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Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association**

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The editorial board, for reasons of economy, limited articles to fourteen pages and excluded some abstracts. Typographical errors were corrected, and when the board was in doubt regarding errors of substance, the author was contacted for verification and permission to change the text.

DECLARATION DU COMITE DE REDACTION

Le comité de rédaction, à titre d'économie, a fixé une limite de quatorze pages à chaque article autant que l'exclusion de quelques abrégés. Le comité a corrigé les erreurs d'impression, et quand il y avait des problèmes en ce qui concerne les erreurs de sens, on a communiqué avec l'auteur pour sa vérification des erreurs et pour son autorisation quant aux changements importants dans le texte.

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OTHER PAPERS PRESENTED / AUTRES COMMUNICATIONS PRÉSENTÉES

In addition to the papers printed herein, the following were also presented at the tenth annual meeting:

Outre les communications imprimées dans cette publication, les communications suivantes furent aussi présentées à la dixième réunion de l'ALPA:

Wladyslaw Cichocki, Peter Avery and Karen Rice. The Metrical Bases of Syntactic Timing.

Sandra Clarke. Tune, Duke and News in the Newfoundland Context.

Jacques Colson. Errors in Advanced Composition French.

Anne-Marie Grignon. Syllable, Mora and the Japanese 'Syllabic' Nasal.

Shana Poplack (Guest speaker/Conférencière invitée). Typological Conflict in Language Contact.

Terry Pratt. Final Report on the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English.

László Szabó. Adverbial Modifiers of Time in the Kola-Lapp Dialects.

Pierre Trescases. Linguistics Applied: A Computer Program which Converts French Written Text into Sound.

Roy Wright. Eastern Algonkian Kinship.

PROTOTYPES REVISITED: LIE, STEAL, AND ACCIDENT

Donna L. Atkinson

York University

1. Introduction

The theory of prototype semantics was introduced and developed by Linda Coleman and Paul Kay in their 1981 article, "Prototype Semantics: The English Word LIE". According to this theory, meaning is not an "all-or-nothing" phenomenon, but is, rather, a gradient or "fuzzy" phenomenon. Things do not necessarily absolutely belong or absolutely not belong to a category, but may instead partially belong. For example, the word "boy" might be defined roughly as having the features [-female, -adult]. If this definition were absolute, then the following quite common use of "boy" would be excluded: A 50-year-old man tells his wife that he is going out for a beer with the boys, by which he means that he is going out with his contemporaries. Prototype semantics, however, does not exclude this meaning of "boy", but claims that someone who is [-female, -adult] is indeed the best example of what is meant by the word "boy", but that someone who is [-female, +adult] is nevertheless "sort of a boy", or "in some ways a boy".

Like some other semantic theories, of which generative semantics is an example, prototype semantics gives a list of elements or properties contained in the mental image of the meaning of a word, but for prototype semantics, unlike for the other theories, the presence of ALL of those properties is not necessary for membership in the category denoted by that word. Nor is it necessary that each element be present to an absolute degree; there can be fuzziness and degree within the individual elements, as well as within the set. Something which has all of the properties on the list to the highest possible degree is predicted by the theory to be the prototype or best example of the category, and something which has none of the properties is predicted to be a non-member. Things having some but not all of the properties are predicted to be members of the category to varying degrees. Specifically, the theory predicts that the degree of membership of something in a category will increase as the number of prototypical properties present increases, and will decrease as the number of properties decreases.

Coleman and Kay (1981) tested the hypothesis of prototype semantics using the word LIE as a case study. Using their native-speaker intuitions, they arrived at the following list of properties which they considered to be the central characteristics of a lie:

- a) the proposition (P) is false
- b) the speaker (S) believes P to be false
- c) in uttering P, S intends to deceive the auditor(s) (A).

Coleman and Kay then wrote eight stories, each one containing one of the logically possible combinations of the presence or absence of the three features above. They then gave the stories to 71 subjects and asked them to respond to the following questions after reading each story:

1. It was a lie / not a lie / I can't say.
2. I am very sure / fairly sure / not too sure that most others would agree with the choice I just circled.

The subjects' responses to the questions were given a numerical score between 1 and 7, according to the pattern below, where X = "a lie":

1 = not X - very sure	5 = X - not too sure
2 = not X - fairly sure	6 = X - fairly sure
3 = not X - not too sure	7 = X - very sure
4 = "I can't say" - (any degree of certainty)	

After discards, Coleman and Kay were left with questionnaires from 67 subjects. The scores given by all subjects to each story were totalled and the total was divided by the number of subjects to yield the average score for each story. The predictions made were that story #1, which contained all three elements, would get the highest score (a perfect 7), and that #2, which contained none of the elements, would get the lowest score (a perfect 1). Further, stories containing 2 elements (#3, #4, #5) were predicted to score lower than story #1, but higher than the stories containing only one element (#6, #7, #8). The actual results are shown below.

TABLE I: COLEMAN & KAY'S RESULTS FOR "LIE"

STORY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SCORE:	6.96	1.06	3.66	5.16	4.70	3.48	2.97	4.61
#OF ELEMENTS	3	0	2	2	2	1	1	1

All of the scores were consistent with the predictions except for story #8, which was intended to contain only one element, but which was interpreted as containing two elements. It scored in the 2-element range rather than in the 1-element range.

In summary of Coleman and Kay's experiment, with the exception of story #8, which can be accounted for, the predictions made by the theory of prototype semantics were confirmed. The story containing none of the prototypical elements was not considered a member of the category LIE; those containing only one element were considered more of a lie than that containing none; those containing two elements were members of the class to an even greater degree; and that containing all three elements was considered a very nearly perfect example of a lie. The notion that there are degrees of category membership was confirmed by this experiment, along with the notion that relative degree of membership can be roughly predicted according to the number of prototypical properties present.

2. Experiment #1: LIE

The goal of experiment #1 was to see whether or not the results of Coleman and Kay's study on LIE could be replicated. Their methodology was followed as closely as possible, but it was necessary to make certain specific alterations to the original experiment. The three elements hypothesized by Coleman and Kay as being present in the prototypical lie were not changed in this experiment, since the results of the original seemed, on the whole, to confirm their validity, and with the exception of stories #3 and #8, the stories used were identical to those used by Coleman and Kay. In the original version of #3, the character involved was named "Pigfat". Since this name was rather offensive, it was changed to a more neutral "Tom". Story #8 was completely rewritten because, as explained above, it was interpreted as containing two elements, but was intended to have only one. The revised Story #8 appears below. For the other seven stories, see Coleman and Kay, 1981.

8. Colleen is having a dinner party and she wants to know who is going to attend. She asks Jim whether or not his sister, Maggie, is going to the party. Jim replies, "Well, Maggie says she isn't going to the party, but I don't believe it. She never misses a dinner party." It turned out, though, that Jim was wrong, because Maggie really didn't go to the dinner party. Did Jim lie?

In the present experiment, subjects were asked the same questions as Coleman and Kay's subjects were asked, and scoring was done in exactly the same manner. The subjects used by Coleman and Kay represented a variety of ages and backgrounds and were of both sexes. The subjects used in the replication of the experiment were male and female members of a Grade 12 "Man in Society" class at Erindale Secondary School in Mississauga, Ontario. A total of 27 subjects answered the questionnaire, but 7 of those were discarded for a variety of reasons, including not answering all of the questions, and not being native speakers of English. Table II summarizes the results of this experiment.

TABLE II: LIE

STORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SCORE	6.95	1.05	4.15	4.85	4.80	3.05	3.55	2.05
#OF ELEMENTS	3	0	2	2	2	1	1	1

For seven of the eight stories, my results were reasonably close to those obtained by Coleman and Kay (see Table I). For story #8, there was a marked difference in the two sets of scores, as it was hoped there would be. The revised version of this story elicited a score consistent with the hypothesis that a story with only one element would be scored lower than all of the stories with two or more elements, and higher than any story containing none of the prototypical elements. The average scores obtained in Experiment #1 confirm the central hypothesis of prototype semantics that the membership-rating will increase as the number of elements present increases.

Taking the scores of the subjects individually, however, the prototype hypothesis is not confirmed. Only two of the twenty subjects rated all of the two-element stories

as more of a lie than all of the one-element stories. Only ten of the subjects scored any two of the two-element stories higher than all of the one-element stories. In addition, eleven subjects scored one or more of the 2- 1- or 0-element stories as high as or higher than they scored the three-element story, and sixteen subjects scored one or more other stories as low as they scored the 0-element story. These figures call into serious question the validity of the average results. After all, if only 10% of the subjects demonstrate conclusive evidence of having the type of semantic prototype of LIE that is predicted, how can one say that the hypothesis is confirmed? This problem will be discussed further in the last section of this paper.

On the basis of their study, Coleman and Kay concluded that the three prototypical elements of LIE were not weighted equally in determining whether or not something was a lie. Based on their data, they concluded that element b) (believe to be false) was the most important element, followed by c) (intent to deceive), and finally by a) (false in fact). My study suggested a different ranking for the elements, specifically that the most important element was a) followed by c) and lastly by b). While it is interesting to note the difference in ranking of elements by Coleman and Kay's subjects and by my subjects (b-c-a vs. a-c-b), this contrast does not constitute counter-evidence to the theory of prototype semantics, since the theory makes no predictions concerning the relative importance of the individual elements.

In summary of Experiment #1, then, the average scores strongly support prototype theory, while the individual scores are inconsistent with the predictions of the theory.

3. Experiment #2: STEAL

The purpose of Experiment #2 was to test the hypothesis of prototype semantics using a word other than LIE. To my knowledge, this had not previously been done by anyone. Selecting a word whose meaning could be reduced to a finite number of specific elements was not easy, but eventually the word STEAL was selected.

In order to determine what the prototypical elements of STEAL were, four dictionaries were consulted (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary - 1981; Funk and Wagnall's Standard Desk Dictionary - 1974; The Concise Oxford Dictionary - 1982; and Coles English Learner's Dictionary - 1979). By comparing the meanings given by the various dictionaries, and by using my native-speaker intuitions on the subject, I hypothesized the following three elements as characteristic of an act of stealing. (It is merely a coincidence that both LIE and STEAL were hypothesized to have three elements. The theory makes no predictions concerning the specific number of prototypical features a word will have.) The three elements are:

- a) to take another's property
- b) to take it without permission
- c) to intend to keep what was taken

The eight stories written for use in the questionnaire were:

1. One day Steve entered a bank. He approached the teller, pointed a gun at her, and demanded all of the money in her till. She handed him the money and he took it and fled. Did Steve steal the money?
2. Trudy and Phyllis are twins. They share all of their clothes in common. Trudy is going away for the weekend and wants to take a blue sweater which the twins own, but she wants to be sure that Phyllis doesn't mind. Trudy asks, "Phyllis, is it okay with you if I take our blue sweater away with me this weekend?" "Yes," replies Phyllis. "Thanks, I'll bring it back Monday," says Trudy, and she takes the sweater with her. Did Trudy steal the blue sweater?
3. Frank wants to use his uncle's car on Saturday night. He asks, "Uncle, may I use the car Saturday night?" Frank's uncle replies, "No, Frank, you may not." Then Frank's uncle goes out of town for the weekend, and Frank takes the car on Saturday night anyway, even though he knows he doesn't have his uncle's permission. He intends to return the car by Sunday morning. Did Frank steal the car?
4. Sylvia is visiting her grandmother. Grandmother has a necklace which Sylvia likes a lot and wants to have. Sylvia asks, "Grandmother, may I have this necklace of yours to keep?" Grandmother says, "Yes, Sylvia, you may have it." When Sylvia goes home, she takes the necklace with her. Did Sylvia steal the necklace?
5. Gerald owns a store in which a murder was committed. Gerald is completely innocent of the murder, but his store is sealed off by the police while they conduct their investigation. The police tell Gerald that he is not allowed to remove anything from the store for seven days after the murder. On the third day, Gerald remembers that he has left his gold watch in his store. The police refuse to let him take the watch out of the store. That night Gerald sneaks into the store without the knowledge or permission of the police. He takes his watch out of the store and goes home with it in his pocket, intending to keep it at home permanently. Did Gerald steal the watch from his store?
6. Nancy was going to a party and she wanted to wear her mother's shoes. She asked her mother, "Mom, may I wear your shoes to the party? I'll return them to you tomorrow morning." "Yes, Nancy, you may wear them," her mother replied. Nancy got the shoes from the cupboard and wore them to the party. Did Nancy steal the shoes?
7. Mildred owns her own business. One day the tax department decides to audit all her accounts. They have a warrant stating that she is not permitted to remove any financial documents from her office. Mildred wants to look over the last year's accounts before the tax people do, so she takes them out of the office when she goes for lunch, even though she knows she is not allowed to remove them. She intends to return them to the office after lunch. Did Mildred steal the accounts?
8. Rita is six years old. She has a very special doll which her mother likes to keep in a safe place at home to protect it from getting lost or broken. Rita is only allowed to play with her doll on Sundays, but she wishes she could play with it every day. One Sunday, Rita asks, "Mommy, may I take my very special doll to the park to play with it?" Rita's mother says, "Yes, Rita, you may, but be careful with it and bring it home again safely." Rita takes the doll to the park, but she has no intention of taking it home again. Instead, she plans to keep the doll in a hollow tree where her mother won't find it, so that she can play with it whenever she wants. Did Rita steal the doll?

After reading each story, participants in the study were asked to answer the following questions by circling the appropriate response:

1. It was stolen / not stolen / I can't say.
2. I am very sure / fairly sure / not too sure that most others would agree with the choice I just circled.

As with the LIE stories, the first two STEAL stories were control questions, #1 being clearly a case of stealing and #2 being clearly not a case of stealing. The subjects used in this experiment were male and female students in a Grade 13 "Economics" class at Erindale Secondary School in Mississauga, Ontario. Twenty-eight students answered the questionnaire, but three had to be discarded, leaving twenty-five subjects used in the calculation of average scores. The answers were scored in the same way as for Coleman and Kay's experiment, except that for this study, X = "stolen" (see section 1, above).

Table III shows the results of Experiment #2. The average scores of two STEAL stories clearly violate the predictions made. Specifically, story #4, which is meant to contain two elements (a & c) is given a lower rating than all of the 1-element stories; and #7, which contains only element b, is given a rating which is higher than that of two of the 2-element stories. These figures appear to disconfirm the prototype hypothesis. The individual subject scores do not improve the situation either, since not one of them exhibits a response pattern consistent with the hypothesis of prototype semantics.

TABLE III: STEAL

STORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SCORE	6.80	1.12	5.44	1.32	3.92	1.40	4.64	3.28
#OF ELEMENTS	3	0	2	2	2	1	1	1

It may be possible, however, to partially salvage the situation by looking at the rankings of the relative importance of the elements. In terms both of the average scores and the consistency of the individual scores with the averages, element b (take without permission) clearly outranks both a and c. The relative order of a and c is less clear, but c is slightly more important than a. The hierarchy is thus: b (take without permission), followed by c (intend to keep), and lastly, a (take another's property).

The absence of element b in story #4 caused the score to plummet to just 1.32. This fact, coupled with the unusually high score for story #7, where b was the only element present, suggests that for STEAL, b might be an "all-or-nothing" element. That is, it appears that element b must be present for something to be judged as an act of stealing. If this explanation is correct, then it does not necessarily constitute counter-evidence to the theory of prototypes, as long as, whenever b is the only element present, it scores lower than any story containing b plus another

element. Unfortunately, such was not the case in this study, as a look at Table III clearly shows (compare stories #5 & #7).

The problem with Experiment #2 could have come from a number of sources. It is possible that the wrong set of prototypical properties was selected, and that a different set would have yielded results more in keeping with the predictions of the prototype theory. It is also possible that the three properties selected were appropriate, but that the stories failed to accurately communicate the presence or absence of the properties in question. Writing stories for certain combinations of elements is extremely difficult, and it may be that some of the stories were not appropriate after all. All in all, Experiment #2 cannot be said to have confirmed the prototype hypothesis, but neither can it be taken to have disconfirmed it, because of the interference of various sources of problems.

4. Experiment #3: ACCIDENT

Experiment #3 was similar in format to Experiments #1 and #2. In this experiment, the word under examination was ACCIDENT. Using four dictionaries, as in Experiment #2, along with my native-speaker intuitions, I hypothesized three properties as being the prototypical elements of the word ACCIDENT. Thus, a "best example" of an accident was hypothesized as being something which:

- a) is unintentional
- b) has a harmful or undesirable result
- c) is unexpected.

The stories used in the questionnaires for this experiment were:

1. Fran is an excellent driver. She is driving home from work one day when suddenly a child runs out into the street in front of her car. Fran swerves to miss the child, but in doing so, she unintentionally hits a parked car, denting both her car and the other one. Was the collision with the parked car an accident?
2. Trevor is Carol's boyfriend. She is taking him home to meet her mother. Carol informs Trevor that her mother always expects that any boyfriend of Carol's will bring flowers when he comes to their house. So, when Trevor arrives at Carol's house with flowers, no one is surprised. Was it an accident that Trevor brought flowers?
3. Everybody knows that Rachel is a klutz. She tries hard not to drop things, but usually she drops them anyway. Rachel invites some of her friends over for hot chocolate one day. They are all nervous as she carries in a tray of mugs full of hot chocolate, because they expect her to drop them. Sure enough, Rachel drops them all, staining her mother's new white carpet with hot chocolate. Was it an accident?
4. Bernie is skating with his friends. He is an excellent skater, but suddenly for no apparent reason, he slips and falls. Luckily he is not hurt at all, so he gets up, laughs at himself and goes on skating. Was the fall an accident?

5. Alfred is a practical joker. He knows that Jenny is very nervous, so when she is alone at home one night, Alfred decides to scare her by pretending to be a burglar. Alfred sneaks around her house and peers into the back window. When Jenny looks up and sees a face in the window, she is so startled and frightened that she has a heart attack. Was it an accident that Jenny had a heart attack?

6. Beth believes very strongly in horoscopes. One day, her horoscope says that she will find a purple matchbook, so she spends her day expecting to find such a matchbook. Fern is walking along the street and puts a purple matchbook into her pocket, but unknown to her, the pocket has a hole in it and the matchbook falls out. Later, Beth comes along, sees the matchbook and picks it up, satisfied that her horoscope was true. Was it an accident that Beth found the matchbook?

7. Bob and John are having an argument. Bob yells at John, "The next time I see you I am going to punch you in the face!" John knows that he will see Bob on Tuesday, because they have a class together then. Sure enough, on Tuesday, just as expected, the boys see each other in class. Bob punches John in the face and breaks John's nose. Was the punch an accident?

8. Ida goes to the ticket booth to buy a Lottario ticket. Her goal is to buy the winning ticket, but because the odds are so much against her, she doesn't really expect to win. The draw is held, and much to her surprise, Ida's is the winning ticket. Was it an accident that Ida's was the winning ticket?

The multiple-choice questions after each story were worded as follows:

1. It was an accident / not an accident / I can't say.

2. I am very sure / fairly sure / not too sure that most others would agree with the choice I just circled.

As in the other experiments, space was left for subjects' comments. The scoring was done in the same way as for the other experiments, with X = "an accident" for this experiment.

This questionnaire was given first to a grade 12 "Man in Society" class at Erindale Secondary School in Mississauga, Ontario (not the same class as had been used for Experiment #1). As before, question #1 and #2 were control questions, the first being an obvious case of an accident and the second being an obvious case of a non-accident. Of the twenty-two subjects who answered the questionnaire, four had to be discarded, leaving eighteen which were used to calculate the average scores.

The results of this experiment are shown in Table IV. Only 6 of the 18 subjects scored the expected '7' on the first question, but the others scored '6', so the results were still considered valid for this question. The average scores obtained from this experiment did not, however, conform to the predictions of the theory. Most notably, story #7 (- + -) scored lower than story #2 (- - -). Additionally, two of the 1-element stories (#6 & #8) scored higher than one of the 2-element stories (#5: - + +). There seemed to be three possible reasons for these irregularities in the scores: First, the subjects could have been atypical as a group. Second, the stories might have been poorly written. Third, the selection of prototype elements could have been wrong.

TABLE IV: ACCIDENT -A

STORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SCORE	6.50	1.22	5.89	5.94	3.89	5.61	1.11	4.00
#OF ELEMENTS	3	0	2	2	2	1	1	1

To test the first possibility, I conducted the experiment a second time, using 25 students from an "Introduction to Linguistics" class at the University of Toronto. Ten of the subjects were discarded because they were not native speakers of English. The results can be seen in Table V.

TABLE V: ACCIDENT-B

STORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SCORE	6.73	1.20	6.00	6.07	3.67	5.13	1.00	4.00
#OF ELEMENTS	3	0	2	2	2	1	1	1

The specific figures changed slightly in this running of the experiment, but the overall pattern remained the same. Since this was the case, I could discount atypicality of subjects as the cause of the problems with the data.

The comments of some of the subjects suggested that there were problems with the wording of certain stories. In story #1, for example, people remarked that while the situation as a whole was clearly an accident, it was not completely obvious that the collision with the parked car was an accident. This confusion explains the profusion of sixes being assigned to this story, as opposed to the sevens expected. To rectify this situation, the wording of the question at the end of the story was changed from, "Was the collision with the parked car an accident?" to "Was it an accident?" Stories #5 and #8 were also changed slightly for the sake of clarity.

The revised version of the test (called Accident-C) was given to 22 students from an "Introduction to Linguistics" class at the University of Toronto. None of these subjects had seen the earlier version of the stories. The results are given in Table VI. After discards, a total of sixteen subjects' answers were used in the calculations.

