

Cet argument vise à donner mauvaise conscience aux parents, s'ils ne "l'achètent pas" comme on dirait en anglais! Mais c'est un argument spécieux, qui ne s'appuie sur aucune qualité concrète, si ce n'est le luxe du véhicule.

Orgueil et suffisance sont également les deux éléments sur lesquels jouent d'autres publicités de Renault (Laguna), par l'entremise de l'enfant prescripteur, bien qu'ils soient ici présentés de façon plus subtile et nuancée :

(30) Il n'y a pas que ceux qui conduisent qui aiment les voitures.

En plus de l'intervention directe du prescripteur, et de l'usage du **je** dans le slogan, on relève aussi la personnification de l'objet de rêve qu'est la voiture comme moyen de persuasion indirect, mais fort convaincant :

(31) Aucune voiture ne rêve aussi fort qu'une Jeep.

La négation permet de mettre en opposition deux termes; celui qui est négativé met l'autre davantage en relief. Ce type de slogan, dans lequel la négation souligne l'opposition, se retrouve dans les deux corpus, mais en nombre supérieur dans les publicités françaises. Cette argumentation par la négative permet aussi de contraster des termes ou de faire des jeux de mots plus susceptibles de retenir l'attention. Là encore les publicités françaises sont plus riches.

(32) Pas question de laisser familial rimer avec banal. (Renault Espace)

(33) On n'a jamais été aussi bien sur terre que dans l'Espace. (id.)

(34) On n'a jamais rien lu d'aussi bon. (Cuisine et vins de France)

(35) Listel gris vient du pays où rien n'est gris.

Certes, on relève quelques jeux de mots dans les publicités canadiennes :

(36) Pas laid votre poulet ! (Ragu)

(37) Des tables à trois pieds qui ne vous coûteront pas un bras... (Ikea)

mais ils sont soulignés par l'exclamation et ils nous paraissent avoir moins de relief.

La plupart des remarques faites précédemment s'appliquent aux publicités négatives relevées dans les magazines féminins, sauf celles qui concernent l'enfant prescripteur, lequel est absent des 23 publicités de *Prima*. Cela soulève la question de l'acceptabilité d'un type d'argument par le groupe cible. Tout comme les Canadiens ne sont pas prêts (ou perçus comme tels par les publicitaires) à être manipulés par des arguments avancés par un jeune prescripteur, de même les Françaises doivent être considérées comme rebelles à ce type d'argument (du moins pour le moment).

En général la publicité négative québécoise reste plus près du produit vanté, et elle est plus descriptive. Ou encore elle souligne la satisfaction que doit procurer le produit : "argent remis si la marchandise ne satisfait pas" (Eaton). Ceci semble indiquer que le public ciblé est plus pragmatique et souhaite que les qualités ou caractéristiques mises en évidence dans la publicité correspondent bien à une particularité concrète du produit. Les publicitaires travaillent davantage au niveau des arguments, cherchant à plaire essentiellement par ce biais et n'ayant que rarement recours à la manipulation pour séduire les consommateurs. En France, en revanche, tous les moyens sont apparemment acceptables, pourvu que le public y soit sensible et soit conduit au geste d'achat. Tout récemment en France, la marque Perrier a bâti toute sa publicité autour de la notion de violence, inhérente à la nature humaine. Certes les slogans exprimaient cette idée avec art, et la mention "source déclarée d'intérêt public" figurait en bas des affiches, mais elle dominait le slogan, atteignant le public avec force :

"Et si l'homme se contentait de la violence d'un Perrier ?"; "Et si l'homme se contentait de descendre un Perrier ?"

#### **4. Conclusion**

En étudiant les deux corpus canadiens et français, nous avons pu constater que les différences culturelles avaient un impact important sur la présentation des publicités. Un groupe préfère émettre les messages sous forme négative ou interrogative, alors que l'autre privilégie davantage les tours exclamatifs pour transcrire en particulier certaines caractéristiques de l'oralité dans le code écrit. Nous avons également tenté de cerner les



structures privilégiées par chacun des deux groupes et de les relier à certaines caractéristiques socio-culturelles.

