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PAPERS FROM THE

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

November 8-9, 1991

University College of Cape Breton
Sydney, Nova Scotia

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ACTES DU

QUINZIEME COLLOQUE ANNUEL

DE

L´ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES

le 8-9 novembre 1991

Collège universitaire du Cap-Breton
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QUOTING AND SELF-QUOTING

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ABSTRACT

The present paper examines first-person quotations with a view to testing the hypothesis recently proposed by H. H. Clark and R. J. Gerrig in Language, Vol. 66, #4 (Dec. 1990) that quotations should be regarded as Selective Depictions rather than as Verbatim Reproductions of previous speech. The special conditions of self-quoting, where the speaker has privileged knowledge of the circumstances and details of previous occurrence, can shed additional light on the nature of quoting. The examples confirm the proposal of Selective Depictions, but they also indicate that the selective depiction is mainly a result of changes in circumstances between the previous speech and the new occasion on which previous speech is quoted by the same speaker.

QUOTING AND SELF-QUOTING

A recent paper, published in Language, Vo. 66, No. 4 (December 1990) discusses the nature of quotations in spoken discourse and in writing. The authors, Herbert H. Clark and Richard J. Gerrig, examine previous investigations of quotations, and propose their view that quotations are properly to be seen as demonstrations, thus locating them closer to Peirce's icons that is, portrayals, less conventional or arbitrary than symbols, but more arbitrary than indices which have a natural connection with what they represent (e.g. smoke vis à vis fire).

Quotations have certain unique characteristics of grammatical construction, which have led most rhetoric textbooks and many linguistic theorists (as discussed by Clark and Gerrig, p. 795) to subscribe to the "verbatim

assumption" - that is, that quoting is the faithful repetition, by one person, of the exact words of another. Clark and Gerrig refute this notion, thereby reinforcing their demonstration theory. One of their strongest arguments is the example of a translated quotation. Once translated, the quotation can no longer be perceived as verbatim repetition of the original speaker's words. For Clark and Gerrig, the refutation of the "verbatim assumption" provides a reinforcement of their notion of "selective representation": "In the demonstration theory, speakers depict only selective aspects of what they are demonstrating" (p. 799).

Clark and Gerrig examine numerous quotations, and provide cogent arguments in support of their thesis. Among their examples they include self-quoting, but they do not single it out for special consideration.

In the present paper, I wish to re-examine their main proposal, with special reference to self-quoting, which seems to me to be both important, and instructive with respect to the nature and significance of quoting. The material presented here indicates that although self-quoting supports the "demonstration" hypothesis in the main, it nevertheless raises questions with regard to "selective representation."

For all its pervasiveness in spoken discourse and in writing, quoting was more prominently considered in text-books of rhetoric than in the work of leading linguists. More recently, however, it has received renewed attention in discussions of both speech and writing. Thus Toolan 1988, Cohn 1978 and Tannen 1989 place quoting in the centre of their work.

A look at World literature, from former ages to the present, confirms the importance of quoting. The first chapter of Genesis quotes the words used by God to create the World. Chapter 3 consists of a dispute between Eve and the serpent regarding God's exact words in pronouncing a certain fateful prohibition. But even this example shows that Eve makes changes when quoting: the Hebrew singular, (masculine) verb is changed to plural (inclusive), and the prohibition regarding eating, is changed to touching and/or eating.

Now Eve had not yet been created when the original prohibition was spoken to Adam. Whether she, or Adam

introduced the change, we do not know, but quotations show themselves subject to change.

My second example comes from Hamlet:

> So, Uncle, there you are; now to my word:
> It is 'adieu, adieu! remember me.'
>
> Hamlet, Act I sc. 5

This example illustrates certain features of quoting which will occupy us later. First, the quotation is not an act of verbatim repetition. The Ghost's speech was fifty iambic pentameter lines long, but Hamlet writes down only the last line. And he misquotes even this: the Ghost said "adieu" three times; Hamlet writes it only twice. Secondly, the example reminds us how easily quoting traverses from one medium to another. Hamlet writes what the ghost has spoken. This is another illustration of the fact that quotations are not exact reproductions of earlier speech.

While most discussions take third-person quoting as their starting-point, second-person quoting is also possible, though less frequent. In this kind of quoting the speaker repeats the words of the hearer. It often bears something of a confrontational aspect, occurring, as it sometimes does, in circumstances of open or covert hostility.

Hamlet's

> Seems, madam? nay, it is, I know not 'seems.'

is typical of this kind of exchange. After the 'seems' affront in Act I sc.2, the Queen not only remains almost speechless to the end of the scene, but vanishes until the end of Act I.

Second-person quoting is unique in that the quotation is directed at the very person who uttered the speech in the first place. The implications are numerous, but they will not be pursued here, as my interest lies now in first-person quoting.

Self-quoting, the act of quoting one's own speech, on a different occasion than the main one, may take the form of reported conversation with another person, or even speech addressed to oneself. In extreme cases both

the main event, and the quoting, may be addressed to oneself.

Whether addressed to oneself or others, self-quoting has unique features. Above all, the speaker has privileged knowledge regarding the main occasion, and may quote speech which was not witnessed by others. Furthermore, the speaker is not limited to previously uttered speech, and may quote utterances intended for future use.

Considering the special nature of self-quoting, it is worth asking whether specific examples bear out the proposals postulated for quotations in general. We ask, therefore, whether they are verbatim reports or not, and if not, whether they display selective depiction (also understood as selective representation).

The next example comes from a story by Kipling:

> 'We seed there was a light burning across the road, and we were sleeping in that ditch there for coolness, and I said to my friend here, "The office is open. Let's come along and speak to him as turned us back from the Degumber State",' said the smaller of the two. [Rudyard Kipling, "The Man Who Would be King"]

At first glance it might appear that we have here a verbatim report in its most pure form. But a reflection on the circumstances of this encounter will suggest other views.

First, although the speaker, Carnehan, is capable of reproducing accurately what he had said just moments ago, he has no reason to do so. He is not trying to "perform" in front of the narrator. His purpose now is to explain his appearance in the newspaper office at the unreasonable hour of three o'clock in the morning. The act of quoting also serves to include, or introduce his companion, "my friend here", who would otherwise require a more formal introduction. (This, in fact, occurs a little later, and is performed by the said companion, not by Carnehan).

Not only are the reasons and circumstances much changed, but our knowledge of the character of the two men, as liars and cheaters, may even suggest that the

supposed previous occurrence is an invention rather than fact.

Another example of changed circumstances and also changed emotions can be observed in the following excerpt from George Eliot's Daniel Deronda where Mirah speaks about events in her life prior to her arrival in England:

> It was difficult to me [sic] to speak, I felt so shaken with anger: I could only say, "I would rather stay on the stage for ever."
>
> It had not been happy since the first years: when the light came every morning I used to think, "I will bear it." But always before I had some hope; now it was gone." [George Eliot, Daniel Deronda]

The above quotations occur in a long discourse spoken by the recently rescued Mirah, who recounts the sad story of her life to a very sympathetic listener, Mrs. Meyrick. Mirah resorts to quotations several times during her narrative, but by no means frequently. It may be said that the quotations come to accentuate especially dramatic moments.

In the first instance Mirah describes her outrage at being propositioned by a repugnant man: she felt insulted and threatened; her words came to her with difficulty, and this is perhaps why she can still recall them. The words themselves would bear no striking character if they had been uttered under different circumstances.

In the second instance, she recalls a formulaic repetition, words which she used to think every morning, during the long years of her unhappy youth.

These two instances represent a common device in novels. A character speaks about herself, and reports some of her former thoughts and words in the form of "direct speech," that is, as quotation.

The novel's implied narrator provides the readers with a good deal of information regarding the events described. We know that Mirah is both good and honest, and that Mrs. Meyrick is compassionate, but also a keen judge of character. We have reasons to believe, therefore, that Mirah's account is true in both

instances, when she recounts her own witnessed speech, and when she recounts her private thoughts, and that it is not substantially changed in the telling.

However, there are good reasons to think that what we see is more than "selective representation" according to the terms of Clark and Gerrig, if only because the threatening encounter with the repugnant Count is merely recalled, not re-experienced, the original emotional coloring of Mirah's voice is now absent, the difficulty of speaking is now removed, and the probable high pitch of the utterance is also absent, and replaced by level pitch. Above all, the words are now addressed not to a threatening man, but to an intelligent, sympathetic woman.

Similarly, Mirah's words of her habitual former determination now lack the conditions for their previous intensity. Furthermore, it is well to bear in mind Clark and Gerrig's caution about translated quotations. The original words to the Count were probably spoken in French. Now they are spoken in English for Mrs. Meyrick's benefit, and ours.

Thus these last two examples of self-quoting support the view of "demonstration" vis-à-vis the less acceptable view of "verbatim reporting," but they force us to consider changes of circumstances as a crucial element in producing "selective representation."

Because of the inherent distancing of the last example, where both time and space separate the speaker from the previous occurrence, I propose to consider an example of self-quoting which occurs after a delay of only a few hours, is spoken inwardly by the same person, and it is unwitnessed both times. The readers, however, "witness" both occurrences, whereas Mirah's original utterance was not witnessed by the readers. The novel is <u>The Old Wives' Tale</u> by Arnold Bennett, Book II, Chapter 5. In the episode in question a wife and son help a very ill father to his bed upstairs. The original words, and the quoting were thought, not spoken.

> 'Will he ever come down those stairs again?' This thought lanced Constance's heart.

The next morning things look brighter:

> How absurd to have asked herself: 'Will he ever come down those stairs again?'! [Arnold Bennett, The Old Wives' Tale]

Although embedded in third-person narrative, the example may be considered as self-quoting, in that Constance is re-considering words which were clearly her own, not someone else's. While the wording is identical, (the expression itself being a stock phrase), the original version was an actual question, whereas the second version is no longer posed as a question, though unchanged in form. It is, in fact, now dismissed as a question which should not have been posed, not even in one's thoughts. The emotions are different. The acute pain Constance had felt at night has now been relieved. The original thought "lanced her heart." That pain is now replaced by a feeling of self-reproach with regard to asking the original question. The speaker is distressed and dismayed at having posed herself that question the previous night.

It is therefore possible to suppose that even in their unspoken form the two utterances were far from identical.

As my last example I wish to consider the sequence of quoted speech in the Parable of the Prodigal Son in Luke, Chapter XV.

The prodigal son, while suffering hunger and desolation in a distant country, says:

> I will arise and go to my father and will say unto him, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son: Make me as one of thy hired servants."

While the story proceeds instantly to the encounter with the father, we must assume nevertheless that time has elapsed, and a great distance has been traversed in the interval. The prodigal son can now use the rehearsed words. But he does not repeat them exactly. He says:

> Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

He omits the last part of the rehearsed speech.

The changes are not great, but the differences in circumstances of the two occurrences are worth noting. In the first instance the young man was alone, away from home, in exile, hungry and desolate. He thought he would need to use these words in the act of begging to be allowed admission to the father's household. He expected that it would be necessary to plead with his father. All this was changed upon his return. He has returned. He is now facing his father, who, by running towards him and kissing him has already shown his forgiveness. There is no need now to plead with his father. The words are the same, but the reason for using them is different: instead of using them for pleading, he says them merely as a part of an act of apology, an admission of guilt to be used as a part of the reconciliation. The cut version tells much about him, even in his reformed state. Why offer to be a servant, when you no longer need to?

Clark and Gerrig make use of the twin notions of SOURCE DOMAIN, and CURRENT DOMAIN, to which various parameters can be applied. They mention the basic six: speaker, addressee, place, time, vantage point, and action, to which we may need to add others. Now we might apply these parameters to the examples just cited, starting with the first one:

PARAMETERS	SOURCE	CURRENT
1. Speaker	Carnehan	Carnehan
2. Addressee	his friend (Dravot)	the journalist-narrator
3. Place	in the ditch	in the newspaper office
4. Time	at night a short time earlier	"now" at point of narration
5. Vantage Point	Carnehan's	Caranehan's
6. Action (purpose)	summons to joint action	explanation of their night visit, opening gambit

In other words, Carnehan manipulates the source event, in order to initiate a contact with the journalist, on terms favourable to himself. In addition to the parameters suggested above, we may also consider the likelihood that in the ditch Carnehan used a quiet voice, and now he speaks more loudly. The manner of speaking to a friend and accomplice is also likely to be different from the manner of speaking to a stranger whom one is approaching for a favour.

In Mirah's narrative about the Count we see the first occurrence as the main event, taking place in the SOURCE DOMAIN, and her later account as quotation, taking place in new, or CURRENT DOMAIN.

We can now apply the parameters:

	SOURCE	CURRENT
1. speaker	1. Mirah	1. Mirah
2. addressee	2. the Count	2. Mrs. Meyrick
3. place, general	3. Vienna	3. London
4. place, specific	4. Mirah's lodgings in which the Count was an intruder	4. Mrs. Meyrick's home, in which Mirah is a guest, and the addressee is the hostess
5. time	5. some months earlier	5. now
6. vantage point	6. Mirah's as a vulnerable girl	6. Mirah as protegee of Deronda, under care of Mrs. Meyrick
7. action (purpose)	7. to repel the Count	7. to disclose her past in order to secure the trust of her benefactors

8. attitude to addresee	8. fear, revulsion	8. trust, gratitude
9. emotional state of speaker	9. shaken with anger, experiencing difficulty in speaking	9. calm, collected, reassured
10. language used	10. French	10. English

In Constance's contrite recollection of her own earlier thought, we can also see the main event occurring first, and the second having the status of quotation.

	SOURCE	CURRENT
1. speaker	Constance	Constance
2. addressee	Constance	Constance
3. place	at home	at home
4. time	night	morning
5. vantage point	Constance as worried wife	Constance no longer worried
6. action	inner expression of fear, worry; possibly an expression of superstition, namely, that uttering the fear will ward off the unhappy event	re-examination of the panic she felt the previous night

These examples of self-quoting confirm the Demonstration theory vis à vis the Verbatim Assumption that the quoted version is no longer identical with the source, even in Constance's case let alone in Mirah's.

As we consider the differences between the source domain and current domain in each case, we see that the

notion of selective representation is necessary in order to account for the changes we have observed. Self-quoting, more than third-person or second-person quoting, could provide the ideal conditions for exact, verbatim repetition. That verbatim repetition does not, however, take place, must be explained by the needs of the speaker in the new situation. As the new situation and the purpose of the quoted speech is different in many ways from the original situation and purpose, so the quotation is not a verbatim repetition, and all changes stem from the speaker's need to adapt the speech to the requirements of the new circumstances with such adjustments as the new circumstances require. Among the reasons for the need to be selective while quoting, Clark and Gerrig include the fact that human memory is not adequate to the task of recalling verbatim the speech of another person. It appears from the examples examined here, that even under the favourable circumstances of self-quoting, when previous speech may be fully recalled, the new situation, with its change of time, place, addressee, emotional state, and above all, change of reason or purpose, will demand that the quoted speech be very substantially changed. It is not that speakers are unable to repeat exactly a previous speech act of their own, but that in most cases this is not what they wish to do.

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Frenglish in Quebec English Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines gallicisms, mainly lexical, in the Montreal Gazette (1 editorial 1988; 7 issues 1989) and in the Quebec City Chronicle-Telegraph (23 issues 1991). The findings are compared to those of an earlier examination of gallicisms in the same newspapers (Manning and Eatock 1982; Roberts 1983). Problems with the traditional methodology are examined. Consideration is given to the concepts evolved by sociolinguists studying the influence of English on Canadian French, by sociologists of language and by those studying the relations between society and culture. Halliday's model of language as a social semiotic is suggested as a counterbalance to Weinreich's structural-communicational model.

Part 1: Finding Gallicisms

That Frenglish is a feature of Quebec English speech and writing is hardly news. The passage of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) in 1978 is at the centre of social, economic, political and linguistic changes that have brought many members of a traditionally isolated, monolingual and élite English-speaking community into regular contact with French. One of the manifestations of this process is Frenglish, which as Roda Roberts defines it is "English (including integrated French borrowings) containing or spoken with non-integrated borrowings called gallicisms" (1983: 204). However, few scholarly studies actually examine Quebec Frenglish in detail. MacArthur (1982) surveys the attitudes of 200 bilingual residents of Quebec to a set of 25 words ranging from those fully integrated borrowings found in major English dictionaries to those that cause real confusion, the false cognates sometimes called faux amis. Schmidt (1989) devotes a section of her Bayreuth Master's thesis "Loan Words in Canadian English" to listing words from Canadian French found in Canadian English dictionaries; however, her list of Canadian French loanwords includes citations from before 1965 only. An examination of gallicisms in the Montreal Gazette and the Quebec City Chronicle-Telegraph in 1979 led to two publications, one by Manning and Eatock (1982) and the other by Roberts (1983). These last studies are similar to the one I

undertake here, since I am examining a selection of the same newspapers dating from approximately a decade later. The only studies of gallicisms in spoken Quebec English, as far as I know, are informal magazine or newspaper accounts, most, not surprisingly, from the Montreal Gazette (Auf der Maur; Wilson-Smith).

In conducting my search of 7 issues (and one editorial) of the Gazette and 23 issues of the Chronicle-Telegraph I began simply by reading all the Chronicle-Telegraphs (it's a short paper); I then listed all the gallicisms I found there together with all of those mentioned in the articles on Quebec English, both popular and scholarly that I had discovered, and searched for all these gallicisms in the Gazettes on our computer database. I then checked my sense that interference was at work with dictionaries--the Gage Canadian (1983), Oxford Concise (8th ed. 1990), the Random House Webster's College (1991); if what I thought was a gallicism turned up in these dictionaries it was either deleted, or in some cases, for example where it was marked as a recent borrowing, received a question mark. Checking the Dictionnaire du français plus (1988) ensured that a French word existed to cause interference in the first place. I also checked our database of the Toronto Globe and Mail (complete 1985 edition) to discover how far the gallicisms had travelled. Finally, my colleague Greg Lessard of the Department of French at Queen's vetted the list. For all kinds of reasons the findings--around 90 gallicisms--do not bear statistical analysis: the Chronicle-Telegraph doubles in size during the tourist season, a variable percentage of text in the Gazette is written in Quebec, since the paper subscribes to the major wire services, and most of the items in question are low frequency to begin with. However, like Roberts, I found an average of three definite gallicisms per issue, most lexical. I did not include proper names in the count, because even the Gazette Style Guide recommends using the official names and titles in French, to avoid confusing people (Gelmon 1990: 2).

Findings differed for the two papers, which is hardly surprising, since the Gazette is a large circulation daily (200,000 Monday to Friday; 270,000 Saturday) in a large urban centre (3 million, metropolitan area) with a large English-speaking minority (20%). The Chronicle-Telegraph, a community newspaper, appears weekly, and serves a smaller city (600,000 metropolitan area) with a smaller English-speaking community (10%). (All figures are for 1986). All the examples of syntactic interference came out of the Chronicle-Telegraph. This may be due to the greater professionalism of the Gazette writers (some of the Quebec City writers are volunteers), to the greater likelihood that a Quebec City writer would spend more time speaking French than one in Montreal, to the greater informality

of the Quebec City paper, or to all of these. That I failed to find some gallicisms that Roberts lists may mean that these expressions are rare, or perhaps have been criticized widely enough that writers have learned to avoid them, or were comets of the lexical world, appearing and vanishing with only one trace. That I failed to find the items listed in the newspaper articles on Frenglish means only, I suspect, that these gallicisms are common in speech, but don't make it often into writing.

Obviously, I cannot discuss all the ninety-odd gallicisms I discovered. However, a quick overview reveals the expected old favorites, like animator for organizer, autoroute for highway, caisse for credit union, conference for lecture, dépanneur for corner store, exposition for exhibition, professor for teacher and poutine for--well--poutine. Then come the false friends, homographs that are no longer homonyms after their long separation since being borrowed from Latin: here I list only those that end with the suffix -tion: affirmations for claims, agitation for rebellion, circulation for traffic, conventions for customs, photographic documentation for documentary photographs, installations for buildings, intervention for objection, and population for the public.

As I worked a problem emerged with the traditional method of testing whether a suspected gallicism has been integrated or not, which is to check the item against several English-language dictionaries and to discard it if it appears. However, this would exclude a large number of items where Quebec English writers choose a low frequency word in English because it has a high-frequency French cognate. Unlike the false cognates above, there are acceptable, very low-frequency English words, on the verge of being labelled archaic or obsolete perhaps, that have high or at least higher frequency cognates in French. Of this sort of not-quite-yet false cognate I found collation for a light meal, detritus for litter, furnish for provide, and reverses for setbacks. As noted by Darbelnet, similar pressure from English explains the survival of words in Quebec French that have become archaic in standard French (1974: 313). These words are perhaps the most common indication of contact, and obviously should be kept in the record as evidence of language contact. I learned the word collation in English from reading romances set in the Regency period; its presence in a community newspaper beside a notice about the next Cub meeting was quite striking. Thus Roberts' decision to eliminate integrated French loanwords from her definition of Frenglish, although it seems logical, might well lead one to eliminate some of the most interesting information before examining it thoroughly.

Uriel Weinreich on the first page of his classic Languages in Contact quotes Hans Vogt: "every enrichment or impoverishment of a system involves necessarily the reorganization of all the old distinctive oppositions of the system. To admit that a given element is simply added to the system which receives it without consequences for this system would ruin the very concept of system" (1953: 1). Weinreich points out that "Except for loanwords with entirely new content, the transfer or reproduction of foreign words must affect the existing vocabulary in one of three ways: (1) confusion between the content of the new and old word; (2) disappearance of the old word; (3) survival of both the new and old word, with a specialization in content" (54).

Here is an example of this process at work in one of the words I examined; to fête is a fully integrated loanword, from the French word fêter that means, roughly, to celebrate as in "fêter Paques," "to celebrate Easter." In English, we celebrate holidays or other festive occasions, but we fête people or, occasionally, institutions, as in these examples taken from the Toronto Globe make clear: "Feted by presidents and movie stars, he [Einstein] remained unpretentious, refusing to travel first class because "it does not arrive any sooner" (23 March 1985) and "The national magazine . . . will be feted at a benefit celebration" (6 March 1985). In French, then, we celebrate people (usually with words, rather than cake and champagne) and fête occasions, while in English we fête people and celebrate occasions. However we find the headline "Guides, Scouts fête founding" in the Chronicle-Telegraph (20 Feb. 1991) and "Even Britain this year fêtes the revolution over the creek . . ." in the Montreal Gazette (7 March 1989). Here occasions are fêted. Now Quebec English is extending the meaning of fête to cover the same territory as the French fêter. I was only mildly suspicious of fête and since dictionaries rarely give examples, list high frequency collocates or indicate whether verbs are restricted in their application to people, or things, or events, and so forth, it was only when I looked in the Globe that I realized something interesting might be going on. The dictionary test therefore seems a dangerous one. I prefer to keep borderline gallicisms on my list, preceded by a question mark, to let others know they're there (maybe) and to keep an eye on them for semantic shift. And now another shift, from descriptive linguistics to sociolinguistics.

Part 2: National Borders

Borderlines play a role in social attitudes to language contact too. In order to talk about language contact at all, linguists have to reify particular languages like French and

English into entities with definite borders. As Weinreich points out, "a structuralist theory of communication which distinguishes between speech and language (or parole and langue, message and code, process and system, behaviour and norm) necessarily assumes that 'every speech event belongs to a definite language.' Only on this assumption is it possible to conceive of an utterance containing some elements which belong to another language than the rest" (7). However, this assumption causes us to construct the borders between languages as more definite than they are, to over-value their hypothetical purity. "Hybridization" of languages becomes, metaphorically, miscegenation--something to be feared--even though, as in the case of English and French such mixing has gone on continually and extensively without having any noticeable effect on our ability to communicate. That large-scale political movements have rallied around language means that the borders between ethnic groups and classes and other social groups tend to become heavily policed deserts. And yet these marginal areas are where what Roy Harris calls the "language myth" is under most pressure.

Given the ubiquity of the myth of pure languages and its utility to political movements that require group cohesion, it becomes easy to represent borrowings as a sign of invasion by an alien other and like Gilles Colpron, to attempt to root them out: éviter les anglicismes. For a Québécois nationalist francophone, every anglicism can seem a cultural and linguistic threat. Indeed, the French of France are also notoriously insecure about borrowing, to the extent that it has been suggested that "purism has sterilized the language" (Hausmann 87).

In fact, linguistic innovation is commonplace, whether the borrowing is from another language or from other strata within the language (Sornig). Even in areas of heavy contact, the amount of borrowing is slight, although of course it may loom large for those who feel threatened culturally. Borrowing "actively symbolizes" prevailing power relations, however, it does not cause them (Halliday 1978: 3). The feelings are real, as is, possibly, the threat to the language and the culture, but language mixture in itself only indicates contact. In a study of the influence of English on the French of the Ottawa-Hull region Poplack (1983) found that loanwords averaged only 3 per cent of the subjects' vocabularies. As Beniak and Mougeon make clear, language survival can be best predicted by its "ancrage institutionelle" in crucial areas such as education, the media and public services, rather than by an examination of borrowing (1989: 70; cf. Allardt). Political and institutional factors ultimately are most important in determining the health of particular language minorities whether their language shows signs of modification due to contact or not. To quote Weinreich:

> Many European languages have even lost their homogeneity of word structures precisely as a result of the acceptance of large numbers of transferred words without disintegrating. German, Polish, and other languages alleged to be structurally resistant to transfers have in the United States absorbed an enormous corpus of English words--adapting them phonically and grammatically as necessary--and yet continue to function, for better of worse. (62)

Thus, if we can't regard borrowing/interference as symptomatic of language death or decay, and if we don't want to regard it simply as a reflex of contact, at least not totally, how can we frame the phenomenon theoretically? Some examples of interference seem much like the sorts of interference found in every ESL classroom; others seem far more closely connected to the relationship between the two linguistic groups under consideration.