TABLE VI: ACCIDENT -C

STORY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SCORE	6.81	1.13	5.50	5.69	3.63	4.94	1.25	5.00
#OF ELEMENTS	3	0	2	2	2	1	1	1

The change in the wording of question #1 helped, because only three of the subjects gave it a '6', and the rest gave it the expected '7'. The new wording of #5 seems not to have had a significant impact on the results. The new version of story #8 raised the average from 4.00 to 5.00, which was quite the opposite of the desired result. Story #7 scored slightly higher than the control story this time, but only because one subject scored a '4', meaning "I can't say". The fact that the results did not move significantly closer to conforming to the predictions of the theory, even after revisions to the stories, suggests that the real problem is that the prototypical elements hypothesized are not in fact accurate for the word ACCIDENT.

The pattern of the scoring suggests very strongly that element b (undesirable consequences) is not a prototypical element. In all three runnings of the experiment, story #7, containing only element b, scored lower than the control story with no elements present (#2). Furthermore, for all three runnings of the experiment, story #5 (-a +b +c) scored lower than #8 (-a -b +c), and #3 (+a +b -c) scored only marginally higher than #6 (+a -b -c). This almost total lack of a positive impact on the part of element b strongly suggests that it is not a defining element of ACCIDENT.

When element b is eliminated as an element in the prototype, the result is a two-element system: a (unintentional) and c (unexpected). Interpreting the results with the new 2-element system, the average scores are in harmony with the predictions of the theory. When both elements are present (#1 & #4), the highest scores are obtained; when one or the other is present, the scores are lower than when both are present, but higher than when no elements are present (#2 & #7). An examination of the data further reveals that element a (unintentional) is more important than element c (unexpected).

In summation, once the problems concerning element b have been explained, the average scores of Experiment #3 tend to support the theory of prototype semantics. Once again, however, the individual scores are not as consistent as the averages.

5. Conclusions

The theory of prototype semantics appears to be a plausible way of accounting for the fuzziness of boundaries between categories (e.g. "lie" vs. "non-lie"), and for the fact that some things are better examples of a category than are others. Coleman and Kay (1981) reported that the results of their study on the English word LIE confirmed the predictions of prototype semantics on the basis of both individual and group scores. The results of my studies on the words LIE, STEAL, and ACCIDENT were ambiguous. Experiments #1 (LIE) and #3 (ACCIDENT) confirmed the predictions of the theory on the basis on group means, but not on the basis of individual scores, while the results of Experiment #2 (STEAL) were inconclusive in all respects.

The disparity between the individual scores and the collective averages constitutes a rather serious problem for the theory. A statistical analysis of the scores needs to be done to determine the level of significance of the results, given

the variation within the data. If such a test demonstrated the group means to be insignificant in the face of the individual variation, then the theory of prototype semantics would have found no support in the three experiments described in this paper. However, even given that "worst-case" scenario, the theory would not have been proven invalid. Coleman and Kay's study on LIE did support the theory, and before it is discarded, the theory of prototype semantics does deserve further testing.

Unfortunately, given the nature of the theory, and more particularly the nature of meaning itself, testing the theory is not an easy task. Studies of the sort carried out by Coleman and Kay and by myself are extremely difficult to conduct. Arriving at an appropriate set of prototype features is, in itself, a rather hit-and-miss prospect at the moment, since the theory provides no principles for determining what those features are. Then, even given the features, stories must be written to test people's judgement. It is often nearly impossible to formulate plausible scenarios representing all of the possible combinations of prototype elements. The fact that a given feature can be present to a degree less than 100% further complicates the matter, because judgements may vary not only according to which features are present, but also according to which are most strongly present. There does not appear to be any way to measure or control for degree of presence of an element.

The theory of prototype semantics takes seriously the fuzziness of boundaries in the area of semantics and offers a hypothesis concerning the structure of word meaning. In this, it has made an important contribution to linguistic study. Unfortunately, though, in its present form, this theory does not appear to offer a structured enough set of principles to make itself readily testable and therefore verifiable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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The Areal Structure of Three Syntagmatic Variables in the
Terminology of Acadian Fishermen

Rose Mary Babitch

Centre universitaire de Shippagan

ABSTRACT

Three syntagmatic variables to be found in the word formations contained in the lobster-fishing terminology of the Acadian fishermen of Miscou and Lameque Islands, have been analysed quantitatively according to the dialectometric method which is a mathematical measurement of dialect variation in geographic space. The mathematical isogloss is the synthesis of a number of individual linguistic items. Clustering and correspondence procedures used in the analysis reveal an areal structure of the word formations under study.

Introduction

Dialectometry is a quantitative method used to measure dialect variation in geographic space. The term was first coined by the late Jean Séguy in the early 1970's. Séguy was then Professor of Romance Studies at the University of Toulouse. He used the dialectometric approach in his Linguistic Atlas of Gascony Vols. 1-6 (CNRS, Paris 1954-1973). Séguy's dialectometric analysis consisted in processing the linguistic data statistically and then obtaining linguistic distancing and dialect boundaries. Linguistic distances were measured by using a mathematical method known as the Hamming Distance, which evaluates a certain degree of resemblance between two objects defined in a grid structure. Each distance is coded: 0 or 1, thus dissociating the concept of distancing from that of differentiation. The dialectometric notion of a mathematical isogloss is different from a traditional isogloss. Although they both divide dialect surface into discrete areas, the traditional isogloss is valid for one linguistic fact whereas the mathematical isogloss is a concept which synthesizes a whole number of individual elements. It is therefore a structural concept, and not a purely descriptive one.

Séguy died in 1973. His work is being continued by a team of dialect researchers at the University of Toulouse in France, under the direction of Jean-Louis Fossat. Dennis Philps, a member of the team, substitutes clustering and correspondence procedures based on

the chi-squared metric for the two-dimensional Hamming method used by Jean Séguy to measure linguistic distances between any two lects. The dialectometric analysis of syntagmatic variation presented in this paper is taken from a larger study in which a research team at the Centre universitaire de Shippagan consisting of an analyst, a computer programmer and myself, worked on adapting Séguy's dialectometric method to the analysis of lobster-fishing terminology.

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to show that syntagmatic variables in the lobster-fishing terminology of Miscou and Lamèque Islands form an areal structure.

Method

The fourteen lobster-fishing localities of Miscou and Lamèque Islands constitute the geo-linguistic space studied in this paper (Annex 1). The terminology of 132 fishermen interviewed during the 1981-82 surveys was processed and coded for analysis according to three parameters, lexical, typological and grammatical. Ten terms and their variants were retained for analysis of the grammatical parameter. These were coded according to their word formations which are:

<u>Syntagm</u>	<u>Code</u>	<u>Example of Term</u>
mononyms	M	taquet
adjectives + nouns	A	grand bord
nouns + complements	C	amarre de bouée
no term	L	_____

Use of the coded syntagmatic variables was then compared according to the Hamming method. The comparison grill on the next page is an example of how informants were compared in the designation of the same referent or object.

COMPARISON GRILL

LEGEND:

<u>Syntagm</u>	<u>Code</u>
mononyms	M
adjectives + nouns	A
nouns + complements	C
nouns + complements and mononyms	CM
adjectives + nouns and mononyms	AM°
no term	L

POSSIBLE SYNTAGMATIC
OCCURRENCES

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Informant A	M	M	A M	C M	A	L
Informant B	M	A	M	A M	C M	M
Similarity	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Difference	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The comparison grill shows that a fisherman may enunciate more than one term, and thus more than one syntagm while another might not even have a term to designate the same object. Therefore, in comparing informants, an approximate and not a precise measure is obtained. A computer program permitted the syntagmatic similarities and differences of the 132 fishermen in the 14 localities to be cumulated in matrix form. The next step was to synthesize all the similarities and differences so that they become amalgamated syntagmatic distances. It is at this point that the analyst Eric Lebrun adapted both Seguy's and Philips' calculation of linguistic distance. The adaptation consisted in adding a calculation to the results obtained by the Hamming method thus making the amalgamated distance a proximity distance. The calculation is that of subtracting the total number of similarities from the total number of differences for each fisherman in each locality. A computer program calculated the proximity distances so that it was possible to know that there is for example, an 80% similarity in the use of the syntagmatic variables between fishermen R 21 and R 8 of Pigeon Hill, whereas there is a 30% difference between fisherman R 21 (Pigeon Hill) and fisherman F 3 (Petite Lamèque).

To get the areal structure of the syntagmatic variables for the two islands, it was necessary first to get the amalgamated proximity distance for each locality; this was obtained by calculating the mean proximity distance of all the fishermen in a locality, and second by constructing a histogram (Annex 2). The histogram contains information about the distributional occurrences of inter-locality proximity measures, and it also identifies the homogeneous localities.

Those localities to the right of the pointed line representing the mean deviation (*moyenne-écart*) have a high proximity distance whereas those situated to the left of the mean (*moyenne*) have a low proximity distance. Those localities in the area between the mean and the deviation are in a zone characterized by a sufficiently significant proximity distance. The underlined localities in the histogram represent homogeneous groupings. These are the localities which form the structure of the syntagmatic variables represented by two diagrams, a tree diagram and a cluster diagram (Annex 3,4). The tree diagram permits a quantitative study of the inter-locality relationships whereas the cluster diagram has the advantage of permitting to visualize the same relationships in geographical space. In order to obtain a more meaningful interpretation of the structure, the quantified information represented in the tree diagram was converted into a table giving the profile of the three syntagmatic variables. This means, that the distribution in each locality of a variable and its occurrence in percent is represented in a table (Annex 5).

Interpretation of the Structure

The tree diagram shows that the 14 localities are divided into 2 major groups. The cluster diagram localizes the groups geographically as being along the west (Bay Chaleurs), and east (Gulf of St. Laurence) coasts of Miscou and Lamèque Islands. Localities A (Miscou) G (Pointe Alexandre) F (Petite Lamèque) D (Petite Rivière de l'Ile) C (Sainte Cécile) B (Petit Shippagan) E (Pointe Canot) form the western group; localities M (St. Raphael) K (Chiasson Office) L (Sainte Marie) N (Cap Bateau) P (Coteau Road) R (Pigeon Hill) form the eastern group. Locality H (Lamèque) is geographically situated on the westcoast along the Bay of Chaleurs; however, linguistically it is affiliated with the east coast. Therefore, the Lamèque locality's linguistic map does not correspond with its geographical map.

The table, grammatical profile (Annex 5), shows that the split east-west is effected mainly by two variables, adjective + noun and mononyms. The split occurs in the following manner:

<u>Adj. + N</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>
West - exception F (Petite Lamèque)	about 44%
East - exception P (Coteau Road) R (Pigeon Hill)	about 32%
<u>Mononyms</u>	
West - exceptions A (Miscou) G (Pointe Alexandre)	about 54%
- Miscou - Pointe Alexandre	about 44%
East - exception M (St Raphael)	about 57%

The tree diagram also gives us information about the homogeneity of the locality groupings along each coast which is as follows:

1. West Coast - localities F, D, C, B, E are characterized by about a 68% degree of similarity whereas

East Coast - all localities about 67%.

This rather low degree of homogeneity indicates a diversity in the use of the syntagmatic variables.

2. West Coast - localities A (Miscou) and G (Pointe Alexandre) are not integrated into the group F, D, C, B, E. The grammatical profile table shows that the Pointe Alexandre separation is due to the use of the syntagm Noun + complement (15%). However, since there are only 2 lobster fishermen in the locality, the separation is not significant.

Miscou differentiates itself from the other localities of the west coast on one hand, by the high frequency of mononyms (44%), and adjectives + nouns (54%); and on the other hand, by the low frequency of nouns + complements (2%). It is the high frequency of adjectives + nouns which makes Miscou linguistically similar to the western rather than the eastern localities of Lamèque Island.

East Coast - localities K (Chiasson Office) and M (St. Raphael) are detached from the major group, H, N, L, P, R. Chiasson Office differentiates itself by the high frequency of mononyms (61%), whereas St. Raphael by the frequency of nouns + complements (14%) and adjectives + nouns (29%).

Discussion

Even though there is a diversified rather than a homogeneous use of the syntagmatic variables, the fact that they form a structured variability is evidence that the fishermen's terminology is not just a random collection of terms.

The presence of detached clusters within the areal structure may be due to dialect differences since Miscou and the west coast of Lamèque Island were inhabited by refugees of the 1755 Acadian expulsion who came to live among a small number of inhabitants of French dialectal origin already residing in the Bay Chaleurs region since the 17th century. The permanent Acadian settlement of the east coast of Lamèque Island, to the exclusion of English settlements, took place much later, in the latter part of the 19th century. However, there is not sufficient data from the surveys permitting to take into consideration the influence of dialectal relationship on the grammatical structure of the fishing terminology. On the other hand, the surveys furnish sufficient data to postulate that interlinguistic contact with Jersey fish merchants of anglo-norman origin and with English speaking fishermen could serve to explain the cluster groupings in the areal structure.

Sporadic Acadian linguistic contact in the Bay Chaleurs region with New England fish buyers and fishermen dates to the 18th and 19th centuries. The presence of the English Language became permanent with the coming of British settlers to the west coast of

Lamèque Island and Miscou in the 19th century. Linguistic contact of Acadian fishermen with English fishermen working for the same English companies undoubtedly influenced the Acadian fishermen's terminology. This could account for the high frequency of the adjective + noun syntagm in the lobster-fishing terminology of to-day's Acadian fishermen.

Divergent clusters on the west coast could be due to the presence of a Jersey company at Pointe Alexandre (G) in the 19th century, and then a 100 years later at Lamèque (H). The company could have served to neutralize the influence of English on the fishermen's terminology since the Jerseymen communicated with the Acadians in French.

Lamèque fishermen (H) have more linguistic affinity with the eastern rather than the western localities of the island. This could be due to the fact that about 1946, the town of Shippagan was becoming an important commercial fishing center offering good prices for fish thus attracting fishermen from Lamèque and the east coast localities. Doing business with companies in the same town brought the fishermen into social contact. This could explain why Lamèque fishermen have more linguistic affinity with the eastern rather than the western localities.

The closeness of Chiasson Office (K) to the town of Shippagan probably explains its distinctiveness from the other east coast localities. To-day, the socio-economic life of the Chiasson Office population is integrated with the urban life of the Shippagan population. As a result, the fishermen of Chiasson Office live a more urban life than their fellow fishermen of Lamèque and Miscou Islands.

St. Raphael is an example of isolation due to natural geographic barriers. Until the building of modern roads, it was cut off from the other localities by peat moss plains.

It is understandable that Miscou Island stands apart from the localities of Lamèque Island because even to-day, an Acadian-English population is still flourishing on the island. Since it has been hypothesized that the syntagm adjective + noun is a result of a English influence on the Acadian fishermen's terminology, it stands to reason that Miscou has more linguistic affinity with the western rather than the eastern coast localities of Lamèque Island.

Conclusion

The use of dialectometry in the study of the Acadian fishermen's terminology in this paper necessitated a methodology

consisting of several phases which may be summarized as follows:

- rigorous classification of the data to retain the significant variables, and careful coding for computer processing;
- mathematical calculation to determine the linguistic distance between informants on one hand, and between fishing localities on the other;
- structuring and interpreting the linguistic parameter;
- correlating the grammatical structure with historic, socio-economic and geographic data.

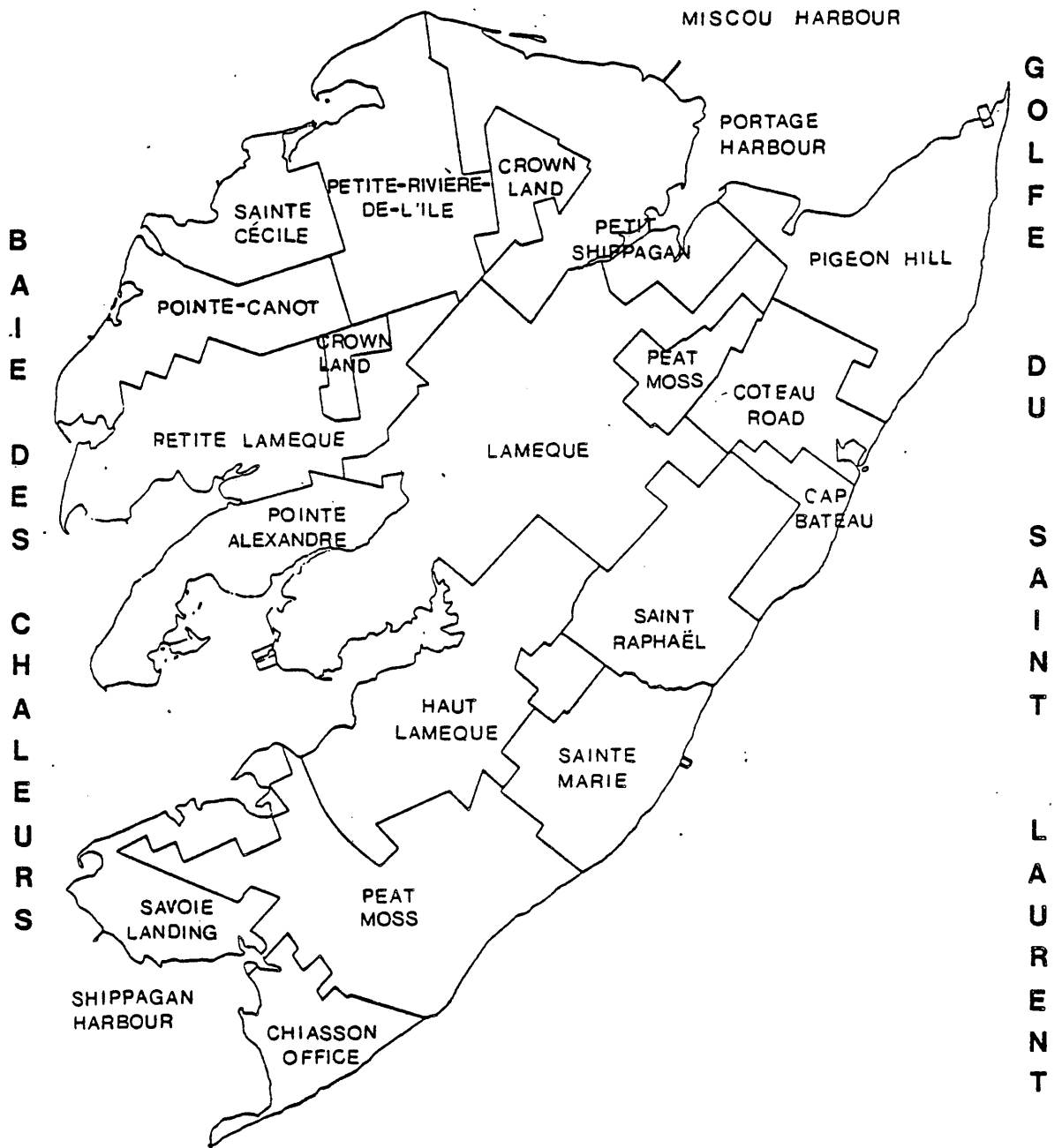
The dialectometric method thus permitted a three-dimensional study of the grammatical parameter, that is: the geographical, historical and structural. The fact that the 1981-82 surveys were taken in an area where not only dialect mixture of French origin had occurred, but also a nearly two-hundred year Anglo-norman and English linguistic contact with the Acadian fishermen, made cluster analysis an important tool in providing a visual representation of a linguistic map within the confines of a geographic map.

In conclusion, this paper has shown that dialectometry as adapted by the Centre universitaire de Shippagan research team, is a promising method of analysis; however, more extensive research with larger-scale data and additional linguistic parameters are needed to establish to a fuller extent the value of dialectometry as a powerful method which may be used in language analysis.