Nombreuses sont les études qui ont souligné les écarts que présentent ces deux variétés de français, tant du point de vue lexical que phonétique ou syntaxique. Cependant si l'on pressentait que l'influence du milieu socio-culturel marquait d'autres aspects du discours, ceux-ci n'avaient pas été identifiés de façon précise comme nous venons de le faire. Nous avons montré non seulement que le milieu socio-culturel (et dans ce cas nord-américain anglophone) influençait la pensée francophone au point de l'amener à choisir un format de présentation (exclamation, suspension) plutôt qu'un autre (interrogation, négation), mais aussi que les tendances socio-culturelles étaient inscrites dans les types de rapports interpersonnels choisis par les publicitaires et dans leurs stratégies argumentatives. La suite de nos recherches sur l'ensemble du corpus devrait nous permettre de déterminer si ce qui a été mis en évidence pour la publicité se retrouve dans le reste du discours de presse.

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# AGGLUTINATION, THE EXAMPLES OF HUNGARIAN AND JAPANESE

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## ABSTRACT

*Some languages use a very high number of prefixes, suffixes, endings, ending complexes to bring out syntactic functions, while the stem is basically unchanged. This is called agglutination.*

*In this paper, I am going to quote words with their endings, taken from Hungarian and Japanese sentences. Even though the endings in these words, (quoted in these two languages) are linguistically not corresponding to each other, the two languages behave in a similar way. The question of linguistic relationship is beyond my scope.*

*First, words will be quoted with one, two, three or more endings, prefixes, etc. Then sentences will be presented in the Japanese language from a famous Japanese folk tale "Kaguya-Hime ('Princess Kaguya') and the Hungarian translation of the same sentences. Then the endings, prefixes, etc., will be counted in these sentences. The number of these elements is very high in both languages. In Japanese it is noticeably higher than in Hungarian. Both languages can be taken for characteristic examples of the linguistic phenomenon, called "agglutination". However, Japanese is more "agglutinative" than Hungarian.*

In the classification of languages, genetic relationship and typological similarity are two different things, two different fields of study. In this paper, I shall have a look at the

agglutinative characteristics of Hungarian and Japanese. Relationship is beyond my scope. My goal is this: to study another common structural peculiarity of the two languages, i.e., agglutination.

What is agglutination? Unlike English, French, German, etc., some languages use a very high number of prefixes, suffixes, endings or ending complexes to bring out syntactic functions, while the stem is basically unchanged (except for certain stem vowels, at the end of the stem).

I am going to quote words with their endings, taken from Hungarian and Japanese sentences. Even though the endings in these words are linguistically (in most cases) not corresponding to each other, the two languages behave in a similar way. Their similarity is significant, as far as this structural peculiarity is concerned. (We must make a comment: only correspondences prove a genetic relationship).

The three forms of the English verb *go*, *went*, *gone* are very different from each other, unlike the forms of the Hungarian verb *menni* 'to go': *mennek* 'they go', *mentem* 'I went', etc. The stem *men-* is clearly recognizable in these forms of the Hungarian verb. The endings are recognizable as well. Those endings determine the function of the word in sentences. We can say the same about forms of the equivalent Japanese verb: *iku* 'I go (informal)', *ikimasu* 'I go (formal)', *ikimassen* 'I do not go', *ikimashita* 'I went', etc.

Both Hungarian and Japanese bring out syntactic functions by endings, suffixes, prefixes. Hungarian distinguishes clearly between tenses, persons, numbers, etc., while the Japanese endings concentrate on partly different functions: tenses, negation; and as we could see in the words we quoted above: the Japanese endings tell us very much about

formality, politeness level, etc.