Part 3: Keywords and the Social Semiotic

Borrowings from one language into another occur most commonly where the loans fill a sociocultural gap, where to borrow is easier than to produce a neologism. The set of words that has been integrated most thoroughly into Quebec English and even beyond into Canadian and world English is the set of words that deals with Quebec politics, especially linguistic politics. Because much of the debate over these issues has been carried out in the national media and by some of the most important public figures in the country, the words used are quickly disseminated and integrated into the domain of Canadian political discourse. These borrowings are signs of cultural redefinition and the linguistic reconstruction of reality, just as are the new words associated with feminism and anti-racism. These words have a perceptible effect on the relationships in related words in the existing vocabulary because they are sites of struggle for power and are deployed in different ways by different people depending on their sociopolitical context and roles.

At this point I hit another border, one between disciplines. In literary studies, I am used to making a great deal of the individual words in a small set of texts, ignoring, to a greater or lesser extent, their wider linguistic context. Even when I use what is called discourse theory, I still make interpretive moves that linguists may regard either with scorn or with panic. However, I firmly believe that every discipline, in order to justify its difference from the others, has to wilfully blind

itself to those items that lie transgressively just on its borders, and so I will make a few of these dubious interpretive moves, if only to show you something about the border between linguistics and literary criticism. Just as the uses of the word fête I came across seemed a little off, so did the uses of autonomous and autonomy. In several sentences they were used with respect to people where I felt independent and independence would have been my choice. The dictionary definitions of autonomy and independence overlap; Random House Webster's (1991) gives the first sense of autonomous as "self-governing, independent" and the second as "of or pertaining to a self-governing or independent state, community, organization, etc." The first sense of independent is "not influenced or controlled by others, thinking for oneself" and all the other fourteen senses apply as well or better to individuals than to organizations or states. (Looking in the Globe in this case was little help, since almost all contexts for both words were political.) When I asked Greg Lessard what the difference was between a separatist and an indépendantiste, he pointed out that separatist is used from the perspective of someone who sees Quebec independence as bad, like an amputation, say, while indépendantiste obviously is the same thing from a positive perspective. Could it be that in Quebec, indépendance has so many political resonances that in Quebec English, autonomous is taking over as the word used to describe self-reliance? Significantly, separatist scarcely appears in the Quebec papers, but in the Globe it massively outnumbers indépendantiste (or independentist). Then I remembered another odd usage: "Attracted by the French installations and detached from their own people, the Montaignais became integrated into the Christian order" (Chronicle-Telegraph 21 Aug. 1991). Here could the writer have used detached rather than separated (even though detached usually relates to emotions rather than physical position) because of the powerful political charge separated now has in Quebec? I'm not sure, but I think the idea is worth investigating.

I want to conclude by looking at a set of words that have to do with the political and linguistic reconfiguration in Quebec. Among the ninety gallicisms I found were the following: allophone, anglicization, anglo, anglophone, cultural communities, francisize, francization, francophone, independentist, Péquiste, separatist, sovereignist. These words belong to what has been called a semantic field (Ohman 1953). The idea of semantic field was taken up by Georges Matoré, who developed the idea of the mot-témoin, or a word that symbolizes an important change, social, economic, aesthetic and so on, and of the mot-clé, the group of words that expresses a society, and in which the society recognizes its ideals. Raymond Williams in his book Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (1976)

discussed sets of words that designated significant areas of social, political, and cultural thought. The words in the list above are part of the semantic field of the contested areas in internal Quebec politics and in Quebec's relation with the rest of Canada. Consider francophone, for example, which seems simply to be another word for "French-speaking," which is the definition given in most dictionaries that list it. However it is not quite that. The sense of francophone in some uses may have an ethnic component. Marc Levine, in The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City (1990) describes the controversy over Bill 1, which revolves around the issue. I quote at length, because in the course of his discussion, he also distinguishes between francisation and francophonisation:

> In Bill 1, the first version of the PQ's language bill, Article 112b mandated "increased numbers of Québécois at all the levels of business," with the understanding that "Québécois" referred to those of French-Canadian ethnic origin. It soon became apparent, however, that there were difficult and socially explosive implementation problems with such a policy. How would a "Québécois" be defined? Was it simply someone who could speak French? Someone born in Quebec who spoke French? An ethnic French Canadian? These logistical difficulties were fraught with explosive sociopolitical implications: defining Québécois in one particular way or another--for example excluding someone fluent in French but not of French-Canadian ethnic origin--would, in effect, be defining the Quebec political community in provocatively particularistic terms. The deep-seated opposition of Anglophones and Francophone business leaders led the PQ to retreat from this aggressive francophonisation program. . . . Having abandoned direct francophonisation, the PQ settled on "linguistic promotion." . . . The expectation, of course, was that such francisation would ultimately result in francophonisation, as Francophone job candidates would possess a superior capital with their native fluency in French (167-68).

Clearly, these apparently straightforward words are fraught with implications that would be difficult for someone removed from the local context to sort out.

The words that designate the immigrant community in Quebec are particularly interesting because this group has been at the focus of several political battles. Because immigrants to Quebec typically preferred in the past to send their children to English-language schools, immigration bolstered the English-language minority in Quebec; this fact, combined with the falling birth rate of the established francophone population

meant that the francophone population would inevitably drop. Not surprisingly, the word allophone (designating someone whose first language is neither English or French) originated in Quebec demographic studies (Dulong 1989). Not surprisingly, Bill 101 required immigrants to send their children to French schools. Another term for this group is cultural communities. This term excludes the ethnic French population, as this quotation makes clear: "A National Film Board official says the NFB had no idea that the television documentary Disparaître: Le sort inévitable de la nation française would so greatly upset members of cultural communities" (Montreal Gazette 1 March 1989). The expression cultural communities is also being widened in its reference to include the anglophone community:

> Quebec's Health and Social Service Minister, Marc-Yvan Côté, presented a four-point plan before the Permanent Commission on Social Affairs last Tuesday, outlining where cultural communities--including anglophones--will fit in his sweeping health reform known as Bill 120." (Chronicle-Telegraph 27 March 1991)

Thus the old binary/bilingual model which saw the English and French as separate from the others (if not precisely as equal to each other) is giving way to one where the ethnic French majority is opposed to all the other ethnic minorities, including the traditionally privileged English-speaking minority. What upsets these minority groups is the implication in some of the language that even when they have been completely "francisized" they will still not be "francophone." Michel Pêcheux has stated that "words, expressions, propositions, etc., change their meanings according to the positions held by those who use them" (1982: 111) and this is certainly the way these words work: my indépendantiste may be your separatist, and your nationalist my federalist.

I end on a note of discontent. Obviously, we have to draw clear boundaries and try to make clear distinctions in order to think clearly. The trouble is that when we invest a lot of time in making everything so clear, we tend to fall in love with our own handiwork. It then becomes very difficult to accept that our version of reality or of language or even of what constitutes our discipline is absurdly reductionist and that the boundaries that we police so nervously are transgressed daily in places where we have been trained not to look. The fragmented nature of this paper is primarily, of course, the result of the many horrible gaps in my knowledge, but it is also the result of the way that language study has been divvied up among the linguists, the lexicographers, the sociolinguists, the literary critics and the cultural analysts. None of these has a framework big enough to fit everything from the odd use of autonomous in an English

sentence to the political struggle over who gets called ethnic and who gets to be the unmarked term. Halliday's view of language as a social semiotic does allow, however, for the integration of these by moving from the model that Weinreich uses to underpin his admittedly brilliant work to something that takes into account the participatory social nature of language: people talking or writing "do more than understand each other, in the sense of exchanging information and goods-and-services through the dynamic interplay of speech roles. By their everyday acts of meaning, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and of knowledge" (2). Instead of the structuralist model that Weinreich uses--one that begins with distinctions that cut off all the messy conflicted areas of language before we start--we need, in Halliday's words, to build the "functional organization of language into the core of the linguistic system" in order to make clear that the social structure is not just an "ornamental background to linguistic interaction" (113-14). In Halliday's view, "language actively symbolizes the social system, representing metaphorically in its patterns of variation the variation that characterizes human cultures" (3). The senses of words, particularly of words that relate to human culture, vary far more widely than those of us who do lexicography care to admit. To present them in a limited dictionary format is invariably reductive and often very misleading. Just because in some cases it is better than nothing, or the best we can do, does not mean we should forget that a dictionary gives us the bare minimum of meaning, a meaning that has often stripped a word of its most important connotations for a particular culture. To produce a truly useful glossary of gallicisms in Quebec English, for example, one must include the social text, however much this strains the traditional concepts that words have innate and distinct meanings and that they are deployed in the same way by all people.

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UNE ÉTUDE DE CLASSIFICATION DES QUESTIONS ET DES RÉPONSES DANS LE DISCOURS DIALOGIQUE

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RESUME

Une classification simple et efficace des questions et des réponses est nécessaire pour aider à résoudre les problèmes aussi bien théoriques que pratiques qui ne peuvent être résolus d'une manière satisfaisante à l'aide d'une classification inefficace. En s'appuyant sur un système interdisciplinaire de critères théoriques et empiriques et en appliquant des méthodes standard statistiques pour choisir les critères qui ont plus de valeur pour classifier les questions et les réponses l'auteur propose deux nouvelles classifications de ces importantes unités du discours dialogique, celle des questions et celle des réponses.

La classification est une méthode particulière de la compréhension du monde qui nous entoure, la connaissance des objets et la classification de ces objets sont étroitement liées entre elles. La classification et la théorie sont deux moyens de l'organisation de la connaissance, et la tâche de construire une classification est analogue à celle de créer une théorie.

Dans la classification des objets le plus difficile est de trouver les bases (ou les critères) de cette classification. Les critères classificatoires doivent se baser sur les caractéristiques et les liaisons substantielles des objets classifiés. La connaissance des traits substantiels des objets fait découvrir les traits communs de ces objets, c'est-à-dire leurs qualités caractéristiques qui servent de critères pour faire entrer ces objets dans des classes et des sous-classes. La connaissances des traits substantiels des objets et de leurs interdépendances est celle des lois de fonctionnement de ces objets. Voilà pourquoi les classifications qui ont pour base l'ensemble des traits essentiels des objets sont capables de refléter les lois scientifiques. Ce sont ces classifications-là qui possèdent une force explicative et ont de l'efficacité.

Les linguistes, les logiciens, les philosophes, les sociologues proposent de résoudre le problème de classification des questions et des réponses différemment; c'est aussi d'une manière différente qu'on classifie les questions et les réponses à l'intérieur d'une même science. En général on peut constater que parmi plusieurs critères de classification déjà décrits dans la littérature scientifique, les savants n'ont pas encore choisi ceux

qui ont pour base les traits substantiels des questions et des réponses et peuvent servir à leur classification efficace. Et tout de même une classification plus efficace de questions et de réponses est nécessaire pour aider à résoudre les problèmes aussi bien théoriques que pratiques qui ne peuvent être résolus d'une manière satisfaisante à l'aide d'une classification inefficace. Nous trouvons que les classifications simples et efficaces des questions et des réponses peuvent être créees en s'appuyant sur un système interdisciplinaire de critères théoriques et empiriques.[1]

L'analyse des ouvrages scientifiques et du matériel langagier permet de faire l'hypothèse du caractère substantiel pour la classification des vingt-six qualités des questions et de vingt qualités des réponses.[2] Pour les questions, nous supposons capables de servir de critères d'évaluation, ou de classification, les suivants:[3]

I - critère d'une question "pure", ou d'une "vraie" question ('Qui est venu?'; 'Tania a-t-elle téléphoné?');
II - critère de la question où différents éléments de l'état de choses décrit sont également inconnus: la personne, le temps, le but, la cause etc. de l'action ('Où va Paul?'; 'Où va Paul? Au théâtre? Au cinéma? Au concert?');
III - critère de la question où différents éléments de l'état de choses décrit sont inconnus et un élément inconnu se révèle le plus probable ('Qui va au cinéma? Paul?'; 'C'est Paul qui va au théâtre?');
IY - critère de la question où la présence ou l'absence d'une action, d'un état, d'une caractéristique est également ignorée ('Paul est-il parti?'; 'Paul est-il parti ou il n'est pas parti?');
Y - critère d'une question "de confrontation" où l'élément inconnu est déterminé à l'aide d'une confrontation avec un élément précédent, déjà connu ('Nicolas va au théâtre. Et Paul?'; 'Et comment faire autrement?');
YI - critère d'une question "d'identification" où l'élément inconnu est déterminé à l'aide d'une identification à un élément précédent, déjà connu ('Paul aussi y va?');
YII - critère d'une question qui fait faire une action ou la défend ('Ne pourriez-vous pas ouvrir la fenêtre?');
YIII - critère d'une question "de contact" ('Vous croyez?' 'Tu vois?');
IX - critère d'une question qui se répète dans la réponse ('Avez-vous tué beaucoup de lions, monsieur Tartarin? -Si j'en ai beaucoup tué?');
X - critère de la question qui constate un état de choses décrit ('Tu ne dois pas être très bien ici, vrai?');
XI - critère d'une question exprimant la dénégation d'un état de choses ('Quel Russe n'aime pas aller très vite en voiture? = Tous les Russes aiment aller très vite en voiture.');
XII - critère d'une question ayant une signification supplémentaire à la principale ('Quant à Paul, où va-t-il?');
XIII - critère de "JE-question" ('Je peux t'aider?');
XIY - critère de "TU/VOUS-question" ('Tu resteras bien encore?');
XY - critère de "mots de négation" ('Mais vous y avez déjà fait toutes les formalités nécessaires ou pas encore?');

XYI - critère de mots interrogatifs ('Allons...quelles chaussures se portaient en Russie?');
XYII - critère d'une question ayant la particule OU ('Vous voulez votre bouillie maintenant ou après?');
XYIII - critère d'une question ayant une particule interrogative ('Est-ce que tu n'as jamais entendu les vieillards dire qu'en montant un cheval volé on n'ira pas loin?');
XIX - critère d'une question non normée, ou non littéraire ('Tu vas loin?')[4]
XX - critère de l'impossibilité de répondre OUI ou NON à la question donnée ('Mais où est-ce que notre hôte va se coucher, dis?');
XXI - critère de la manière de présenter les alternatives interrogatives ('C'était un assassinat ou un suicide?);
XXII - critère d'une question ayant plusieurs X ('Qui a laissé tomber quoi?');
XXIII - critère d'une "question composée" ('Où se trouve la ville de Timbuktu et quelle est sa population?');
XXIY - critère d'une "question hypothétique" ('Si vous aviez besoin de sortir, emporteriez-vous un parapluie?');
XXY - critère d'une "question conditionnelle" ('Si vous aviez besoin de sortir, emportiez-vous un parapluie?');
XXYI - critère d'une chaînette de questions" ('Quand arrivera-t-il? Quand il fera chaud?').

Il est à noter que les critères I-XII reflètent les caractéristiques communicatives des questions, les critères XIII-XIX englobent leurs caractéristiques du point de vue de leur forme et les critères XX-XXYI sont puisés dans les ouvrages des logiciens.

Pour les réponses, nous avons fait l'hypothèse que vingt critères sont "forts" pour la classification, dont les critères I-XII reflètent les caractéristiques communicatives, les critères XIII-XY déterminent leurs traits informationnels et les XYI-XX caractérisent la forme des réponses:
I - critère d'une "vraie" réponse ('C'est Mary qui a invité John à la soirée ou Jane? -John est invité par Mary.');
II - critère d'une réponse confirmative ('Tania a téléphoné? -Elle a téléphoné.'; 'Tania n'a pas téléphoné? -Elle n'a pas téléphoné.'; 'Vous êtes à Moscou depuis longtemps? -Depuis plus de trois mois.');
III - critère d'une réponse réfutative ('-La baleine est-elle un poisson? -Non, la baleine n'est pas un poisson.' '-Laquelle des deux affirmations est vraie -Ni l'une ni l'autre.'; '-Ferme-moi la porte, hein? Pourquoi avoir froid? -Mais je n'ai pas froid, moi.');
IY - critère d'une réponse énumérative ('-Eh alors tu voudrais couper? -Et bien couper et bien y mettre de la cannelle at aussi envelopper.');
Y - critère d'une réponse déductive ('-C'est toi qui as cassé la vitre? -C'est Ivanov qui a cassé cette vitre. = ce n'est pas moi qui ai cassé la vitre.');
YI - critère d'une réponse "de probabilité" ('-Viendra-t-elle? -

Probablement.'; '-Tu vas au cinéma? -Non, probablement.';'-Tu iras le chercher demain peut-être? -Peut-être bien.');
YII - critère de la réponse qui fait faire une action ou la défend ('-N'auriez-vous pas envie de manger quelque chose? -Approche-toi encore, encore plus!');
YIII - critère d'une "réponse de contact" ('-Ne comprenez-vous pas que les choses s'annoncent bien autrement? -Vous croyez?');
IX - critère d'une réponse-répétition de la question précédente ('-Qui sera champion, selon vous? -Qui le sera?');
X - critère d'une "JE NE SAIS PAS-réponse" ('-Quand est-ce qu'on va se revoir? -Je ne sais pas.');
XI - critère d'une "nonréponse" ('-Quand êtes-vous né? -Il fait du soleil aujourd'hui.');
XII - critère d'une "réponse composée" ('-Où et comment cela se passe-t-il? -Au marché, pendant des échanges de marchandises.');
XIII - critère d'une redondance informative de la réponse ('-Et toi pourquoi restes-tu là? -Moi, la télé ne m'intéresse pas. J'aime mieux rester ici sur ce banc et bavarder avec d'autres femmes.');
XIY - critère d'une réponse noninformative dans tout état de choses ('-Qu'est-ce que tu as dit? -J'ai dit ce que j'ai dit;');
XY - critère d'une réponse noninformative dans un état de choses déterminé ('-Qui a fait construire cette maison? -L'homme le plus riche de la ville.');
XYI - critère d'une réponse interrogative ('-Etes-vous revenu célibataire? -Qui puis-je épouser?');
XYII - critère d'une "OUI-réponse" ('-Arrivera-t-elle? -Je te jure que oui.');
XYIII - critère d'une réponse avec NON ('-Est-ce que vous avez jamais assisté aux mariages pareils? -Non, jamais.');
XIX - critère d'une réponse "abrégée" qui ne peut pas être comprise hors la séquence "réponse-question" donnée ('-Peut-être, toi, tu vas manger quelque chose? -Non, quand je serai de retour.');
XX - critère d'une réponse non normée, ou non littéraire.

Les deux matrices, celle des questions et celle des réponses sont construites. Pour ne pas augmenter artificiellement le rôle de tel ou tel critère supposé valable pour classifier les questions et les réponses de la manière la plus efficace chaque critère est représenté par dix questions ou dix réponses. Chacune des 260 questions est évaluée d'après 26 critères, la matrice des questions est de 260x26. Toutes les 200 réponses sont évaluées selon 20 critères, la matrice étant de 200x20. Les questions et les réponses ont été choisies dans un corpus recueilli lors d'une étude de dialogues écrits et oraux, aussi bien "littéraires" ("codifiés", "normés"...) que "familiers" ou "populaires" ("noncodifiés", "non-normés"...). La représentation matricielle a permis d'évaluer une assez grande quantité de questions et de réponses ayant différentes caractéristiques.

Chacune des deux matrices est traitée sur ordinateur à l'aide d'un "paquet" standard des méthodes statistiques. L'interprétation linquistique des résultats obtenus a permis de choisir les qualités des questions et des réponses, qui sont substantielles pour la classification.

Ce sont les différences des méthodes d'analyse appliquées à la classification qui déterminent la divergence des classifications obtenues. Dans la partie commune de ces classifications il y a ce qui peut servir de base classificatoire. En plus, suivant une démarche scientifique habituelle qui consiste à soumettre les données empiriques à une analyse théorique, toute classification obtenue à l'aide des méthodes statistiques peut être améliorée grâce à une analyse théorique approfondie.

Toutes les questions du discours dialogique russe sont divisées en trois classes: celle de "vraies" questions, celle des questions qui ne sont pas "vraies" et celle des questions transitoires des "vraies" questions aux questions qui ne le sont pas. Les "vraies" questions sont divisées entre les sous-classes suivantes: celles des questions "de confrontation"; celle des questions où on ignore la présence ou l'absence d'une action, d'un état, d'une caractéristique; celle des questions où différents éléments inconnus de l'état de choses sont également inconnus; celle des questions où un élément inconnu de l'état de choses se révèle le plus probable. Les questions qui ne sont pas de "vraies" questions sont divisées en deux sous-classes: celle des questions qui constatent un état de choses et celle des questions qui expriment la dénégation d'un état de choses. La classe des questions transitoires est formée des questions "d'identification". Une classification dichotomique des questions est également possible: selon la position d'un locuteur à l'égard de l'autre les questions sont divisées en deux classes: celle des questions de celui qui demande et celle de celui qui répond. La classification de trois classes entre dans celle-ci et se trouve alors être celle des questions de celui qui demande.

Toutes les réponses sont divisées en trois classes: celle de "vraies" réponses, celle des réponses qui ne sont pas "vraies" et celle des réponses qui sont transitoires des "vraies" réponses à celles qui ne le sont pas. Les "vraies" réponses sont divisée en sous-classes des réponses affirmatives et des réponses réfutatives. Les réponses qui ne sont pas "vraies" sont diviséés en sous-classes des "nonréponses", des réponses où se répète la question précédente et des "réponses de contact". Les réponses transitoires englobent la sous-classe des réponses déductives et celle des "JE NE SAIS PAS-réponses".

Les classifications créées peuvent être appelées communicatives, puisque les traits des question et des réponses qui ont servi de critères classificatoires reflètent les buts que les locuteurs (celui qui demande et celui qui répond) veulent obtenir dans leur communication. Elles semblent être assez simples et efficaces.

NOTES

[1] L'étude des questions et des réponses ne peut pas ne pas être interdisciplinaire comme toute étude de la communication interpersonnelle. A ce sujet voir, par exemple, Yokoyama Olga T. Discourse and word order. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: Benjamin, 1986, p.IX.

[2] Nos recherches étant faites pour le dialoque russe, les résultats semblent applicables à plus d'une langue.

[3] Une partie de ces traits des questions et des réponses est puisée dans les ouvrages existants, l'autre est due aux recherches de l'auteur de ce texte. Pour nommer ces traits nous avons préféré l'exactitude de l'expression à l'élégance possible du style.

[4] Dans ce texte la traduction des exemples russes ne reflètent aucunement l'appartenance de ces exemples à un autre niveau de langue que le niveau littéraire, ou normé.

Dialectal Variation in Kashubian Stress Placement: An Application of Metrical Theory to Dialectology

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ABSTRACT

If relatedness among languages is best expressed by minor variation in one or more linguistic parameters, so much the more this should be true in the description of the dialects of one language. Yet the stress pattern of the northern Kashubian dialects is apparently quite different from that of the southern dialects. This paper attempts to show that, given an appropriate model for the description of stress, these differences can be seen as ones of degree rather than of kind, with one pattern being a simplified version of the other.

1. Introduction

Variation is an essential characteristic of the phenomenon language, with most languages having a number of recognized variants. The relation of these variants to one another could be said to be the major focus of study in dialectology. Now, although the dialects of one language usually vary in their lexical inventory, and frequently vary in their phonemic inventory and the rules of their phonology, morphology and syntax, certain features are usually common to all dialects of a given language. One of these is the stress system. It has been claimed that Kashubian, a West Slavic idiom spoken in northern Poland, presents an exception to this. In this paper, however, it will be shown that in spite of the apparent differences in the stress patterns of the Kashubian dialects, there is in fact a basic pattern common to all of them. Furthermore, it will be shown that the dialectal differentiation in the Kashubian stress system could exemplify what has happened on a larger scale in the stress systems of the West Slavic languages.

2. Kashubian Dialects

The Kashubian-speaking area forms a trapezoid with its longest side on the north-south axis. It is flanked on the north

by the Baltic Sea, on the East and West by areas populated by Poles only since the Second World War, and only in the south-east does it have a common border with traditional Polish dialects. The Kashubian dialects are divided by Lorentz (1925) into northern and southern dialects, southern dialects being those in which primary word-stress is almost always on the first syllable of the word, and northern dialects, in which primary word-stress is frequently on a non-initial syllable. The word meaning 'thunder', for example, is typically pronounced *'gřemot*[1] in the south and *gře'mot* in the north. Furthermore, the northern dialect area is divided into the extremely conservative dialects of the far north (particularly on the Hel peninsula), in which stress may vary within a conjugational or declensional paradigm - on occasion even distinguishing meaning, and the other northern dialects, where stress has a constant position with respect to the stem throughout the paradigm. Thus, in one of the dialects of the Hel peninsula the word for 'lake' might be pronounced *'jezoro* in the Nominative singular and *'jezora* in the Genitive singular, but *je'zora* in the Nominative plural, while in a more southern dialect these might be pronounced *je'zoro, je'zora, je'zora* or *'jezoro, 'jezora, 'jezora.* Against this apparent division of Kashubian stress into two (or three) patterns, however, must be measured two facts. First, although words with non-initial stress are common in the northern dialects, even there the majority of all words are consistently stressed on the first syllable - since comparison of the Slavic languages indicates that shifting stress was common at an earlier period, it should be clear that the modern Kashubian words with non-initial stress represent only a small subset of the number of words that once had this stress pattern. Second, even in southern dialects there are some words with non-initial stress which cannot be accounted for by reference to borrowing - an account of stress in Southern Kashubian cannot ignore these words, such as the non-initially stressed form *ža'łądk* 'stomach' found at the southern periphery of the Kashubian-speaking area, in Konarzyny (survey point 163 of the *Atłas językowej kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich* [=Linguistic Atlas of Kashubian and Neighbouring Dialects]), and *pod'vʸečork* 'supper', found in Wierzchocina (survey point 124). Thus, in spite of their differences, the stress patterns of both North and South Kashubian have much in common, so it seems reasonable that a common system might be found for all dialects, the differences being accounted for by minor variation in the lexicon or the setting of a parameter.