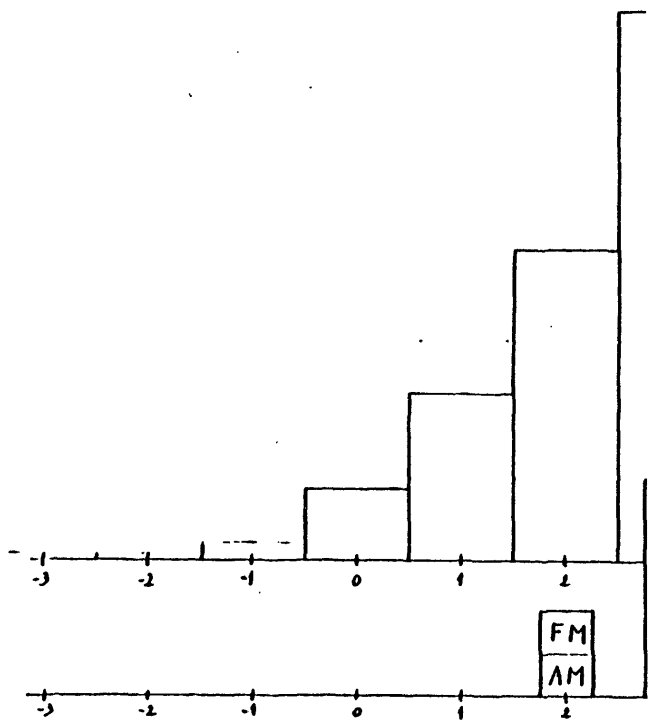
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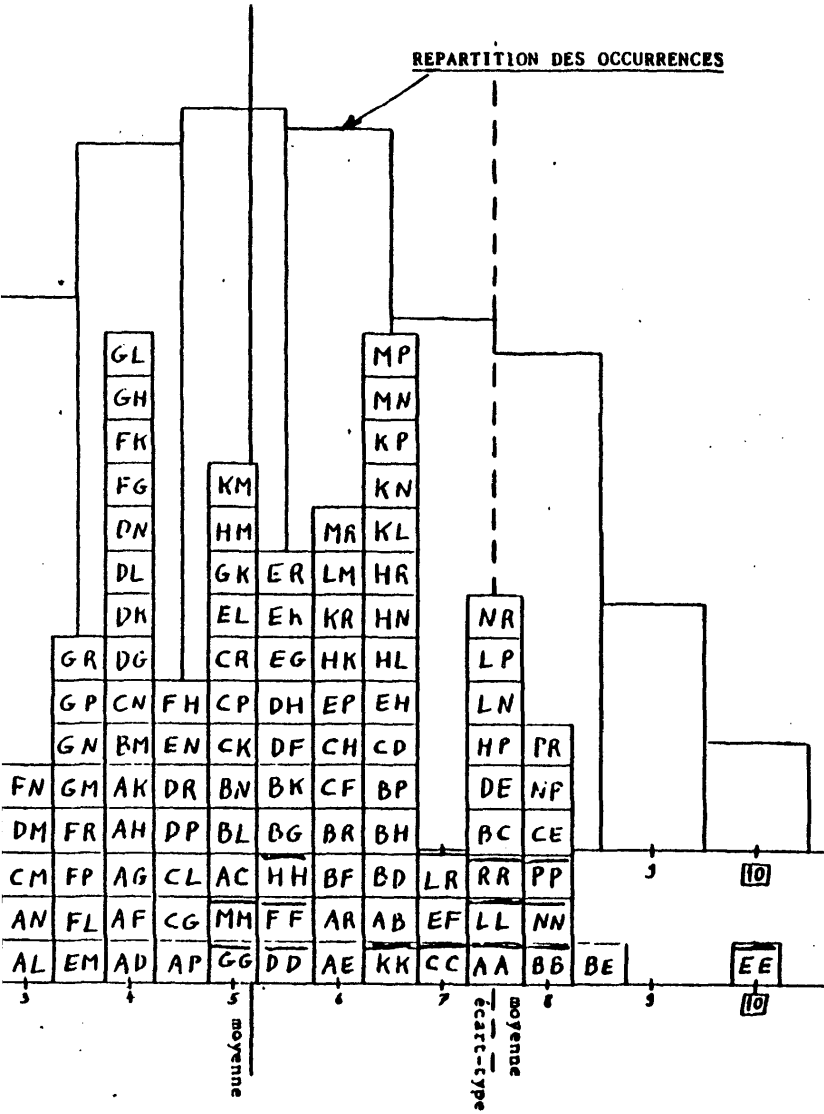
ILE DE LAMEQUE



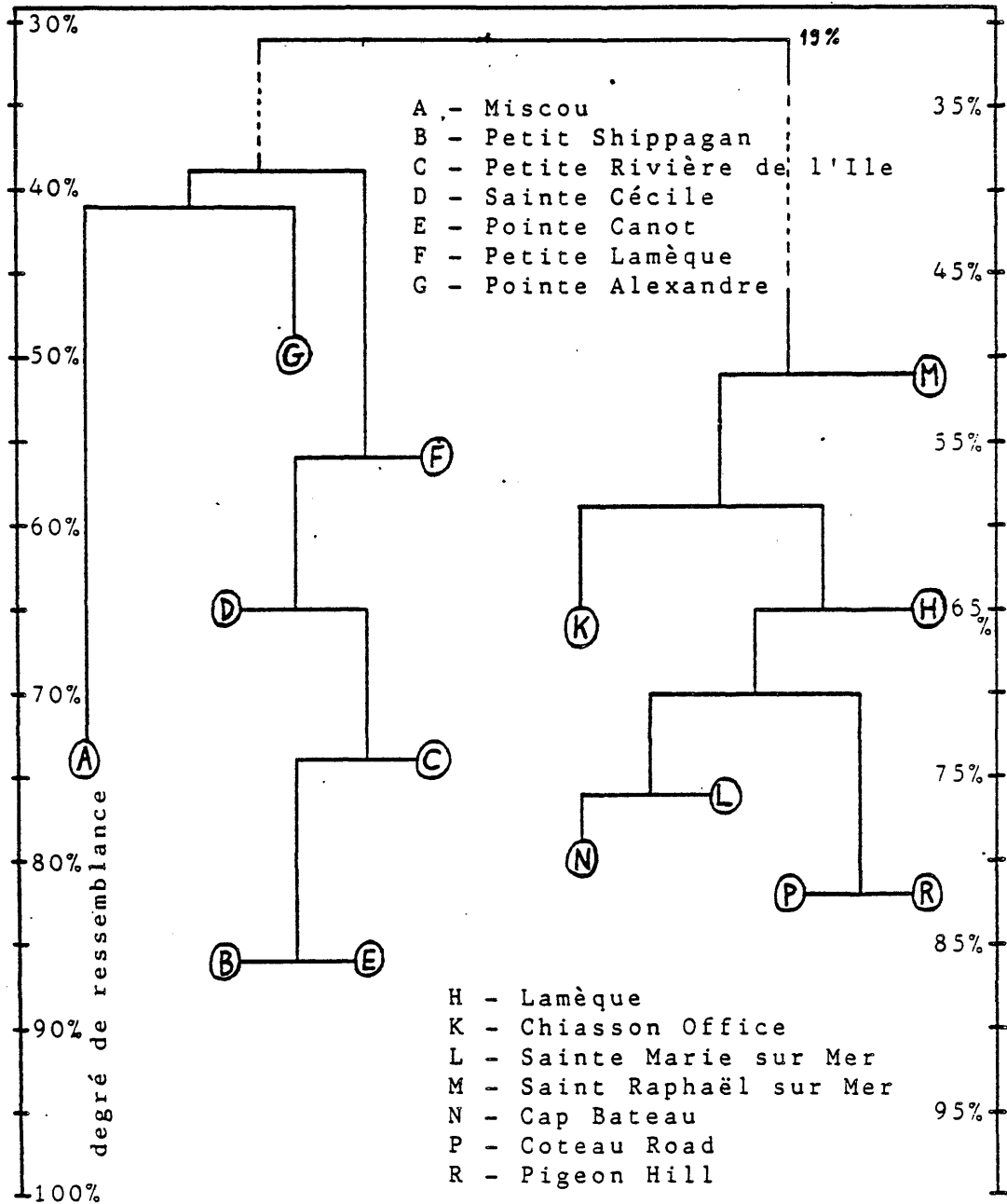
DEGRE DE PROXIMITE MORPHO-SYNTAXIQUE



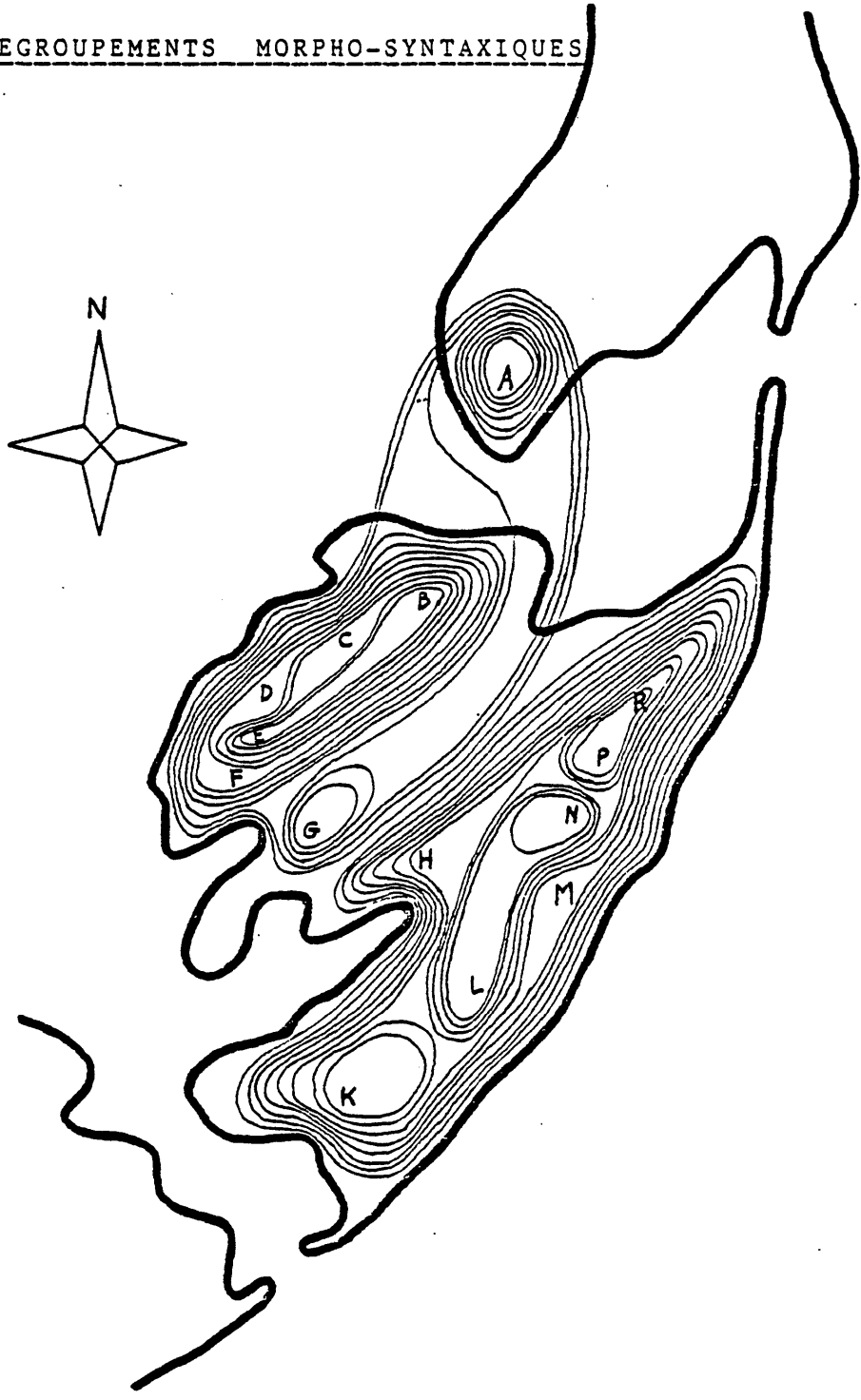
REPARTITION DES OCCURRENCES



STRUCTURE MORPHO-SYNTAXIQUE



REGROUPEMENTS MORPHO-SYNTAXIQUES



P R O F I L M O Y E N

MORPHO-SYNTAXIQUE (%)

	NOM (M)	AD. +N. (A)	N.+ CO. (C)
A	44	54	2
B	50	49	3
C	52	43	4
D	56	40	10
E	50	40	0
F	60	32	6
G	45	40	15
H	57	37	3
K	61	33	3
L	60	29	3
M	49	29	14
N	56	30	8
P	55	40	5
R	55	41	8

PROCEDURES FOR TESTING AND PRE-TESTING DICTIONARIES

Jean-Claude Choul

University of Regina

ABSTRACT

This paper describes how dictionaries can be made user-friendly and user-efficient. It first proposes a new requirement for designing dictionary entries. Next it applies the monosemy principle. Circularity is avoided by establishing proper transcoding procedures to obtain "metaterms" or descriptors, used in the substitution test. This test is not only useful in determining the "coherence" ratio of an entry, but also in distinguishing substitutable (homosemic) features from non-substitutable (isosemic) features (that allow context insertion) which are combined in a subsense formula.

The dictionary as a machine

Whether as computers or robots, the machine has always had some influence on theoretical models. In this case, the machine is very simple and is present only as a reminder that reproducibility is and always will be one of the basic requirements of a scientific theory.

The information supplied by the dictionary must satisfy the criterion of specificity laid out by classical logic (cf. Thonnard 1950:39), but it must always conform to the other fundamental requirement of scientific method: generality. The specificity applies to how exact world object recognition is achieved.

In the case of a descriptive verb, one expects the definition to allow the proper use in certain contexts, or to describe a certain situation. F & W (1977) consider this definition of *dismantle* as adequate:

- (1) to strip of furniture or equipment

It would not satisfy the needs of this context:

- (2) a machine

A mechanical replacement would fail to achieve a proper paraphrase. Such a dictionary would also fail various tests that I will describe later, and among them, cross-testing.

A dictionary is considered here as a machine capable of supplying adequate information to permit the normal performance of a semic act, or the process of semantizing. In simpler terms, a dictionary is supposed to help us understand various sentences without expecting us to compensate for the deficiencies of the "machine".

Instructions and conditions

A dictionary should make it possible for a speaker of the language to understand all sentences using a specific word or expression, in its generality of use. This means that the conditions (absent from the F & W 1977) should specify WHAT is stripped.

Obviously one is supposed to understand that if x is stripped of furniture or equipment, x is either an office or a plant. In the case of (3), the first definition or subsense in F & W 1977 is deficient again, as shown by (4) for *dispose*:

(3) disposing soldiers for the battle

(4) to put into a receptive frame of mind for

Here it is not only a matter of strict properties of the machine, but also of its components. In both cases, we are dealing with a manifestation of redundancy as outlined in Choul (1981a; 1981b; 1982a). The recognition of a definition as corresponding to the use of a word in a sentence of the language depends on certain conditions reproduced in the definition and in the context. In the subsense paraphrase, this is often referred to as "contextual information".

The proper discrimination between two subsenses will equally depend on whether or not a subsense contains the necessary hooks or anchoring - a type of information that helps to link or attach a word to the context it is used in.

Contextual conditions contribute to the differentiation between two subsenses otherwise equivalent - this is not a surprise, since they belong to the same entry and result from a distinction made or observed in their use by the lexicographers.

An identical basic definition (subsense) is not necessarily the most common case. This will depend on historical or etymologi-

cal factors. A common "archidefinition" is typical of derived or extended meanings from a "proper sense". In (5), we have the typical discrepancies, for *dismantle*, according to F & W 1977:

- (5) a. to strip of furniture or equipment
 b. to raze
 c. to take apart

The Omega (Cassell) 1984 *Concise English Dictionary* shows a similar case, in (6), for one of the subsenses:

- (6) to take to pieces

In (6), "pieces" can be interpreted as a contextual element, but only in an extended context, and this decision destroys the "basic" definition, since only "to take to" subsists. In (7), the other subsenses from the same dictionary are listed to illustrate the fact that all, as opposed to (6), can be broken down into two major types of information: strict definitional or generic information and contextual or differential information.

- (7) to strip of covering, equipment or means of defence;
 to unrig (as a ship)
 to remove the defences (of a fortress).

In (7), the only common features are "defence", on the contextual side, and on the definitional side, all three seem to share an archilexeme or sememe: the average between *strip*, *remove* and *pull off*. There is something to be said: the interpretation of *unrig* yields not only /strip/ as a generic, but also *rigging* as a possible contextual condition, at a different level of analysis.

We are dealing here with what Rey-Debove (1971:151) called the microstructure of a dictionary - the elements making up a dictionary entry.

It should display the following relationships, in (8):

- (8) 1 def \cap ctxt \cap w
 /
 2 def \cap ctxt \cap w
 /
 3 def \cap ctxt \cap w

We have the source relation between the various subsenses, as in (7), and a double redundancy (or feature intersection) in each subsense division. The relation between the context and the definition should normally mirror the one between the word and its context.

With such a loop circuit, a dictionary microstructure becomes a self-controlling device.

In a way, the microstructure mirrors the macrostructure with its cross-reference, for synonyms, antonyms, etc.

We could consider such a system a lack of economy. Yet with semantic redundancy we have repetition, not as a form but as a sense. When semantic redundancy is not a pleonasm, it manifests a differential feature. This feature makes it tolerable, and makes coherence possible.

Coherence

Coherence is essential to ensure efficiency and to facilitate consultation from a semantic point of view. Dictionaries are meant to help users, and should not only benefit their makers, as Rey-Debove (1971:313) so humorously put it.

Coherence will replace the classic logical and chronological orders as a requirement for designing dictionary entries. This also means that quotations will be replaced by informants' sentences or forged examples, instead of culturally marked style or thought, as discussed by Rey (1981:xv). Forged illustrative sentences are already a common practice for the *D.F.C.* and the *Robert Méthodique*, and in English for the Macmillan 1979, the English Larousse 1972 and the Longman 1978. Comparatively, the F & W 1977 lists only a few, and the Omega-Cassell 1984 does not seem to list any except expressions and compounds.

Quotations from famous or less famous authors have the same value as no examples at all. Even a simple expression like the one in (9) is impossible to semantize properly with what is shown in (10), borrowed from Omega 1984.

(9) a dynamic personality (F & W 1977)

(10) of or pertaining to forces not in equilibrium, as distinguished from static; motive, active, energetic, as opp. to potential; pertaining to dynamics; involving or dependent upon mechanical activity, as the dynamic theory of Kant; (Med.) functional as opp. to organic.

The lack of examples or culturally determined choices are in fact quite the opposite of user-friendly. They belong to a model which can be called elitist or pedagogical. Style or profundity will hinder the natural movement from the definition to the example and back.

Testing for coherence and compatibility

The basic testing procedure goes back to de Saussure (1906), at least when, outlining his theory of semiology, he suggested replacing the scales by a chariot in the case of *justice*. Substitutability became a structuralist principle and corresponds to a natural process in the linguistic behaviour of a speaker. Zgusta (1971) uses it as a criterion for bilingual dictionaries under the name of insertion criterion.

All variants (including *commutation*) can be summarized as a formula for semantic purposes: "At a given point in a sequence, only one sense is possible or applicable, under normal circumstances." This is called the Monosemy Principle in the theory of semantics I am presently developing (Choul 1986a; 1986b).

The testing procedure is just an application of the Monosemy Principle together with the Paraphrase Principle. This condition makes it possible to substitute multi-word expressions or syntagms for single words and vice-versa. Ilson (1984:1239-1240) mentions the Longman 1978 as a dictionary where definitions are substitutable for words in their contexts. It may seem an unreasonable demand in view of the extra effort involved, and the lack of economy implied by the One-subsense/one-example Principle, which is the basis of our "efficient" entry model.

Such a (pre-tested) dictionary project would be designed with the user in mind: by being able to substitute, the user has now the possibility of double-checking without going to another dictionary. If the substitution fails, either the dictionary is deficient or the user needs more information to complete the procedure: he would need to check some elements of definition.

Although there are other aspects to a satisfactory consultation, such as the presence of a word or of a subsense (in this case, a "new" meaning), these problems belong more specifically to the macrostructure of a dictionary: the extent of its "vocabulary", the choice of the entry form, the length of the circularity loops, etc. The absence of a subsense depends also on the way the delimitation in the senses is carried out. The /raze/ definition for *dismantle* is not picked up by the other dictionaries in my corpus.

Various authors (Hartmann 1985; Mufwene 1984) have argued in favour of reader-oriented dictionaries, but few have discussed the operational aspects of the user-dictionary relationship, preferring to construct taxonomies or to deal with constraints and omissions. With the help of the technological paradigm, it becomes possible to envisage dictionary consultation as an operation. In this case, it

will be a semantic operation, while checking spelling would be a formal operation. Those familiar with word processors have recognized two basic procedures: Spell Check and Search. In our case, since the model will include substitution, the complete operation is Search and Replace.

Dictionary consultation as a semantic operation

Even in its main steps, the consultation procedure is a little more involved than the word processor's apparent manipulations. First, a given Word-in-Sentence is compared to a list of Words-in-Dictionary; when the two word-forms are matched (with or without grammatical alterations), the WiS (Word-in-Sentence) is compared to a group of Candidates-for-Meaning (the definitions or subsenses): the comparison process is repeated until satisfied: when the CfM (Candidate-for-Meaning) intersects with the context of WiS (the word-in-sentence): the Sentence-containing-Word. Then, the ScW is rewritten as Sentence-containing-Candidate (ScC): the replace function in a word processor - the difference here is that the operator rewrites to check if the match is adequate. By doing this, he is supposed to have understood the WiS (Word-in-Sentence) that triggered the search.

Another difference with any machine (at least, at the level I am referring to) is the fact that two levels are involved in a dictionary search for meaning. The subsense elements do not have the same status as the word-forms, with or without a meaning value. The replacement of the word by the candidate transforms the candidate status to make it a lexical form with potential reference, while the framework in which the CfM (Candidate-for-Meaning) appears deprives them of all reference, virtual or actual.

Meaning and the lexicon

When dealing with meaning, we should always keep in mind that the meaning of a word is not the corresponding complex unit. The meaning of a word is a fiction, or more precisely the existing correlation between two sequences. Meaning can be identity, similarity, opposition, difference, and is strictly asymptotic. It is this very special quality that ensures a sufficient transitory status to lexemes as semes (or semantic features), and allows their use at a metalinguistic level inherent to the use of language. The lexicon of a language thus becomes a self-descriptive or formal system.

This may seem to be an unlikely proposition, but the special "semic" status of lexemes can be systematized and made foolproof with a transcoding rule: "if a lexeme *a* is necessary for the description of the meaning of another lexeme *b*, then *a* is transcoded as a semantic feature (seme) A". This promotion is provisional and temporary: it is not a permanent change in status, and it is carried out only for the purpose of describing the meaning of another item. The corollary to the rule is the temporary suspension of the reference of that particular lexical item *a*. The rule is formalized as shown in (11):

$$(11) \quad a=:A(-R)/b:=A$$

The equal sign indicates a conditional equivalence; the colon sign indicates a break in the plane (from linguistic to metalinguistic). The difference between *colon equal* ($:=$) and *equal colon* ($=:$) lies in the type of assignment, the first is reserved for attributing meaning values and the second is formal and morphological (it is used for inserting elements in the anaphora rule - cf. Choul 1985).

There is a risk of immediate circularity, because of the Formal Difference Principle. According to this principle, an item cannot be rewritten as itself. The feature *A* will never be assigned to the word-form *a* (Choul 1986a). There is no constraint on the type of relation that can be assigned: antonyms, synonyms, generics or hyponyms, as long as combined with its conditions it supplies a paraphrase (they are all in a kind of definitional relationship with the base term).