In both languages we can find words with one ending, two endings, three endings, etc. We say in Hungarian *ház-ban* 'in the house'. The Japanese equivalent is structurally similar: *uchi-ni* 'in the house'. What is similar in these two expressions: *ház-ban* and *uchi-ni*? In both languages, the ending follows the noun, without causing any change in the stem of the word.

Let us quote some forms of the Hungarian verb *ír-ni* 'to write' and the Japanese verb *kaku, kakimasu* 'he writes'. Let us take some forms of the past tense: Hungarian *ír-t* 'he wrote'. In Japanese, the abrupt past tense of this verb is *kai-ta* '(I, you, he) wrote'.

It is easy to notice the similarity of the endings in *ír-t* and *kai-ta*, but this is not our topic. Our topic is the structural similarity: stem plus certain ending = past tense.

Both in Hungarian and Japanese it is very common that two or more endings follow the stem of a word. Hungarian: *házamban* 'in my house' (*-m* means 'my', *-ban* means 'in'). In Japanese they say for instance, *uchi-no-chikaku-ni* 'near the house', 'near my house'.

In the Hungarian example *házamban*, the first person singular possessive suffix *-m* is used. In the Japanese expression *uchi-no-chikaku-ni* there is no possessive suffix, but the use of *uchi* (without an honorific prefix) brings it out that I am talking about my house. Where is then the structural similarity in the case of this expression? It is in the fact that both languages use an ending or an ending complex. (The Japanese complex *-no-chikaku-ni* means 'near', 'in the vicinity of....').

In the Hungarian word *lát-l-ak* 'I see you', the suffix *-l* indicates second person object, while the other ending in the above quoted form of the verb shows first person

subject. 'I see you'. We can extend it with the conditional suffix to *lát-ná-l-ak* 'I would see you'. With further extension it could become *lát-hat-ná-l-ak* 'I could see you'. In this case, the suffix *-hat* means that the action is possible. If we add the suffix *-gat* and the verbal prefix *meg-*, our word looks like this: *meg-lát-o-gat-hat-ná-l-ak* 'I could visit you'.

In Japanese we can go even further, increasing the number of endings. The Japanese verb *mi-ru* means 'I see, he sees', etc. This is informal present tense. This is a so called "one stem verb" in the Japanese grammatical terminology. The stem is *mi-*. This short stem can be followed by a number of endings, for instance: *mi-se-rare-ta-ku-nai* '(I) don't want to be forced to see'. The first suffix is *-se* in this complex. This is the causative suffix in Japanese (*-se* or *-sase*). It is followed by the passive suffix *-rare* in our word. The next part of our complex is *-ta*, a shortened version of the desiderative suffix *-tai*. The *-ku* syllable is necessary if a so called "first class" adjective is used in negation.

One could ask: why do I talk about adjectives when we are analyzing a form of a verb? Here is the answer: The *-tai* (*-ta-*) form of the verb is grammatically an adjective in Japanese. This is the reason why the *-ku* adjective ending must be added in our expression, before the final suffix *-nai*. The suffix *-nai* is an informal negative ending.

We can make this long word still longer if we add the conditional suffix complex *-kereba*. In this case our word sounds: *mi-se-rare-ta-ku-na-kereba* 'If you don't want to be seen'. (Before the ending complex *kereba* the negative suffix *-nai* is shortened to *-na*). We need seven or eight words to translate this Japanese word into English.

The same long line of endings can be used with other verbs as well, not only with the relatively simple one stem verb *mi-ru*. Let us see it, for instance, with the conjugating

verb *matsu* 'he waits'. Since the first suffix of the complex requires the *a* stem of a conjugating verb, we need here the stem *mata-*. The whole expression sounds: *mata-se-rare-ta-ku-na-kereba* 'If I do not want to be made to wait'.