3. The Bracketed Grid Theory

The most suitable model for building a unified representation of stress in both North and South Kashubian was found to be the bracketed grid model proposed by Halle & Vergnaud (1987) and elaborated by Halle (1990) and Halle & Kenstowicz

(1991). In this model, a grid is built up based on stress bearing units (represented by asterisks) and constituency (represented by brackets). Each constituent has a head, the position of which is determined by whether the constituent is ±Bounded [BND] and ±Head-Terminal [HT], and constituents are constructed from either the right or left edge of the structure. For every given row, +HT constituents may be right-headed (with the head adjacent to the right boundary of each constituent) or left headed (with the head adjacent to the left boundary of each constituent.

A simple structure built using these principles could, for example, describe the stress system of French where there is one stress per content word, invariably on the last syllable. This is characteristic of an unbounded structure. Halle & Vergnaud (1987:12) propose the following rules for stress assignment in French:

(1) a. Line 0 constituents are [+HT, -BND, right]
    b. Construct constituent boundaries on line 0.
    c. Locate the heads of line 0 constituents on line 1.

The effects of these rules are illustrated by Halle & Vergnaud (1987:12) as in (2)

(2)
```
line 1   . . . . . *
line 0  (* * * * * *)
          originalité
```

In addition to stress systems with unbounded constituency, the bracketed grid enables systems with bounded constituents, i.e. constituents with one, two or three[2] stress-bearing units. Such a system has been proposed by Halle & Vergnaud (1987:55) to represent primary word stress in Polish, the modern language to which Kashubian is most closely related.[3] Polish stress is penultimate in most words, and antepenultimate in a few words (all of Greek or Latin origin, such as *gramatyka* 'grammar' and *uniwersytet* 'university'). The following are the parameter setting for such a system:

(3) a. Mark the final syllable of certain lexically marked words extrametrical.
    b. Line 0 constituents are [+HT, +BND, left, right to left].
    c. Construct constituent boundaries on line 0.
    d. Locate the heads of line 0 constituents on line 1.
    e. Line 1 parameter settings are [+HT, -BND, right].
    f. Construct constituent boundaries on line 1.
    g. Locate the heads of line 1 constituents on line 2.
    h. Conflate lines 1 and 2.

Rules a-g are illustrated in (4a) for the word *literatura* 'literature'

(4a) line 2 *
line 1 (* * *)
line 0 (*)(* *)(* *)

and then rule h collapses line 2 down onto line 1 to produce the structure in (4b)

(4b) line 1 (*)
line 0 (*)(* *)(* *)

Beyond this, the only elaboration to the Bracketed Grid Theory of Halle & Vergnaud (1987) needed for an adequate description of Kashubian stress is the allowance of idiosyncratic marking of constituent boundaries in the lexicon. This has been postulated by Halle (1990:167ff) to account for the fact that Cairene Arabic, Yupik Eskimo and some other languages, not only have idiosyncratic specification of stress in the lexicon, i.e. stress associated with certain stress bearing units in the lexical representation of some morphemes, but they also allow specification of constituency structure in the lexicon. This latter kind of specification is unusual and is thus found with only a small number of lexical items.

Whereas the existence of lexical stress marking usually causes word stress to fall on the marked stress-bearing unit and is posited where a given syllable of a certain morpheme consistently receives stress in all morphological combinations, the lexical specification of constituency structure causes stress to be induced in a place other than would be predicted by the normal rules of stress assignment for the language in question. The consistent placing of stress before (when a left bracket is lexically specified) or after (when a right bracket is lexically specified) a certain morpheme in all morphological combinations is good reason to posit the specification of a constituent boundary in the lexical representation of that morpheme. It will be shown that at least some dialects of Kashubian employ both kinds of stress specification in the lexicon.

4. A Metrical Description of Kashubian Stress

The basic rules of stress assignment proposed for Kashubian are those given by Halle & Vergnaud (1987:29 & 84) as the Russian variant of the Basic Accentuation Pattern. This is shown in (5):

(5) a. Line 0 parameter settings are [+HT, -BND, right].
b. Line 1 parameter settings are [+HT, -BND, left].
c. Construct constituent boundaries on line 1.
d. Locate the heads of line 1 constituents on line 2.
e. Conflate lines 1 and 2.

These rules are supplemented by the convention (6) (Halle & Vergnaud 1987:71) which provides for a head to line 2 (and, indirectly, line 1) when the word in question has no line 1 stress mark lexically associated with a morpheme or induced by a lexically specified constituent boundary.

(6) In a left-headed constituent the head is marked over the leftmost asterisk in the line. In cases where the line contains *no* asterisks the head is placed over the leftmost asterisk of the next lower line.[4]

If there are no lexically specified stress markers or stress inducing markers, this pattern will put primary word stress of the first syllable of each content word, as exemplified in (7) for the word *jezora* 'lake' (Gen.sing.):

```
(7)   line 2   *                 *
      line 1   (     )    >>>   (*)
      line 0   (* * *)          (* * *)
                                jezora
```

This pattern accounts for almost all South Kashubian words and most North Kashubian ones. Should, however, there be a stress marker lexically associated with a morpheme, that morpheme will be stressed. A small number of stem morphemes have such lexical stress markers in North Kashubian, as in *gŕe'mot*, and derivational suffixes with lexical stress can be found in both North and South Kashubian. Examples of such derivational suffixes are found in *ko'šik* 'small basket', where the suffix vowel is preserved throughout the derivation, and *ža'łǫdk* 'stomach', where the suffix vowel, a yer[5], is deleted after stress has been assigned causing stress to shift to the nearest stress-bearing unit within the same constituent. This is exemplified for *ko'šik* in (8) and for *ža'łǫdk* in (9):

```
(7)   line 2     *
      line 1    (*)
      line 0   (* *)
              košik
```

```
(8)   line 2       *              *
      line 1      (*)    >>>     (*)
      line 0   (* * *)          (* *)
              ža łǫdĭk          ža łǫdk
```

The extreme northern Kashubian dialects differ from the other dialects in that they have a few inflectional suffixes with associated idiosyncratic stress.[6] Here, however, the marking is that of a lexically specified constituent boundary on the left edge of the morpheme. This induces the formation of constituents to the right and left of the boundary, and the head of the leftmost (right-headed) constituent will become the primary word stress. The collapsing of line 2 onto line 1 will eliminate the extra line 1 stress mark, for which there is no firm evidence.[7] This is exemplified in (10) for *jezora* 'lakes' (Nom.plural):

(10)

line 2	*		*	
line 1	(*)(*)	>>>	(*)	
line 0	(* *)[*)		(* *)(*)	
			jezor a	

5. Conclusion

In the analysis presented above, the differences among the stress patterns of the Kashubian dialects have shown themselves to be mere differences in the amount of information idiosyncratically specified in the lexical representation. Those dialects which, phonologically, morphologically and lexically, are the most linguistically conservative retain the greatest amount of idiosyncratic information about stress, both with respect to the morphological categories which can be lexically marked for stress and to the type of marking employed. As one moves along the dialect continuum away from these highly conservative dialects (geographically moving from north to south), one encounters increasingly less lexical specification of stress, until finally, in South Kashubian, stress is (almost) predictably on the initial syllable of each content word, the default position for stress assignment in all Kashubian dialects. If this[8] is indicative of the process of stress fixation in Kashubian still being in progress, it might support Steriade's remark (Halle & Vergnaud 1987:72, fn.9) that "the development of initial stress in many Indo-European languages (for instance, early Latin, West Slavic) suggests that these languages systematically eliminated stress (that is, line 1 asterisks) in their lexical representations."

FOOTNOTES

[1] Primary word stress will be marked in this paper by an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable.

[2] Systems with ternary bound constituents are rare, and such constituents must be -HT as well as +BND.

[3] Although it would be interesting if genetically close languages could be shown to vary with respect to only one parameter of this model, few such comparative studies have been done. In the present description, the Kashubian stress system is similar to that of Russian, as might be expected, but not to that of Polish, an unexpected result. Clearly, further research is needed.

[4] The placing of a stress mark on line 2 according to this interpretative convention will concomitantly induce a mark on line 1 under the line 2 mark.

[5] According to a well established tradition in generative phonology (see Scatton 1975 and Zec 1988 for analyses of Bulgarian, Gussmann 1980 and Rubach 1984 for analyses of Polish, Lightner 1972 and Pesetsky 1979 for analyses of Russian) Slavic languages have underlying high lax vowels (front and back) which may either delete or surface as mid vowels during the derivation. These are called *yers* (sometimes written *jers*).

[6] As pointed out in Hopkins (1991:51), the lexicon must be organized such that these inflectional suffixes with idiosyncratically specified constituent structure are associated only with certain marked stems. Only a small number of North Kashubian nouns can associate with these specially marked inflectional suffixes.

[7] According to Lorentz (1925:93), compounds and words with initial stress and more than three syllables usually have a secondary stress. In the six examples given, secondary stress falls on the penultimate syllable, but this is too little data to form an adequate analysis.

[8] Additional evidence is provided by the interaction of stress and prepositions in Kashubian and other West Slavic languages.

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Dialect:
Traditions in Culture and Innovations in Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Every generation believes that the dialects of its day are fast disappearing, but academic analysis cannot validate the existence of dialects that the general public perceives to exist. I propose to discuss why that is the case, and suggest how a new generation of analyses might account for popular perceptions within a framework of change and shifting boundaries.

The word dialect is difficult to define. The plain fact is that I am not sure myself what it means. I once gave a paper in which I said that dialectologists had never known what they were talking about--which of course is accepted as gospel in some linguistic chapels, though I meant the comment to refer to what I considered to be insufficient technical definitions of the term dialect. Now, I prefer to admit my own ignorance, and to say about other dialectologists only that they have never agreed upon a good technical definition of the term. What makes a dialect a dialect? Is it something systematic, or only odd words? Who speaks a dialect? Can one discover a particular group of speakers who possess a dialect, or can one say that any single speaker is possessed by a dialect, that the speaker somehow perfectly expresses the essence of the dialect? These are of course by no means original questions, and I do not presume either to bring my own sufficient answers or to survey all of the answers others have given. They are questions, though, that relate directly to our conference topic: nobody can say what is traditional about dialects, either in conception or reality, or what is innovative about the study of dialects, without addressing them. My purpose is to explore the definition of dialect, with specific reference to tradition and innovation. I hope to suggest that what is traditional about dialects is the cultural groups and psychology that defines them, not so much the linguistic features that compose them or their existence per se. I also hope to suggest that innovative means of analysis are required to cope with a change in the way that we

conceive of dialect, a change caused by new evidence about language variation. Finally, let me admit from the start that what I have to say is speculative, not a summary of traditions and innovations, and so I invite you to think along with me.

Let us begin with some popular ideas of dialect. People believe in dialects and are interested in information about them. As a result of an Associated Press story about the Middle and South Atlantic Atlas (LAMSAS) that appeared in various newspapers around the US last year, I received several follow-up calls from the media that illustrate just what people believe. One call from a reporter from the Wall Street Journal never led to an interview. The caller thought that I would be a good source of curiosities, of colorful bits of language that he could make into an entertaining feature. I referred him to Fred Cassidy and his Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE; 1985-), which is dedicated to the preservation of words and phrases not used generally throughout the US and to "words or phrases whose form or meaning is distinctively a folk usage" (xvi). DARE has all the curiosities one could want, now up to letter H. I suppose my Atlas files also contain plenty of colorful language, but the curious and colorful is in the eye of the beholder and my material is less available to a reporter's eyes than is the published DARE.

I learned about curiosities first-hand as a child, as I think we all did in different ways, when I realized that my word for a public drinking fountain, a bubbler, got blank looks and then laughs from people whenever I used it outside the state of Wisconsin: "You want a drink from what", they would say, and then when I could finally explain they smirked and undoubtedly took me for a hick (or rube or hillbilly or backwoodsman or whatever else they called 'a rustic' around there). Curiosities and color, though, are not properties just of "folk" usage, by which those trained in Hans Kurath's methods (like Cassidy and me) refer to the usage of uneducated speakers with little travel or social experience. Such speakers are known to preserve more non-standard usage, but bubbler is not a folk form. At home in Milwaukee I could use it with everybody, from the school janitor to the principal, and they not only knew what I meant but used the word themselves. According to DARE, bubbler is a regional form, not a folk form; it was recorded occasionally in the Northern US but was especially frequent in Wisconsin. That makes the word a curiosity in the rest of the country. I suppose the real reason that I sent the reporter to DARE is that I did not want to be quoted as telling his high-tone audience that aspects of their speech (different aspects for different parts of the audience) were humorous or colorful or otherwise beyond the norm. People believe that dia-

lects contain such curiosities, and especially audiences with a higher education believe that dialects consist more particularly of other people's curiosities.

Another call I got was from the morning disk-jockeys on WSB, the Atlanta clear-channel AM radio station. What they wanted was Georgia words. I think they also wanted curiosities, but they wanted Georgia curiosities, and I agreed to a phone interview at 7 AM the following morning. This may seem to be a contradiction to what I have just said, but I do not think so. The drive-time urban Atlanta audience, some of them Wall Street Journal readers, might be entertained by colorful words from the North Georgia mountains or the poor rural areas of South Georgia, but as local Atlanta residents they would likely be entertained as much by learning about their own state as by exotica, by normal us vs. foolish them. Another segment of the audience would be people actually raised in North or South Georgia, and many of them are proud of their colorful language. Our current governor, Zell Miller, was raised in the mountains and was quoted in the newspaper as taking pride in the "Elizabethan" character of his speech. So, between commercials, I offered such tidbits as the South Georgia word red bug for a chigger (the crawling insect that gives itchy bites to one's ankles) and the fact that dragonflies are called skeeter hawks in the south and snake doctors in the north of the state. Apparently it suited the DJs and the audience because they kept me stretching for more words for half an hour instead of the agreed ten minutes.

This interest in local words is undoubtedly a sign of affiliation with local culture. It represents more than tolerance of colorful forms, probably something like Trudgill's covert prestige (1974) made overt on the radio. People believe that there is something special about the language of the place in which they live, something that belongs to them and of which they can be proud, warts and all. This pride may be reversed, however, when the dialect is set against the ideal Correct English of the classroom. More than a few of my South Georgia students in Freshman Composition and even upper-division classes have actually apologized to me for their accent and hoped that I would not hold it against them--even when their writing was perfectly acceptable Correct English. I do indeed insist in all my classes that students be able to produce Correct English in their written work, as my department and university demand, but before I came to Georgia it would never have occurred to me that students might still be insecure about their speech when they had already removed the folk curiosities from it and were already able to produce the writing. I have for some time been in the habit of calling Correct English just another

variety, as a way of deprivileging it from the pedestal of correctness, but I am changing my mind to think that it is radically different from even the most careful regional or social spoken dialects, each local dialect of which we might call Normal English (a term suggested to me by Preston 1990) to make a distinction with Correct English. People take Normal English very personally, even when they do not care much about local curiosities. Correct English, on the other hand, strikes me as entirely artificial--no US local speech any longer contains regular use of the object pronoun whom or regularly makes a shall/will distinction or expects strict number concord in clauses like everybody has their own book. I think it is an affectation, though one common among broadcasters and many highly-educated people, to adopt Correct English to the exclusion of one's local and also perfectly "correct" Normal English dialect.

The last call I will tell you about came from the nationally-syndicated Lee Leonard Show on the ABC radio network. Leonard's assistant told me when she called to set up an interview that her boss was interested in talking to me about my work for ten minutes or so, no special preparation required--and I was fool enough to believe her. About ten seconds into my live phone interview, just about long enough to pronounce my name, Leonard asked me, "Do you remember an old show called 'Where Are You From?' with Professor . . . ." I cut him off and chimed in, "Henry Lee Smith". I should have known better, but it was live radio and there was no graceful way out, so I agreed to play Henry Lee Smith and guess where people who called in might be from. Henry Lee Smith had the advantage, so I am told, of several minutes of conversation with his subjects; on a modern talk show I had to make my guess after less than a minute of question and answer. I trotted out some of the old shibboleths, like Mary, marry, and merry for vowel before r, and some different items to hear postvocalic r; I used a telephone) caller vs. a ring-around-the) collar to get at the /a/ vs. /ɔ/ contrast, and words like house and about to listen for a raised and centralized [həus] or more peripheral [abæut] diphthong; and of course I asked for greasy vs. greazy. In short, I was wrong about four out of five callers. The first one was a lady who grew up in the Bronx and had moved to Alabama; I had no idea that she lived in the Deep South and I placed her in the Middle Atlantic States. This was a completely wrong guess, but at least it was south of New York City. The second caller was from New Orleans, and the best I could do was to guess that he was from somewhere south of the Mason-Dixon Line--not completely wrong but not good enough to be right. My few seconds of questions of course never got to the special vocabulary that might have revealed a New Orleans residence, and I admitted on the air that I

did not know much about New Orleans speech. The third caller was also from New Orleans, naturally, and I did not even guess south of the Mason-Dixon line for him. The fourth one was my great success. That caller was a woman who sounded to me like a North Midland speaker, and I guessed that she was from central Indiana. She had actually lived all her life in central Illinois, but I thought that was close enough and said so, which probably annoyed all the people listening from Indiana and Illinois. The last caller was a young man who was born in Buffalo, New York, had spent ten years in the Navy, and now lived in Jacksonville, Florida. I do not even remember what I guessed about him, but it was wrong, nowhere near Buffalo or Jacksonville, and might as well have been out to sea. After half-an-hour (mostly commercials) the switchboard was still full of people who wanted their speech publicly analyzed, but Mr. Leonard stopped the interview and I have not (thankfully) been invited back.

I suppose there is entertainment value in playing "Stump the Professor", but it is even more entertaining when the professor is right: I think Lee Leonard and his audience wanted me to be able to guess correctly. That would confirm their belief that people's language helps them to belong where they live, because an expert on the radio could tell a caller that he or she was OK because his or her speech fit expert opinion about the dialect of an area. It did not matter to the lady from the Bronx and Alabama, or the man from Buffalo and Jacksonville, that they were asking the impossible of me because they in fact did not come from just one place; I think they would have been happy with either the Bronx or Buffalo, or with Alabama or Jacksonville, because either answer would have fit them in some way, and I am sorry I had to disappoint them. Neither did it matter to the callers that they all employed what might be called Normal English, and even a careful, formal Normal English because I was asking them leading questions in public on the radio. Unlike <u>Wall Street Journal</u> readers, they expected, even on their best linguistic behavior, no curiosities allowed (at least that they knew of), that their speech would mark them as from a place. In conjunction with my experience in class with South Georgia students, the callers suggest to me that people believe dialect to be an indelible part of one's personality. To label someone's speech as being from the Bronx or from South Georgia is to make the same kind of statement as to say that the person is shy, or is smart, or has a temper. To learn to produce correct English on paper or to reduce the number of folk features in one's speech has little affect on this dialect psychology, any more than learning to give speeches affects someone's inherent shyness. People believe that their dialect is still there, just as the speaker knows that he is still shy.

So, what should we make of these experiences? First of all, I think we ought to trust the intuitions of such dialect speakers as we can most reasonably interpret them. Our initial motivation for the study of dialects comes from popular observation of language variation, especially variation that seems to be classifiable by place or by some other criterion. We can say that people do believe in dialects, and that they believe them to be an us vs. them phenomenon. Depending on the view one adopts at the moment, a member of the us group can be proud of its own peculiarities, or a member of the us group can have fun with the them group's peculiarities. Linguistic curiosities are a part of dialects, but they do not constitute all of any given dialect because people believe that a dialect can still be recognized without curiosities. Any sort of Normal English can be the dialect of an us group or of a them group, subject to claims of affiliation or lack of affiliation by individual speakers; even Correct English can have a constituency, principally highly-educated people like the Wall Street Journal audience, for whom anybody's curiosities are a source of amusement, except for their own. Finally, and most important, dialect can be seen as a projection of individual personality, which takes the form of each individual speaker's acceptance of a dialect label as a self description in preference to other possible dialect labels. All this may seem to be a long-winded way of saying that anybody who thinks she speaks a dialect in fact does speak it, but I think it is more than that. Dialects can be seen to originate in the act of affiliating oneself with an us group as opposed to a them group, as that act is replicated many times by different individuals. Dialects exist in tension between us and them: if there is no them, or alternatively if there is no us but only me, there can be no dialect. The acceptance or rejection of a dialect label is a constructive psychological act for the individual because it builds an aspect of personality; it is also constructive for the us group and the them group because it helps to populate them. The objective correlates of such an act must be the actual people who belong to the us group and to the them group, provided that such people can be found, and the contrasting linguistic forms, whether curiosities or components in some linguistic system, employed by the members of each group, again provided that contrasts can be discovered.

Where, one might ask, is tradition in all this? Where is the innovation? If dialects are tied to projections of individual personality, where is there anything to be handed down? How are we supposed to study dialects at all if the essence of their definition resides in the psychology of personality? Let us begin with tradition. Saussure discussed linguistic feature contrasts,

a "sufficient accumulation" of which constitutes for him a boundary between dialect areas, with only a passing allusion to their causes:

> Their foundations are social, political, religious, etc., matters which do not concern us at the moment but which veil, without ever erasing completely, the basic and natural fact of differentiation from zone to zone. (1915:203)

After what I have been arguing, I would turn his sentence completely around: social, political, religious, and other matters that define groups of people, and thus generate loyalties that result in personal psychological acts of affiliation, are exactly what should concern us now. It is exactly here that tradition meets dialect. It is not an accident that many speakers can agree that they speak the same dialect; I would postulate that the us group with which they affiliate themselves as dialect speakers is defined principally by factors external to language, such as region, social group, or occupation. Saussure did not want to talk about these things at that point in his argument, but he acknowledged their crucial importance as causes of dialect differences. So does everybody else, especially now in the age of sociolinguistics. My point is that we should not acknowledge the importance of such loyalties and then put them aside to talk about autonomous dialects, traditional dialects, those often described as if they were a variety of language exclusive to one particular place or social group. Dialects do not spring up out of the ground by themselves, and they do not suddenly just happen to people who move from one place to another (Trudgill 1989); they are the product of local and regional loyalties, of many personal acts or rejections of affiliation (cf. Labov 1981 for second-generation effects). People cannot be born to a dialect as they are born to a sex or a race or an ethnic group, but must eventually acquire positive or negative affiliations with them.

In his book Perceptual Dialectology (1990), Dennis Preston has made an innovative and promising start on analysis of the different projections speakers make of United States regional us groups and them groups. Preston has attempted in a number of locations to get students to draw maps of US dialect boundaries, and Figure 1 shows a group of four student maps. A quick review of the different maps shows that the different speakers all drew different maps, but that there are definite similarities to be observed. For instance, the maps agree on certain areas like "midwestern" and "southern"; on the other hand, the Texas speaker claimed affiliation with a "southwest" dialect, but the Georgia

and California speakers thought Texas had its own separate dialect and the Canadian speaker thought such speech was all "cowboy". Indeed, Preston was able to draw composite maps from the set of maps from each location where he collected them (Figure 2 is drawn from the set from Michigan), and at the end of his book he drew a composite template based on the different composite maps (127). Preston has also collected maps from participants who were asked to draw the dialect areas with the most correct speech, and the dialect areas with the most pleasant speech; he notes that many of the supposedly objective dialect labels are actually evaluative (43-44), which helps explain the behavior of my South Georgia students. Although it is difficult to be very exact in interpreting the maps, it is clear that a great many participants had little trouble projecting regional us groups and them groups. Whether or not the affiliations expressed there were based solely on language is another question. Figure 3 shows Zelinsky's map of culture areas as projected from regional labels in telephone books, and the correspondence between that map and the dialect maps is striking. Whether or not the projections turn out to be very accurate, that is, whether or not one can find actual distributions of linguistic features that match the areas projected by individual speakers, is not crucial; the fact that the different projections are generally comparable to each other is an important piece of evidence about the dynamics of group and dialect affiliation.

Let us extend the argument a little further, and postulate that people acquire aspects of many dialects as they acquire group affiliations. My mentor, Raven McDavid, used to complain that Chicagoans thought he talked like a Southerner and his family in South Carolina thought he talked like a Yankee. His friends and family were right. Raven always valued his South Carolina roots, but he had also become comfortable in Chicago. If he were asked he would have said that his linguistic loyalties belonged to Up-Country South Carolina, but he would not have denied the Chicago influence. If the constructive act of dialect formation is a matter of psychology and personality, it is not entirely subject to conscious control by individuals, and the processes by which any given idiolect is formed cannot simply be governed by education or environment or preference. Raven participated in at least two dialects, Up-Country and, whether or not he approved of it deep down, Yankee. He could certainly claim, and be correct by my judgment at least (but remember my success on the radio), that his speech was more like that of South Carolina than it was like that of Chicago. We will have to allow for a notion of degree in dialect participation. Because any individual can have many group affiliations, some stronger and some weaker, any idiolect can participate to a greater or lesser degree in any number of dialects.