External testing: using the dictionary

The best test for a dictionary is its use by the reader. Entrywise and subsensewise, the F & W, Macmillan, Omega and Larousse fail to semantize *shakedown* and *campaign hat*, in the examples taken at random in (12) and (13).

(12) He wore a campaign hat tilted forward over the bridge of his nose like a Marine DI.

(13) He tapped the inside of my good ankle to force my stance out a little wider. Then he gave me a fast shakedown.

"What's your name," he said when he was through.

In spite of its size (only 55,000 entries), Longman succeeds in the case of *shakedown* but fails for *campaign hat*. (14) lists the various subsenses for *shakedown*.

- (14) 1. (countable) *not fml* a place prepared as a bed. 2. (countable) *infml AmE* an act of getting money dishonestly, esp. by threats. 3. (Countable) *infml AmE* a thorough search. 4. (Countable; before Noun) a last test operation of a new ship or aircraft: *a shakedown voyage/flight*.

As in internal testing, the procedure involves not only comparison for the purpose of matching redundancies, but also a substitution to check if the subsense fits or looks "at home". (15) shows the resulting effect:

- (15) Then he gave me a fast (a) thorough search.

It is advisable to replace the sentence in its wider setting, since some information supplied by the dictionary is not always present in the contiguous context. It is the case for the "informal American English": Parker describes his character as playing a bum, hoping to get inside a jail in California - Spenser is from Boston. Matching can be extremely difficult, as with *stance* in the same example, picked up in (16):

- (16) He tapped the inside of my good ankle with his foot to force my stance out a little wider.

Omega offers only two field labels: *Golf* and *Science*, with the information quoted in (17)

- (17) a) The position taken for a stroke.
b) Place, site, station

Any attempt at substitution fails as does any attempt at comparing for redundancy. Even *station* is unsure, as (18) shows. also taken from the Omega dictionary:

- (18) The place where a person or thing stands, esp. an appointed or established place;

F & W is more successful, with two possibilities of substitutes, as shown in (19):

- (19) a) ...to force my *mode of standing* out a little wider
b) ...to force my *posture* out a little wider.

Larousse has a development relating to sports, after a good start: *a way of standing*. The determining factor is there: *the way one places one's feet*. This sequence could be retained, while we would discard: "in certain sports, e.g. golf and fencing".

Macmillan has *manner or mode of standing*, with the mention of sports: "the particular position assumed by an athlete while playing." Longman repeats Larousse, but without the part about the feet, which is obviously crucial here.

Technically almost all dictionaries have failed in semantizing accurately the use made of *stance* by Robert Parker. The paraphrase would use "the way one places one's feet", and could yield something like (20):

- (20) ...with his foot to force the way my feet were placed out a little wider.

Of course a semantic paraphrase does not have to be absolutely grammatically or stylistically correct, but one would prefer a synonym such as *feet* or *posture* meaning (F & W) "the position or carriage of the body or parts of the body." It is possible to envisage (16) as idiosyncratic, but my informant claims that the author is influenced by the fact that his detective is an athlete. Personally, I think one should remember that *standing* means "on one's feet".

Cross-testing and dictionary assessment

In my discussion of external testing, on discourse, I already compared dictionaries. Basically, cross-testing is carried out on two aspects and on their combination. This resembles external testing since the definition of Dictionary A is matched with the illustrative example of Dictionary B, and vice versa. But definitions can be compared, as well as illustrative examples. (21) shows example matching and (22) compares subsenses:

- (21) a shake-down cruise (F & W and Macmillan)
a shake-down voyage (Longman)
- (22) a last test operation of a new ship or aircraft (Long.)
for the purpose of adjusting mechanical parts or habituating people (F & W)
a period of adjustment (Larousse)
designed to test the performance of a ship or aircraft under actual operating conditions (Macmillan)

To properly assess the semantics of a monolingual dictionary, we should be able to test it for internal coherence, for its ability to semantize externally, and to cross-test it with others, for both definitions and examples. The basic requirement regarding definitions or subsenses is their paraphrasability, or capacity to integrate a paraphrase made up of an illustrative example or a discourse sequence: symmetrically, a dictionary should list one context example at least for each subsense that is identified.

Most dictionaries are defective in this regard. Paraphrasability varies, as we have noticed. Substitution remains the essential procedure for all aspects of dictionary testing.

Pre-testing dictionaries and semantics

A pretested dictionary will no doubt look very much like the Longman, but it would also show some improvement. One of the things to avoid in designing a dictionary is double-barreled definitions or examples, as we have in (21) and (22) or in (23): *ship or aircraft, adjusting mechanical parts or habituating people*, etc.

(23) penetrative: tending *or* able to penetrate

Similarly, strings of parasynonyms should be avoided, as in (24) for *penetrating* and in (25) for *everlasting*:

(24) discerning: acute

(25) lasting for ever; without an end

The application of the Monosemy Principle may lead to a more expensive dictionary, but at least the instrument will be a little more precise. This does not mean that meaning is precise or has to become precise. Let's illustrate this point with (26) and (27), borrowed from Longman, paraphrased in (28):

(26) happening or existing all over Europe

(27) an actress of _____ fame

(28) an actress of fame happening or existing all over. . .

There is a limit to awkwardness, and bi-semantic sentences are definitely awkward. Instead of alternate or alternative definitions (sic), a dictionary should list subsenses separately or find them a generic expression. For conditions such as the ones in (22) or in (29), a generic or neutralizing (or paradigmatic) expression should be preferred:

(29) (esp. of a person's manner or character).

The Monosemy requirement is not too demanding, since a reader will have to choose anyway between *manner* or *character*, between a *ship* and an *aircraft*.

Descriptors and features: homosemy and isosemy

All parts of the entry, including the examples, are devoid of reference, but only definitional elements can be considered as semantic features. The context example is only a safety device, to help the reader confirm his choice.

A subsense in a dictionary corresponds basically to the value-assignment formula which is derived from earlier work on compounds and idioms (Choul 1981c; 1982b). The part of the definition that is substitutable is equivalent to the value or to an analytical identity at the metasemic level.

The part that is left out of a substitution is both contextual and conditional, to the extent that the context or immediate environment is a condition of the meaning. This is also a good reason to avoid alternates, as shown in the bracketing of conditional information in (31) for *ambience*:

(30) The little restaurant had a pleasant (the) character
(quality, feeling, etc.) (of a place) (Longman).

The rule in (31) shows clearly that a given meaning depends on a series of conditions, and not that a series of senses applies to a word, as in (32):

(31) ambience/pleasant__(PLACE):=CHARACTER

(32) ambience:=PERVADING ATMOSPHERE

SURROUNDINGS

MILIEU

A pre-tested dictionary does not need to become pedantic, since the formula can easily be translated back into a paraphrase, but the formula could certainly help design monosemic subsenses to make the new dictionary a more adequate instrument.

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POLYSEMY IN ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES
IN A SOUTHEASTERN ITALIAN DIALECT

Terry B. Cox

Mount Saint Vincent University

Introduction

The focus of this paper is what categories are marked in the adjective paradigms of a neo-Romance dialect, and what form the marking takes. In order to provide a frame of reference for the study I examined the attributive adjective paradigms of the six major Romance languages, comprising Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian, and Spanish. My examination revealed that, in their spoken forms, these languages mark the categories of number and gender. They are marked either separately, or, as is often the case, in combination by portmanteau morphemes. The patternings are parallel, for the most part, to those recorded for Latin, if somewhat simplified. Three of the six languages, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish, have two paradigms -- one two-member, the other four-member -- as shown in Table 1. The four-member paradigms have examples of portmanteau morphemes, for the -o ending of buono in Italian marks both masculine and singular together, and so on. Catalan has three paradigms -- a two-member, a three-member, and a four-member -- as shown in Table 2. French also has three paradigms -- one invariable, one two-member, and one three-member -- as shown in Table 3. Rumanian has a somewhat complicated five-paradigm system, comprising two two-member, two three-member, and a four-member paradigm. The latter, however, is by far the most frequent type encountered. Table 4 illustrates. I have chosen to use the standard orthography for each language as it is adequate, in each case, to show marking is in the form of suffixal modifications.

In a field study that started in 1979, and one that embraced all aspects of grammar, I investigated the dialect of the town of Mola di Bari, situated on the Adriatic coast in the southeastern Italian region of Apulia, 20 kilometers southeast of the provin-

MASCULINE SINGULAR	FEMININE SINGULAR	MASCULINE PLURAL	FEMININE PLURAL	GLOSS	CATEGORY
verde		verdi		'green'	number
buono	buona	buoni	buone	'good'	number & gender
vêrde		vêrdes		'green'	number
bom	boa	bons	boas	'good'	number & gender
verde		verdes		'green'	number
bueno	buenas	buenos	buenas	'good'	number & gender

Table 1. Italian, Portuguese and Spanish

jove		joves		'young'	number
feliç		feliços	felices	'happy'	number & gender in plural
bo	bona	bons	bones	'good'	number & gender

Table 2. Catalan

jeune(s)				'young'	unmarked
brutal		brutaux	(brutales)	'brutal'	number gender in plural
bon	bonne	(bons)	(bonnes)	'good'	<u>gender</u>

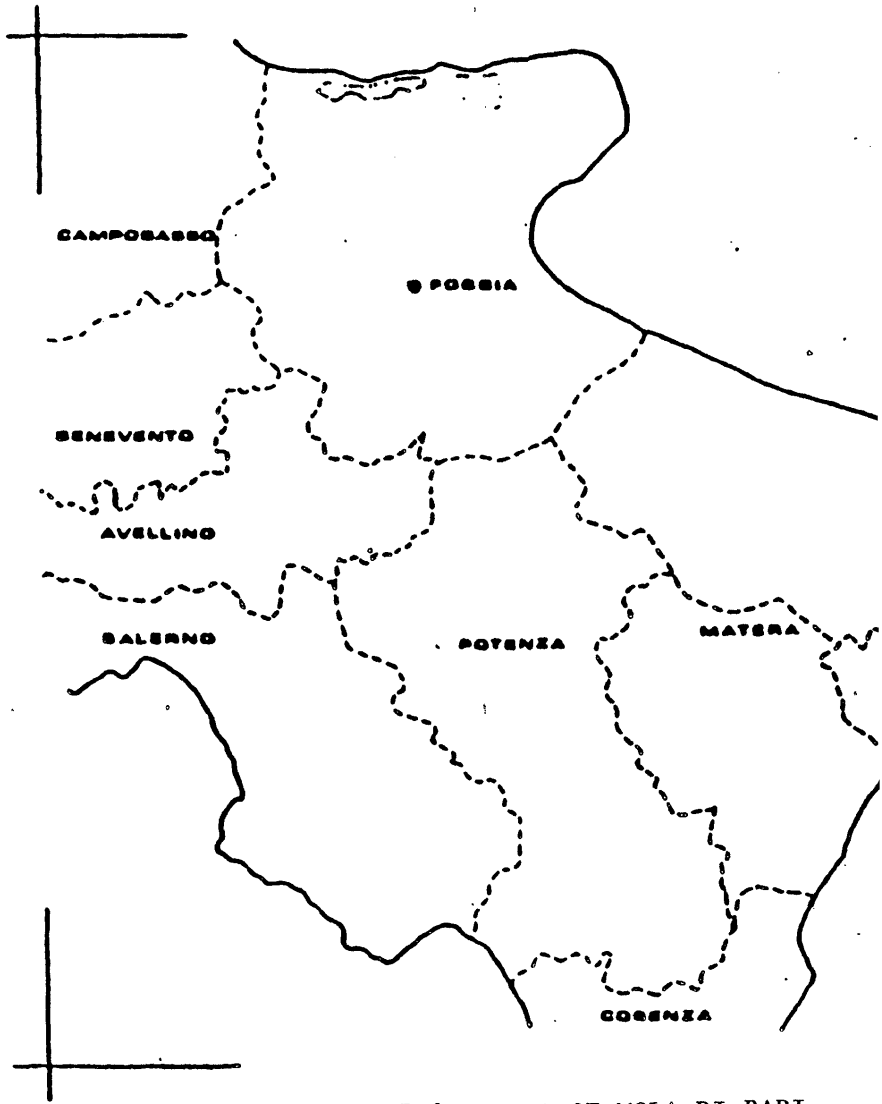
Table 3. French

verde		verzi		'green'	number
vechĩ	veche	vechĩ		'old'	+ fem. singular
mic	mica	micĩ		'small'	number & gender in singular
viitor	viitoare	viitorĩ	viitoare	'future'	number & gender for masculine
bun	bunã	bunĩ	bune	'good'	number & gender

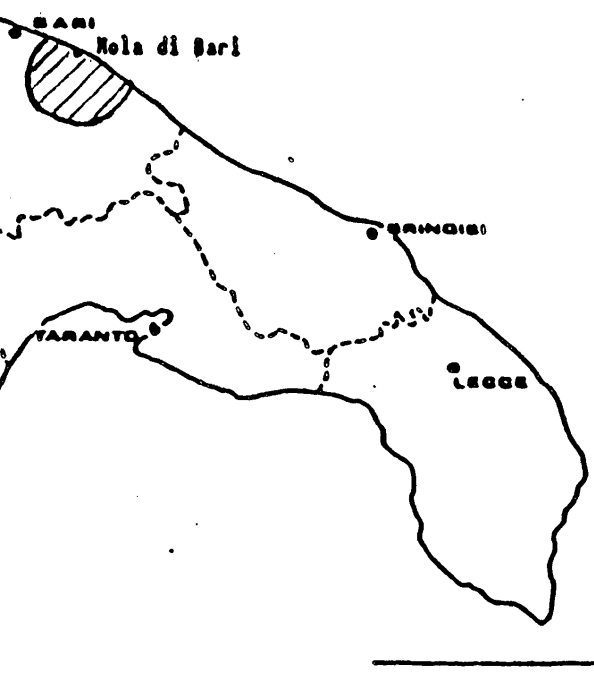
Table 4. Rumanian

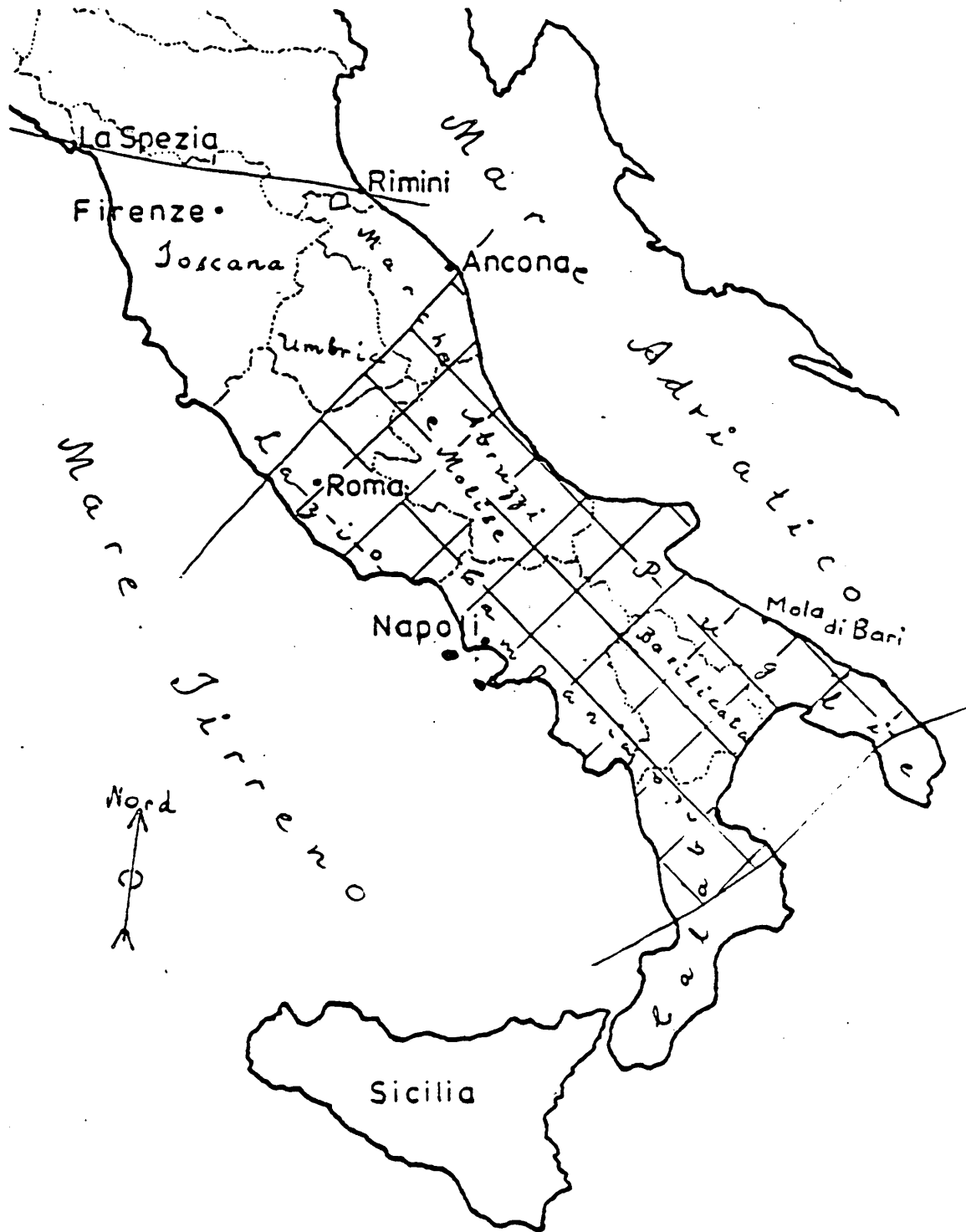
I	granna				'big'	unmarked
II	verde		virde		'green'	number
III	teise	taise	teise		'taut'	+ fem. singular
IV	apirte	aperte	apirte	aperte	'open'	gender
V	buna	bona	bona		'good'	+ masc. singular

Table 5. Molesse



MAP 1. AREA OF MOLA DI BARI





MAP 2. UMLAUT ZONE

cial capital of Bari. At the same time I recorded data from the dialects of the towns within a 15 kilometer radius of Mola (see Map 1). The data collected in my initial research on these dialects led me to believe that attributive adjective paradigms paralleled those of the major Romance languages in terms of the categories marked overtly. I will show below that this was not the complete picture for at least Molese, the dialect of Mola di Bari. Before I examine the Molese paradigms, however, I deem it necessary to give a brief outline of Apulian adjective morphophonemics, so strikingly does it differ from familiar Romance morphology.

Apulian Adjective Morphophonemics

The dialects investigated fall within a large area of Central and Southern Italy (see Map 2) where adjective, and also noun and verb, morphology is characterized by alternations of a suppletive nature, similar to those seen in English nouns like *tooth-teeth* or *mouse-mice*. Called 'flessione interna' (internal inflection) or 'metafonia' (metaphony) by many Italian dialectologists, it is the end result, historically speaking, of the process of anticipatory assimilation at a distance, commonly called UMLAUT. In Apulia, as in Icelandic, there was both U- and I-umlaut. Although subsequent developments have in many cases obscured the fact, the process originally affected mid-vowels by raising or diphthongizing them. The following forms, taken from seventeenth century Neapolitan and representing a primitive phase of this development, illustrate:

1) high-mid vowel reflexes

tesə (fem. sing./plur.) tise (masc. sing./plur.) 'taut'
 solə (" " ") sulə (" " ") 'lone'

2) low-mid vowel reflexes

apertə (fem. sing./plur.) apjertə (masc. sing./plur.) 'open'
 bəne (" " ") bwene (" " ") 'good'

Adjectives in Molese

Molese adjectival paradigms were obtained by elicitation in such frames as: a(n) ADJECTIVE NOUN_[+masc.sing.] or _[+fem.sing.]

ADJECTIVE NOUN_[+masc.plur.] or _[+fem.plur.]

and $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the NOUN} \\ \text{PRONOUN} \end{array} \right\}$ _[+masc.sing.] is ADJECTIVE

and so on: The results obtained are displayed in Table 5. To be sure, the complexities of the Molese multi-member paradigms are as bewildering as those of Rumanian but would offer little more than taxonomical interest, if, as it appeared, number and/or gender were the only categories marked by the alternations. Such was not the case, however, as in the course of subsequent free conversation sessions I noted forms from time to time that appeared at variance with those received during recorded interviews. Consider the following phrases, where another type V adjective, *rossə*, is used:

3) nu fongə rossə 'a red mushroom' fongə rossə 'red mushrooms'

4) na fraske rossə 'a red leaf' fraske rossə 'red leaves'

but 5) nu krəstijəne rossə 'a red-headed-man' krəstijəne rossə
'red-headed men'

The phrases of 3) and 4) fit the pattern shown for a type V adjective in Table 5, but the plural part of 5) concurs more with type IV pattern. I then hypothesized that a type V adjective inflects like one from type IV if the head noun, like *krəstijəne*, is subcategorized as [+human]. The phrase in 6) seemed to support the hypothesis.

6) na pəččələddə rossə 'a red-headed girl' pəččələddə rossə
red-headed girls'

Testing the [+human] subcategory further, I elicited phrase 7).