To complete further studies on Hungarian and Japanese agglutination, now I shall quote a few sentences from the beginning of a famous Japanese folk tale: *Kaguya-Hime* 'Princess Kaguya', first in Japanese. Then I shall translate those sentences into Hungarian. In this way we can count our agglutinative complexes in this part of the story in the two languages:

1. *Mukashi-mukashi, aru tokoro-ni, ojiisan to obaasan ga imashita.*

'Once upon a time, there was, somewhere, an old man and an old woman'.

2. *Ojiisan-wa mai-nichi, take-yabu-e itte, take-o kitte utte imashita.*

'The old man, every day, went to the bamboo grove to cut and sell pieces of bamboo'.

3. *Aru há, ojiisan-ga take-yabu-e ikimashita toki-ni, taihen kirei-na take-o mitsukemashita.*

'One day, when the old man went to the thicket, he found a very nice bamboo tree'.

Now I shall translate these three sentences of the Japanese story into Hungarian, making the translation as close as possible:

1. *Réges régen élt valahol egy öregember és egy öregasszonu.*

2. *Az öregember minden nap kiment a bambusz erdőbe. Kivágta és eladta a bambusz fákat.*

3. *Egy szép napon, amikor az öregember kiment a bambusz erdőbe talált egy igen szép bambusz fát.*

Now we shall count the words with or without endings, suffixes or prefixes in the

above quoted sentences in both languages:

No endings:

Japanese: *mukashi, aru, to, ga, mai, nichi, aru, hi, taihen*. 9 occurrences.

Hungarian: *valahol, egu, öregember, és, öregasszony, az, öregember, minden, nap, a, bambusz, és, a, bambusz, egy, szép, amikor, az, öregember, a, bambusz, egy, igen* (if we use *nagyon* our numbers would change), *szép, bambusz*. 25 occurrences.

One ending:

Japanese: *-ni, -e, -o-, -tte, -e, -ni, -na, -o-*. 10 occurrences.

Hungarian: *-s, -n, -t, -be, -on, -be, -t, -t*. 8 occurrences.

Two or more endings (suffixes or prefixes):

Japanese : *o(jii)san, o(baa)san, (i)mashi-ta, o(jii)san-wa, (i)mashi-ta, o(jii)san-ga, (mitsuke)mashi-ta*. 8 occurrences.

Hungarian: *ki(men)t, ki(vág)ta, el(ad)ta, (fá)k(a)t*. 4 occurrences.

What can we learn from these numbers, occurrences of no endings, one, two or more endings, suffixes or prefixes in the quoted sentences in Hungarian and Japanese?

We find 25 words without endings in the Hungarian text, and only nine such words in the Japanese text.

We find 10 occurrences of "one ending" in the Japanese text, and almost the same, i.e., 8 occurrences in the Hungarian translation.

There are 8 occurrences of "two or more endings..." in our Japanese sentences, and only 4 in their Hungarian equivalents.

These numbers mean that agglutination is a very common phenomenon in both

languages, but in Japanese it is more common than in Hungarian.

Finally: even though linguistic peculiarities do not usually characterize the speakers of languages, I would like to make these comments to finish my paper:

The speakers of the two languages, the Japanese people and the Hungarian people have common characteristics not only in the two languages. Both nations have hard working and talented people. Then, there is an old, traditional friendship between Japanese and Hungarian.

What about the two languages? Are they related or just structurally similar? Structural similarity does not prove a generic relationship. We cannot answer this question, and it is impossible to answer it on the basis of structural studies. The present article is a structural study.

Being a professor of the Japanese language, I would like to make one more comment: Japanese counts for one of the so called "difficult" languages. I happened to have Hungarian students in my Japanese language classes. On the basis of my own studies and teaching experience I can make this statement: For us, Hungarians, the Japanese language is not very difficult. Besides phonetic similarities, I think, the agglutinative structure of the Japanese language makes it for us, Hungarians, relatively speaking easy.