Indeed, it is probably safe to say that every individual has many group affiliations to some degree, and that every idiolect participates in a number of dialects to some degree. This means that it is unlikely that we will ever find an individual who speaks a single dialect, though some individuals may be more closely identified with one dialect than with any other, as Raven was. I can think of no better example of this than the paper by Tagliamonte and Poplack on Nova Scotia Black English (1991).

If this is true, we can throw out the necessity that a dialect has to be a systematic sub-variety of a language, a linguistic entity capable of being used for all the purposes for which a language is used, because a dialect need never function alone as a language variety. We then must give up a notion that many of us may hold rather closely, that dialects are, as Nelson Francis has put it (1983:1), "varieties of a language used by groups smaller than the total community of speakers of the language." Instead, we should set forth the hypothesis that dialects are merely collections of linguistic features, with or without aspects of systematic arrangement, that are significantly associated with any distinct region, social group, race, or other possible classification of individuals which is capable of generating loyalties and affiliations from individuals. As a corollary, we can postulate that systematic sub-varieties of a language actually exist only as separate idiolects. In these terms, dialects, collections of linguistics features associated with different groups of people, merely serve as filters to help in the creation of each idiolect. A systematic idiolect might contain, as Raven's did, most of a vowel system from one place, vocabulary from another, different morphological and syntactical options from many sources, and all of these options within his idiolect were made possible by acts of affiliation with different groups and their dialects, and were available to be performed in different modulations for different audiences.

What role, then, does tradition play in the development and continuance of dialects? A great many of the classifications of people that are capable of generating a dialect are traditional groupings, whether by Zelinsky's cultural areas or by political region (such as Newfoundland) or by ethnicity (such as Scots or Scots-Irish heritage) or even by gender (such as traditional sex roles). We can expect that every traditional group of people will be a good place to look for a dialect. In order to define a dialect we need not survey and describe the variety of language used by the totality of members of the group; we need only discover those linguistic features, whether isolated lexical elements or whole phonemic systems, that are associated with the group but not

shared by all groups, and we can then declare that that set of features constitutes the dialect of the group. If we then find more such features, we can add them to the set and we will have enhanced, not invalidated, the description of the dialect; we will have added to a list, not altered and thus damaged the balance of a linguistic system. The more features we find, the more convincing the description of the dialect; there is no absolute number of features, after the first one, that one can establish as a requirement for sufficiency.

For instance, we could identify the traditional political unit, Canada, as defining a population which is likely to have a dialect, in fact its own dialect both in French and in English. We can observe (following Wells 1982) that so-called Canadian raising is a linguistic habit significantly associated with Canadian English speakers, and we can declare, in the absence of other evidence, that we have found a dialect. It does not matter that other groups, like eastern Virginians, also exhibit raising, so long as raising is not shared by every other group at the same level of analysis as Canadian speakers, such as British, US, Australian, and other national groups of English speakers. When later we observe that for words like schedule, leisure there is variability in pronunciation not shared by United States speakers, on the one hand, or by British speakers on the other, we can add that fact to the list for the dialect. If we then notice that Canadian treatment of intervocalic t is like that in the United States as against that in Britain, we can add that to the list. We are not, however, obligated to demonstrate that every Canadian English speaker shares an identical systematic variety of the language, or even that every Canadian speaker possesses all three of the dialect features on our list. Some Canadian speakers may still be loyal to the Crown and only say shedule, lezure, and some may sell out to the sunny South like Wayne Gretzsky and take their leisure away from the hockey schedule in LA. Individuals enact their own participation in dialects, and the dialect is defined by the significant association of dialect features with the group as a whole.

I have shot from the hip for long enough with implications drawn from a few interviews. The big difference between what I am arguing here and the customary definition of dialects is my hypothesis that dialects are collections of features that act only as filters, whereas Francis's definition (to take that as typical) establishes dialects as full-fledged varieties somehow intermediate between language and idiolect. What motivates my hypothesis, besides the interviews, is a realization that two essential changes have taken place in dialect studies since their modern inaugura-

tion by Wenker and Gilliéron and incorporation into theory by Saussure: first, the development in the last quarter-century of sociolinguistics, and second, study of New World dialects as opposed to Old World dialects. It is well-known to all of us that in the opinion of many linguists dialectology has become a backwater that time and modern developments in linguistic theory and sociolinguistics have passed by, but in fact dialectologists are ready for a change. Mario Alinei recently organized a two-part roundtable on the topic "Where is Dialectology Going" for his Italian journal Quaderni di Semantica (1991-92). The first set of papers revealed a remarkable degree of consensus among the twenty-two mainly European participants. We agreed that dialectology and theoretical linguistics are separate disciplines, and that sociolinguistics provides new methods and ideas for dialectologists, some say to the extent that dialectology is now, or should be, merged with sociolinguistics; and finally, whether or not the fields are merged, dialectology should no longer define itself as mere collection and publication of data on maps or in lists, but should also attempt interpretation or explanation. I was startled that such a reputedly conservative group should embrace change in their discipline so completely. The European contributions were in agreement on a further point, that dialectologists already know where to locate dialects before doing any field work, and so the major tasks for dialectologists are to describe these dialects, and to compare the dialects and their speakers to a standard language, to history, to culture, to DNA measurements, or to any other aspect of nature or experience. I was also startled by this consensus, but here because it reflects an experience so different from my own. Let us consider in turn the role of sociolinguistics in dialect study and then New World as opposed to Old World dialects.

I am not convinced that dialectology is now or should be so closely identified with sociolinguistics that the two fields cease to be independent ways of investigating language variation, even though study of dialects can profit greatly from sociolinguistic precedents. Sociolinguists have been very successful with demonstrations of significant associations between language variation and any number of social categories. This fact should make us question our customary definition of dialect: if a dialect is a variety of a language spoken by some group of people, how can we accommodate variation by social class or by sex or by race in addition to variation by region? Does it mean that every individual is polydialectal in the sense of having competence in many dialects as self-sufficient and consistent varieties? Do we really want to postulate that Raven McDavid was actually competent to produce the Chicago vowel system even though nobody ever heard him do it, or that he actually had maintained the South Carolina

dialect entire but could not produce it for his relatives who thought he sounded like a Yankee? That seems messy to me, even if we assume borrowing, or devise registers or other mechanisms to account for different dimensions of variation within a dialect as variety. Why not dispense with the idea that dialects are self-sufficient and consistent, since nobody has ever prepared a description of a dialect complete enough to prove that, in favor of what people have actually been able to manage as descriptions of dialects, collections of dialect features? This is in fact what sociolinguists do with their social categories, create lists of significant features, though they sometimes also posit whole "grammars" from their lists. The modified definition of dialect that I have suggested makes it possible to talk about regional variation, and dialect more generally, on the same terms as sociolinguists talk about variation by social categories.

The traditional goals of the dialectologist, however, are different from those of the sociolinguist. Dialectologists have collected data in order to perceive its patterns, areal and also social cooccurrence of linguistic forms across wide areas and large populations. Sociolinguists have frequently collected data on a smaller scale expressly to test theory, and have conceived of their work as an adjunct to theory. Peter Trudgill has written that Labov resisted the term <u>sociolinguistics</u> because it distanced his work from theory and was "in danger of opening up the way to a series of correlational studies of little theoretical interest" (1984:2-3). When theory is the goal, manipulation of data becomes a demonstration; description of widespread areal or social variety is not the point for sociolinguists. There has been reason for traditional dialectologists to think that sociolinguistics might indeed be interested in empirical description of urban speech, of New York and Philadelphia and Montreal and Norwich and Belfast, where fairly large sociolinguistic surveys were undertaken, and it has sometimes been hard for dialectologists to see that the object of such studies was not description but theories of linguistic change or linguistic prestige or social networks. Dialectologists have most characteristically interviewed hundreds of speakers in a single survey, while sociolinguists have typically interviewed fewer than a hundred speakers and sometimes a mere handful. Moreover, dialectologists have most frequently employed questionnaires or other relatively fixed elicitation methods designed to reveal the presence (as opposed to frequency) of a great many linguistic forms, usually one or two forms for each of many questions, in the speech of each informant. Sociolinguists have preferred free conversation out of which they could extract frequencies of use (as opposed to mere presence) for the few targeted linguistic forms that they intended to summarize.

Thus the goals of each kind of survey, especially as they relate to linguistic theory, have been and should continue to be quite different; it will be enough, in my view, to dispense with an old definition of dialect that stands in the way of cooperation between two related disciplines.

The apparent consensus of European roundtable contributors that dialect boundaries are largely known in advance has helped me to see how entirely different dialect studies in former colonies must be from those in the Old World, especially with respect to the notion of an areal continuum of linguistic variation. In Europe "dialects" are relatively well-defined by ancient settlement of areas by distinct cultural groups. Because at least until recently the population of these areas was relatively homogeneous within sharply bounded territories, and because of the social role played by an elite standard variety of the national language in European countries, it was an easy thing to identify dialect with a self-sufficient and consistent variety of the national language. In the New World, on the other hand, we are confronted with the primacy of a linguistic continuum of variation and the major task is to decide where, or even if, we can divide that continuum into different dialects; it is far more reasonable to apply external means to define groups of people, especially relatively stable traditional groupings, and then seek out associated collections of dialect features. It may well be true, as Jean Leonard wrote for the roundtable, that dialectologists are too isolated in their research: "chaque chapelle étudie son morceau de ciel et détient la conviction que le monde est fait à l'image de son quartier". It appears that European scholars typically assume the very thing that post-colonial scholars are looking for.

Here are a few examples from the papers of the roundtable to illustrate the significance of the problem. The Italian geneticist Piazza wrote a paper on comparison of genotypes and dialects that would be unthinkable in post-colonial environments for European superstrate languages, the kind of language frequently subject to dialect study in such places. In the United States and Canada dialectologists must be interested in a different kind of genesis than biological genes; we have to consider what cultural groups and languages contributed to our language variation during the relatively recent settlement of our country. Klaus Mattheier's paper about new emphasis on the function of dialects, how the standard language relates to each dialect and how dialects interrelate in social communication patterns, is a fine goal in European societies with recognized standards, and academies to pronounce upon those standards, and sharply distinguishable dialects. In North America we have different regional standards

that blend imperceptibly into each other across expanses of territory and from urban center to urban center, with only incomplete penetration of classroom Correct English, and the same blending is true of our nonstandard speech. We North Americans have for a long time had to make our peace with the British and other similar Old World definitions of "standard" in class terms, "accent" as a not necessarily pejorative designation of regional and other pronunciation differences, and "dialect" as a pejorative designation for grammatical and other stigmatized variants. The significance of the problem is that different definitions of "dialect" will increasingly separate the work of interpretation and explanation in Europe from work done in former colonies on European languages, especially as European class constraints fade in the more newly-independent colonies. As Jean Le Dû and Yves Le Berre wrote in a radical but convincing paper, the European consensus is based on ancient political and economic groupings, and traditional European dialectology should now react to new political and economic affairs as well as respect history.

The problem is classified very nicely by Joan Veny, who reported to the roundtable that for Catalan "macro" frontiers established by isogloss bundles are in some ways in competition with "micro" boundaries drawn with statistics. This should be a troubling statement to anybody who merely assumes the existence of a "dialect" in a long-settled cultural area in order to carry out comparisons with extralinguistic factors or other "dialects" or languages: it reminds us that any assumed "dialect" is likely not to be uniform throughout its area, just as no language is uniform throughout its area, and it exposes possible contradictions between qualitative (isoglossic) analysis and quantitative analysis. That dialect areas do not show uniform usage of linguistic features has been well-known to all of us for a long time, at least since Gaston Paris denied the existence of dialects precisely because of it (1888; quoted in Francis 1983:2). Today I side with Gaston Paris, inasmuch as he was referring to self-sufficient and consistent varieties by the term dialect. Both the Old World and the New World can profit by changing what we mean by dialect to reflect new political and economic experiences (only 500 years after Columbus!) and new insight from sociolinguistics (only 25 years after Labov's New York study).

I am not always willing to trust popular views, and two of the least trustworthy are similar in kind to the problem of old World dialects. One always hears that regional dialects are disappearing in favor of linguistic homogeneity, and almost as often hears that people's use of the English language is always getting worse. Both of these views arise from the same source, the wish that lan-

guage can exist without change in what amounts to neat boxes. That same easy assumption motivated Joseph Wright to produce his English Dialect Dictionary; as he wrote in his Preface, "pure dialect speech is rapidly disappearing from our midst" (1898-1905:v). His word "pure" is the clue that something is amiss. When I hear similar complaints today they are about "authentic Southern accents" or "real mountain speech", and the "authentic" and the "real" are the tipoff to the actual issue. Wright was correct that something was being lost, but it had more to do with his qualifier "pure" than with dialect speech in general, and the same is true of Southern accents or mountain speech. Linguistic change is inexorable, though people do not want it to be, and there is no reason to think that a dialect will not change as new members of the traditional groups make their own acts of affiliation. The presumed threat both to Wright's dialects and to Southern and mountain dialects is the advance of modern culture, today in the United States to the effects of radio and TV and regional and social mobility. To the extent that dialects are composed of folk curiosities the complaints may be justified, but it is hard to imagine that TV and radio or even regional and social mobility will have so great an effect on traditional regional and social groupings that we will all become as homogeneous a population as Europeans have always assumed that they had living in their dialect areas. While dialects may change, as long as there are cultural groups that create affiliations the fact of dialects is unlikely to change. A parallel statement may be made about the worsening of English: those people, especially highly-educated people, who do not want to accept linguistic change, or who expect that careful local Normal speech must eventually become as homogeneous as classroom Correct English, are likely to be disappointed. The assumption of neat boxes, permanent tidy categories for classification of linguistic variation, simply cannot be maintained in light of modern analysis of dimensions of variation and of post-colonial linguistic communities.

Innovations in analysis are required to cope with a new model of dialects that is rather more complex than the one previous generations of scholars have articulated. People who belong to traditional social groups, whether groups defined by region or by ethnicity or by some other criterion, hand down to new members of the groups those practices or ideas or stories or, to the point for us, linguistic features and habits that are associated with the group. Members of the group will assimilate only in differing degrees, depending on the number and strength of other affiliations of each individual, the sum of linguistic features and habits associated with the group. We can predict that some features will be more popular and will be adopted by more members,

and that other features will be less popular and will be adopted by fewer. We can also predict that there will be change over time within the dialect features of any traditional group because in fact the whole set of dialect features will not be assimilated by each individual new member and some weak features will disappear and some new ones will gain a significant association with the group. This change must be parallel to the kind of linguistic change we are used to thinking about, in Saussure's view of which a single alteration would force a readjustment in the entire system. Change in dialect lists does not take place within a system where any single change will lead to consequent changes. We can expect change in dialects therefore to be less predictable and more subject to cultural adjustments within the traditional group. With each new generation of members we can expect that, while we can still identify the same traditional group, we may have a different list of dialect features associated with it. If the horse-drawn plow is replaced by the tractor, we can hardly expect dialect terms for different kinds of harnesses but we need not expect the demise of all farmers. A dialect is a synchronic phenomenon, while the cultural group with which any dialect is associated may span the generations.

Language change has been a province of sociolinguistics for some time now, with notably successful innovations by Labov (1981, fc.) and Kroch (1989) that I will not have a chance to discuss here. Traditional dialectology has been largely synchronic, and has used isoglosses, like Kurath's in his classic descriptions of US dialect areas, to match the occurrence of linguistic features with specific groups of people at a particular moment in time. Often the matching process combines different isoglosses in bundles inductively to suggest dialect areas; at other times areas set off by isoglosses are matched with cultural areas, like the area of Dutch settlement in the Hudson Valley. Lines on maps to indicate the limits of occurrence of a feature are most useful for linguistic features that are actually limited in their occurrence across an area, that is, for analysis of the curiosities associated with dialects. It seems easy, for instance, to draw an isogloss for the occurrence of <u>bubbler</u> for 'drinking fountain' in Wisconsin. Isoglosses, however, are crude qualitative tools for defining areas (see Schneider 1988, Kretzschmar 1992). They are useful for only a few features, since few curiosities are so conveniently distributed that a simple line can encompass them. Even <u>bubbler</u>, which was associated originally with the maker of bubbling drinking-fountain valves, the Kohler Company of Wisconsin, was recorded in the <u>DARE</u> files from the Northeast and in Denver, presumably places where Kohler sold valves, and so an isogloss either would have to exclude these outlying occurrences and not

really constitute a limit, or would have to stretch out to include Colorado and Massachusetts and so miss the important concentration of the word in Wisconsin. Isoglosses also fail to account for the frequency of features, and our new model for dialects includes the assumption that dialect features will be used at different frequencies by members of the group, and at a different overall frequency by the group than by people not affiliated with the group. To study frequencies we need quantitative methods, and there is substantial room for innovation there. It should go without saying that computer methods are central to study of such frequencies, and so I will not belabor the obvious but instead close by mentioning one caveat and a couple of new possibilities.

As soon as counting and quantitative studies are mentioned, the next word is likely to be "sociolinguistics." Certainly there have been great strides in quantitative study in that field, including use of the VARBRUL program developed in Montreal. It is important to note, however, that sociolinguistic counting is not necessarily the same as counting for dialects because of different survey methods. Sociolinguists often calculate the frequency that a variant feature is used, out of the possible times that it could have been used, in a discourse sample from each informant in a small survey. In that sort of calculation the target variant is in complementary distribution with other variants recorded from the speaker. The relative frequency tables for separate speakers may be summed to produce totals for different categories of speakers, and these cumulative frequencies predict how often the target feature may actually be used in conversation. In larger dialect surveys the word frequency has a different meaning. A dialect study employs a relative frequency figure for the use of a particular response among a particular set of speakers, based on its use or non-use in response to a questionnaire cue. For instance, in the Middle and South Atlantic region for the question about the utensil used to carry water from a well, like pails and buckets, we calculate that 48% of our informants used pail and 84% of them used bucket; the two figures add to more than 100% because speakers were free to offer more than one response and the two variants are not simple alternative or complementary choices (see Kretzschmar 1992). The calculation does not predict that either word will be used in conversation at the same rate that we elicited it; our frequency figures just say how many of our 1162 LAMSAS informants managed to offer each variant when they were given the cue. This version of frequency is what the dialect model assumes for establishing significant associations of possible dialect features with groups. The sociolinguistic frequency is useful for studying the alternation of different forms within each idiolect, and for studying alternations within predefined

groups when individual frequencies are accumulated. Thus the relative strength of different affiliations for any individual might be studied after particular linguistic features are identified as belonging to different dialects. These differences mean that dialectologists should use sociolinguistic statistical methods only with deliberate care.

The most innovative quantitative methods for dialect study today are those that do not prejudge categories of speakers. For regional analysis, this means finding ways of isolating significant patterns in the linguistic data without assuming in advance that any particular area will be associated with any particular feature. The same thing done in a study of social class would analyze the patterns in the data before creating the class boundaries. Both of these lines of inquiry have some of their best practitioners here in the Atlantic Provinces. Sandra Clarke has applied Principle Components Analysis (PCA) to her Newfoundland data (1990). PCA is most promising in that it does take the linguistic data as primary and attempts to plot associations as clusters of points on an x-y axis. Walter Cichocki has also used multidimensional techniques to good effect on geographical variation (1989). In his Dual Scaling technique users of similar features cluster about an x-y axis; that may be somewhat difficult to get used to, since each location in geographical space is transformed into an abstract x-y coordinate according to the linguistic features in use there, not according to any consistent algorithm. Figure 4 has both a geographical map of actual Québec locations and an x-y graph showing clusters of the same locations as transformed in abstract space. Both PCA and Dual Scaling are impressive and promising, but each has a serious fault: at the moment it is not possible to validate apparent clusters with a measure of statistical significance. Both methods are able to suggest the association of a dialect feature with a particular group of speakers, but they cannot demonstrate the significance of that association. How is one to know where one cluster leaves off and another begins, especially for some cluster charts that seem to show one or two long clusters rather than something that might be considered a dense core cluster vs. various peripheral points?

Let me conclude by describing an approach to geographical data that is validatable. Edgar Schneider and I have employed a quantitative procedure to generate statistically valid associations between linguistic features and areas (1989:140, Table 6). We have designed a 3 x 6 unit grid for the LAMSAS region, as in Figure 5. The boundaries were drawn without reference to suspected dialect areas, on the principle that each of the 18 cells of the grid should contain the same number of speakers,

about 64 per cell. We can calculate the relative frequency of any single linguistic feature within each cell, and conduct multiple-comparison analysis to discover boundaries between cells with significantly different frequencies. The emphasized boundaries in Figure 5 separate cells with frequencies of use of the response pail, for the pail / bucket question, that are significantly different at a very strict probability level. This method can validate relative frequencies as they are matched with areas, just as the new complex dialect model requires. It does not, however, offer very good resolution for selecting areas. The 18-cell grid has about 16,000 sq. miles per unit, and boundaries are up to 200 miles apart. Given 1162 informants and 288,000 sq. miles in the LAMSAS region, the survey has an average of one speaker per 250 sq. miles, so better results should be possible.

Earlier this fall I gave the first paper in a new line of research on geographical statistics (Kretzschmar and Lee 1991). During the 1980s statistical techniques for analysis of geographical patterns--point pattern analysis and spatial autocorrelation--have developed at a rapid rate (see Boots and Getis 1988, Odland 1988). Typical applications have included geological phenomena like sink holes, biological phenomena and ecosystems, marketing decisions in business such as where to locate the next McDonalds given the locations of other fast-food joints, and even computer enhancement of photographs. More recently patterns of archaeological sites have been analyzed. In all of these fields, the null hypothesis is whether a geographical pattern under study exhibits the property of "Complete Spatial Randomness" (CSR), or alternatively that it does not. If a pattern is not CSR, it may be possible to specify whether the pattern is more regular than a random pattern (like the white squares of a chess board) or more clustered than a random pattern (the locations of the black pieces at or near the beginning of a chess game). It is possible to consider either the dispersion of locations with respect to the study area (a regular or clustered pattern across the whole study area), or the arrangement of locations only with respect to each other (a regular or clustered pattern in any part of the study area). These basic criteria of geographical statistics are a very good match for the new model for dialects.

My collaborator, Jay Lee, and I have decided to apply polygon techniques to establish areas for comparison. It is possible to understand the LAMSAS survey as a set of data locations and to divide the survey region into a number of small areas corresponding to and "representing" data locations. The term "representative", then, for us refers only to geographic space and not to political or other criteria. Each of these small areas would be

the polygon, called a Thiessen polygon, that is created by drawing a line halfway between the data location at the center of the polygon and each neighboring data location. We will begin our analysis of the communities of the LAMSAS region with 483 Thiessen polygons, one for the data location of each community as digitized from the existing LAMSAS base map. The average area of the polygons is about 600 sq. miles, a tremendous improvement over the resolution of the 18-cell grid. The advantage of Thiessen polygons, as a replacement for the political boundary of each existing LAMSAS community, is that they are space exhaustive, while some counties were combined and some went unsampled in the LAMSAS survey, and that they have well-defined borders and established sets of neighboring polygons, unlike irregular county borders and uncertainty about the definition of what constitutes a neighboring county. Computation of the precise set of neighboring polygons with all of their boundaries and vertices, given the data locations, is not a trivial matter and we have not yet accomplished it for LAMSAS (we have applied for National Science Foundation funding for that and other tasks). However, we have managed to compute the list of all data locations which will eventually generate neighboring polygons by using a process called Delaunay triangulation. Each small line segment connects (rather than separates, as for the polygons) two data locations which meet the general criteria for being neighbors. The map of Delaunay triangles for the LAMSAS region appears in Figure 6, and the thing to observe is not the areas created by the lines but the lines themselves, each of which connects two communities that will eventually be neighbors as Thiessen polygons and thus be compared in a test statistic. Our very first attempts have shown significant regional associations for the high-frequency variants sofa, bureau, and hog pen, but we have a way to go before we can isolate an area of significant density of use of a linguistic feature that we may then call a dialect feature.

That is the future of dialect study as I see it. Old World dialectology has been taken as far as it can go in North America, and we need good counting and statistical validation to make sense of the traditional complexities of language variation in the New World and emerging complexities back in Europe. To me this is an ironic reversal, but one not out of character with world events of the last two years. We live in interesting times.