7) nu peššə rossə 'a red fish' peššə rossə 'red fish (pl)'

These data seemed to support the proposed hypothesis so I then tried elicitation in frames containing other animals and obtained:

8) nu kéne rossə 'a red dog' kéne rossə 'red dogs'

These results forced me to reconsider my [+human] subcategory and I experimented with another adjective from type V. I record here

just the plural forms as they seem to be the ones that are problematic.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 9) i lokərə so bønə | 'the farms are good' |
| 10) i krəstijéne so bunə | 'the men are good' |
| 11) i kéne so bunə | 'the dogs are good' |
| 12) i kéne so bønə | 'the bitches are good' |
| 13) i kənɛggjə so bunə | 'the rabbits are good (alive)' |
| 14) i kənɛggjə so bønə | 'the rabbits are good (dead)' |
| 15) i pɛššə so bønə | 'the fish are good' |

In these data, 13) and 14) seem to point the way to the basis for the selection of the appropriate adjective form. It appears that animals that are considered as food, that is, are good to eat, are subcategorized differently according to whether they are dead (that is, food) or alive (that is, pets?). Dogs are never considered as food, therefore the paradigm does not vary. Fish are only considered as food, therefore the paradigm does not vary. Rabbits are considered both ways, therefore the paradigm varies.

Tentative Analysis and Conclusion

If one persists in maintaining adjectives like those illustrated above as type V in one paradigm class, and they are some 20 in number, form a closed set, and comprise many of the most common in the dialect, then to account for them 'switching' paradigm a subcategorization something like [+mammal,+masc.plur.,-food] must be set up to trigger this switching. I suggest, however, a more telling solution would be an analysis that has two homophonous entries in the lexicon as follows, for each item:

rosse ¹	--	to co-occur with NOUN/PRONOUN [+masc.sing]
rosse ²	--	to co-occur with NOUN/PRONOUN [+masc.plur,+mammal,-food]
rosse ¹	--	to co-occur with NOUN/PRONOUN [+fem]
rosse ²	--	to co-occur with NOUN/PRONOUN [+masc.plur] but not [+mammal,-food]

It is in this context that the word polysemy occurs in the title of this paper.

This type of sub-classification of objects in the real world has not been recorded, to my knowledge, in any other neo-Romance language or dialect. My analysis must be considered tentative as it has yet to be checked against a considerable portion of the lexicon. Moreover, I have yet to analyze in depth the adjectival paradigms of the dialects co-terminous with Molese, but I would be very surprised if some form of the same system is absent from all of them.

The system sketched here, I submit, is faintly reminiscent of such marking devices as the numeral classifiers in many Southeast Asian languages. It is a hint of yet another similarity between genetically unrelated languages.

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The Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction in Algonkian

Audrey Dawe-Sheppard

Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

ABSTRACT

Micmac, unlike most of the other Algonkian languages, has two distinctive inflections for the 1st person plural forms: 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive. This paper will attempt to trace the origin of these inflections.

This inflectional distinction between the 1st person plural forms occurs in both the nominal and the verbal paradigms. Three other Algonkian languages besides Micmac (Cree, Arapaho and Menominee) maintain distinctive inclusive/exclusive inflections. Available data will be presented and there is good evidence that the distinction should be reconstructed for Proto-Algonkian.

Bloomfield, in his Proto-Algonkian reconstructions, overlooked this crucial point as he reconstructed the same inflectional ending for both of the 1st person plural forms. His reconstruction was based on the evidence displayed in Fox, Menominee, Ojibwa and other Algonkian languages where the distinction between 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive is limited to the prefixes. Reconstructed forms and derivations will be proposed.

This paper will present a survey of the use of the inclusive/exclusive distinction in the Algonkian languages using Micmac as the base language.

Micmac, unlike most of the other Algonkian languages, contains two distinctive inflections for the 1st person plural forms: 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive. The 1st person inclusive includes the person spoken to so "we" = "you and I" whereas the 1st person exclusive excludes the person spoken to so "we" = "he and I". This paper will attempt to trace the origin of the morphology used to mark this distinction.

Before any survey or historical reconstruction is discussed the distinction will be looked at in Micmac to gain an understanding of the topic. This inflectional distinction of 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive occurs in both nominal and verbal paradigms, but this paper will deal only with the nominal ones.

An example of this inflectional distinction in Micmac is as follows in Table 1.

Table 1

1 (incl.)	kt - ul - inu	"our (incl.) boat"
1 (excl.)	nt - ul - inen	"our (excl.) boat"

An analysis of these forms will show the formation. -ul- is a dependent stem meaning "boat" and once this is removed from the forms, what remains is the prefix and suffix which are used to mark the person, number and inclusive/exclusive in Micmac. These prefixes and suffixes follow in Table 2.

Table 2

1 (incl.)	kt _____ inu
1 (excl.)	nt _____ inen

k is the prefix used for 1st person inclusive and n is the prefix used for 1st person exclusive. This use supports the statement made by Bloomfield "If the second person is among the possessors; the prefix ke- is used; if the first person (and not the second), ne..." (Bloomfield 1927:183). The t in forms like ktulinu and ntulinen is inserted after the prefix before stems which begin with a vowel.

Along with these prefixes, the suffixes are also necessary to mark the distinction with -inu being the inclusive suffix and -inen being the exclusive suffix. Both the prefixes and the suffixes are needed to mark the distinction in Micmac. The 1st person inclusive pronoun is kinu and the 1st person exclusive pronoun is ninen. These pronouns are identical to the combination of prefix and suffix used in the nominal forms as can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3

	Nominal Forms	Pronouns
1 (incl.)	k - inu	kinu
1 (excl.)	n - inen	ninen

According to Goddard (1967:68) "Only Arapaho, Cree and Micmac retain the contrast between the exclusive and inclusive endings." While collecting the data for this paper one other language, Menominee, was found to also retain this distinction. Thus the morphological distinction in the inflections exists in languages of several divisions of Algonkian. Arapaho comprises a separate division; Menominee and Plains Cree represent Central Algonkian; and Micmac is a member of Eastern Algonkian. The geographical distribution is good evidence to indicate that these distinctive inflections should be reconstructed for Proto-Algonkian. It is said that in historical morphology it is easier to lose than to

gain. The absence of the distinctive endings in the other Algonkian languages indicates that the distinction was lost or levelled. The 1st person inclusive/exclusive distinction now rests solely on the prefixes.

Bloomfield, in his Proto-Algonkian reconstructions, overlooked this crucial point of distinctive relations when he reconstructed the same inflectional ending for both the 1st person plural forms. "The forms for plural possessor add -enaan for the first person..." (Bloomfield 1946:96). His reconstruction was based on Fox, Ojibwa and other Algonkian languages where the distinction between 1st person inclusive and the 1st person exclusive is limited to the prefixes. Bloomfield's reconstruction is problematic as it does not account for the Algonkian languages which do contain the inflectional distinction.. It is not very likely that Arapaho, Cree-Montagnais, Menominee and Micmac independently developed inflections which are so similar.

Data from the Algonkian languages which retain the distinctive inflection will be presented and compared first, and then the data from the Algonkian languages which only mark the distinctions by prefixes will be presented. It should be noted that the distinction within the 1st person plural form is still an integral part of the Algonkian system no matter how it is marked.

The data from the languages which make the distinction with both the prefixes and the suffixes is as follows in Table 4.

Table 4

	Mic.	Mont.	Pl. Cr.	Ara.	Meno.
1 (incl.)	k-inu	tsh-inān (inu)	k-inaw	h-nin	ke-en
1 (excl.)	n-inen	n-inān	n-inān	n-inoo	ne-enaw

The prefixes in all these languages correspond. The 1st person inclusive prefix can be reconstructed as *k(e)-. In Montagnais *k is palatalized to č (written as tsh in the orthography). The h- in Arapaho can be explained by the regular phonological rules of Arapaho. "PA *k is lost in all positions without a trace." (Goddard 1974:107) This loss of k would leave an initial vowel and "Before initial vowels Arapaho adds [h-]..." (Goddard 1974:113). There are no problems with reconstructing *n(e)- as the prefix for 1st person exclusive, as it is the prefix found in all of the daughter languages. These are the prefixes used by Bloomfield in his reconstructed forms. Bloomfield states "Where more than one person is involved as possessor...thus 'we inc.' has ke-, but 'we exc.' has ne-..."(Bloomfield 1946:95).

The problem with Bloomfield's reconstruction arises with his treatment of the inclusive/exclusive distinction with regard to

the inflection(s). According to Bloomfield "The forms for plural possessor add -enaan for the first person..." (Bloomfield 1946:96). Thus he does not reconstruct distinctive inclusive/exclusive suffixes and his reconstructed forms would be as follow in Table 5.

Table 5

1 (incl.)	*ke(t)-enaan
1 (excl.)	*ne(t)-enaan

The problem with this reconstruction becomes evident when one examines the evidence displayed in the Algonkian daughter languages. Bloomfield's reconstructions for Proto-Algonkian are based on the four Central Algonkian languages - Fox, Cree, Menominee, and Ojibwa- and of these four, two display distinctive endings for the 1st person plural forms. Fox and Ojibwa mark the distinction with prefixes only and the data from them will be presented later. Bloomfield, therefore, seems to have based his reconstruction on only two languages and this is, of course, an insufficient basis for reconstruction.

The data from the languages above (Table 4) is more than sufficient evidence to indicate that a distinctive set of inflections to mark 1st person inclusive and 1st person exclusive should be reconstructed for Proto-Algonkian. Thus it seems that what should be reconstructed for Proto-Algonkian is a distinction based on both prefixes and suffixes.

It is more difficult to reconstruct the suffixes than the prefixes. Micmac, Montagnais and Plains Cree correspond with regard to their inflections, while Menominee and Arapaho seem to make up another grouping. This will be discussed, but the important point here is that, even though it may not be possible to reconstruct definite morphological inflections for the distinction, it is possible to state that such a distinction once existed.

To aid in the discussion of the two groupings mentioned above, schematic reconstructions will be presented.

The first grouping to be discussed will be the one which consists of Micmac, Montagnais and Plains Cree which will arbitrarily be referred to as Group A.

Schematic reconstructions for the 1st person plural forms for Group A follow in Table 6.

Table 6

1 (incl.)	*ke(t)-enaw
1 (excl.)	*ne(t)-enān

The prefixes have already been discussed. The reconstructed suffix 1 (incl.) is -enaw. The forms which have a final -u, as in Micmac and Montagnais, can be easily explained phonologically as *aw > u. The reconstructed suffix for 1 (excl.) is *-enān.

It should be noted here with regard to the Montagnais data that the modern-day speakers of this language are moving towards a levelling of the suffix so that the distinction of inclusive/exclusive will be marked only by the different prefix. This language provides living proof of the situation which I am attempting to reconstruct in this paper - that Proto-Algonkian had a distinction which was marked by distinctive prefixes and suffixes (inflections), and some of the daughter languages of Algonkian have levelled the distinction in the inflections. Montagnais has levelled toward the use of only the exclusive inflection -inan. Bloomfield reconstructed *-enaan based on Fox and Ojibwa. These two daughter languages have already levelled to the exclusive ending and Montagnais is in the process of doing so.

The second group consists of Menominee and Arapaho, and will be arbitrarily referred to as Group B.

Schematic reconstructions for Group B inclusive/exclusive endings are as follows in Table 7.

Table 7

1 (incl.)	*ke(t)-nVn
1 (excl.)	*ne(t)-nVnaw

These reconstructions for Group B have to be schematic as there are only two daughter languages involved, which provides insufficient evidence for a reconstruction of the morphology. Internal reconstruction is feasible, however, and should be done.

The reconstructed 1st person inclusive is obvious, as it is the same reflex in the two daughter languages. A possible schematic reconstruction for the 1st person exclusive is *n(e)-nVnaw since the presence of -oo in Arapaho can be explained phonologically- *aw > oo.

There seems to be a flip-flop between inflections of Group A and Group B with the reconstructed 1st inclusive ending *-enaw of Group A corresponding with the 1st exclusive ending *-nVnaw of Group B. Group A's reconstructed 1st exclusive ending *-enān also corresponds with Group B's 1st inclusive ending *-nVn. There is a regular correspondence between the prefixes but there appears to be a flip-flop between the suffixes.

These languages exhibit ample evidence for the reconstruction of a distinction marked by prefixes and suffixes. These possessive endings are what have been labelled n-endings and, therefore, they are morphologically related to the n-endings of the subordinative mode. Because of this morphological relation it is possible to incorporate ideas from Proulx's 1980 article on the subordinative mode. In this article Proulx's main discussion deals with the 1st person inclusive and exclusive in an attempt to show a relationship between Eastern Algonkian and other Algonkian languages (especially Cree and Menominee). He bases this historical correspondence entirely upon a phonological correspondence which he identifies.

Proulx reconstructs Proto-Algonkian *aye to explain the a: in Central languages and e in the Eastern languages. He labels this correspondence as a "crucial phonological correspondence" (Proulx 1980:289).

According to Proulx this phonological correspondence relates the forms below in Table 8, and can be seen most clearly in the 1st person exclusive forms.

Table 8

	Micmac	Cree	PA
1 (incl.)	k(t)-Vnu	ki(t)-inaw	*ke(t)-nayenaw
1 (excl.)	n(t)-Vnen	ni(t)-inān	*ne(t)-nayen

Both Micmac and Cree retain a distinction in endings for 1st person inclusive and exclusive and Proulx takes this distinction back to Proto-Algonkian. Proulx adjusts Bloomfield's form *ena:n so that the exclusive form of both the Eastern and Central languages can be derived from it. The Micmac and Cree forms are derivable from the PA forms through the regular phonological processes for each of the languages.

Algonkian languages like Fox, Ojibwa, Delaware, Abenaki and Maliseet mark the distinction between inclusive/exclusive by using different prefixes only, as they have levelled the suffixes. The data for these languages follows in Table 9.

Table 9

	Ojib.	Fox	Del.	Aben.	Mali.
1 (incl.)	ki-inān	ke-enān	k(ə)-əna	k'-na	k-ən
1 (excl.)	nin-inān	ne-enān	n(ə)-əna	n'-na	n-ən

Bloomfield evidently based his reconstructions of *-enaan as a general 1st person plural ending on the reflexes found in Ojibwa and Fox and especially Fox as "The PA vowel system is preserved in F..." (Bloomfield 1946:86). The evidence from the Eastern Algonkian languages in Table 9 above is not very useful in reconstructing

the Proto-Algonkian morphology for the inclusive/exclusive distinction as the forms in Delaware, Abenaki and Maliseet have been reduced.

Based on all of the above data and discussion, a possible reconstruction for the 1st person plural forms of Proto-Algonkian could be those found in Table 8. This incorporates Proulx's insights. If one chooses not to agree with Proulx then the reconstructions in Table 6 can be used. The latter does not resolve the problem of explaining the Micmac *e* in the exclusive form.

The reflexes in the Algonkian daughter languages can be derived from these forms but there is still a problem with the so-called flip-flop in Arapaho and Menominee. Distinct inflections for 1st person inclusive/exclusive account for Micmac, Montagnais and Plains Cree inflections. Fox and Ojibwa have levelled the inflections toward the use of the exclusive inflection, and Delaware, Abenaki and Maliseet have been reduced to such an extent that it is difficult to discern whether they are derived from Proto-Algonkian inclusive or exclusive inflections.

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Father Demillier's Versions of the Lord's Prayer

Vincent O. Erickson
University of New Brunswick

ABSTRACT

Three versions of Father Demillier's Lord's Prayer as used by Indians on the Passamaquoddy reserve at Pleasant Point, Maine, in 1833-1834 are compared with earlier versions assembled by J. Hammond Trumbull. The 18th century versions which are most similar to the early 19th century Pleasant Point versions, Trumbull attributes to the Canniba Indians living along the Kennebec River in southern Maine. Demillier's suggestions that Canniba and Penobscot are the same and that Penobscot is the liturgical tongue of the Passamaquoddies give credence to Trumbull's assumed connection. Finally, the fact that the deacon of the Passamaquoddy mission was a native speaker of Penobscot is further verification for my assumption that Demillier's versions are Penobscot rather than Passamaquoddy.

Since Trumbull made his compilation 'Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages' in 1872, three other versions of the Lord's Prayer in the Reverend Louis-Edmond Demillier's handwriting have come to light. Two are from the Archives of the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine,¹ and one from Father Demillier's personal correspondence from the years when he lived among the Indians at Pleasant Point, Maine.²

The purpose of this paper is to view these documents to determine if they may resolve the question as to what was the liturgical language of the Passamaquoddies during the first four decades of the 19th century, to explore the degree to which there was bilingualism or multilingualism of various Eastern Algonquian languages within the Passamaquoddy community, and finally to see Demillier's role as spiritual leader in this linguistic setting. It must be noted, however, that this is only a preliminary study and the findings are not to be taken as the final word on this subject.

Who was Father Demillier? He was a French missionary priest of the Franciscan sub-order of the House of Picpus. He came to North America in 1833 with his colleague, Father Amable Petithomme, at the request of Bishop Fenwick of Boston to take over the Indian missions in Maine. Their work, however, was largely restricted to the Passamaquoddies at

Pleasant Point. Father Demillier remained among the Passamaquoddies until his death in 1843. Petithomme's stay was much shorter. Demillier was the more skilled in learning languages and much more sympathetic to Indian culture and traditions. More than 140 years after his death he is still spoken of with veneration by some Passamaquoddies.³

Prior to the discovery of the letters of Demillier in Rome in the 1980s, the most accessible data were from Father Eugene Vetromile's Indian Good Book, an Indian missal first published in 1855 but subsequently reprinted in 1857 and 1858.

In discussing the Indian Good Book with my Maliseet informants, my experience has led me to conclude that the grandparental generation of my elderly informants regarded the book almost as a reliquary or sacred object, and that years ago the old people chose to be buried with a personal copy. The present generation of elders holds a different view of Vetromile's work, primarily because the contents of the Indian Good Book are largely incomprehensible, at least to present-day speakers of Malecite-Passamaquoddy.⁴ One said, "I do not see how our language could have changed so much in 120 years." Another said, "Vetromile was incompetent and did not know one Eastern Algonquian language from the other. What he calls Maliseet is really Micmac, Penobscot or some other language."

In addition to Vetromile's Indian Good Book, which does not contain documentation for the origin of the sources used, there is a more useful work. This is Trumbull's 'Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages'. This collection is a surprisingly fine compendium in the Algonquian languages of the liturgical manuscripts which had been discovered as of 1872. Since Trumbull completed his work, the topic of Algonquian liturgics has been allowed to slumber.

The author experienced considerable excitement, therefore, when he began to find new documents unknown to Trumbull. I not only attempted to make new order of these old data but was forced to look at Vetromile's book in a new light.

I considered myself more than lucky to find several related documents which added pieces to the puzzle as to what were the liturgics used at the Pleasant Point Passamaquoddy Indian community in the 1830's. Dr. Siebert, the Penobscot language authority, provided me with a photocopy of Father Romagné's The Indian Prayer Book which carries the date 1804 but which was not published in Boston until 1834. The example in the Trumbull collection at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, is the only known copy of this book. The second and third sources used as documentation are the Demillier manuscripts of prayers and the Demillier letters, both of which I have mentioned earlier in this paper.

Although the Demillier manuscript of prayers is not dated, I suspect that it was prepared during the winter of 1833-1834. This would be in the early months of Demillier's stay among the Passamaquoddy. I suggest that this was the case because Romagné's book had not yet found its way to Pleasant Point, although it may have been published as early as February 1834.⁵

The available letters of Father Demillier date from April 1834 to April 1837. Vetromile made use of Demillier's prayers in the preparation of the Indian Good Book, but he seems unaware of the contents of the letters and of Romagné's book of which he confesses he had seen only the title page.⁶

What do these materials tell us about the linguistic environment at Pleasant Point? From Demillier's letters we learn that he worked faithfully at his task of learning Passamaquoddy and that he had made sufficient progress as of Good Friday 1834 to receive confessions in the Indians' tongue. His parishioners, moreover, were flattered by his attention to their language.

The earliest of his letters, the one of April 20, 1834, contains a version of the Lord's Prayer. Demillier writes "... here is the Lord's Prayer in their language, as we say it every day." He does not write how he obtained this version, but my initial assumption was that he got it as all linguists would: by writing down the text as recited by an informant.

Unfortunately, I did not make use of Demillier's original letter while in Rome. The copy I used, Illustration I, was made by another priest around the turn of the century.

Illustration I

*Pater noster. Hemitanhona yponhike ayon wawawisulmoquath ayilwiviam amentai jaitwimi witewaiha
 ketjella mokangoneik ay kkitanhouk ketelul temahangan yponhik teli yo nampirik jaitahi-kik tanhmatentik
 mawilneiyo jaimi glesak Paitarkikouai aijoumona ypa ketelul anaihat toma wihaikei kaimikakou
 wiholokajon alinoma kiki anaihat tamalokai kairouma kaitjanik mosak kaita ketelul ketomikou
 tujpamohoutchi saghhou nominaimai ou lahemistake saghhou tanamini mamaitchikell. Nialent.*

The copiest did not know the language and introduced a few mistakes, but even a casual comparison with the four versions given as illustrations 2, 3, 4 and 5 indicate that they likely come from a common source. Demillier's letter of April 20, 1834, was published in Paris in the November 1835 issue of the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. This is an item that I have not seen. Trumbull, however, made use of this source because this was one of the versions which was included among his 'Notes on Forty Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages'. Illustration 2 is Trumbull's reading of the 'Annales' version (1872:134).⁷

Illustration 2

Kemitanksena sponkik ayan: Waiwaiselmoguatch ayili-wisian. Amantai paitriwai witawaikai ketepeltamohange-neck. Aylikitankouak ketelaitamohangan sponkik tali yo nampikik paitchi kiktankouataitache. Mamilinai yo paimi ghisgak daitaskiskouai aiponmena. Yopa hatchi anaihailtama wihaikai kaissikakao wihiolaikaipan aliniona kisi anaihailtamakokaik kaikanwia kaitaipanik. Mosak kaita litchi kitawikaik tampamohoutchi saghihouneminamai. Oulahamistakai saghihousouaminai mamaitchikill. Nialest.

What are the origins of the versions which follow as illustrations 3, 4 and 5?