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Figure 1 Four Maps from Dennis Preston, *Perceptual Dialectology*

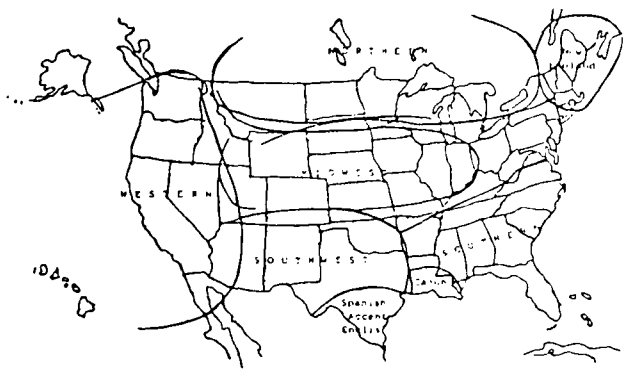


Figure 2.15: A Texas respondent's perception of US dialects

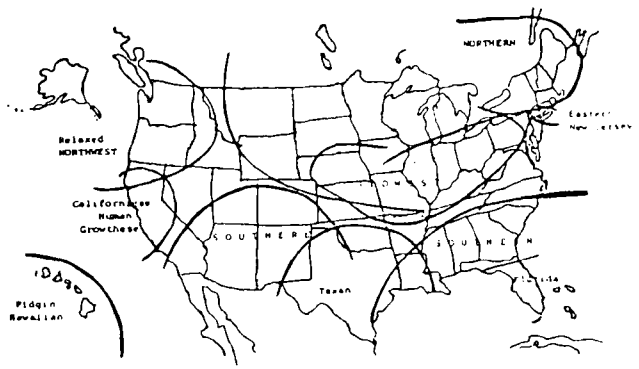


Figure 2.16: A California respondent's perception of US dialects

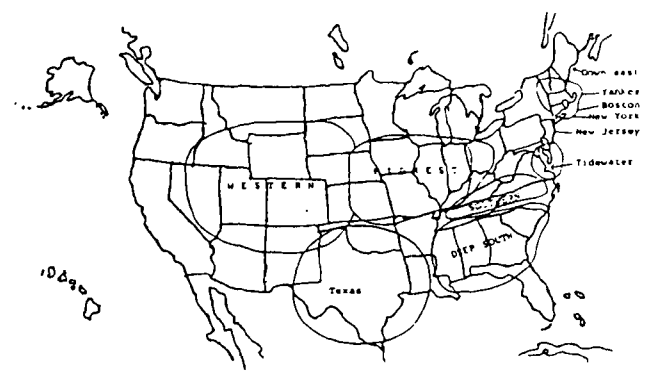


Figure 2.13: A Georgia respondent's perception of US dialects

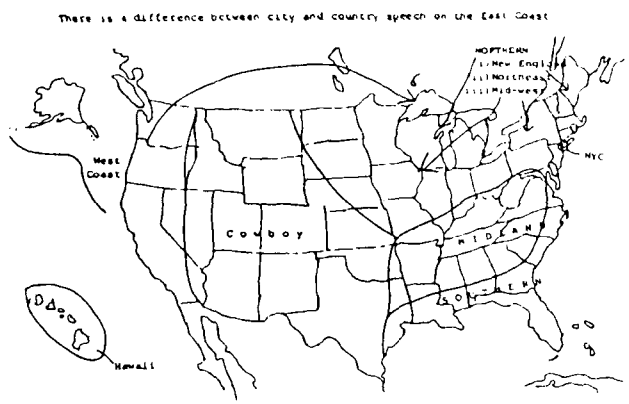


Figure 2.18: A Canadian respondent's perception of US dialects

Figure 2 Michigan Composite (from Preston)

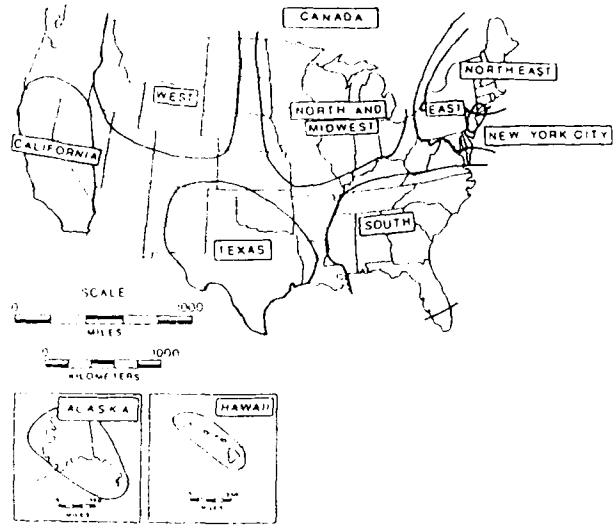


Figure 6.4 A composite of hand-drawn maps of regional dialects from the point of view of southeastern Michigan respondents

Figure 3 Zelinsky Composite from Telephone Directories (from Preston)

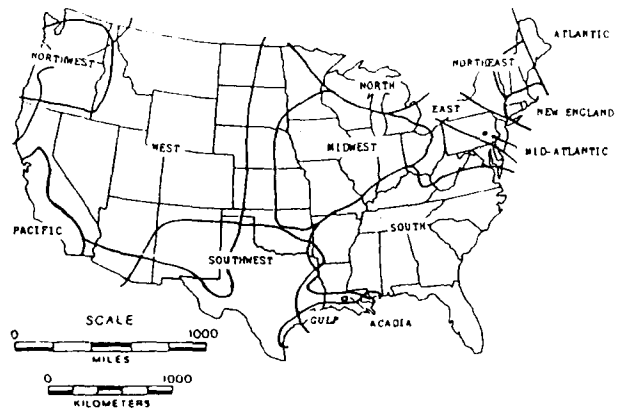


Figure 6.6: A composite of culture area self-recognition as determined by regional labels in metropolitan telephone directories (Zelinsky 1980)

Figure 4

Cichocki, "An Application of Dual Scaling in Dialectometry" (1989)

Map 1 Localities sampled from the Atlas linguistique de l'Est du Canada
Source : adapted from Dulong & Bergeron (1980)

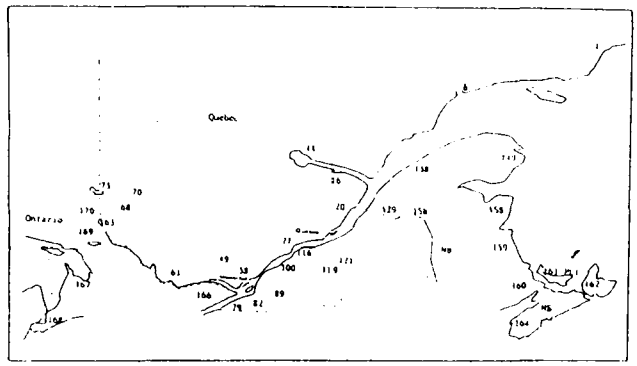


Figure 1 Two-dimensional representation of dual scaling output: the duality principle permits the superposition of the linguistic variants space onto the localities space

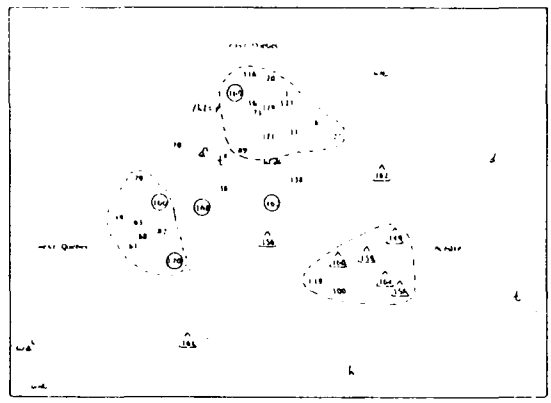
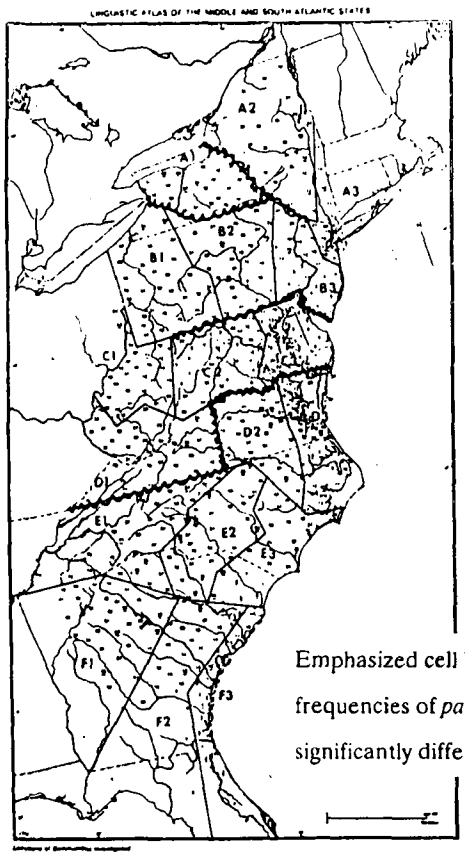


Figure 5

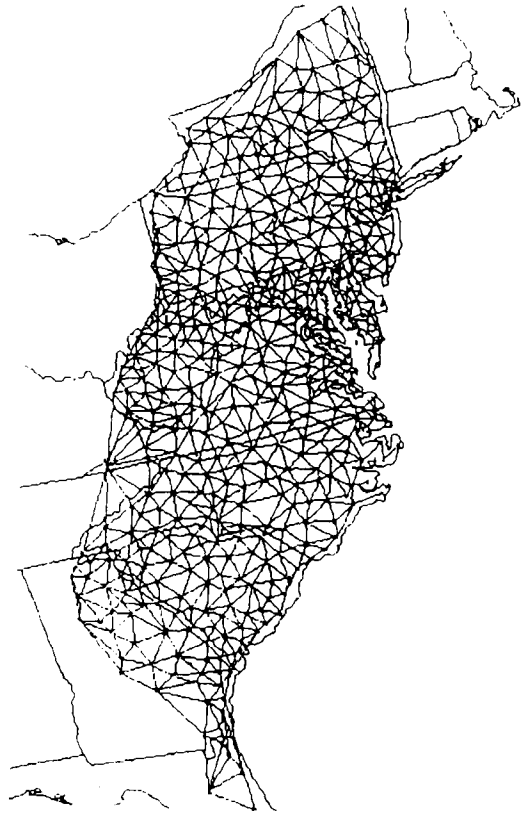
LAMSAS Sector Grid



Emphasized cell boundaries indicate frequencies of *pail* that are significantly different at $p < .002$.

Figure 6

Delaunay triagulation based on 483 LAMSAS communities



ABBREVIATED STYLE IN CHINESE WITH REFERENCE TO PLACE NAMES

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ABSTRACT

Learners of Chinese are struck by the extreme brevity of the language. Classical written Chinese which was monosyllabic was even more concise than the modern language which is largely polysyllabic. Abbreviation in modern Chinese is commonly achieved by means of syllable ellipsis. However, polysyllabic words are not usually reduced to a single monosyllable unless the latter is joined to another monosyllable to form a new polysyllabic structure. Whilst brevity is a feature of classical Chinese, the mainly disyllabic nature of modern abbreviations is not.

The process of abbreviation is examined with particular reference to place names. On the whole, the first syllable of a polysyllabic name is retained whilst in Chinese abbreviations in general syllables are retained more according to semantic or stylistic considerations than to position. When polysyllabic names are reduced to monosyllables they are commonly joined to another syllable in a new disyllabic structure.

While most linguists accept that all languages are equally capable of expressing the full range of human thoughts and emotions and of describing the world around us, and that all share similar fundamental characteristics, the speakers of some languages nevertheless consider their particular language to have inherent special qualities. Moreover, certain groups in that society may endeavour to enhance or reinforce those perceived qualities by cultural, educational or political means. Thus, the French in the past codified and standardized the grammatical rules and vocabulary of their language with the aim of making it a clearer, more precise tool of communication. To this day, clarity and logic, for the French, are the mark of good style: "ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français". It is doubtful whether French is in fact a clearer language per se than any other language, but it is true that the French strive for clarity in their speech and writing, and make that quality an ideal.

When one looks at Chinese one of the first impressions one has, especially concerning the written language, is not one of logic or clarity, but rather conciseness and brevity, often at the expense of clarity. Joseph Needham (1954:41) partly quoting Karlgren (1926:48) writes, "it is true that this old language, in spite of its ambiguity, has a concentrated, laconic, lapidary quality, making an impression of austere elegance, pith and virility, unequalled in any other invented instrument of human communication". This statement is most relevant to the classical

written language which was largely monosyllabic in the sense that each concept was represented by a single character representing a single syllable. By contrast, in modern spoken Chinese the majority of words are polysyllabic, and the same is largely true for the modern written language which closely follows the spoken language. This modern written style is called báihuà as opposed to wěn yán, the classical written language.

Although wén yán was mainly monosyllabic it is doubtful that the spoken language ever was, a misconception referred to by John de Francis (1972) as "the monosyllabic myth". Karlgren was among those who accepted the theory that the spoken language was originally monosyllabic, and his ideas are summarized by de Francis as follows (1972:156): "The earliest form of written Chinese, as surviving specimens show, was monosyllabic. This written Chinese, though monosyllabic, was intelligible because of the relatively great complexity of its sounds. Gradually, sound simplification took place, to the point where 'the number of homophones must have become detrimental to the intelligibility of the spoken language'. The speaker of Chinese could no longer frame his sentences with simple words of one syllable, so that 'in proportion as the number of homophones increased, he had to make elucidative additions to the simple words and thus radically reshape the materials of his language. In this way the spoken language came to be thoroughly changed some centuries after the beginning of the christian era'." One way, for example, to avoid loss of intelligibility due to phonetic change (the dropping of final consonants, for example), was to create compounds using two syllables with similar meanings, compounds which are very common in modern Chinese. However, de Francis provides convincing arguments against a monosyllabic spoken language, at least during the period when a written script existed. It should be pointed out that texts in the classical language can only be understood completely by looking at the characters and that merely hearing them read out does not guarantee intelligibility. This is because homonyms in the spoken language are represented by different characters in the written language. To give just one example, the syllable yù has thirty-three separate meanings, each represented with a different written character. In the classical written language the syllable could occur by itself whilst in the modern spoken language it would usually be used in a compound.

The generally held view now is that the classical written language was an abbreviated form of the spoken polysyllabic language, which co-existed with it. Strong efforts have been made in this century to replace the classical written language with a written style more closely resembling the polysyllabic spoken form, and to thus reduce the huge gap which had developed between the spoken and written forms of the language.

The question of abbreviations, in modern Chinese, is closely related to the historical development of the language and abbreviated forms have not only been traditionally accepted in the written language, but formed the very basis of the classical

language. While in the European languages, abbreviated style, represented in its extreme form in English newspaper headlines, is widely criticized, in Chinese such abbreviated language has been revered. The more concise and abbreviated the language is, the more it is admired. In fact, according to Newnham (1971: 75) in newspapers in communist China efforts are made not to backslide towards an abbreviated language, not because it is poor style, but because it is in the classical elitist written tradition. In Hong Kong and Taiwan newspapers, on the other hand, from which most of the examples for this article are taken, ellipsis and abbreviations abound. Ironically, such a telegraphic style seems ideally suited for fast-moving, modern societies.

Whilst it is true that the classical written language tends to be monosyllabic and concise and the modern spoken language is generally polysyllabic and more verbose, it is also true that even spoken Chinese can often seem surprisingly concise and abbreviated. It is not clear whether this is due to the influence of the written language or whether it is due to the internal grammar of the spoken language itself. Probably both factors are involved. Certainly it would seem an oversimplification to state that whenever the spoken language is abbreviated it is always due to the influence of the written language. In Cantonese, a dialect in which the spoken language is very different from the written language, and which cannot always be put into a written form, abbreviated expressions such as ngóh sung néih gèi[1] or ngóh jip néih gèi 'I'll accompany you to the airport' and 'I'll meet your plane' can hardly be considered to reflect the direct influence of the written language. On the other hand recurring telegraphic expressions in newspapers, whether they are names or syntactical expressions could easily be transferred to the spoken language. The expression kéuih sung yún 'he was taken to hospital' (lit. he taken hospital) is repeatedly used in newspapers in descriptions of accidents and is short for kéuih béi sung heui yīyún (lit. He, béi (passive marker) taken go hospital). Such an abbreviated expression in the spoken language can sound strange but is possible.

Concerning the telegraphic style of newspapers in Hong Kong and Taiwan, it should be mentioned that the language, while not the same as the spoken form is nevertheless easily understood when read out. This is apparent from the fact that radio and T.V. newscasts, at least those in Hong Kong, are given in the same abbreviated style as in the newspapers. However, an added problem in the case of Hong Kong is that there is a wider divergence between the spoken language which is Cantonese and the written language which is Mandarin. Thus, while the written Chinese used in newspapers is Mandarin the spoken form used on newscasts is Cantonese. According to newsreaders at the BBC Chinese section (Lister, 1980: 135, note 4), commenting on differences between the newscasts in Cantonese and Mandarin, the same written text was used for both but minor adjustments had to be made when reading the Mandarin text in Cantonese. These adjustments did not concern the basic style or news vocabulary, but rather the most common basic vocabulary of everyday speech. Thus, for example, "he is" in Cantonese and

Mandarin is the same in the written language, but different in the spoken language: tā shì (Mandarin), tā sí (Cantonese pronunciation of Mandarin characters), kéuih haih (spoken Cantonese). In Cantonese newscasts kéuih haih would be used even though the rest of the sentence might be identical with the Mandarin text, apart from the differences in pronunciation. The resulting spoken sentence still sounds stilted but is accepted as being the language of news.

In this article discussion will be largely limited to abbreviations of place names in written newspaper Chinese, although such abbreviations are but one element of the telegraphic style. Since Chinese is not written by means of an alphabet, it is not possible to abbreviate words by the use of initials as in western languages. The only method available in Chinese is to reduce the number of syllables in a name. This is a method which is also used in English or other European languages, but is less common than the use of initials. Examples of this in English are:

Pan Am	(Pan American Airlines)
Am Cham	(The American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong)
Amex	(American Express)
Can. lit.	(Canadian literature)

None of the individual syllables, with the exception of lit. are independent words, and they can only be used in certain fixed expressions. The form lit. is free and could be used in a sentence such as 'He's studying lit.'. As in English some of the elements of Chinese abbreviation are bound or semi-bound forms, and some are free.

The following examples illustrate the method by which expressions are abbreviated in Chinese:

Běijīng Dàxué
(Beijing University, lit. north capital big school): Běidà

Xiānggǎng Dàxué
(Hong Kong University, lit. fragrant harbour big school): Gǎngdà

Bālèsītǎn Jiéfàng Zǔzhī
(Palestine Liberation Organization): Bājié

Běi Dàxiyāng Gōngyuē Zǔzhī
(North Atlantic Treaty Organization): Běiyuē

Àolínpǐkè Yùndònghuì
(The Olympic Games): Àoyùn

Xiānggǎng guǎnxián yuètuán
(Hong Kong Orchestra,
lit. Hong Kong wind string music group): Gǎngyuè

Quán Guó Rénmín Dàibiǎo Dàhuì
(The National People's Congress,
lit. Whole country people's representatives big meeting): Réndà

Yàzhōu Yùndòng Huì
(The Asian Games, lit. Asia Sports Meeting): Yàhuì

Yuènán Gòngchántáng
(The Vietnam Communist Party): Yuègòng

Málàixīyà Huárén Gōnghuì
(The Malaysian Chinese Association): Máhuá Gōnghuì

Jiānádà Hángkōng Gōngsī
(Air Canada, lit. Canada Aviation Company): Jiāháng

Xīn Táiwān Huòbì
(New Taiwan currency): Xīn Táibì

Xiāngáng Àomén Mátòu
(Hong Kong Macao Ferry Terminal,
lit. Hong Kong Macao Wharf): Gǎng Ào Mátòu

Běijīng rén
(Beijing people, lit. north capital people): jīngrén

Most of the abbreviations are composed of two or four syllables and none are monosyllabic. This fits in with the polysyllabic nature of modern Chinese. Sometimes monosyllabic names are made polysyllabic by the addition of a redundant syllable. Thus, surnames are often prefixed in speech with ā or lǎo 'old'. Chen is referred to as Ā Chén or lǎo Chén, 'old Chen'. Gorbachov, the name of the Russian leader, is normally transcribed as Gēbāqiáofū (戈巴乔夫), or Gēbāzhuōfū (戈巴卓夫), but is abbreviated, either as Gē shì (戈氏) 'Mr. Gorbachov' (lit. Gorbachov Mr.) or as Lǎo Gē 'old Gorbachov'. The English city Manchester which may be transcribed as Mànchēsītè (曼彻斯特) can be abbreviated to Màn Chéng (lit. "Man. city").

The abbreviation for Xiānggǎng 'Hong Kong' is Gǎng but in the examples examined it only occured in certain types of polysyllabic structures. It commonly is used to modify a noun: Gǎng Fǔ (Xiānggǎng Zhèngfǔ 'Hong Kong Government'; Gǎng Dū (Xiānggǎng Zǒngdū) 'Hong Kong Governor'; Gǎng bì (Xiānggǎng hùobì) 'Hong Kong currency'. It also occurs after certain functional verbs of movement or location: huí Gǎng 'return to Hong Kong'; lái Gǎng 'come to Hong Kong'; zhù Gǎng fāyánrén 'a spokesperson in Hong Kong' (lit. residing Hong Kong spokesperson); zài Gǎng 'in Hong Kong'. Gǎng did not occur in the cases examined as subject of a verb. Often Xiānggǎng as subject is replaced by another polysyllabic expression, běn Gǎng, běn meaning 'one's own, native, this'. Běn never occurred with the full name Xiānggǎng. Similarly, Àomén 'Macao' is often replaced with "běn Ào".

I came across just one example of Gǎng occurring on its own as object of a verb. This was in a widely used four syllable slogan Gǎngrén zhì Gǎng, 'self government for Hong Kong' (lit. Hong Kong people govern Hong Kong). The structure of the slogan, its brevity, pithiness and number of characters give it the appearance of a Chinese proverb from wén yán (literary language) and bestow a feeling of seriousness and legitimacy to the political idea. These very concise idioms and proverbs abound in Chinese texts, and are far more common than in English or French. According to Kratochvil (1968:81-82); "It is difficult to compare them with any similar phenomenon in European languages; the nearest would probably be Latin phrases like prima facie used in modern English, but Chinese phrases and expressions of this kind are incomparably more common, for they are not limited to the speech and writing of intellectuals ---and their patterning is still to a certain degree productively exploited for coining new expressions". Monosyllabic names of foreign cities and countries are always made polysyllabic even in cases where the foreign name sounds Chinese. Thus the French city Rennes becomes Liènán, a transliteration and Pau becomes Bō Chéng 'Pau City'. In China a number of cities and provinces have special monosyllabic names, but they seem to occur in the same environments as abbreviations such as Gǎng, for Xiānggǎng 'Hong Kong'. These short forms are as follows:

Guǎngdōng:	Yuè
Guǎngzhōu:	Suì
Nánjīng:	Níng
Shànghǎi:	Hù
Shānxī:	Qín

It has been mentioned that the monosyllabic abbreviation Gǎng for Xiānggǎng, occurs as a noun modifier and after certain verbs of movement or location. It also occurs in combination with monosyllabic abbreviations of other places; Gǎng Ào Mátòu 'The Hong Kong Macao Ferry Terminal' has already been cited. This type of polysyllabic structure is very common with name of countries:

Měi Sū màoyi guānxì
(Měiguó Sūlián),
American Soviet commercial relations

Měi Fǎ zǒngtǒng
(Měiguó Fǎguó)
the American and French presidents

Zhōng Yīng liánhé shēngmíng
(Zhōngguó Yīngguó)
the Chinese British Joint Declaration

In these examples the abbreviated forms serve as noun modifiers. When two or more countries act as subject or object another structure is quite common. The abbreviated forms are followed by an expression such as liǎng guó or sān guó 'two

countries' or 'three countries'. For example, one often encounters the phrase Yīng, Fǎ, Dé sān guó (short for Yīngguó, Fǎguó, Déguó 'England, France, Germany'). The expression Xīng, Mǎ, Tài (short for Xīngjiāpō, Mǎláixīyà, Tàiguó 'Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand') without the addition of sān guó 'three countries' is commonly used in travel advertisements, probably due to the popularity of the countries as a single destination for package tour groups. An interesting abbreviation is that used for Iran and Irak. In Chinese they are respectively Yīlǎng and Yīlākè, and both are abbreviated as Yī. The Iran-Irak War, in Chinese, was known as Liǎng Yī zhànzhēng 'the two Yi's war' to avoid an awkward sounding YīYī.

Concerning the actual choice of the syllables which are dropped and which are retained there seem to be no hard and fast rules. However, in the case of countries and cities it is the first syllable which is nearly always retained and the rest are dropped. This is true whether the place is in China or abroad, and it is also true in the case of foreign countries and cities whether the name is a meaningless transliteration (e.g. Jiānádà 'Canada'), a meaningful transliteration (e.g. Yīngguó 'England', lit. "hero country") or translation (e.g. Niǔjīn 'Oxford').

Those countries with a Chinese name which is a meaningful transliteration are in a minority. Apart from the name of England other such names are Měiguó 'America' (lit. "beautiful country"), Fǎguó 'France' (lit. "law country"), Déguo 'Germany' (lit. "virtuous country"). China itself is known as Zhōngguó (lit. "central country"), Japan as Rìběn (lit. "sun half") and Vietnam as Yuènán (lit. "beyond the south"). Since it is nearly always the first syllable which is retained in an abbreviation, this syllable may well take on an extended meaning. Thus, the first syllable of the Chinese term for America, Měiguó (lit. "beautiful country") is just as likely to mean America or American as beautiful, and Yīng, Fǎ, Dé, Rì and Zhōng in a newspaper headline probably mean England, France, Germany, Japan and China rather than hero, law, virtue, sun and centre. Moreover, a word may undergo a change in grammatical function and an adjective or verb become a noun (e.g. the adjective měi 'beautiful' becomes a noun meaning America, and the verb yuè 'to jump over, to go beyond' becomes a noun meaning Vietnam.

Two notable exceptions to the convention whereby it is the first syllable which is retained are Gǎng for Xiānggǎng (lit. "fragrant harbour") and Jīng for Běijīng. Overriding semantic factors are probably part of the reason for these exceptions. Thus in the case of Beijing, Jīngrén 'capital people' sounds better than Běirén 'northern people'. However, it is hard to explain why Beijing university is known as Běidà rather than Jīngdà. It is possibly due to analogy with the abbreviated name given to most other universities where, with the exception of Gǎngdà 'The University of Hong Kong', it is the first syllable of the city which is used.

One of the most striking features of abbreviations of place names is the fact that most abbreviations are monosyllabic but usually occur in combination with another syllable. This follows the pattern whereby the majority of Chinese words are disyllabic, a fact confirmed by reading through any Chinese dictionary and there seems to be pressure to reduce pairs of words whether monosyllabic or polysyllabic to a single disyllabic word, by eliminating syllables in one or both of the two words. An example of this reduction would be the common widespread abbreviation of Cantonese lìhngmūng chàh 'lemon tea' to lìhngchàh. In another Cantonese example a three syllable expression yiht gafē 'hot coffee' is sometimes reduced to two by the ellipsis of ga resulting in yiht fē. In a fast food outlet a cheese sandwich transliterated as chīsí sàammàhnjih is sometimes abbreviated to chījih. Scores of similar examples could be quoted. The abbreviation of place names follow a similar pattern, though the syllables are dropped more according to position than for semantic or stylistic reasons. Place abbreviations in Chinese tend to occur in certain bound forms and are not as free as in English and French. Thus the abbreviation Gǎng for Xiānggǎng 'Hong Kong' may not be used to replace the English abbreviation HK in all situations. On the other hand, when abbreviations are used in Chinese they are the same as ordinary disyllabic words, and do not stand out as abbreviations do in English. For this reason they may sometimes be used in Chinese when in English an abbreviation would sound strange or in poor taste. The fact that abbreviations in Chinese resemble ordinary words also poses a problem for learners of Chinese, since most do not appear in dictionaries, and both in speech and in the written language, it is not realized that the "new word" is in fact simply an amalgamation of two words already known.

FOOTNOTES

1. Romanization for Cantonese is according to the Yale system. For Mandarin, romanization is in hanyupinyin.

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On the Representation of the Object-Agreement Phrase

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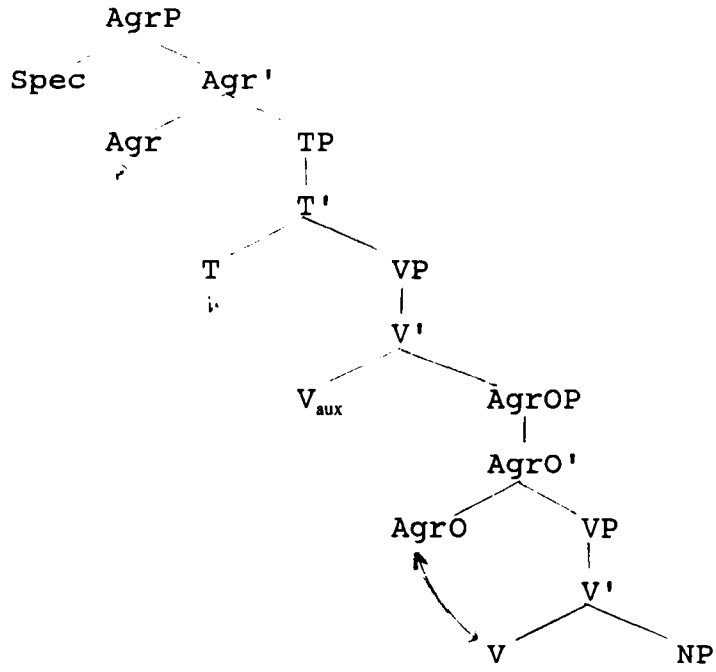
ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the internal structure of clauses containing past participle forms in Romance languages. We adopt the representation proposed in current literature to account for clauses with compound tenses, and we question its explanatory power when it comes to distinguish between an active verb in 'passé composé' and a passive construction. The improvement we propose consists in the representation of the argumental positions allowed in structures with a past participle inflection.

1. Introduction

Recent proposals within the Government and Binding Theory assigned the following representation to clauses displaying the object-agreement phenomenon:

(1)



The structure of a clause with
'passé composé' cf. Belletti 1989

The representation in (1) was proposed (cf. Chomsky 1988, Belletti 1989) to account for constructions where the past participle form of the verb carries a specific morphology for object-agreement, i.e.:

(2) a. Tu l' as vue vs. Tu l' as vu. (French)
you her have seen vs. you him have seen

b. Tu la hai vista vs. Tu lo hai visto.
(Italian)

In both French and Italian clauses, the verbal forms consist in an auxiliary and a past participle. According to (1), the auxiliary, base generated under V_{aux}, undergoes the inflection by moving to T and Agr, where it receives the specifications for [tense] and [subject-agreement]; at Surface-Structure (henceforth SS) the auxiliary lands in Agr. The main verb, base generated under V, receives the participial inflection, consisting in a morpheme carried under AgrO (i.e. Agreement with Object, meaning specific endings on the verb, according

to the properties of the object NP: fem. vs. masc., sg. vs. pl.). This inflectional process can be implemented in two ways: either through verb-movement to AgrO (e.g. Italian) or through affix-hopping (e.g. French)[1].

The representation in (1) gives an appropriate explanation to structures with object-agreement, as illustrated in (2). However, the same representation can be extended to other constructions with an agreeing past participle, i.e. passives. Consider the following examples:

(3) a. Paul les a repeintes.
Paul them has repainted

b. Les chaises sont repeintes.
the chairs are repainted

In (3a, b) the auxiliaries (be it avoir or être) follow the movement proposed in (1), landing in Agr at SS, while the main verb receives the object-agreement morpheme through affix-hopping, as mentioned above. In other words, a clause with an active verb in past tense has the same structure with a passive clause.

Such a structural equivalence comes as an undesirable result, as, for obvious reasons, speakers do not confuse active and passive clauses. Then, (1) presents a problem of overgeneration, by wrongly predicting the indiscriminate production of (3a) and (3b).

This problem of overgeneration constitutes the main objective of our paper. Assuming that (1) offers the correct account for verbal inflection in compound tenses, the present analysis will try to determine the factor that would restrict the derivation of active vs. passive clauses, so that (3a) and (3b) appear distinctive at the level of representation. The module of grammar supporting our analysis is the X-bar theory.

2. [+AgrO] vs. [-AgrO]

2.1. Hypothesis

Given that (1) fails to distinguish between active

and passive clauses, we suppose that the restrictive factor missing here concerns the projection of argumental positions (henceforth A-positions). That is, active and passive verbs differ through their Th(ematic)-grid; consequently, their X-bar structure will be different, i.e. active verbs have subject and object positions, while passive verbs subcategorize for objects only. The representations of (3a) and (3b) must reflect this inherent difference.

2.2. The adjacency between auxiliary and past participle

It is well known that the phenomenon of object-agreement does not apply to Romance languages, with the exception of French and Italian. In compound tenses, the past participle form remains invariable in these languages, e.g. :

(4) a. Jean les a invitées. (French)
John them has invited
b. Juan las ha invidado. (Spanish)
c. Ion le- a invitat. (Romanian)

In French, the object pronoun les, in front of the verb, triggers the agreement morphology on the past participle form, i.e. /-es/ in invitées. But the same object does not affect the verb in Spanish and Romanian (Portuguese and Catalan behave the same way), where the past participle maintains the form by default.

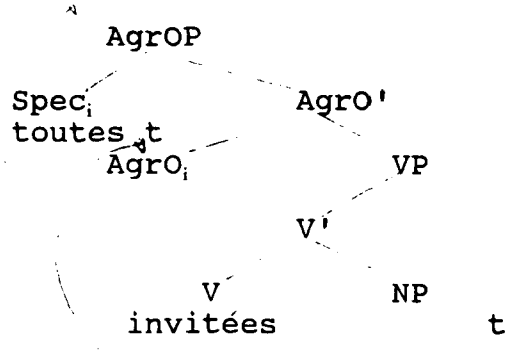
The presence vs. absence of an object-agreement effect in clauses such as (4) coincides with a difference in their complexity. More specifically, French clauses with 'passé composé' (compound tense) allow for a number of elements to intervene between auxiliary and past participle, while the other languages lack this possibility, e.g.:

(5) a. Jean les a toutes invitées.
John them has all invited
b.*Juan las ha todas invidado.
c. Juan las ha invidado todas.

The Floating Quantifier (henceforth FQ) determining the object pronoun can appear between auxiliary and past participle in French (5a) but not in Spanish (5b).

The contrast in (5) can be accounted for if we assume that AgrO has the same syntactic properties with Agr (the Inflectional head carrying the subject-verb agreement marks). That is, the positive value of Agr requires the projection of a Spec-position (cf. Rizzi 1986) on which the properties of Agr will be discharged. The grammatical category filling this position will be in a Spec-head structural relation with AgrO, leading to the configuration in (6):

(6)



The X-bar structure of AgrOP

In (6), the positive value of AgrO led to the projection of a Spec position, to which the pronoun object moved, in order to satisfy the lexical requirements of agreement. From SpecAgrOP, the pronoun followed its movement to a higher position, for independent reasons. Its trace in SpecAgrOP is sufficient to ensure the Spec-head relation. FQ, base generated as attached to the object NP (cf. Sportiche 1988), moved to the NP-t in SpecAgrOP at SS.

The representation in (6) explains the grammaticality of (5a) and predicts that (5b) must be impossible, given that in this language the value of AgrO is negative. The feature [-AgrO] justifies the lack of a Spec position, and implicitly, the illegitimate FQ movement. Therefore, auxiliary and past participles appear as adjacent in this type of languages (5c).

2.3. The cluster subject-object

The contrasts illustrated in (4) and (5) showed that French clauses with 'passé composé' display a higher

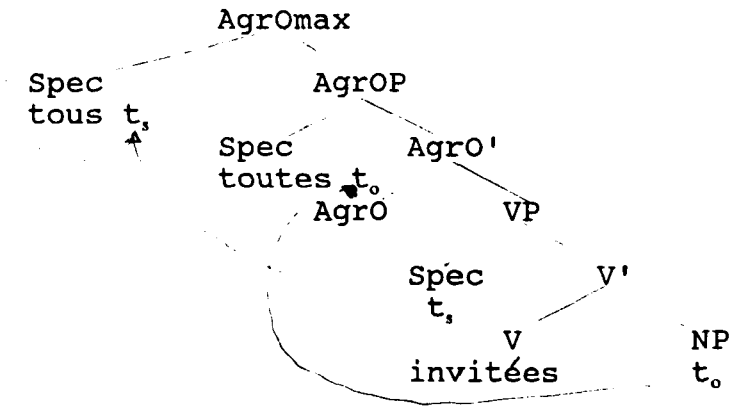
degree of complexity due to the X-bar structure of AgrOP, as described in (6). Nevertheless, (6) does not account for all the French clauses, where other elements, unrelated to the object, can intervene between auxiliary and past participle, e.g.:

(7) a. Ils les ont <u>tous</u> toutes invitées.
They them have all(Subj) all (Obj) invited
b. *Ils les ont toutes <u>tous</u> invitees.

In (7) two FQs separate the auxiliary and the past participle: one determines the subject, the other one -- the object. The word order FQ-subject/FQ-object is obligatory (7a vs. 7b).

The data in (7) raise two questions: (i) what is the position containing the FQ-subject in (7a)? and (ii) why is (7b) disallowed? In order to account for the first question, we resort to the configuration in (6), where the feature [+AgrO] justified an X-bar structure of AgrOP with a Spec position, to be filled in by the object-NP or its trace. A possibility offered under X-bar theory is the extension of the maximal projection, when needed (cf. Koopman & Sportiche 1990). In the structure under consideration, a subject position may be projected as a second Spec of AgrOmax, as suggested under (8):

(8)



The X-bar structure of AgrOmax with [+AgrO]

The configuration in (8) obeys the syntactic rules: X-bar applies and both FQs can attach to A-positions (cf. Sportiche 1988), containing the traces of the NP they determine.

If (8) gives an appropriate description to (7a), how does it exclude (7b)? Notice that (7b) would present a version of (8) where FQ-subject remains in SpecVP, instead of moving higher, a configuration that should be permitted.

Apparently, no structural constraints would account for (7b). However, a comparison with the situation of FQ-subject in equivalent constructions in Romance seems to lead to a general remark. Consider the following data:

(9) a. ??Studentii le- au invitat toti. (Romanian)
the students them have invited all
b. Le- au invitat toti.
them have(1pl) invited all
c. Toti studentii le- au invitat.
all the students then have invited
d. *Studentii le- au invitat toti pe toate.
the students them have invited all(Subj) pe-all(Obj)
e. Toti studentii le- au invitat pe toate.
all the students them have invited pe-all(Obj)

The long paradigm in (9) shows the combinations of the two FQs in a language where, in unmarked versions, there is no restriction on the movement of FQ, i.e. it can remain attached to the basic position or it can move with the NP it determines. AgrO has the negative value in this language; therefore the auxiliary is adjacent to the past participle. FQ-subject should freely stay after the past participle (presumably in SpecVP) or in clause initial position.

The data in (9) do not confirm the prediction on the free movement of FQ. We notice that in the presence of a lexical subject (9a), a post-verbal FQ gives a doubtfull result. This situation contrasts with (9b), where the subject is null, and with (9c), where FQ moves to a clause initial position. When both subject and object display an FQ, the word order becomes very strict (9e), with obligatory movement of FQ-subject in front of the clause (9d).

Then, there are two restrictions to be observed in the use of FQ, in both French and Romanian: (i) in the presence of a lexical subject, FQ-subject cannot remain stranded in SpecVP in a 'stretched' configuration (i.e. with a compound tense); and (ii) when two FQs are

present, FQ-subject must precede FQ-object so that the former obtains a larger scope than the latter (i.e. at least one must be outside VP).

The empirical observations put forth for (7) and (9) indicate that the semantic properties of FQ rather than structural factors should be at play in (7b). These semantic properties are accommodated differently in languages with [+AgrO] vs. [-AgrO], due to the possibility of extending the X-bar projection of AgrO in the former group.

3. Passive constructions

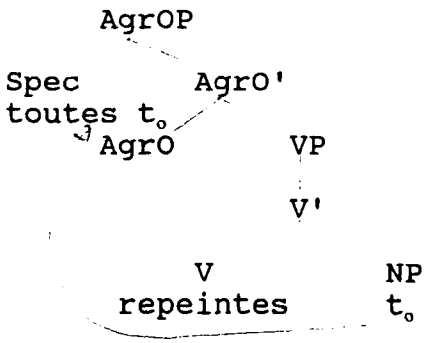
So far we have discussed the structure of clauses with active verbs in compound tenses, and postulated that the projection of A-positions in these constructions depends on the value of AgrO. Languages with the feature [+AgrO], e.g. French, allow for complex structures, with A-positions within AgrOmax, as proposed in (8).

Now we return to the initial problem of this paper, that is the difference between active and passive clauses with compound tenses at the level of representation. Assuming that (8) gives the appropriate description of an active clause, what will be the structure of a passive construction, e.g. :

(10) Les chaises sont toutes repeintes.
the chairs are all repainted

The most natural answer to this question comes from the requirement for the projection of A-positions. Passive verbs have only an object-NP, for which a Spec position is necessary, to relate it to the head AgrO. Lack of subjects implies lack of an A-position to represent it within the participial inflection. As a result, AgrO has an AgrOP as maximal projection, with SpecAgrOP the only A-position, e.g. (11):

(11)



The structure of a passive AgrOP

The difference between (8) and (11) consists in the elimination of one position within AgrO projection, corresponding to the lack of one argument in the passive structure.

In conclusion, the representation in (1) gives an adequate description to clauses with past participle forms, but it needs a more specific account with respect to the projection of A-positions. It is only at this level that the problem of overgeneration can be avoided, by keeping clear the distinction between active and passive constructions.

FOOTNOTES

1. The contrastive inflectional process appears in tests with Floating Quantifiers, known to be attached to SpecVP in post-verbal instances (cf. tests in Belletti 1990):
(i) Gli invitati hanno parlato tutti.
(ii) *Les invités ont parlé tous.
(iii) Les invités ont tous parlé.
The word order shows that in Italian the verb moves out of VP (i.e. above tutti), while in French the verb remains in its base position (i.e. V, lower than tous).

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AUDITION ET APPRENTISSAGE D'UNE LANGUE SECONDE

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RÉSUMÉ

Des expériences ont été entreprises deux ans de suite sur des étudiants volontaires de première année d'université inscrits en classe de français, pour déterminer si un lien existait entre la finesse de perception auditive et les résultats aux tests de phonétique et aux tests généraux de langue. Aucune relation significative ne s'est manifestée. Description des expériences et analyse des résultats sont rapportées.

Nombreux sont les docteurs et linguistes qui ont attiré l'attention sur l'ouïe, comme le sens le plus fondamental dans l'acquisition d'une langue. "C'est en entendant que l'on apprend une langue" disait Tomatis (1963) et Sittler: "L'ouïe est liée de la façon la plus fondamentale et créative au pouvoir de la parole et au don spécifiquement humain du langage que tout autre sens ou faculté" (1975). Quant à Léon, il précisait que la discrimination auditive est essentielle dans l'exercice du décodage qui permet d'identifier, de comparer et de distinguer les traits articulatoires et prosodiques de la langue cible (1966).

Pourtant le rôle de la finesse de perception auditive de l'apprenant n'avait pas jusque-là été mesuré, en relation avec l'apprentissage global de la langue et la compréhension orale en particulier. Ce travail était à faire. Ce sont ces expériences effectuées sur une période de deux ans que nous voudrions relater et analyser.

Hypothèse et questions posées

L'hypothèse d'une corrélation entre la finesse de perception auditive du sujet et sa performance au niveau

de la compréhension orale de la langue cible était émise. Elle était basée non seulement sur le rôle essentiel de l'audition dans l'apprentissage de la langue, comme il en est fait mention dans l'introduction, mais aussi sur les faits et constatations suivants:

1 Une perte de sensibilité auditive se produit automatiquement avec l'âge chez tous les sujets normaux dans la bande fréquentielle qui ne correspond pas à la langue maternelle. Or pour l'apprentissage du français langue seconde par les anglophones, ce phénomène devrait être particulièrement sensible, si l'on considère que "le lieu d'élection de la plus grande agglutination fréquentielle pour le français se rencontre aux alentours de 800 à 1800 Hz tandis que pour l'anglais il s'étend entre 2000 et 12000 Hz" (Tomatis, 1963).

2 L'audition varie d'un individu à l'autre. Et un grand nombre de sujets souffrent d'un manque de sensibilité auditive sans en être conscients, car ils ont appris à compenser dans leur langue maternelle et qu'ils ne peuvent comparer ce qu'ils entendent avec ce que les autres entendent dans un contexte similaire (Rakowska-Jaillard,1982). Ce handicap augmente avec l'âge et des linguistes (Champagne, 1984, Neufeld, 1974 et Champagne, Bourdage, Schneiderman, 1987) ont noté et cherché à compenser la difficulté qu'éprouve l'adulte à apprendre et parler une langue seconde avec un minimum d'accent étranger, par un programme d'entraînement phonétique.

3 L'expérience de l'enseignement du français langue seconde, permet de constater une différence de performance entre l'écrit et l'oral, qui pourrait être liée à une déficience de l'ouïe.

Que cette hypothèse soit prouvée ou pas, l'expérience permettrait de répondre à un certain nombre de questions qui se posent:

a La finesse de perception dans les fréquences basses a-t-elle une influence sur la performance de l'étudiant au niveau de

l'ensemble de la langue et de la compréhension orale?

b Constate-t-on chez les étudiants testés un profil de l'audition correspondant à une performance déficiente ou au contraire optimum?

c Les échantillons d'étudiants testés permettent-ils de déceler chez certains des pertes de sensibilité, qui les classeraient parmi les sujets à l'ouïe déficiente, selon la classification établie par Davis (1965)?

d Quelle chance a-t-on de compter parmi les étudiants d'université une proportion de malentendants, handicappés par cette déficience dans l'apprentissage de la langue seconde?

e Est-il possible de prévoir le succès éventuel de l'étudiant compte tenu de ses connaissances de départ, son score au test d'aptitude et celui de perception auditive?

Description de l'expérience

Les tests ont été effectués deux ans de suite, mais d'une part les étudiants testés étaient différents, d'autre part les appareils et les tests employés ont été modifiés la seconde année pour tenter d'atteindre une plus grande précision de mesure. Il convient donc d'envisager les deux phases successivement et leurs résultats respectifs, en tirant davantage de conclusions de la seconde expérience faite en fonction des résultats de la première. Dans les deux cas, l'appel aux volontaires a été lancé dans les classes de première année d'université.

Première expérience, année 1989-1990

a Nombre d'étudiants ayant participé à tous les tests: 31. Nombre d'étudiants testés pour l'un ou l'autre test: 35.

b Tests administrés

1 Test de niveau: Test Laval B, administré en septembre et en avril. Les résultats sont donnés avec la composante phonétique.

2 Test d'aptitude MLA est, Form A.

3 Test auditif: La sensibilité auditive relative des sujets volontaires a été mesurée à l'aide de la technique "Bekesy-audiometry" décrite par Mohl (1973). Le sujet muni d'écouteurs écoutait un ton pur continu entre 100 et 20 Hz. Il devait presser un bouton lorsqu'il entendait le son et le relâcher quand le son devenait trop faible pour être détecté. Le sujet traçait ainsi son seuil d'audibilité pour les fréquences de la parole jusqu'à 10.000 Hz.

Le niveau du son présenté au sujet était contrôlé par un compresseur d'un générateur Bruel et Kjaer 1022. Un générateur Hewlett Packard 3311A produisait une onde de 1KHz. Ce signal était relié au bouton de contrôle tenu par le sujet. Quand l'interrupteur était fermé, le signal continuait à se diriger vers le circuit du compresseur du générateur Bruel et Kjaer 1022. Au reçu du signal de 1 KHz, le circuit du compresseur réduisait le niveau du signal de sortie en direction des écouteurs de 30 dB/sec. Quand le sujet relâchait l'interrupteur, le compresseur augmentait le niveau du signal à la sortie de 30 dB/sec. Le son transmis passait par un atténuateur Wavetek 5080 et des écouteurs Sony MDR-V7. L'atténuateur était fixé à 60 dB, ce qui permettait une sortie à haut voltage du Bruel et Kjaer, et des sons de faible niveau aux écouteurs. Un Bruel et Kjaer 2305 a été utilisé pour varier les fréquences mécaniquement entre 100 Hz et 20 KHz et pour enregistrer simultanément le niveau de sortie aux écouteurs. Le balayage des fréquences durait 6.4 minutes. Un marqueur lent (2dB/sec) a

été utilisé pour égaliser le niveau du signal tracé sur le papier millimétré. Le circuit du compresseur et les niveaux de sortie étaient ajustés de façon que les niveaux de son pénétrant les écouteurs puissent être réduits de 50 dB (l'écart maximum du système).

L'enregistreur de niveau indiquait les tracés transmis par le sujet selon les fréquences perçues. Les niveaux, relatifs au niveau le plus bas possible, étaient mesurés à 0.25, 0.5, 1.2 et 4KHz. La moyenne relative de la sensibilité auditive de chaque sujet était mesurée par la somme des seuils pour les niveaux de 0.5, 1 et 2 KHz.

Deuxième expérience année 1990-1991

a Nombre d'étudiants ayant participé à tous les tests: 29.
Nombre d'étudiants testés pour l'un ou l'autre test: 41.

b Tests administrés

1 Test de niveau: Test de classement Forme A No 527, administré en septembre et en avril. Il a été choisi de préférence au test Laval, car sa composante phonétique était plus substantielle 40/100 contre 16/100 pour le test Laval.

2 Le test d'aptitude n'a pas été administré.

3 Test auditif: Le sujet muni d'écouteurs Sony MDR-CD7, écoutait un ton pur continu produit par un générateur Bruel et Kjaer 1022. Le sujet devait tourner un bouton de contrôle pour réduire la tonalité jusqu'au point où le son devenait inaudible. L'observateur notait le niveau du voltage allant aux écouteurs (voltmètre Bruel et Kjaer 2409). Le sujet réduisait davantage le niveau de la tonalité puis l'augmentait jusqu'à ce que

le signal soit à nouveau perçu. L'observateur notait à nouveau le niveau du voltage. Ce processus était répété neuf fois de plus. Un seuil moyen était calculé à partir de vingt niveaux (dix juste au-dessous du seuil de détectabilité et dix juste au-dessus). Le sujet ne pouvait voir les compteurs et cadrans, ni du générateur de signaux, ni du voltmètre. Le processus était répété à 0.25, 0.5, 1.0, 2.0 et 4.0 KHz. Les écouteurs étaient calibrés à partir d'une oreille artificielle Bruel et Kjaer 4152.