Illustration 3

Pater Noster.

Kemitanksena sponkik ayan waiwaiselnio quatch ayiliwisian amantai paitsiwai witawaikai tetepelta mohanganeck aylikitankouak ketelaitamohangan. sponkik tali yo nampikik paitchi kiktankouataitache mamilinai yo paimi ghisgak daitaskiskouai aiponmena yopa hatchi anaihailtama wihaikai kaissikakan wihiolaikaipan aliniona kisi anaihailtamakokaik kaikanwia kaitaipanik mosak kaita litchi kitawikaik tampamohoutchi saghihouneminamaikai oulahamistakai saghihousouaminai mamaitchikill. Nialest.

Illustration 3 is the "Lord's Prayer" as published in Romagné's 1834 book, Indian Prayer Book Compiled and Arranged for the Benefit of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Tribes. Demillier comments about it as follows in his letter of April 20, 1834:

Two months ago Monsignor (Bishop Fenwick) was kind enough to have printed a little book of prayers in their language from a copy by Père Romagné, a French priest who spent nearly 25 years among them... I would like very much to have some of his manuscripts in faulty Indian language (sent to) someone who could deal with the proof-reading in Boston, it is full of errors...

The Lord's Prayer, of course, may not be representative of the entire Romagné corpus. It is possible that this example is relatively error free. Nevertheless, whatever the linguistic merits of Romagné's version, it is the one which Demillier chose to copy when he sent the version to France to show "how we say it every day."

The version given in Illustration 4 is equally good data.

Illustration 4

Pater noster.
 Kaniitankhena spomkikh ayen waiwaieluoquatchi ayiliwidian aughtai
 paitiwaia witawaihai ketapeltamotanganek aylikitanhouak ketapeltamotanganen
 spomkikh tali yo nampi kikh paitchi kikh kancouatitche मामिलिनी यो पापि
 गिदक दित्तिकिहोवै अपोमनै यो पापति अनिहिल तामा वित्तिकि
 कथित्तिकिहोवै अनिहिल तामा वित्तिकि कथित्तिकिहोवै =
 तापानि मोसक कथित्तिकि कथित्तिकि तामपामोतुचि सोगिहोमनैविहिनामविकि
 औत्तपामित्तिकि सोगिहोमनैविहिनामविकि कथित्तिकि. N. A. L. S.

This is in Demillier's own handwriting and is from the manuscript called "Prières en Langue Sauvage." Specifically, Illustration 4 is from an old copybook which Demillier obtained from one of his Indian parishioners named Sockabason.

Illustration 5 is Demillier's transcription of the Lord's Prayer as recited to him by an unnamed Indian.

Illustration 5

Fater noster.

*Apikthakoudena spomkik ayau oulou'elmogouach 'elionixian' amait'hani
 gae' pout'isou'ouichthasouidra kedabaldamouingon elikikthiingouath lildamouaingan
 spoumke'kithale' ionuabekik daldedze' kiththago'odze' mam'line' ionbom'gud'hath
 thattithoué poulmena' isb'oté anélwama kelligaga' ouisuleqban 'elinisuna
 fidi' anélwama ouingban mouachthaledixikiththasouiqueth thaimabasouxi
 saqu'ouaminamegué oulamiththaké saqu'ouaminé naméthiké. wia'letth!*

Sockabason was a man in his sixties in 1834 and had served as deacon of the Passamaquoddy mission from at least 1817 and possibly even since an earlier date.⁸ He may have been trained by Romagné, but from present evidence this is only conjecture.

At any rate, Demillier had borrowed Sockabason's copybook and had recopied certain sections from it making only minimal changes. Whether the version found in Demillier's letter (Illustration 1 and 2) came from Sockabason's copybook (Illustration 4) or from Romagné's publication (Illustration 3) is irrelevant since the versions are nearly identical. They show the form Romagné used during all or part of his long stay of almost twenty-five years at Pleasant Point.

Let us now return to Illustration 5. As previously mentioned, this is Demillier's transcription of the Lord's Prayer as recited by one of his parishioners. This transcription is faulty and inconsistent when compared to the more or less standardized orthography which is found in the other four versions. Demillier's orthography strongly reveals his French background. The voiced labiovelar glide (w) is represented as oe, which in Romagné's writing since at least 1804 had been represented by the w. Demillier had no clear notion as to where to put word boundaries. This is not meant to be a criticism, it is only meant to demonstrate that Demillier was new at the game of writing unwritten languages.

In a letter from 1875 written to another priest by the name of Fenotti, Vetromile lavished much praise on Demillier's handwritten catechism.⁹ Although this catechism is said to be longer than the Prières, the Prières must have formed a part of the whole. Little did Vetromile realize that the ultimate source of much of Demillier's catechism was Romagné's The Indian Prayer Book. While praising Demillier, Vetromile condemns Romagné in saying that the Romagné work is full of printer's errors and suffers from Romagné's inability to identify word boundaries.¹⁰

What are the origins of Romagné's version of the Indian Prayer Book? Trumbull's 'Forty Versions' can provide some insights here as well. The Lord's Prayer, given the number 9(b) in the Trumbull collection (1872:136), appears to be closest to the one presented by Romagné. Trumbull (1872:135) writes:

A small volume of prayers, in manuscript, which may have been Romagné's but probably is of earlier date, is now in the library of Mr. Brinley, of Hartford. It was formerly in the possession of Bishop Cheverus, by whom it was presented to Dr. John Pickering. It contains "Prière du Matin, en Marichet," "Prière du Soir, en Caniba," "Catechisme," etc.

Trumbull identifies the 9(b) version as Canniba which was spoken by an Eastern Abnaki group which once lived on the Kennebec River in Maine.¹¹ While Canniba is extinct, its closest relative is Penobscot.

The Demillier transcription of the Lord's Prayer obtained from his informant likely stems from the Canniba as well (Trumbull 1872:136. Version 9(b)), although it bears some resemblance to a version coming from an early manuscript from the Saint Francis Abnaki of Quebec (Version 9, Trumbull 1872:135).

In reference to this Lord's Prayer (Version 9) Trumbull writes (1872:135-136):

This version is nearly the same which Vetromile... give(s) for Modern Penobscot, but the dialect is that of the Cannibas or Kennebec-Abnakis, among whom Rasles labored and compiled his dictionary It was written, probably, before the middle of the last century (pre 1750). After Rasles death about 150 of his Norridgewock Indians removed from the Kennebec to St. Francis, on the St. Lawrence, and others of the tribe were scattered among different Abnaki bands in Maine.

Clearly, not every Indian at Pleasant Point recited the Lord's Prayer in an identical fashion. But the examples from Demillier's hand which have come down to us are not written in Passamaquoddy but in Penobscot, or if not in Penobscot then in a dialect closer to Penobscot than to Passamaquoddy.

Demillier, on his arrival at Pleasant Point, was not aware that Penobscot and Passamaquoddy were so different. He came with Rasles' dictionary in hand, which he proclaimed to be of little use because the words were so different from those of the Passamaquoddies (letter

of June 1, 1834). If Romagné's Prayer Book was also unsuitable educational material for the catechumens of 1834, it was due as much to the fact that it was written in a foreign language as to the fact that it contained so many printing errors.

Sockabason, the deacon of the Pleasant Point Mission, likely had no problem understanding the prayers and songs he led in church. His mother was a Penobscot and his father an Iroquois (Demillier. Letter of October 13, 1835). Sockabason was equally at home in Passamaquoddy and Penobscot.

An additional item from Demillier's April 1834 letter is the final piece to the puzzle:

I am also going to have to study Penobscot, which is here as Latin is for us, the sacred language...

In conclusion, dialect differences within different spheres of discourse, the liturgical as opposed to the everyday, and within different segments of the Pleasant Point community led to problems in finding an educational standard. The young children must have been comfortable only in Passamaquoddy, but many if not all of their grandparents were also at home in Canniba, at least with respect to religious matters. Demillier did not resolve these differences. He merely copied the liturgical works prepared by his predecessors. Vetromile did much the same. Unfortunately, Vetromile did not recognize that liturgical works often bore little resemblance to the daily language of the people. This led to his mistakes in the Indian Good Book when he identified all manuscripts coming from the Passamaquoddy community as being written in Passamaquoddy, all works from the Maliseet community as being Malecite and so forth. Vetromile's mistakes may be unforgivable, but at least we can now see more clearly why he made them.

FOOTNOTES

1 The Demillier prayers are a part of the Eugene Vetromile Papers, Manuscript Collections, No. 114, Box 1/16. The title of the Demillier manuscript is 'Prières en langue Sauvage, telles que nous ler [sic]avons recueillies nous-mêmes sous leur dictée'.

2 The Demillier letters are contained in the box Mission de Boston 271.788-95 (044)- of the Archives of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart at the headquarters of the order in Rome. Specifically, the letters which I used are to be found in the volume entitled Copie des Lettres Autographes.

- 3 Further information on Father Demillier is to be found in James C. Pilling (1891:109-110), R.H. Lord et al. (1944), Erickson (1986) and Erickson (forthcoming).
- 4 The first statement was offered by the late Walter J. Paul of the Saint Mary's Reserve in Fredericton, New Brunswick. The second statement was given by Dr. Peter L. Paul of the Woodstock Reserve, Woodstock, New Brunswick.
- 5 This assumption is based on a statement to be found in Demillier's letter of April 20, 1834 in which he writes "... Two months ago Monsignor was kind enough to have printed a little book of prayers in their language from a copy by Père Romagné..."
- 6 This information about the scarcity of Romagné's book comes from Vetromile's letter to Father Finotti, dated January 19, 1875. It is now in the New York Public Library.
- 7 The punctuation and capitalization are provided by Trumbull.
- 8 Further information on Sockabason may be found in Erickson (1985;1986).
- 9 Eugene Vetromile's letter of January 19, 1875 to Father Fenotti, page 1.
- 10 Vetromile's letter to Father Fenotti of the same date, pages 1-2.
- 11 Specifically, Trumbull (1872:136) writes that the 9(b) version is from 'Prière du soir en Caniba'.
- 12 Specifically, Trumbull (1872:135) writes that it is from the MS Prières des Sauvages Abnakis de St. Francois; which was then in the library of Geo. Brinley, Esq.

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TRANSLATING LANGUE AND LANGAGE

John Hewson

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Introduction

One of the most important distinctions in Saussure's Cours de linguistique générale (1916) was expressed in the succinct formula
langage = langue plus parole.

The purpose of this formula was to distinguish la langue, which we learn early in life as children (the mother tongue) and maintain throughout life as a permanent possession, from la parole, which is the daily and momentary production of discourse, which normally has no permanence at all, being lost on the air waves as soon as it is produced. If langue is the mother tongue, parole is the discourse that we produce by using the mother tongue: langue is the means of production, and parole is the product. Since parole is open-ended and has no limits, because it varies with the pragmatics of both context and situation, langage, on the other side of the equation, is likewise without limit. Saussure very appropriately observes (1916:38): "Le tout global du langage est inconnaissable..." Since langage is infinite, and langue finite, it is important for the analyst to be able to distinguish one from the other, so that he can distinguish the finite entity that a child learns from the endless (and ultimately unknowable) phenomenon of language.

Distinguishing "langue" from "langage"

This simple message has, however, not been well understood by twentieth century linguists, and has been frequently rejected, denied or simply ignored, very largely as a consequence of the heavy-handed positivism that was the intellectual fashion between the two Great Wars, with lingering consequences to the present day. Since langue is necessarily a mental entity, and therefore not directly observable, as Saussure carefully pointed out (1916:149), it was derided as being an unscientific fiction: for a positivist that which is not directly observable does not exist. One linguist even wrote "The scientific method is quite simply the convention that mind does not exist" (Twaddell 1935:fn 8) - as if science had only one method, which consisted of pretending that our mental storage, such as memory, did not exist. Pseudo-scientific reductionism, as expressed in the more extreme forms of Behaviorism, Popperism, Formalism, has been the bane of modern linguistics, and is still with us, although its influence is gradually receding.

Striving to reduce linguistics to the directly observable, linguists concentrated on texts (which are, to some extent, directly observable) and the generalities that could be drawn out of them, which were treated as pure abstractions, simply observable generalities. The texts were the language in this view, which ultimately led to a gross confusion between product (text) and means of production (the permanently stored mother tongue). Bloomfield, borrowing the idea from the positivist

philosopher Wittgenstein, defined a community language as the "totality of utterances that can be made in a speech community" (1926: def. 4). This is cart-before-the-horse thinking, which treats the product as a means of production: here a language has become a text that is expanded to include all possibilities. Such confusion is the all too common result when one predicates one's scientific methods and procedures on philosophical systems or metaphysical assumptions: the assumptions are imposed upon the data which may then be forced into molds which are quite foreign to it, and lead to distorted analyses.

Chomsky adopted and continued Bloomfield's definition of a community language; it may be found repeated frequently in his work over a quarter of a century: "From now on I shall consider a language to be a set (finite or infinite) of sentences ..." (1957:13); "... a language that consists of an infinite number of sentences..." (1980:224). In order to make this workable we had to have an ideal speaker whose knowledge of his language (i.e. knowledge of his set of sentences) was called competence (Chomsky 1965:4). It is obvious that the competence/performance distinction, in spite of claims, had nothing whatever to do with Saussure's langue/parole distinction, as I have shown at length elsewhere (1976). Competence was defined as the knowledge of the ideal set of sentences that could be made, and performance was the realization or actualization, in whole or in part, of these idealized sentences. Lyons (1968:51-2) even goes so far as to claim that sentences are entities of langue, and utterances entities of parole. The fact that such a complete bowdlerization of Saussure has gone uncorrected for long years is a sure indication that the majority of linguists are unaware of how wrong it is: Saussure states very clearly that sentences belong only to parole, that there are no sentences in langue (1916:172).

This situation is exacerbated for English speaking linguists by the fact that both langue and langage are normally translated by "language", so that the use of English is a hindrance rather than a help in trying to understand Saussure's formula. But Saussure declared that he was defining "des choses et non des mots" (1916:31), and the simplest way to get at his meaning is through a concrete analogy or model that gets away from the use of linguistic terms altogether. One of the best analogies is that of the child's construction kit, such as a Meccano or Erector set, or even Lego blocks. The set is langue, and the models made from it correspond to sentences or discourse, to parole. The set itself is finite, but the set of possible models is, for all practical purposes, limitless. In this way we have an analogy for the "infinite use of finite means", in the expression of von Humboldt.

In his most recent work Chomsky (1986:15-50) has begun to distinguish what he calls externalized language (E-language) from internalized language (I-language). Externalized language is that which vibrates on the airwaves or is written on the page - the texts of the Behaviorists, or Saussurian parole, which is directly observable. Internalized language is that which always remains mental - langue, the permanent mentally stored possession. Chomsky does not make these comparisons with the Saussurean terms, but he does conclude, correctly, that a person's language is internalized language: "The I-language, then, is some element of the mind of the person who knows the language, acquired by the learner,

and used by the speaker-hearer" (1986:22). It follows, from this point of view, that the definition of a language as a set of sentences is necessarily erroneous, because sentences are externalized language, or E-language, and Chomsky spends a fairly long passage on fence-mending entitled The Shift of Focus from E-Language to I-Language (1986:24ff), since as recently as 1980 he had written (emphasis added): "We suppose, then, that the ideal speaker-hearer has a finite grammar, generating a language that consists of an infinite number of sentences, each with its specific properties. He knows the language generated by the grammar." (1980:224).

Translating "langue" and "langage"

This whole debate has been given an added dimension by the appearance of a new translation of Saussure's Cours, by Roy Harris (1983). Harris, for example, states in his Introduction that he has deliberately varied the translation of langue in order to bring out the "full range of implications associated with the term" (1983:xvi). He notes, quite correctly, that "Surprisingly few have seen that it is not necessary to make heavy weather of the distinction between langage and langue provided one respects the important semantic difference between using the word language with and without an article" (1983:xiii-xiv). Le langage, in short, is language, whereas la langue is the language or a language. (He is taking advantage of the fact that nouns without articles in English are "mass nouns", representing open-ended, boundless concepts - such as langage - whereas nouns with articles are normally "count nouns": countable bounded units). Later (xvi) he comments "While the language or a language are often adequate English translations, there are also many instances where expressions such as linguistic structure and linguistic system bring out much more clearly in English the particular point that is being made."

When we examine Harris' actual practice in translation, however, we find that although the result is much superior to previous translations, many problems, and sometimes serious problems, remain. On page 23, for example, (page references are to Saussure's original) the heading La langue, sa définition is translated On defining a language. Why do we have a definite article translated by an indefinite article? Unquestionably because On defining the language would be a very strange translation indeed. Here, in fact, is a very tricky problem, which cannot be solved by using the English term language, with or without an article. We shall return to this problem later, after a thorough examination of article usage in English.

On page 25 the problem arises again: La langue ... est un tout en soi et un principe de classification becomes A language as a structured system ... is both a self-contained whole and a principle of classification. This time not only is the article changed, but we have added references to structure and system that are not in the original. This, however, is a commendable step, since the notion of structured system is fundamental to what Saussure meant by langue.

On the same page, however, we have other references to structure

that are not as acceptable because of the false conclusions that are likely to be drawn by many linguists:

- (1) il faut se placer de prime abord sur le terrain de la langue
The linguist must take the study of linguistic structure as his primary concern
- (2) Mais qu'est-ce que la langue? Pour nous elle ne se confond pas avec le langage...
What then is linguistic structure? It is not, in our opinion, the same as language.

In passing, let us note that the noun that translates la langue has no article, an interesting clue that la langue in this sense may be continuee, non-numerical usage, which, as we shall see, normally requires zero article in English. The fundamental objection to this translation, however, lies in the fact that the terms structure and structuralist give rise to the strangest of confusions in modern linguistics. There are those who equate the terms with behavior and behaviorist, in spite of the fact that true linguistic structuralism is necessarily mentalist, whereas behaviorism in linguistics has been stridently anti-mentalist; this quite unwarranted equation of behaviorism and structuralism is a tide of fashionable opinion against which common sense and rational discourse seem to be as ineffectual as the imperatives of King Canute: structuralism = behaviorism, end of discussion. The second objection is that many linguists who would consider themselves more enlightened than to make such a naive equation, would nevertheless equate linguistic structure with a set of rules that generate sentences - an interpretation that is totally and completely foreign to what Saussure meant by la langue.

There is more. On page 26 we find ... la langue n'est pas une institution sociale en tous points semblable aux autres... translated as For languages are not in all respects similar to other social institutions, where la langue has become a plural, languages. A plural is necessarily an instance of unit usage (Hewson 1972:105 - one obtains a normal plural by multiplying a unit), but as we have just seen, there are indications that when Saussure uses la langue in this sense, it should be translated by continuee usage, non-numerical usage, and not unit, or numerical usage. The difference will be made clear when we look at article usage in English below.

Also on page 26 we find the following: ... ce n'est pas le langage parlé qui est naturel à l'homme, mais la faculté de constituer une langue which becomes ... it is not spoken language which is natural to man, but the faculty of constructing a language. This time the English indefinite article translates a French indefinite article, and we note that Saussure would not have said la langue. In short, there are differences of meaning that require us to keep a language to translate une langue, and forbid us to use a language to translate la langue, which in many instances in Saussure appears to be what is commonly called a mass-noun, or to put it in a more exact formulation, a continuee usage, which normally requires the use of a zero article.

On page 27 we find further use of linguistic structure, and we note that here we have continue usage with zero article: Place de la langue dans les faits de langage is translated as Linguistic structure: its place among the facts of language. But again, what do linguists understand by the term linguistic structure? Does it include the phonology? Does it include the lexicon? If there are differing answers to these questions, the result is confusion rather than clarification.

By the time we reach page 30, the problem reaches a further stage of complexity, as may be seen in these two translations:

- (3) En séparant la langue de la parole ...
By distinguishing between the language itself and speech...
- (4) La langue n'est pas une fonction du sujet parlant ...
The language itself is not a function of the speaker.

Here la langue has again become a count noun in English, this time with the definite article, and in spite of the fact that it is being contrasted with a "mass-noun", speech. In fact the same contrast turns up again on page 36 in a quite different form as two "mass-nouns", structure and speech:

- (5) Linguistique de la langue et de la parole.
Linguistics of Language Structure and Linguistics of Speech.

Here we may note that ordinary English usage, even when strained to the limit by the additions of intensives such as itself will not solve the problem, whereas Chomsky's newly invented terminology will carry out the task quite nicely! These three items would then come out as follows: (3) By distinguishing between I-Language and E-Language... (4) I Language is not a function of the speaker, and (5) Linguistics of I-Language and E-Language. This terminology is not to be recommended, however, because I-Language for Chomsky involves formalization, a notion quite alien to Saussurian langue. We shall not gain access to Saussure's thought by adopting alien concepts for Saussure's terminology: Meccano models do not construct themselves out of formalized statements; they are created out of the free imagination of the builder, who is constrained only by the shape of the pieces and the way that they fit together. (One notes, however, that in his most recent work Chomsky is moving ever further away from formalism and rules, which are the last vestiges of the influence of Behaviorism on his linguistic thinking).

Problems of translation: unit usage and continue usage

The article usage of English is quite different from that of French, and poses problems for Francophone learners. French requires the use of articles for mass-nouns, using the definite article for generic usage, and the partitive article to represent smaller quantities:

- (6) Count noun J'ai vu un/le poulet dans le jardin
I saw a/the chicken in the garden

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (7) Mass noun,
generic | Le poulet se mange froid
Chicken can be eaten cold |
| (8) Mass noun,
partitive | Aujourd'hui on a mangé du poulet
Today we had chicken |

So far I have used the words count noun, mass noun, because these are the terms with which linguists are most familiar. There are two fundamental objections to this terminology, however. The first objection is made by Christophersen (1939) in his trail blazing work on article use in English, namely that mass noun, with its heavily physical image is a strange term to use for such items as generosity, peace, and other abstractions. Count noun is also curious when an ordinary singular is used without any intention of counting, as in (6) above. Christophersen proposes the terms unit noun and continue noun.