Résultats
Première expérience, année 1989-1990

Students	Mid. hear audio	Test Laval				Aptitude	
		sept.	sept.	avril	avril		
		Total /100	Phon. /16	Total /100	Phon. /16	Total /194	Phon. /30
1	22	47	7	60	12	112	23
2	42	58	9	71	11	85	24
3	33	42	9	60	9	95	23
4	73	32	8	45	13	112	23
5	28	29	8	36	10	103	23
6	25	31	10	34	9	93	18
7	32	39	11	55	12	MD	MD
8	47	13	4	29	8	95	25
9	31	41	7	52	11	MD	MD
10	18	40	8	58	8	90	21
11	26	53	9	63	10	133	26
12	47	34	11	45	9	133	26
13	24	45	10	50	13	MD	MD

Students	Mid. hear audio	Test Laval				Aptitude	
		sept.	sept.	avril	avril		
		Total /100	Phon. /16	Total /100	Phon. /16	Total /194	Phon. /30
14	42	21	5	27	7	52	18
15	42	23	6	35	7	112	23
16	33	29	6	34	7	78	18
17	49	32	11	41	11	114	22
18	23	22	7	33	8	90	19
19	57	51	12	60	10	121	27
20	24	30	7	34	6	MD	MD
21	94	28	11	33	6	107	20
22	32	24	8	26	10	112	23
23	61	36	9	60	11	96	21
24	43	30	9	36	8	133	27
25	34	33	10	60	8	99	25
26	41	33	8	44	11	135	22
27	44	49	7	65	9	122	21
28	12	39	6	49	10	99	21
29	39	35	10	36	10	105	23
30	13	36	9	41	11	94	13
31	35	43	12	46	12	103	25
32	49	57	10	70	11	152	30
33	27	48	9	47	11	105	26
34	30	45	8	67	12	123	25
35	85	17	6	25	7	98	23

Corrélation

	Audio	Test Laval				Apti-tude	
		Total sept.	Phon. sept.	Total avril	Phon. avril	Total	Phon
Laval (Total sept.)		1.00					
Laval (Phon. sept.)		0.467	1.00				
Laval (Total avril)		0.880	0.336	1.00			
Laval (Phon. avril)		0.574	0.379	0.507	1.00		
Mid. hear audio		0.241	0.130	0.163	0.206	1.00	
Aptitude Total		0.392	0.401	0.355	0.356	0.142	1.00
Aptitude Phon.		0.384	0.293	0.395	0.235	0.196	0.643

Deuxième expérience, année 1990-1991

		CLASS MARKS			FORM A 527	
	TOTAL AUDIO	ORAL /20	ÉCRIT /30	TOTAL	SEPT /40	AVRIL /40
1.	MD	MD	MD	MD	MD	MD
2.	102.	14.0	16.0	68.0	MD	8.
3.	104.	15.0	22.0	76.0	MD	20.
4.	111.	18.5	23.0	83.0	26.	31.
5.	112.	13.6	24.0	83.0	8.	13.
6.	118.	14.0	18.0	64.0	18.	15.
7.	119.	15.5	22.5	81.0	22.	28.
8.	120.	18.5	23.0	86.0	MD	32.
9.	122.	MD	10.1	38.0	18.	16.
10.	122.	15.5	15.6	59.2	13.	21.
11.	123.	11.0	4.0	41.0	11.	13.
12.	126.	17.0	23.0	86.0	22.	22.
13.	126.	17.0	24.0	83.5	9.	14.
14.	128.	15.0	22.5	82.7	20.	18.

15.	128.	16.0	18.0	80.0	25.	25.
16.	130.	15.0	18.3	70.4	12.	17.
17.	131.	16.0	16.0	70.0	MD	26.
18.	131.	13.5	17.4	68.3	10.	14.
19.	133.	17.5	22.0	85.0	MD	28.
20.	133.	.0	4.0	20.0	11.	14.
21.	133.	19.0	24.0	89.0	34.	36.
22.	134.	11.3	15.0	64.0	10.	16.
23.	136.	15.0	23.0	85.5	MD	24.
24.	138.	19.0	23.0	81.0	MD	32.
25.	138.	18.0	19.0	79.0	23.	25.
26.	138.	14.0	13.6	66.1	14.	12.
27.	139.	MD	MD	MD	MD	MD
28.	139.	10.0	12.0	60.0	13.	17.
29.	144.	16.5	22.4	83.4	MD	15.
30.	148.	15.0	14.5	59.0	MD	15.
31.	151.	17.0	24.0	84.0	18.	25.
32.	151.	17.5	22.0	83.0	22.	24.
33.	151.	15.5	22.0	77.0	16.	24.
34.	153.	15.5	25.0	89.0	12.	11.
35.	162.	14.0	23.0	81.0	MD	12.
36.	162.	18.5	25.0	91.0	22.	21.
37.	163.	16.0	21.0	80.0	12.	15.
38.	173.	17.0	22.0	83.0	19.	21.
39.	177.	13.0	27.0	86.2	6.	9.
40.	185.	17.0	15.5	70.0	29.	29.
41.	187.	13.0	8.6	42.9	13.	17.
42.	188.	14.5	18.8	74.6	10.	13.

css/pc: Corrélations r (x,y)
basic N. of CASES = 29 [from 42]
status (MD casewise deleted)

Standard Mode	250 _Hz	500 _Hz	1 -kHz	2 -kHz	4 -kHz	Student	Total	Oral	Écrit	Total	Sept	A
250_Hz	1.00	.61	.55	.35	.14	-.07	.61	.07	-.08	.02	-.09	-
500_Hz	.61	1.00	.69	.60	.28	.06	.78	.07	-.10	-.02	.06	-
1_kHz	.55	.69	1.00	.81	.58	-.13	.92	.16	.11	.12	-.05	-
2_kHz	.35	.60	.81	1.00	.65	-.24	.89	.08	.08	.09	-.05	-
4_kHz	.14	.28	.58	.65	1.00	-.28	.72	-.03	.06	-.02	-.12	-
Student	-.07	.06	-.13	-.24	-.28	1.00	-.19	-.11	-.36	-.30	.36	
Total	.61	.78	.92	.89	.72	-.19	1.00	.08	.03	.05	-.06	-
Oral	.07	.07	.16	.08	-0.3	-.11	-.08	1.00	.71	.82	.55	
Écrit	-.08	-.10	.11	.08	.06	-.36	.03	.71	1.00	.95	.24	
Total	.02	-.02	.12	.09	-.02	-.30	.05	.82	.95	1.00	.36	
Sept	-.09	.06	-.05	-.05	-.12	.36	-.06	.55	.24	.36	1.00	
Avril	-.21	-.03	-.11	-.09	-.04	.43	-.11	.53	.25	.32	.90	1

Analyse

1 Test d'aptitude

Aucune corrélation significative n'est apparue dans les résultats au niveau du test d'aptitude, que ce soit pour la section phonétique de ce test ou l'ensemble des composantes.

Il est à signaler cependant que la partie phonétique est basée sur la langue kurde, choisie parce que les phonèmes qui la composent ou tout au moins ceux choisis pour les besoins du test, sont les mêmes que ceux de la langue anglaise. Un test de ce genre n'implique pas de phonèmes différents de la langue maternelle, donc les phonèmes présentés restent dans les fréquences où l'audition du sujet est la plus fine.

Il n'est donc pas particulièrement étonnant qu'aucune corrélation ne se soit manifestée à ce niveau. Le but de ce test de phonétique est de mesurer l'aptitude à la discrimination de sons connus, mais agencés pour former des mots nouveaux. Il ne présente pas de grandes difficultés pour un anglophone. Il est certain cependant qu'un étudiant pour qui ce test serait difficile, éprouverait encore plus de difficultés à discriminer des sons inconnus dans sa langue et agencés en mots nouveaux pour lui.

Nous espérions en incluant ce test dans notre expérience pouvoir mieux prédire la performance de l'étudiant (puisque là est son objet),compte tenu des connaissances de départ et de la finesse de l'audition. Arriver à une formule du type:

aptitude générale + niveau de départ + finesse de perception
------) performance de l'étudiant

qui permettrait de prédire le taux de succès de l'étudiant aurait été utile. Devant l'absence de corrélation lors de la première expérience, il a été décidé d'abandonner ce test.

2 Tests de niveau

Dans la première expérience le test de placement utilisé était le test Laval B. La composante orale est relativement faible dans ce test puisqu'elle ne représente que 16% de l'ensemble. C'est pourquoi, il a paru important de trouver un test qui mesurerait la compréhension orale de façon plus complète. Le test Forme A-527 qui porte sur un nombre plus large d'éléments dans sa composante orale 40%, nous a semblé plus à même de nous fournir une indication.

Constatations

Dans l'un et l'autre cas, aucune corrélation véritablement significative ne s'est manifestée à l'analyse des résultats, ni au

niveau de la compréhension orale, ni au niveau de l'ensemble de la performance des étudiants. Celle-ci a été mesurée par la différence des résultats entre les tests de placement de septembre et d'avril d'une part et les résultats aux tests de fin d'année donnés régulièrement dans les classes. Cependant dans la première expérience la corrélation entre les tests de phonétique d'avril et de septembre de 0.379 est légèrement supérieure à la barre, de 0.349 pour 30 étudiants et aurait pu indiquer une corrélation significative ou être simplement due au hasard. C'est cet élément qui nous a encouragés à reprendre l'expérience.

Dans la seconde expérience, nous espérions voir davantage d'étudiants participer, mais parmi les volontaires d'origine 41, seuls 29 cas ont pu être analysés, les autres avaient abandonné le cours ou étaient absents le jour du test. Nous avions donc un échantillon légèrement inférieur.

L'analyse de la composante audio se faisait non plus à partir d'une moyenne médiane, mais à partir d'une mesure à 250, 500 Hz, 1, 2, 4 kHz. Les résultats comme l'indiquent le tableau de corrélations ne marquent aucune relation significative ni dans les basses fréquences (où se situe la plus forte concentration de phonèmes français), ni dans les hautes fréquences.

Nous devions conclure à l'absence de corrélations entre la perte de finesse auditive et les résultats obtenus dans l'apprentissage de la langue, tant au niveau de l'oral que de l'ensemble.

Comment analyser ces résultats?

a A ouïe "normale", potentiel d'étude égal
Bien que le profil de l'audition varie beaucoup d'un sujet à l'autre, et que certains soient bien plus sensibles à certaines fréquences que d'autres, les étudiants avaient tous une ouïe normale: le moins sensible des sujets avait des seuils d'une moyenne de 17.5 dB au-dessus du plus sensible des sujets. Une perte de sensiblilté de 25-40 dB dans les fréquences moyennes est considérée comme problématique seulement au niveau de la parole chuchotée (Davis 1965).

On peut donc avancer qu'un manque de finesse auditive, même dans la bande passante de la langue cible, n'affecte pas chez les sujets normaux leur potentiel de succès dans l'apprentissage de cette langue. Seul l'accent perd en précision avec l'âge.

b Profil de perception et aptitude aux langues
Même si la finesse de perception des sujets est déficiente à quelques décibels pour une fréquence donnée, au niveau de 30 dB qui est celui de la parole (avec un certain bruit de fond),

tous les sujets percevaient normalement les sons. Donc seul une perte aux alentours d'une fréquence commune à un groupe de sons (800 Hz par exemple, celle des nasales du français), pourrait présenter un handicap pour l'apprentissage , surtout si ces sons n'existent pas dans la langue maternelle et que le sujet n'a pas appris à compenser. Mais ceci n'était le cas d'aucun de nos étudiants lors des deux expériences.

La probabilité de compter un étudiant malentendant parmi les apprenants d'université est infime. Ainsi donc tout étudiant adulte peut se considérer apte à l'étude d'une langue seconde dans tous ses aspects.

c Distinction entre seuil de perception et discrimination auditive dans les même bandes de fréquences
Il convient de noter que la mesure que nous donnons est celle d'un seuil moyen de perception de certaines fréquences. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'étudiant qui entend ces fréquences à intensité de la parole parvienne à discriminer automatiquement entre sons nouveaux qui empruntent les mêmes fréquences ou des fréquences très proches. Le plus souvent un apprentissage est nécessaire, mais le fait que ces fréquences passent, indique un potentiel à l'étude.

Il faut rappeler aussi qu'une langue n'est pas une juxtaposition de phonèmes, mais que rythme, accent, intonation, mélodie d'ensemble interviennent et c'est cet amalgame que l'étudiant est appelé à reconnaître et à reproduire. Une phrase anglaise où tous les phonèmes seraient respectés, mais qui adopterait rythme, accentuation...d'une autre langue deviendrait quasiment incompréhensible pour des anglophones. Donc le fait d'entendre les sons émis à une certaine fréquence n'est pas suffisant, il faut pouvoir les reconnaître quand ils sont chargés d'un accent, rythme...différents de ceux de la langue maternelle. Rakowska-Jaillard parle à ce propos du "filtre de la langue", ces habitudes d'accent et d'intonation auxquels on s'attend et qui viennent dans les débuts gêner la perception de la langue cible. Il faut déconditionner, puis reconditionner l'oreille du sujet, lui faire acquérir de nouvelles habitudes auditives qui entraîneront de nouvelles habitudes phonatoires (Rakowska-Jaillard, 1982:91).

Conclusion

Si l'hypothèse de départ n'a pu être confirmée, et si nous n'avons pas été en mesure de trouver de corrélations entre les éléments étudiés, cette absence même de lien a permis de faire un certain nombre de constatations.

-- La perception de sons émis à certaines fréquences à l'intensité normale de la parole est un élément essentiel mais non suffisant de succès dans l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde. La capacité de discriminer entre sons "chargés" des éléments prosodiques, est l'élément qui apparaît crucial.

-- La perte de sensibilité auditive due à l'âge chez les sujets normaux, n'est pas suffisante pour affecter de façon notable leur aptitude à l'étude d'une langue seconde.

-- Le profil auditif des sujets normaux variant sensiblement d'une personne à l'autre, certains auront un profil se rapprochant davantage du profil de la langue cible, mais cet avantage est minime, puisqu'entendre les sons émis aux fréquences de la parole ne constitue qu'une petite partie de l'ensemble du travail de discrimination auquel tout apprenant devra s'astreindre. Il ne l'aidera tout au plus qu'à une reproduction plus exacte des sons.

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SOME PHONOLOGICAL TENDENCIES OF THE DEEP SOUTH: PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS AND THE COMPUTER ASSISTANCE PROVIDED TODAY IN ACOUSTICS

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ABSTRACT

This study presents the general tendencies of the Black-American dialect spoken in Athens, Georgia. The particular problems investigated include consonant cluster reduction, the velarization of /l/ in word-medial and its release in word-final positions, nasalized vowels, the glottal stop in word-final position, and phoneme fluctuations. The latter tendency is emphasized. One of the fluctuations presented concerns the alternation between the two phonemes /ʌ/ and /ɚ/ in words like usher, pronounced both [ʌʃɚ] and [ɚʃɚ] by the same individual. Although both phonemes are distinct, no new meanings arise from their alternation in identical environments.

To the functional phonologist, a sound phonetic transcription is at the basis of any coherent discussion of phonological tendencies like the ones we are going to talk about here. In the past, and even moreso before the Second World War, it would have been considered quite unreasonable to ask of a linguist that he carry around with him a tape recorder for his interviews, such an apparatus being unavailable at that time. Today, without any magnetic support, a good number of phonologists would say that phonological analysis is strictly impossible. There is a good reason behind this. One expects phonetic transcriptions to be verifiable against original fieldwork material. There must be a reasonably close one-to-one correspondance (due to the relative stability of acoustic cues) between the specific acoustic segments contained in the taped interviews and the phonetic transcriptions supplied by the linguist, excluding diacritics. Consequently, phonetic representations of today must be attested by magnetic support. If such representations cannot be verified against a tape recording, their phonological relevancy remains highly questionable. In this respect, the painstaking trouble that Sumner Yves (1954) went through to give us a phonology of the *Uncle Remus Stories* is quite remarkable in itself but since his description is based on dialect writing, it is hard to give it any weight by today's standards. And although one can identify different trends within the usage described, these trends cannot be confirmed on the basis that Joel Chandler Harris had a good background in the dialect forms he used, not to mention the problems created by spelling conventions. In the latter case, nothing guarantees the necessary one-to-one correspondance phonologists depend upon before looking into phoneme relationships and presenting phoneme tables. This leads us, inevitably, to compare past and present methodology. But is there a significant difference between the two? Not really. The only real difference is that, today, we have the tools necessary for stocking data more efficiently (magnetic tape) and carrying out analysis within very reasonable time limits (the personal computer).

Past methodology in dialect research, at least the research methods available before the Second World War, suited the purposes and objectives set down by those working in the field. The long questionnaires developed to investigate usage were sufficient to grasp a very considerable amount of data within the time limits prescribed. Although the recorder was not available at the time for dialectologists to store their interviews on tape, the people working on the different varieties of English spoken throughout the United States generally had a good knowledge of the language and were reasonably well trained in phonetic notation techniques. So, the transcriptions given in dialectology before World War II and in linguistic geography in particular, are quite reliable - owing also to the fact that, in the case of linguistic geography for example, atlas directors supervised closely transcription work. The work of Kurath and McDavid and all those who were involved in the atlas research of that time coincides sharply with what I would call the *golden years* of American dialectology and word geography. *Golden* in view of the tremendous amount of data that was collected and the limited means available for gathering it. If I had to label the methods that gave us the *PEAS - The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* - I would have to say these methods were realistically careful. Why? Because the systematic design of such investigations into usage left little room for speculation: the questionnaires were developed to elicit specific responses in given contexts. The phonetic notations obtained on the spur of the moment were not considered a major problem spot, generally speaking, and people did not question their validity[1] since the phoneticians involved had the necessary prior background not to make gross phonetic mistakes. With the advent of portable recorders, however, the taping of interviews is now considered crucial. That need is all the more apparent if the linguist has little or no prior experience with the particular dialect he wishes to investigate. A significant problem which contributed to the need for the use of a recorded data base is that, contrary to those who were intent upon giving a good synchronic description of the language, there was also the opposite tendency to generalize certain features and to apply them to greater speech pattern-like regions. In 1934, Katherine Wheatly did just that. She took her knowledge of usage in certain parts of the South (Texas, especially) to make what most people would consider today hasty, unsubstantiated generalizations covering the entire Lower South. Claims such as that of lower back /ɑ/ being offensive to Southerners in words like coffee, cough, and soft are indeed aggravating to the reader and this is probably because Wheatly does not adequately state where her material originates. We just don't know where she gets her counterexamples. Are they from prior research, word lists, or interviews? Nowhere does she say this and, in the end, we are led to believe that her criticism of Kenyon, Krapp, and Kurath is based on very subjective, if not totally impressionistic, views. Although this kind of weak pleading is rather rare, it has forced us to be more critical about feature statements. And the result has been quite beneficial: it has taught us how to distinguish reliable claims from unreliable ones, and to know the difference between them on the basis of such a fundamental principle as the validity of the data base behind the notation. Now, what does all this have to do with the subject of this paper on the help that acoustics can bring to the problem of phonetic transcription and the phonological tendencies of the Deep South?[2] Here is the link. As added help to the dialectologist, I will argue here that we can indeed use acoustic methods to supplement tape recordings when more difficult cases arise, and even to demonstrate the differences between two phonemes alternating within specific lexical items. To do this, I will mention the contribution of one user-friendly acoustic computer program called Computerized Speech Lab (CSL) developed jointly by Kay Elemetrics and Speech Technology Research. CSL is a very practical tool since it allows one to handle large amounts of data quickly. For the dialectologist who does not need to get into heavy acoustic analysis but who

does have a working knowledge of acoustics, CSL can be useful in two ways. First, the dialectologist can use CSL to build an acoustic data bank of selected audio material. The advantage of such banks is that they provide a good basis upon which the linguist can systematically compare data. Second, and this fits well with our topic, CSL is useful in that it provides an objective means by which phonetic transcriptions can be verified. The design of the program is such that anyone can rapidly do analysis without being highly trained to use the refinements of the software: the "windows"/mouse environment makes CSL very easy to use.

The data base for this study is a three-part corpus including the *University of Georgia Folklore Video Collection*, the *Allan MacLeod Folklore Audio Collection*, and my personal interviews of 10 working-class individuals for a total of approximately 75 people. For the purposes of this paper, however, I limited the sampling to my interviews. These represent 60 hours of recorded material, with both word lists and extemporaneous speech included. The word list contains some 2,900 items of which a third were pronounced twice in order to check initial pronunciations. So, why add an acoustic analysis to the transcription of isolated words like we did here for the word list? I think the main reason is to have an analytical means, in addition to human aural perception, by which controversial cases can be quickly verified using specific acoustic cues like formant frequencies, duration, and transitions. Under ideal conditions, all items (29,000 + 10,000 reference words) would have to be verified against spectral analysis but this, as it turns out, is not a highly economical proposal, timewise at least. So, the analysis had to be limited to key items for which the notations are considered problematic in two places, the first being vowel timbre and the second being consonant cluster reduction. Consonant cluster reduction is certainly one of the most interesting phonological tendencies of the Black American dialect of Athens, Georgia. One such reduction involves the loss of /l/ and /r/ before a consonant in all cases. The structure of the words involved most certainly has something to do with the loss of either phoneme. Generally speaking, speakers drop /l/ when it is either before the fricatives /f/ and /v/, as in [sʌfʌ] sulfur and [kʌvət] culvert, or preceding the stops /p t k b d g/ as in [skap] (scalp), [kot] (colt), [sʌke] (sulky), [bʌb] (bulb), [fod] (fold), and [teget] (tailgate). In the case of [sʌke], for which a spectrogram is supplied in Figure 1, we note an absence of lateral striations after the initial vowel in the area where the liquid would normally show up, that is, between 0 and 2,500 Hz. Another indication of this is that the F_2 of /ʌ/ seems relatively stable throughout. Had the vowel been adjacent to the liquid as in the case of the pronunciation of [sʌlki], we would see greater movement in the acoustic structure of the vowel with a noticeable dip of its second formant (F_2) towards the lower field of the spectrogram. On the other hand, /r/ is regularly dropped before stops, fricatives and nasals for the pronunciation of [kɑp] (carp), [kɑtun] (cartoon), [kok] (cork), [abɪtʃrerɪ] (arbitrary), [kod] (cord), [bɑgɪn] (bargain), [foθ] (forth), and [fomʌ] formal. Although it is impossible to hear an /r/ in these words, it seemed necessary to check our perception of them acoustically. The eight items were analyzed to see if a liquid could be observed in the spectrograms. Upon verification, it appeared that not one of the spectrograms had any of the characteristic striations common to the liquid nor was any "netting", downpulling and smearing of the higher overtones observed. These observations are backed by our analysis of [abɪtʃrerɪ] which is given in Figure 2. In this case, the vertical striations identified between the vowel nucleus and bilabial /b/ correspond to the gradual fading away of /a/. The F_1 of the vowel is relatively stable and the F_2 transition downwards coincides with the structure of the low, front vowel in contact with /b/. At times, the loss occurs simultaneously with final consonant devoicing (cf. [lɔt] lord). However, loss of medial /r/ and final consonant devoicing must be considered separately since, in the majority of cases, the latter phenomenon involves single consonants rather than consonant

clusters in the same position, as attested by [kɑt] (cod), [mɑp] (mob), [slap] (slab), and [stʊt] (stood). Without going into the phonological implications that such forms have on the overall system for the moment, it is nevertheless intriguing to observe the striking similarity of the phonetic forms of the words cod, mob, and slab to other words of the language, namely caught, mop, and slap. Does the existence of homophones like cod/caught, mob/mop, and slab/slap in the speech of certain speakers of the language lead to serious problems on the level of interspeaker comprehension during the speech act? The obvious answer to this question is that the use of a given word is necessarily bound by discourse strategy and by the other factors that come into play at the moment of speaking. Commutation is in this respect a good clue to the speaker's communicative intention. The little choice that commutation offers to the hearer makes it difficult for him to substitute the word slap in the place of the more appropriate slab in the phonetic string [ʌslapʌstonɑndʌflo] a slab of stone on the floor. Of course, had the moneme been produced in isolation and out of context, there would be very little chance that anyone could identify it correctly with the corresponding reality the speaker had in mind.

The reduction of clusters also affects homorganic groups like bilabial /p b m/ and alveolar /t d n/. The latter type is more affected than the former and concerns in a more general way the /-nd/ cluster in word-final position where the stop drops out in favor of the nasal. This is the case for [bijɑn] (beyond), [bran] (brand), [han] (hand), and [mɪn] (mend) where alveolar /d/ cannot be identified on the waveform as a notch in the signal indicating some kind of oral burst. This is supported by the evidence on the spectrographic representation where the last segment observable is clearly nasal and beyond which nothing can be identified that would resemble the characteristic vertical striation of the burst with related voicing. The reduction appears to be an articulatory interruption that does not affect comprehension between speakers. This explanation adequately fits the case of the loss of /b/ in [hamʌgʌ] hamburger, the loss of /t/ in [ɪnʌfiˤ] interfere, and of /d/ in [stanɔd] (standard) and [ʌnʌstan] (understand) where the relevant sameness between the bilabials on the one hand, and the alveolars on the other, favors the reduction of the cluster to the advantage of /m/ in the case of [hamʌgʌ] and /n/ in all the others. But this phenomenon remains completely reversible since it is not a systematic occurrence in the dialect. Figure 3 shows for [hamʌgʌ] that the absence of /b/ between /m/ and /ʌ/ is confirmed by the absence of a gap on the spectrogram. Acoustically speaking, a gap ending on a burst is the indication that an oral stop is present in the signal and, in the absence of such a gap in examples of this kind, the likelihood of finding an oral stop is nil. In its place, we can identify a nasal component with a nasal resonance band stretching from 0 to 550 Hz with an overtone between 700 and 1200 Hz. The F_2 transitions for adjacent vowels correspond precisely to those normally identified when these vowels are in contact with nasal consonants like bilabial /m/. In the case of [hamʌgʌ] for instance, both F_2's of /a/ and /ʌ/ on either side of /m/ are downwards moving.