In my own work (Hewson 1972:46-47) I made an even more fundamental objection to Christophersen's static division of all English nouns into such categories, a division which leads to the conclusion that chicken in (6) and (7) above is two separate nouns in the lexicon, one a count noun, one a mass noun. Such is the approach taken by Yotsukura, (1970) who calls such pairs twins and refuses to identify them as being the same noun. This is in fact the kind of conclusion that one comes to when one assumes that the data of English discourse (Chomsky's E-Language) is identical to the data of the English language (Chomsky's I-Language), and that there is no difference between the two. Unit nouns and continue nouns are the data of discourse, of Saussurian parole, of Chomskian E-Language; the English language itself has no such categories, which are nothing more than alloemes, variant meanings that can be produced, by appropriate processing, from almost any noun in the English language. This is a fundamentally important point of procedure in linguistics: we could say in the same vein that allophones occur only in parole, in language that vibrates on the air waves, in E-Language. The only reality in langue, in the mind, in I-Language, is the phoneme. To argue otherwise is to give phonemic status to all the allophones. And we note that the linguist must re-create, or reconstruct the phoneme, which is not directly observable by definition, from the data of the observable allophones in much the same way that the historical linguist reconstructs the phonology of a protolanguage (likewise not directly observable) from the data of the daughter languages, data that is directly observable.

One can therefore play upon the variant forms of any noun in English. Oak is wood, but an oak is a tree; a newspaper = un journal, whereas newspaper, which the British use for wrapping fish and chips, is le papier journal (note the definite article in French); a glass is something you drink out of, whereas glass is a material; the English Language is what you teach to foreigners, whereas English Language is a course for native speakers, who already know the English language.

Many nouns, because of their semantic content, however, may resist the creation of continue and unit variants. It is very hard to think of such singular items as a chair in continue terms, but it is nevertheless perfectly feasible: if two friends are occupied in painting a kitchen chair, one might have the opportunity to say

(9) They talked so much that very little chair got painted. Since little is used only with mass nouns, chair is used here in a continue sense: it means a variable extent of chair that could be covered with paint, and the usage may be compared with very little chicken got eaten, and contrasted with unit usage: very few chairs got painted, very few chickens got eaten.

Likewise there are nouns that resist unit usage, such as toast (a toast is only to be drunk, not eaten in English). The phrase two toasts may, however, be heard on the lips of waitresses passing in orders to the kitchen. Here it means two orders of toast, not two slices of toast - note that to get an ordinary unit representation with this noun we use a counter, a classifier: slice. Some nouns like this, such as asparagus, spinach have perfectly acceptable unit usage in other languages: une asperge, des asperges, des épinards. In English the unit usage is only found in such expressions as an asparagus such as Martha Washington, a spinach that is hardy enough to survive the winter, where what is represented is a variety, not a stalk or a head (the appropriate classifiers).

The same phenomena are found with abstract nouns. Some, such as generosity, luck are normally found only in continue usage; he displayed a remarkable generosity is perfectly acceptable, but hardly popular usage, and plural usage seems somewhat improbable. If one says he had an incredible luck, it means that he had a kind of luck that was his own personal possession, that belonged to him alone. It does not mean that he had a stroke of luck (the usual classifier). Other abstract nouns are normally only found with unit usage: an idea, many ideas. Continue usage is almost unheard of with idea, although he didn't have much idea of how to go about it seems acceptable as colloquial usage. Still other abstract nouns accept both usages with equal ease; it is quite possible for someone to have much misfortune or many misfortunes, a contrast that is not available with luck.

An interesting noun for our purposes is memory, which represents an innate mental capacity, thereby sharing interesting semantic features with our problem word language. We may make the following comparisons with French:

- (10) memory = la mémoire, le souvenir
 a memory = une mémoire, un souvenir
 the memory = la mémoire, le souvenir
 memories = les/des mémoires, les/des souvenirs

The noun with zero article in English represents (1) the universal human (and animal) faculty, la mémoire: the continue usage here seems to represent a phenomenon that is as continue as humanity itself; (2) the action of remembering, le souvenir, as in échapper au souvenir (= to slip the memory). Since all normal human beings possess a language just as they do a memory, it is the universal continue sense of a mental faculty (as seen in la mémoire) that Saussure is striving to represent when he says Qu'est-ce que la langue? Pour nous elle ne se confond pas avec le langage. The English translator confronted with this has an enormous problem, because both langue and langage are used

here in a continue sense, requiring use of zero article in English. This technical sense of langue which is used in Saussure, in fact, requires us to make the following comparisons for the English word language:

- (11) language = la langue, le langage
 a language = une langue, un langage
 the language = la langue, le langage
 languages = les/des langues, les/des langages

In other words the use of articles to distinguish langue from langage, as in Harris' translation, is ultimately unworkable, since there are cases where a language = un langage, as in the following: "The best example of a scientific language (= un langage scientifique) ... is ... legal language" (Baldinger 1980:42). Legal language is not one of the "tongues of men", to use Firth's phrase, which is why the term langue can not be used here. Legal language here does not mean English, but the way that lawyers use English. Likewise we talk about the language of bees, the language of children, both of which are le langage, used in a unit sense. (The language of children does not mean English; it means the way children speak English).

There seems to be an interesting parallel between mémoire/souvenir and langue/langage, both pairs representing a lexical contrast that is not made in English. The term mémoire covers the subconscious faculty that allows us to remember; souvenirs are what are created and stored by this faculty, and the action of operating the faculty:

- (12) Je n'ai pas la mémoire des noms
 I have no memory for names
- (13) J'ai de très bons souvenirs de lui
 I have some very fond memories of him

In similar fashion langue is the acquired subconscious system that allows us to speak, and langage is any conscious use of this system. In this case we are dealing with a faculty that is acquired or learned, but is still very much a subconscious faculty or capacity. To describe this faculty as la langue seems quite appropriate; to describe it as linguistic structure, a language, languages, the language itself, is to misrepresent it to varying degrees, some serious, some not so serious. Is this situation inevitable?

A Possible Solution

I would like to propose that there is a possible solution, although it goes beyond the bounds of everyday English usage, as often happens when one uses a specialized vocabulary for discussing technical concepts. The solution was in fact proposed by Walter Hirtle and myself when we translated Gustave Guillaume's Principes de linguistique théorique from the French, a volume that appeared the year after Harris' translation of Saussure (Guillaume 1984). Guillaume replaces Saussure's langue/parole dichotomy with the terms langue/discours; discours is certainly an easier term to translate than parole, and a more sensible term because

it includes written as well as spoken discourse, but with langue we confronted the same problems as those outlined above. We decided, after a good deal of soul-searching, to use the terms tongue/language to translate langue/langage, fully aware that this leads to certain infelicities and to an unexpected extension of meaning for the English word tongue, which is justified only by the fact that when we wish to discuss these extremely difficult technicalities, we now have the vocabulary to do it:

- (14) la langue = tongue (continue usage)
une langue = a tongue
la langue maternelle = the mother tongue (unit usage)
- (15) le langage = language (continue usage)
un langage = a language
le langage des enfants = the language of children (unit usage)

It should be emphasised that these distinctions are being made for the purposes of precise technical discussion, and accurate translation of such distinctions when they occur in other languages.

In translating Saussure, for example, we may now take our earlier examples and translate them as follows:

- (16) Linguistique de la langue et linguistique de la parole
Linguistics of tongue and linguistics of discourse
- (17) Il faut se placer de prime abord sur le terrain de la langue
The linguist must take the study of tongue as his primary concern
- (18) Mais qu'est-ce que la langue? Pour nous elle ne se confond pas avec le langage
What then is tongue? It is not, from our point of view, the same as language
- (19) Ce n'est pas le langage parlé qui est naturel à l'homme, mais la faculté de constituer une langue
It is not spoken language which is natural to man, but the faculty of constructing a tongue

At first such questions as What then is tongue? may appear somewhat strange, but they may be seen to be the same kind of question as What is memory? To the former we may reply that tongue is the learned linguistic capacity that is stored in the subconscious mind, to the latter that memory is the innate capacity to store and recall experience.

Conclusion

The Saussurian langue/parole dichotomy has been the cause of so much confusion and misunderstanding that Roy Harris' attempt, in his new translation of the Cours, to render this distinction in ordinary English is to be welcomed as a praiseworthy initiative. The fact that Saussure frequently uses the term langue in an extended, technical sense ultimately makes this goal unachievable, however. What is required, in fact, as a detailed examination of the problem shows, is to give

a corresponding extension to the English word tongue so that it too can be used as a technical term to translate langue. When this is done, Saussure's distinctions become more comprehensible, and the full scope of Saussure's insights may be made explicit.

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VARIANTES D'OCCLUSIVES EN ACADIEN:
COUP DE GLOTTE; RELACHEMENT ARTICULATOIRE

Maurice A. Holder, Saint John, N.B.

Ces deux phénomènes, pas directement liés l'un à l'autre, ont été brièvement signalés dans Starets, 1982. Ils semblent avoir été totalement ignorés dans la littérature sur la linguistique franco-acadienne; nous avons pensé, donc, qu'il serait intéressant de les étudier.

Dans ce qui suit, nous donnerons l'essentiel des faits concernant les deux traits en question: corpus, extension géographique, distribution, exemples, discussion, conclusion. Ces données, bien que superficielles, touchent à des problèmes d'ordre historique et comparatif qui préoccupent les linguistes depuis toujours.

Corpus

Le corpus que nous utilisons a été déjà exploité plusieurs fois, et continue à servir encore. Il s'agit d'une série d'interviews enregistrés en 1978 et en 1979, sous la direction de Moshé Starets. Les sujets étaient des enfants acadiens âgés de six à neuf ans, des régions et lieux suivants de la Nouvelle-Ecosse: la Baie Sainte-Marie, Pubnico, l'Ile Madame, et Chéticamp.

Extension géographique

On observe un taux assez élevé de coups de glotte à Pubnico, mais ailleurs en Nouvelle-Ecosse ce trait semble assez restreint. Nous n'en avons noté que deux occurrences ailleurs, à Petit de Grat, sur l'Ile Madame: "alle lit su(r) l(e) tableau, pi nous aut le lit [pi nyz o^v? lə li]" et "note book ['no^v?, buk]".

Le coup de glotte s'entend aussi couramment dans le parler acadien du Nouveau-Brunswick. Dans notre corpus même, on en trouve un excellent exemple, émis par un Néo-Brunswickois (voir liste des exemples ci-dessous), qui en l'occurrence était l'un des interviewers.

Quant au relâchement articulatoire, les aires de concentration maximum semblent se situer à Pubnico, et à l'Ile Madame. Dans les autres régions, cette tendance phonétique semble moins marquée.

Coup de glotte: distribution et exemples

Le coup de glotte est variante des phonèmes |t| et |d|, généralement en position interne: on le trouve le plus souvent à la finale d'un mot suivi d'une consonne -- (1) à (24) -- occasionnellement d'une voyelle -- (25) à (29) ci-dessous. Nous n'avons relevé qu'un seul cas de coup de glotte en position médiale ('mes arithmetics', voir (12) ci-dessous).

En finale absolue les occurrences du coup de glotte sont rares (voir (30) à (32) ci-dessous), et il en va de même de ce phénomène comme réalisation du phonème |k| (voir (33) à (39) ci-dessous). Au fait, à l'intervocalique et en finale absolue (c'est-à-dire devant une pause), ce sont les variantes normales [t] et [d] qui semblent prédominer.

Le coup de glotte sert en outre comme marque de la joncture syntaxique -- (40) à (45) -- et, à l'occasion, remplace la liaison même -- (47) à (51). L'élision, pareillement, peut être bloquée (un seul cas observé -- voir (46) ci-dessous).

Voici une liste d'exemples du phénomène en graphie ordinaire, où la lettre soulignée (ou combinaison de lettres) représente un son réalisé comme coup de glotte [ʔ]. La graphie est adaptée à la prononciation populaire acadienne, et les exemples sont tous tirés de la région de Pubnico, sauf une seule exception fournie par un interviewer néo-brunswickois (exemple (19)).

A. |t|, |d|

(i) Devant consonne: |t| ou |d| = [ʔ] / V__C

- (1) une tite récréation
- (2) toute te l'école
- (3) l'aut qu'est à ...

- (4) l'aut feusse
- (5) la bat là
- (6) une tite prière
- (7) i a timbé right su la place
- (8) Je vas te marrer
- (9) je vas te brûler
- (10) toutes ses hardes
- (11) Non, but je pourrais (sic) faire des trompettes
- (12) mes arith metics
- (13) not science
- (14) not roulette
- (15) except moi (voir Starets 1982)
- (16) ça va de même
- (17) deux heures et demie
- (18) neuf heures et demie
- (19) à la fin de la journée
(interviewer néo-brunswickois)
- (20) comben de facecloths
- (21) trop de bruit
- (22) c'est de même
- (23) m'amuser dehors
- (24) un pilot de brume (voir Starets 1982)

(ii) A l'intervocalique: |t|## = [ʔ]/V__V

- (25) right off
- (26) l'aut équipe
- (27) sans ê t out
- (28) j'étais toute en fait en papier
- (29) à la toilette et ...

(iii) En finale (+ pause): |t|## = [?]/V__

- (30) à la baté.
 (31) des slippery bottes.
 (32) avec le roulette, (voir Starets 1982)

B./K/

(i) Devant consonne: |k| = [?]/V__C

- (33) paqueté
 (34) ringue cinq minutes
 (35) ringue rentré
 (36) après que je t'ai marré
 (37) saç de main (voir Starets 1982)

(ii) En finale (+ pause): |k|## = [?]/V__

- (38) su le deck. (voir Starets 1982)
 (39) et le puck. (voir Starets 1982)

C. [?] marque de la joncture syntaxique

(i) Après consonne et devant voyelle:

= [?]/C__V

- (40) une [?] équipe
 (41) première [?] annee
 (42) science [?] humaine

(ii) Entre voyelles: ## = [?]/V__V

- (43) acheté [?] en masse
 (44) J'aimerais [?] à êt avec toi
 (45) J'aiderais [?] à la sorcière

(iii) Bloque 1'élision: ## = [?]/ə__V

- (46) Veux-tu me [?] aider

iv) Bloque la liaison: |z| en liaison = [ʔ]/_ ## V

- (47) des [ʔ] expériences
- (48) deux [ʔ] équipes
- (49) nous avons [ʔ] été
- (50) sans [ʔ] êt
- (51) les [ʔ] escaliers

Relâchement articulatoire: distribution et exemples

L'occlusive |k| se relâche en [x] principalement en position interne. On distingue trois environnements: V ___ V (Acadie), V ___ C (maquereau), C ___ V (manière coume). Il existe aussi une variante plus faible [h], qui n'est nullement rare. L'homologue sonore |g| est également affecté, mais les exemples sont peu nombreux (variante relâchée indiquée par [g] et, dans deux cas [x], dans les mots grand et piqgy).

Voici quelques exemples, où, comme déjà établi, la lettre soulignée (ou combinaison de lettres) représente la variante -- ici [x], [h], ou [g]. Les deux régions représentées sont Pubnico, et Petit de Grat (sur l'Ile Madame).

A. |k|

(i) Entre voyelles: |k| = [x]/ V ___ V

Pubnico

- (52) deux petits garçons qu 'avont...
- (53) l'Acadie
- (54) a'disait qu 'alle était plus belle
- (55) poquer (voir Starets 1982)
- (56) taker off (voir Starets 1982)

Petit de Grat

- (57) l'école
- (58) berlicocos
- (59) elle a manqué de casser sa perche
- (60) helicopter
- (61) beauucoup de neige
- (62) ces show-là qui est on le soir
- (63) tu coupes du bois
- (64) loin comme l'Ardoise or Louisdale
- (65) de qui comme ça
- (66) huit heures et quart
- (67) en bas de la côte
- (68) des cadeaux
- (69) cinq années
- (70) y a le lac au bord de chez nous

(ii) Entre voyelles: |k| = [h] / V__V

Pubnico

- (71) école

Petit de Grat

- (72) à Paques euh ...
- (73) beauucoup de chocolats

(iii) Devant consonne: |k| = [x] / V__C

Petit de Grat

- (74) plus grand que moi
- (75) maquereau
- (76) en classe.
- (77) un croc

(iv) Après consonne: |k| = [x]/ C__V

Pubnico

- (78) manière coume
 (79) le soir quand ce que
 (80) cirque à Yarmouth

Petit de Grat

- (81) les personnes qui ça fait mal

B. |g|

(i) Entre voyelles: |g| = [g]/ V__V

Petit de Grat

- (82) on a gagné
 (83) plagouille (voir Starets 1982)

(ii) Entre voyelles: |g| = [x]/ V__V

Pubnico

- (84) piggy bank (voir Starets 1982)

(iii) Devant consonne: |g| = [x]/ V__C

Petit de Grat

- (85) mon plus grand
 (86) les plus grands

Discussion

Dans le cadre de cette étude, essentiellement descriptive, nous ne pouvons qu'évoquer brièvement quelques-uns des problèmes associés aux deux traits phonétiques en question.

Premièrement, une comparaison s'impose avec le coup de glotte très caractéristique de certains dialectes

anglais, notamment le cockney de Londres. Il y a deux différences importantes: 1^o, le coup de glotte en anglais de Londres est variante de |t| et non de |d|; 2^o, sa distribution est plus étendue qu'en acadien: on l'entend à l'intervocalique (butter), en finale (bit), et devant consonne (a bit sour, Scotland) sans qu'une position spécifique soit privilégiée, comme c'est le cas en acadien.

Pour ce qui est de la causalité de ce changement, il serait tentant d'invoquer la tendance au moindre effort: on passe d'une articulation qui demande l'action de la langue, à une articulation qui ne demande pas cette action (donc, moindre effort). Cette explication n'est jamais suffisante. C'est une tâche longue, délicate, et forcément imprécise, que d'essayer de déterminer exactement pourquoi cette tendance se manifeste à un moment donné, dans une langue donnée, mais pas à un autre moment dans la même langue, ou dans une autre langue. Une suggestion intéressante a été faite par Robert Hollett (cité dans Paddock 1982): "alveolars are the most likely sounds to undergo place changes in allegro speech." On constatera effectivement que le débit normal du parler de Pubnico est 'prestissimo': donc, confirmation de l'observation de Hollett: il serait intéressant de chercher d'autres cas semblables, susceptibles de renforcer l'hypothèse de Hollett.

* * *

La lénition et la spirantisation des occlusives est un processus qui s'est répété tout au long de l'histoire: il y a les cas bien documentés de la lénition en celtique, et l'affaiblissement des consonnes dans les langues romanes (Martinet 1964), pour ne citer que deux grandes familles de langues. C'est une tendance qui, semble-t-il, peut surgir n'importe quand et n'importe où: à l'époque actuelle, par exemple, elle est documentée dans certaines langues bantoues de l'Afrique de l'est (Derek Nurse, Memorial University of Newfoundland, communication personnelle; voir aussi Grammont 1965 : 163).

En acadien, le relâchement articulatoire (ou spirantisation) de |k| et de |g|, présente un cas intéressant de chevauchement: [x], [h] et [g] sont des variantes de |k| et de |g|, mais aussi du phonème |ʒ|, par exemple j'allais réalisé [galɛ] ou [halɛ]. Il y a au moins deux facteurs qui empêchent la confusion

totale des deux: 1° La distribution: [g] et [h], variantes de |ʒ| ont lieu à l'initiale aussi bien qu' à l'intervocalique; mais comme variantes de |k|, on les trouve uniquement en position interne. 2° D'autres variantes du phonème |ʒ| permettent de distinguer l'appartenance phonologique des variantes qui se chevauchent: par exemple, le même phonème |ʒ| se réalise [ʃ] dans 'je te', [ʒ] dans 'je dors', [g] ou [h] dans 'j'allais'; par contre le phonème |k| se réalise [x] ou [h] en position médiale (berlicocos, de quoi coume ça), mais comme [k] ailleurs.

Conclusion

De ce qui précède il semblerait que les tendances évolutives sont particulièrement favorisées dans les parlers acadiens. Cet état de choses découle sans doute de facteurs multiples, parmi lesquels la situation sociale, politique et géographique, le système linguistique en soi, la tendance au moindre effort, et 'la mode' (Grammont 1965 : 177) -- certes pas le moindre de ces effets.

Les parlers acadiens sont une sorte de 'laboratoire' où le linguiste peut étudier des changements de tout ordre, et sur tous les plans -- phonologie, syntaxe, lexique, niveaux de langue, contact avec l'anglais, variations sociolinguistiques et géographiques, survivance d'anciens traits, et naissance de nouveaux. Le but de la présente étude a été précisément de mettre en lumière, et de faire apprécier deux traits qui, pour autant que nous sachions, sont relativement récents en acadien.

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A Preliminary Examination of Preverbs in the Micmac Verb

Stephanie Inglis
Sydney, Nova Scotia

ABSTRACT

Words in Algonkian languages are made up of various formatives known as preverb, root, medial, final, and inflection. Among the Eastern Algonquian languages Leavitt (1985) has reported on the nature of preverbs in Passamaquoddy and Malecite; however, little has been published on the preverb in Micmac.

Preverbs in Micmac are formatives which precede roots and other preverbs in both verbs and nouns, though infrequently in nouns. This paper examines the shape, function and position of preverbs as they occur in the Micmac verb.