Cases are not always so straightforward however. [ɪntɔpɪt] interpret and [pʌpɔʃn] proportion in a given idiolect are two instances where our explanation of the reduction must go beyond the articulatory reasoning that explained so adequately the reduction of clusters like /-mb/ and /-nd/. For the purposes of phonetic transcription, one has to account for these reduced groups of consonants and demonstrate how transcriptions were obtained. A good example of this is the transcription of the word pasture in a particular idiolect that was recorded as [paʃʌ]. The transcription was obtained to start with from a tape recording. So, it was possible to go over the item as many times as deemed necessary for transcription. There

were no special problems about the notation except that we had to account for the absence of two segments, [s] and [t]. Upon listening to the taped occurrence, it was easy to identify the burst of voiceless /p/, the timbre of low, front /a/, the hushing noise of sibilant/ʃ/, and the timbre of central, lax /ʌ/. But there is nothing in the signal to indicate the hissing [s] sound, nor the burst of the voiceless [t] sound of affricated /tʃ/. It was only upon the acoustic verification of the signal, using CSL, that we were able to confirm the absence of both segments. For the stop, there is no gap to be found either on the waveform or on the spectrogram indicating the presence of the alveolar-dental. The resonance structure that normally characterizes sibilant /s/ is also absent in a sampling at 20 kHz. What is identified, rather, is the lower resonating sibilant /ʃ/ which spreads evenly across the spectrogram's time axis between /a/ and /ʌ/ with nothing in between that consonant and the two vowels (cf. Figure 4).

Other consonant cluster reductions involve words like affect and shaft with the loss of /t/ in word-final position and words like except and success where, in word-medial position, the loss of /k/ occurs between a vowel and another consonant. These have been verified against corresponding waveforms and spectrograms using CSL. In all cases, one can identify quite precisely the acoustic features which support the above notations. In the case of affect and shaft, the absence of an alveolar burst following dorsal /k/ in the former, and following the fricative in the latter, were confirmed both on the waveforms and on the spectrograms. In the other two cases, both signals were void of the voiceless, dorsal burst characteristic of /k/ between the initial vowel and following sibilant whose resonance structure, located in the higher frequency region beginning at 4 kHz, spreads horizontally on the time axis to include all resonance points between /i/ and /ɛ/ in the case of [isɛp] that I give in Figure 5 and between /ʌ/ and /ɛ/ in the case of [sʌsɛs].

Of special interest is the velarization of /l/ in words like mold, halt, and milk. The pronunciation of these words that have lost /l/ to the benefit of high, back /ʊ/ are characterized by the tongue shifting back and being significantly raised so that the speaker produces a diphthong-like vowel of the [V˖] type as in [mo˖d], [hɑ˖t], and the well-known [mɪ˖k]. The phonetic structure of these words can be stated by C+Vcomplex+C as opposed to the usual C+V+CC structure. The absence of the consonant cluster in all three examples is confirmed upon acoustic examination of the respective signals where the vertical striations characteristic of the liquid cannot be detected before the burst of the following stop. In the case of [mɪ˖k], the velarization of /l/ is confirmed by the preservation of F_2 throughout a vowel complex that goes from a high, front vowel (lax /ɪ/) with F_1 at 530 Hz, F_2 at 2180 Hz, and F_3 at 3540 Hz to a high, back vowel position (lax /ʊ/) with F_1 at 790 Hz and F_2 at 1200 Hz, giving the complex a diphthongized appearance like the ones identified in Figure 6. Contrary to velarization, the transcription of [mɪlk] is confirmed when one can, following aural perception, clearly identify, along with a peak on the waveform, that there is an attenuation of F_2 of the preceding vowel as the transition from vowel to liquid is observed. This transition is further evidenced by the presence of vertical striations on the lower field of the spectrogram immediately following the fading away the the second overtone of /ɪ/ as shown in Figure 7. The release of syllabic /l/ is different in the sense that we do not have a complex vowel formation. It occurs in final position always and since the tongue position is significantly lower, that is, not in a velar-type configuration, we consider /o/ in [grʌmbo] (grumble), [mobo] (mobile), and [nezo] (nasal) to be the result of /l/'s release in word-final. Such transcriptions

are backed by the analysis of the waveform which clearly indicates the presence of a vowel node following the burst of the preceding consonant (or buzz, in the case of /z/) and by the analysis of the spectrogram which indicates a formant structure matching that of the mid, back vowel /o/. The acoustic analysis of illegal in Figure 8, transcribed as [ɪligo], shows in that particular idiolect that /l/ is vocalized to the point where we can clearly identify the overtones corresponding to /o/ with F_1 located in the area of 445 Hz and F_2 in the area of 1050 Hz, with the breaking-up of the vowel beginning at 689 msec. and vertical striations ending at 834 msec.

A typical feature of the dialect is vowel nasality. Some of the words affected by the nasalization of vowels include [mɑ̃stɚ] (monster), [ĩk] (ink), [sẽ] (sane), and [lõ] (loan) to name just a few. Vowel nasality in rural Middle Georgia has already been dealt with before and at some length by Grace Rueter in 1975. Even though Rueter's study is well documented and informants are clearly identified, it would have been good to know whether any of the three individuals responsible for the phonetic notations contained in the thesis (Lee Pederson, Joan Hall, or Rueter herself) carried out any systematic verification of these notations using acoustic methods. No verification seems to have been carried out as there is no mention of it in her study. Such an analysis would no doubt have clarified certain problem spots for the reader, namely her complicated transcription of certain words where the use of diacritics and superscripts seems questionable (cf. thumb in her section on Functional Vowel Nasality, page 73). The phonetic transcription of vowel nasality in English, not to speak of our perception of it, is a major problem for two reasons. The first is that anti-resonance phenomena are not something the ordinary speaker of English is familiar with in terms of relevant distinctions and secondly, that it is quite difficult to identify such vowels in rapid extemporaneous speech. Thus, a segmental analysis in acoustic terms is fundamental for the solution of such basic problems. In dealing with cases involving vowel nasality, it is essential for the analyst to show that words such as [dɑ̃p] are indeed made up of only three acoustic segments and not four, that is two oral stops and one nasal vowel. Initially, the analysis should not focus on the phonological standing of such vowels - we know that a two segment member like /ĩk/ never contrasts with the three segment member /ɪŋk/ - so it should rather concentrate on showing what that two-segment structure really is acoustically. Vowel nasality in the case of [mɑ̃stɚ] in Figure 9 was identified with the positions of F_1 (580 Hz) and F_2 (1030 Hz) of the initial vowel within the anti-resonance structure which appears in the spectrogram as a dark formant-like merger below 1360 Hz (nasalility is characterized in the case of back vowels by the absence of F_3 and F_4 which usually fade away in this context, although they normally appear in the monophthong structure of low, back /ɑ/). The second criterion upon which the identification of vowel nasality is based is the absence of the consonant structure of apico-alveolar /n/ which is normally accounted for by a large nasal resonance band spanning from 0 to about 550 Hz with a nasal overtone corresponding to adjacent vowel F_2 transitions.

Our statements so far have centered on the phonetics of Athens Black American. But we must not forget that, in the ultimate analysis, we must also account for the phonological trends that necessarily follow those initial statements. Looking back to the earlier observations contained in this paper, certain phonological statements can now be made in view of the phonetic transcriptions described throughout in acoustic terms. The alternation between the voiced stops /b d g/ and their voiceless counterparts /p t k/ is phonologically significant as both members of the voiced/voiceless opposition occupy relevant positions within the phoneme grid of English. The interesting thing about the alternation is that, although certain forms rival

with others, no new meanings arise from the switching of one phoneme to another within given monemes, independently of their status: we have in a given idiolect both [stʊt] and [stʊd] but only one moneme stood.

Pierre Martin (1991) has looked into the question of phoneme alternation in some detail and calls it, following the definition given by Mary Ritchie-Key in 1968, *phoneme fluctuation*.[3] A good example of phoneme fluctuation is observed for a number of English speaking individuals who, even though they all distinguish between the two phonemes, alternate between /ɑ/ and /o/ unsystematically in their pronunciation of the word project giving both [prɑdʒɛkt] and [prodʒɛkt], regardless of the individual's capacity to distinguish words like caught and coat where both vowels are independently distinctive. It is important to remember that, like the consonant fluctuation between the two voiced and voiceless phonemes in word-final position, of the same type observed for words like ace (cf.[ez]~[es]), face (cf.[fez]~[fes]), and lace (cf.[lez]~[les]), we must also consider the alternation between two vowel phonemes as being phonologically significant. And although there are a good number of vowel and consonant fluctuations in Black American, there is also another phenomenon that must be alluded to, and that phenomenon is interspeaker diverging usage.[4] Here, for two speakers sharing a common phoneme grid, there is one who always says [dʒɛl] and the other always [dʒel] for the same word jail. If such a difference in usage is considered as part of an analysis on the level of interspeaker variation, the opposite situation, where a given speaker alternates between [snɛl] and [snel] for snail suggests that we are dealing with an intraspeaker fluctuation since /ɛ/ and /e/ are distinct phonemes for that individual (cf. [rɛk] wreck ~ [rek] rake). The related features at the basis of the alternation between /e/ and /ɛ/ (/long/ vs /short/) are proportionally the same as the ones behind the alternation between /ɛ/ and /a/ (/mid/ vs /low/) where a given speaker, in his use of modal shall, fluctuates between [ʃɛl] and [ʃal]. Two other cases, again in word-medial position, involve in the one, the momentary loss of opposition between /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ in the words mend and glen which are pronounced [mɛn] and [glɛn] or [mɪn] and [glɪn]; and in the other, the alternation between /aᴵ/ and /a/ in behind ([bɪhaᴵn]~[bɪhan]), diaper ([daᴵpʌ]~[dapʌ]), guy ([gaᴵ]~[ga]) and my ([maᴵ]~[ma]). The reduction of the /aᴵ/ diphthong to the /a/ monophthong was examined against spectral analysis. This analysis revealed that both overtones of /a/ in the word guy were stable throughout (cf. Figure 10). The only noticeable formant activity was found at the beginning of the vowel due to the latter's contact with the voiced dorsal onset where, as expected, F_1 and F_2 fall and rise respectively following the consonant. Had the nucleus been diphthongized by nature, we would have been able to identify a vowel complex in the place of the monophthong with a distinctive raising of F_2 to the position corresponding to the acoustic configuration of high, front /i/. Although the greater majority of cases involve phonemes that share a common place of articulation or common manner of articulation, there is one alternation between back, rounded /o/ and central, unrounded /ʌ/. In this particular idiolect, the speaker pronounces [pɪlʌ] and [tʌbakʌ] but never [pɪlo] and [tʌbako] for pillow and tobacco. Like the case where a speaker pronounced [dʒɛl] only, this speaker's usage must be considered as diverging phonologically from mainstream pronunciation.

By far, the most interesting alternation is the one between central, lax /ʌ/ and central, tense /ɚ/ (cf. Figures 11 and 12). The acoustic properties of both vowels are quite different in terms of their respective formant frequencies: the frequencies of /ʌ/ are approximately F_1 at

650 Hz, F_2 at 1240 Hz, and F_3 at 2370 Hz, while the frequencies of /ɚ/ are F_1 at 490 Hz, F_2 at 1150 Hz, and F_3 at 1640 Hz. Because of minimal pairs like [bʌn] bun ~ [bɚn] burn and [bʌnt] bunt ~ [bɚnt] burnt, we know that /ʌ/ and /ɚ/ are distinct phonemes in English. They cannot be considered free variants on that basis, nor positional variants of a single phoneme since they alternate in all positions, that is, not only in word-final (cf. [sofʌ]~[sofɚ] sofa), but also in word-medial ([hɑrmʌni]~[hɑrmɚni] harmony), and word-initial position (cf. [ʌʃɚ]~[ɚʃɚ] usher) without affecting all the monemes of the language and creating problems on the level of interspeaker comprehension. The phonemes involved in this phonological variation, that is /ʌ/ and /ɚ/, have the same place of articulation. And contrary to the front and back vowels, they are the only central vowels in the language. According to Kenneth McCalla (1984: 67), we know that the phonetic differences that help us distinguish /ʌ/ from /ɚ/ can be reduced, phonologically speaking, to a single df (distinctive feature), this being tongue height: /ʌ/ being distinctively *low* and /ɚ/ *high*. Apart from the articulatory differences that allow us to distinguish the two, it is essentially their shared basis for comparison, place of articulation, which leads us to postulate that their centralness is the origin of these fluctuations.

Up to this point, we have seen that CSL is a reasonably good tool for clarifying and lending confirmation to the majority of problem areas we have alluded to in this paper. There is, however, one case for which it remains to be discovered whether or not CSL can be helpful and that is in studying the problem of the glottal stop in word final position. The characteristics of the glottal stop have been identified by Ian MacKay (1978: 139), who gives a spectrographic representation of the stop in medial position. Now, whether or not we can confirm his findings is not within the scope of this paper. It will suffice to say that his results (a number of vertical striations, pulses, between two vowels) do not correspond to our findings. In Figure 13, it will be noticed that there are no striations in the lower field of the spectrogram but only a notch with what appears to be a glottal pulse on the left hand side. This evidently does not come out clearly, and this is probably CSL's weaker point: screen dumping techniques do not provide spectrograms that have the same quality as those obtained on the more traditional digital sonagraphs like the Kay 7800 where the pulse of the glottal stop comes out much more clearly (see Figure 14). Another problem with the glottal stop is that very little work has so far been carried out on it in English, probably because [ʔ] does not have a phonological status like the stop phonemes /p t k b d g/ it alternates with. One might ask what the need for the verification of phonetic notation is if such problems remain unanswered. In practical terms, however, we should have a reference spectrographic study to help us elucidate such cases. Until such a study is available, we are left in somewhat of a tight spot. This state of affairs must not be taken too seriously for even though the identification of [ʔ] using CSL is a problem for the moment, it is important to remember that our capacity to posit the existence of such a sound in the speech chain is directly proportional to our capacity to perceive it aurally. And in this sense, a lesson is taught us here. Unlike us, machines don't have language. We are the only ones capable of sound distinction. Precedence must be given to human perception.

The tendencies described here can all be viewed as a selected number of problems specific to the dialect usage of Athens. The acoustic evidence supporting the transcriptions we have given of Black American should not be taken as the ultimate judge of phonetic accuracy. It is taken into account only to back these observations and to give them some weight as our perception of them is at the basis of all phonological distinction. So, acoustic evidence in the long run should really be viewed as another basis, a prolongation of our human perception of

speech sounds, upon which an even broader discussion of phonological features can be carried out. On the basis of such a perspective, subjective arguments in the domain of pertinent phonological analysis can only be eliminated once a correct phonetic transcription and the acoustic features of the dialect have been clearly delineated. To reach this goal in phonology, substantiated evidence must accompany the fundamental statements of phoneme analysis. No one will argue, I hope, against the need for a recorded data base in dialect research as we know it today, especially for those who wish to go from the raw data to a valid treatment of phonological features. I have not given the complete picture of Athens Black American but have focused rather on some very basic problems concerning phonetic notation. Looking back to past research, we can see that dialectology has gone through two specific stages: on the one hand, a subjective application of transcription as we saw above in the case of Katherine Wheatly, and on the other, its realistic application as seen in the work of Kurath and company. To this realistic perspective we add today state of the art technology. But let us be careful. I think that if Raven McDavid were here today, he would give us a friendly word of warning. A program like CSL is by no means a substitute to careful phonetic notation on the part of the linguist. In most cases, we see that CSL only confirms what was jotted down on paper prior to spectral analysis. Such a tool must therefore be considered a supplement to earlier realistic methods of analysis and a possibility for checking acoustically those methods at very rapid speed. If the *golden years* of American dialectology of the past several decades were characterized by a tremendous amount of work on the part of geographical linguists, the *platinum years* of American dialectology will no doubt be characterized by the use of computer methods in research. The most significant contribution in the area to date is probably the work of the Athens group headed by William Kretzschmar who is presently computerizing the data of the *LAMSAS*.[5] With a computer data base of these materials, American dialectology will have gone through its greatest overhauling ever. Hopefully, such an innovation will keep dialectology in step with other linguistic disciplines which have earlier criticized it for its lack of statistical methods.

NOTES

[1] I am not referring to the problems alluded to by Pickford as early as 1956 in her review of linguistic geography.

[2] I hope the title that I have given to this paper will not mislead the reader into thinking that I am going to generalize like Wheatley did; the tendencies described here are limited to the immediate Athens, Georgia area.

[3] It is Kenneth Pike who first introduced the notion of *free fluctuation* in 1947. Although Key (1968) is responsible for the current interest in the problem, substantial contributions to the study of phoneme alternation have been made by Christos Clairis (1977, 1981, and 1982), with the first systematic study in French by Henriette Walter in 1976.

[4] What Martin (1991) calls *flottements* in French.

[5] *The Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States.*

FIGURES

Figure 1 [sʌke]

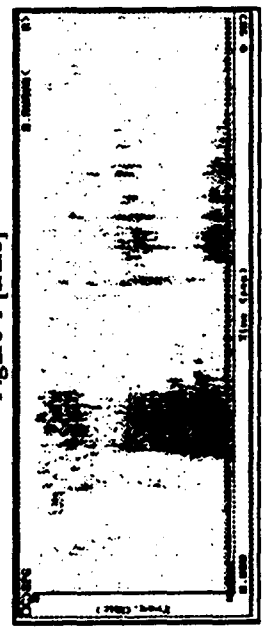


Figure 2 [abɪtʃɛrɪ]

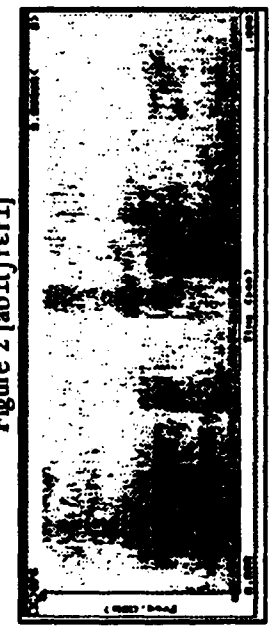


Figure 3 [hamʌgʌ]

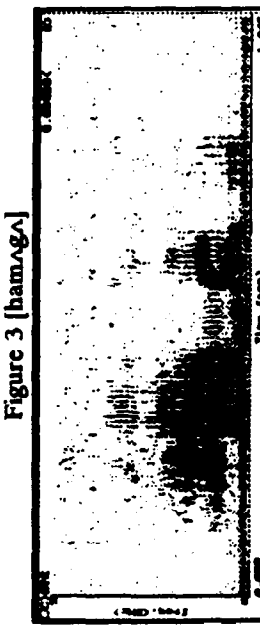


Figure 4 [paʃʌ]

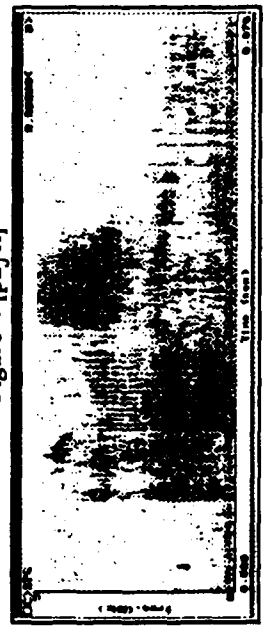


Figure 5 [isɛp]

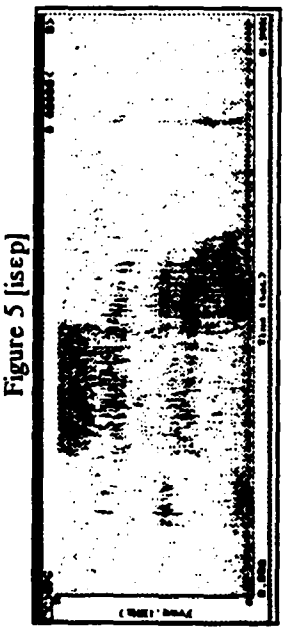


Figure 6 [mɪˈk]

Figure 7 [mɹɪk]

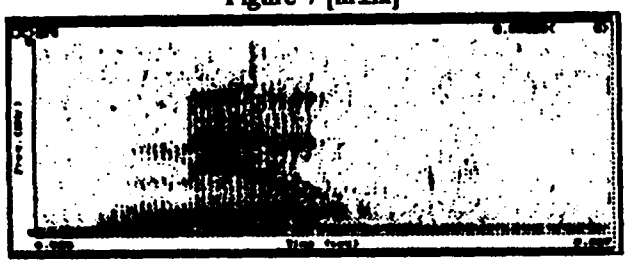


Figure 8 [ɹligo]

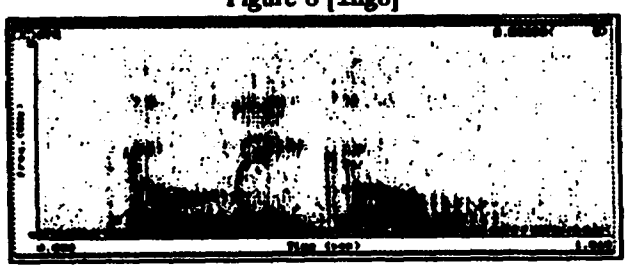


Figure 9 [mɑ̃stʌ]

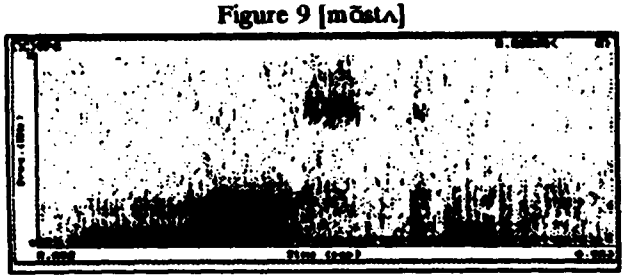


Figure 10 [ga]

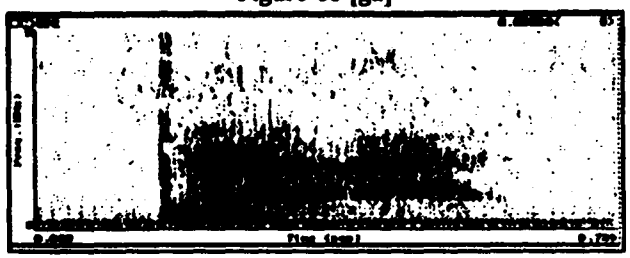


Figure 11 [ʌʃə]

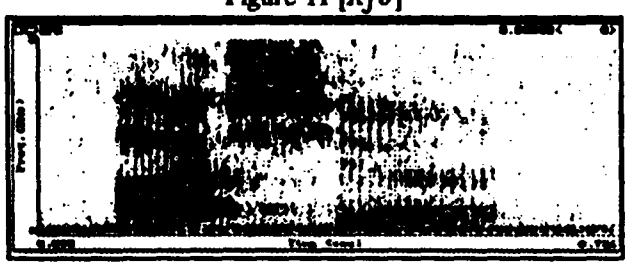


Figure 12 [əʃə]

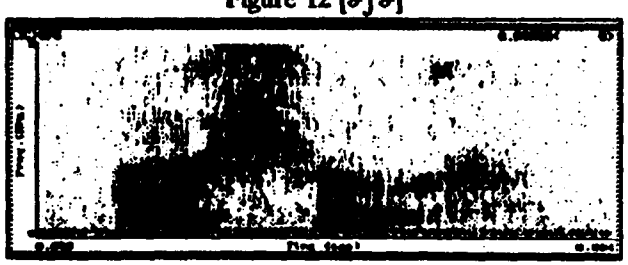


Figure 13 [salɪʔ]

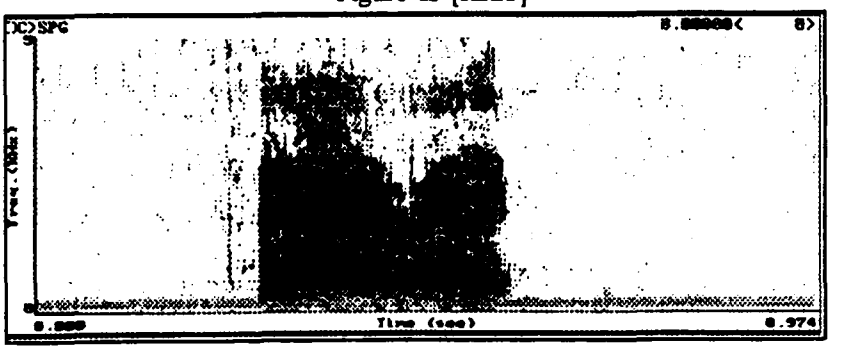
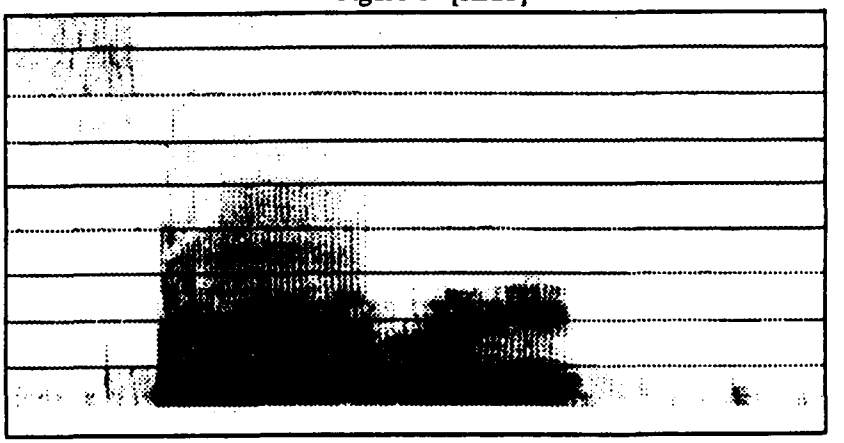


Figure 14 [salɪʔ]



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