1.0 Introduction

Words in Micmac are made up of four distinct formative elements known as preverb, root, medial and final. In this paper several characteristics of the Micmac preverb formative will be discussed. Preverbs in Micmac occur regularly before verbs and infrequently before nouns. The focus of this discussion will be on the shape, position, and function of the preverb formative as it is found in the Micmac verb.

2.0 Preverb shape and position

Before one may understand the nature of the Micmac preverb formative, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the nature of the Micmac root formative. Roots are the basic formatives upon which Micmac words are built. Every word in Micmac, be it particle, noun or verb, must contain a root. The root will always be the first formative in a Micmac word unless preceded by a preverb or possessive prefix.

The first four examples of Table One show Micmac verbs which do not contain preverbs or possessive prefixes. It is evident from these examples that the root is the first formative in the verb. In verb number one al-am-k "I look for him/her" the verb initial formative is the root al- "about". In example two the first formative of the verb asikom-i'pi-t "S/he runs across" is the root asikom- "across". The root formative of example three pem-apil-m "I carry it by hand" is pem- "along" and again we see that the root formative is the first formative of the verb while in example four the first formative of the verb kaq-ja-q "It is finished" is the root kaq- meaning "finish".

While every Micmac verb must contain a root formative, preverb formatives are optional. Preverbs usually end in an -i suffix and are formatives which precede and attach to roots or other preverbs. The last four examples of Table One show Micmac verbs which contain preverbs. As seen from these examples the preverbs, ending in the suffix -i, are prefixed to the root formative of the verb. In example five the preverb peji- "accidentally" is prefixed to the reduced root tm- meaning "cut" resulting in the Micmac verb peji-tm-w-ik "I cut him/her in two accidentally". In example six the preverb nikani- meaning "ahead" is prefixed to the root ksm- "push" resulting in the verb nikani-ksm-a'l-ik "I push him/her ahead". In example seven the preverb weli- "good" is prefixed to the Micmac root knu'tm- meaning "teach" giving the verb "I teach him/her well", while in example eight one sees that the preverb wesami- "excess" of the Micmac verb wesami-ksk-e'-k "it is too wide" is attached to the root ksk- "wide".

A preverb usually corresponds to some root in meaning and in shape. One must remember that the formative labels preverb, root, medial, and final represent grammatical categories to which different lexemes have been assigned. Lexemes may be grammatically recategorized, with the same lexical element at times taking a different formative label indicating that the grammatical role of the lexeme has changed. The same lexeme may occur in a root position and be classified as a root or occur in a preverb position and thus be classified as a preverb.

When a lexeme, which usually occurs as a root, is used to function as a preverb it acquires a suffix -i; thus, we say that lexemes functioning as roots may be grammatically recategorized to function as preverbs by the addition of an -i suffix. Upon examining Table Two one sees that the

TABLE ONE

Micmac Roots:	
1.	al - am - k R VF I about "I look around for him/her"
2.	asikrom - i'pi - t R VF I across "S/he runs across"
3.	dem - apil - m R VF I along "I carry it along by hand"
4.	kag - ia - q R VF I finish "It is finished"
Micmac Preverbs:	
5.	peil - - tm - s - ik PV R VF I accidently cut "I cut him/her in two accidently"
6.	nikani - ksm - a'1 - ik PV R VF I ahead push "I push him/her ahead"
7.	weli - knu'tm - a - q PV R VF I well teach "I teach him/her well"
8.	wesami - ksk - e' - k PV R VF I excess wide "It is too wide"

TABLE TWO

Micmac Roots:

Micmac Preverbs:

1.	TA <u>niw - a'l - ik</u>	"dry out"	1a.	TA <u>niwi - ka's - ik</u>	"wipe dry"
	R			PV R	
	dry			dry rub	
2.	AI <u>nem - qam - a'si - t</u>	"get to one's feet"	2a.	AI <u>nemi - tk - ie - t</u>	"get chilly"
	R			PV R	
	along			along cold	
3.	TA <u>kitto'q - pil - k</u>	"wrap around"	3a.	TA <u>kitto'qi - ksm - a'l - ik</u>	"push around"
	R			PV R	
	circle			circle push	
4.	II <u>wesam - ki' - k</u>	"too big"	4a.	II <u>wesami - ksk - e' - k</u>	"too wide"
	R			PV R	
	excess			excess wide	
5.	PI <u>asogom - a' - q</u>	"swim across"	5a.	PT <u>asogomi - ksm - a't - oq</u>	"push across"
	R			PV R	
	across			across push	
6.	AI <u>awan - lukw - e - t</u>	"be a poor worker"	6a.	AI <u>awani - wsk - e - t</u>	"be an unskilled fisherman"
	R			PV R	
	awkward			awkward fish	

lexemes functioning as roots in the Micmac words of the left hand column have been recategorized to function as preverbs in the Micmac words of the right hand column by the addition of the suffix -i. For example, the lexeme of the root niw- "dry" in example one of Table Two has been recategorized to occur as the preverb niwi- in example one(a). In example two the lexeme of the root pem- has been recategorized to function as the preverb pemi- in the verb pemi-tk-ie-t "S/he gets chilly" of example two(a). In example three the lexeme of the root kitto'q- meaning "circle" has been recategorized to function as the preverb kitto'qi- in the verb kittoqi-ksm-a'l-ik "I push him/her around" and so forth down the table.

Though the lexemes of roots are morphologically reshaped when they function as preverbs by the addition of the suffix -i, the meaning of the lexeme does not change. Thus in example one of Table Two the lexeme NIW means "dry" regardless of whether it functions grammatically as the root niw- or the preverb niwi- as in examples one and one(a). So too, the lexeme PEM which occurs in the root pem- and the preverb pemi- means "along" regardless of whether it functions grammatically as a root or preverb. Thus we say that when a lexeme which usually functions as a root is grammatically recategorized to occur as a preverb there is no change in the meaning of the lexeme; there is however, a change in the grammatical role played by the lexeme in that the lexeme functions as a preverb instead of as a root.

3.0 Function of Preverbs

The role, in Micmac verbs, of the preverb formative is to add aspectual and/or adverbial information to the verb to which it is prefixed. Delisle and Metallic (1976:287) point out that there are literally as many possible preverbs as there are Micmac verb roots, for preverbs contain the same lexemes as found in roots. The only restriction which prevents some lexemes found in roots from being recategorized as preverbs is a semantic one. For instance, the lexeme PAQ "bite" of the root paq- "bite" as in paq-a'l-ik "I bite him/her" would not work semantically as a preverb, for the notion bite would add little aspectual or adverbial information to a verb. Examples of the type of information conveyed by preverbs is indicated by the verbs in Table Three. Verb one of Table Three shows the verb kesm-a'l-ik which means "I push him/her". This verb may be augmented in various ways by having a preverb prefixed to its root as in verb number two where the preverb ali- "about" has been added to the verb kesm-a'l-ik "I push him/her" creating the new verb ali-ksm-a'l-ik "I push him/her about". The preverb ali- of the verb aliksi-ma'lik adds aspectual information as to the nature of the action performed thereby specifying that I am pushing him/her HOW - in this fashion. In the verb of example three, pemi-ksm-a'l-ik "I push him/her along", the preverb pemi- "along" adds adverbial information to the verb indicating the manner in which the action (pushing) is performed, in other words I push him/her WHERE - along. In example four

TABLE THREE

Function of Micmac Preverbs

1.	<u>kesm - a'l - ik</u> R VF I push	"I push him/her"
2.	<u>ali - ksm - a'l - ik</u>	"I push him/her about" preverb: ali- "about"
3.	<u>pemi - ksm - a'l - ik</u>	"I push him/her along" preverb: pemi- "along"
4.	<u>kesikawi - ksm - a'l - ik</u>	"I push him/her quickly" preverb: kesikawi- "quickly"
5.	<u>sankewi - ksm - a'l - ik</u>	"I slowly push him/her" preverb: sankewi- "slowly"
6.	<u>poqji - ksm - a'l - ik</u>	"I am starting to push him/her" preverb: poqji- "start, begin"
7.	<u>puni - ksm - a'l - ik</u>	"I am stopping pushing him/her" preverb: puni- "stop"

the preverb kesikawi- meaning "quickly" is added to the verb kesm-a'l-ik resulting in the augmented verb kesikawi-ksm-a'l-ik "I push him/her quickly". In example five, the preverb sankewi- adds the notion "slowly" to the concept of pushing resulting in the verb sankewi-ksm-a'l-ik "I push him/her slowly". In verb number six, poqji-ksm-a'l-ik "I am starting to push him/her", the idea of beginning is conveyed by the preverb poqji-, while in example number seven the notion of stopping is presented by the preverb puni-. Table Three makes clear the role of the preverb in adding aspectual and adverbial information to the verb to which it is attached.

4.0 More than one preverb

More than one preverb may be affixed to a Micmac verb as seen by the set of examples in Table Four. The first verb amal-ka-t "S/he dances" is made up of the root amal- "variegated", the verb final ka- "dance", and the third person singular ending -t of the present indicative. This verb may be augmented by up to three preverbs. In verb two of example A the verb amal-ka-t has been augmented by the preverb kekwi- "slowly" resulting in the new verb kekwi-amal-ka-t "S/he dances slowly". In example number three a second preverb kesi- has been added to verb number two resulting in the verb kesi-kekwi-amal-ka-t "S/he dances VERY slowly". In example four one sees that we may change the preverb combinations found in a verb. In this verb the preverb mawi- indicative of a superlative precedes the preverb kekwi- resulting in the verb mawi-kekwi-amal-ka-t meaning "S/he dances the slowest". The last verb of example A, teli-mawi-kekwi-amal-ka-t "Thus s/he dances the slowest", contains three preverbs: teli- "thus", mawi- "superlative", and kekwi- "slowly" all of which function to add some type of adverbial information to the verb amal-ka-t "S/he dances".

The number of preverbs possible in any one verb is controlled by semantic restrictions. There are only a limited number of aspectual concepts which one verb may convey, that is, a limited number of aspectual concepts which a person is able to notionally process. In English one could possibly conceive of a sentence such as "The husband of the woman who has the two children with red hair, fat cheeks, matching sun hats, blue eyes, cute ears,....". Notionally, however such a sentence would be difficult to process as one would soon lose the sense of the phrase. In Micmac the same situation exists with preverbs. In theory, one could affix an infinite number of preverbs to any one Micmac verb as there is nothing in the morphology of Micmac to prevent this. In practise however, no more than two or three preverbs will occur in front of a Micmac verb root.

TABLE FOUR

More than one preverb

EXAMPLE A

1. amal-ka-t "S/he dances"
 R VF I
2. kekwi-amal-ka-t "S/he dances slowly"
 PV R VF I
 SLOWLY

kesi - kekwi - amal - ka - t

"S/he dances very slowly"

PV PV R VF I

VERY SLOWLY

4.

mawi - kekwi - amal - ka - t

"S/he dances the slowest"

PV PV R VF I

SUPERLATIVE SLOWLY

5.

teli - mawi - kekwi - amal - ka - t

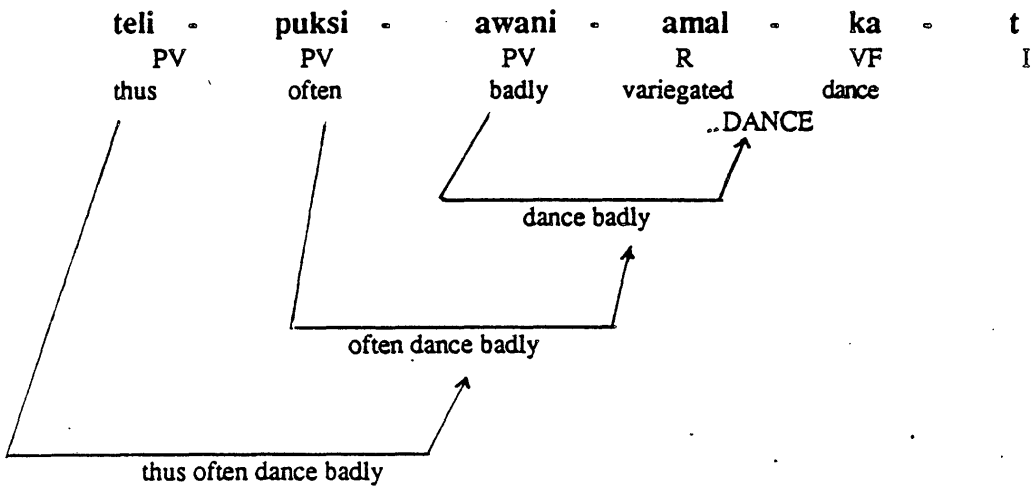
"Thus s/he dances the slowest"

PV PV PV R VF I

THUS | SLOWLY
SUPERLATIVE

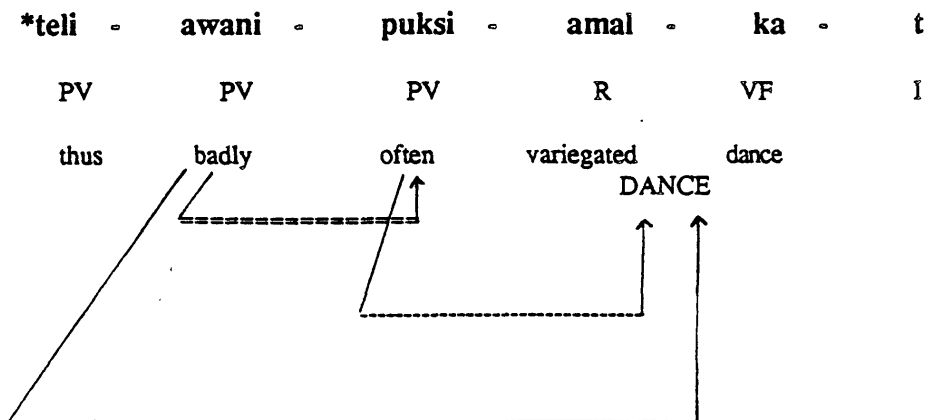
TABLE FOUR (continued)

EXAMPLE B



Thus s/he often dances badly.

EXAMPLE C



4.1 Preverb order

When more than one preverb is prefixed to a verb, the order in which the preverbs occur is important. The order of the preverbs is determined by the total meaning of the verb which one desires. Again let us turn to Table Four. In example B of Table Four one sees the Micmac verb teli-puksi-awani-amal-ka-t meaning "Thus s/he often dances badly". This verb contains three preverbs: teli- meaning "thus", puksi- meaning "often", and awani- meaning "badly". The order in which these preverbs occur within the verb is important. Awani-amal-ka-t creates the meaningful unit "S/he dances badly", which is further modified by the preverb *immediately to its left*, the preverb puksi- "often", creating a second meaningful unit puksi-awani-amal-ka-t "Often s/he dances badly". This second meaningful unit is then modified by the preverb to its left, the preverb teli- "thus", resulting in the verb teli-puksi-awani-amal-ka-t "Thus often s/he dances badly". The full meaning of this verb is "S/he dances badly often but *not always*" that is, not every time s/he dances does s/he dance badly.

If one changes the order of the preverbs in example B the new Micmac verb created, *teli-awani-puksi-amal-ka-t (see example C of Table Four), is considered to be ill-formed. In this ill-formed Micmac word the order of the preverbs do not create a dependency relationship such that each preverb modifies the formative unit immediately to its right. By placing awani- "badly" to the left of puksi- "often" one is implying that awani- "badly" modifies puksi- "often" which is not considered a possible semantic concept in Micmac. The preverb awani- "badly" cannot add adverbial information to the concept often, in other words one cannot "badly often", however one can "often badly" as in example B. Consequently it would appear that preverbs in Micmac must modify the formative to which it is prefixed.

5.0 Summary

In summary one may conclude that the preverb formatives of the Micmac verb are derived from lexemes common to Micmac root formative by the addition of the preverb suffix -j and that the only restriction which prevents some lexemes found in roots from being recategorized as preverbs is a semantic one. In Micmac verbs, preverbs precede and attach to root formatives or to other preverbs. Up to three preverbs may be found in a Micmac verb. The role of preverbs is to add adverbial and or aspectual information to the verbs in which they occur. When several preverbs are present in a Micmac verb the order in which the preverbs occur is determined by the fact that preverbs must modify the formative to which they are prefixed.

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La phonologie des parlers acadiens de l'île-du-Prince-Édouard
Ruth King et Robert Ryan
York University

RESUME

Depuis deux ans nous effectuons une étude des parlers acadiens de l'île-du-Prince-Édouard, négligés jusqu'ici par les linguistes (voir la bibliographie exhaustive de Gesner 1986). Cette étude-pilote vise à identifier les caractéristiques les plus saillantes de ces parlers, de même qu'à délimiter des variables linguistiques et sociales qui feront l'objet d'une étude ultérieure plus approfondie. Jusqu'à présent nous avons réuni un corpus oral d'une durée d'environ vingt heures portant sur les deux régions acadiennes les plus importantes de l'île (à savoir, la région Evangéline et celle de Tignish), les deux sexes et plusieurs tranches d'âge.

Vu les dimensions importantes du corpus, nous avons pris comme point de départ commode le système phonologique. Nous en avons établi les systèmes vocalique et consonantique de base, tout en identifiant les variables importantes que voici: la fermeture accrue des voyelles orales mi-fermées, le comportement (tantôt avancement, tantôt fermeture, tantôt délabialisation) des voyelles nasales, et l'affrication des consonnes /t/ et /d/. Dans cette communication nous présenterons les objectifs et la méthodologie de notre étude, de même que le système phonologique dégagé jusqu'ici.

1. Introduction

Est-il besoin de rappeler le développement étonnant que connaît la linguistique acadienne depuis une décennie? En effet, depuis une dizaine d'années, un nombre sans cesse plus important de travaux de recherche ont permis de bien mieux connaître les différents ensembles de parlers franco-acadiens de l'est du Canada. Signalons, entre autres, l'étude qu'a consacrée Karin Flikeid à l'acadien du nord-est du Nouveau-Brunswick, celle de Louise Péronnet qui porte sur l'acadien de la région de Moncton et l'analyse des divers parlers acadiens néo-écossais qu'effectuent à présent Karin Flikeid et Edward Gesner. Dans l'excellente bibliographie qu'Edward Gesner a fait publier cette année au Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme de l'Université Laval, il souligne l'essor remarquable que connaît ce domaine de recherche. Gesner relève, par exemple, pour la seule période comprise entre 1980 et 1985, plus de 65 études de linguistique acadienne (communications, articles de revue et monographies). Chose étonnante,

cependant, dans cette bibliographie, qui se veut exhaustive, ne figure aucun titre portant sur les parlers acadiens de l'île-du-Prince-Edouard, langue maternelle de quelque 6000 insulaires. Nous nous proposons de combler cette lacune. Dans la communication que voici nous décrivons une étude préliminaire des parlers des deux régions acadiennes les plus importantes de l'île-du-Prince-Edouard, que nous effectuons depuis un peu plus d'un an. Nous espérons que cette étude pourra servir de première étape à une analyse sociolinguistique approfondie des parlers acadiens de cette province. Nos objectifs à long terme sont les suivants:

a) la description des caractéristiques phonologiques, morphologiques et syntaxiques propres à l'acadien de l'île-du-Prince-Edouard

b) l'identification, la description, et l'explication de la variation linguistique constatée, compte tenu de contraintes à la fois linguistiques et sociales qui existent à l'intérieur des communautés linguistiques retenues

et c) la comparaison d'éventuelles différences de structuration sociolinguistique identifiées au sein des régions francophones de l'île et la comparaison des résultats obtenus pour l'île-du-Prince-Edouard avec ceux obtenus pour les autres variétés d'acadien des provinces de l'Atlantique déjà étudiées ou actuellement à l'étude.

Dans le cadre de notre étude-pilote commencée en 1985, nous avons réuni et analysé des informations démographiques, historiques et socioculturelles portant sur la population française de l'île. Nous avons aussi fait enregistrer par des personnes habitant les communautés acadiennes retenues un corpus restreint d'une durée d'environ vingt heures, comportant des échantillons de conversation libre représentatifs des deux régions acadiennes les plus importantes de l'île-du-Prince-Edouard, à savoir la région dite Evangéline et celle de la ville de Tignish et où figurent aussi les deux sexes et différentes tranches d'âge.

2. Le contexte démographique et historique

Nous entreprendrons tout d'abord de situer les communautés retenues dans leur contexte démographique et historique.

Le premier ensemble important de colons francophones à s'établir dans l'île-du-Prince-Edouard (ou l'île-Saint-Jean, comme elle s'appelait sous le régime français) est arrivé directement du port de La Rochelle en France en 1720. Il comportait fort probablement des Français natifs du centre-ouest de la France. Des groupes moins importants de colons ont quitté les régions acadiennes de la Nouvelle-Ecosse pour l'île-Saint-Jean au cours des années 1749-1756. En 1755 la population francophone de l'île-Saint-Jean s'est considérablement accrue à la suite de l'arrivée de plusieurs milliers d'Acadiens neo-écossais, venus se réfugier dans l'île pour éviter la

déportation vers les Etats-Unis. Cependant, ce nouveau domicile n'a guère mis les émigrés acadiens et leurs descendants à l'abri des difficultés et des privations. Exploités par des propriétaires anglophones, déportés, eux aussi, en 1758, rétablis dans l'île au prix de grands sacrifices, défavorisés par la suite sur les plans économique et scolaire, les Acadiens de l'île-du-Prince-Edouard sont depuis longtemps en proie à une assimilation linguistique et culturelle qui ne cesse de s'accroître. Le déclin du français à la fois comme langue maternelle et langue employée à la maison est particulièrement frappant, comme en témoigne le premier des tableaux présentés ci-dessous.

L'étude de grande envergure que nous nous proposons d'entreprendre fournirait une occasion précieuse d'étudier une variété de langue menacée, d'identifier les facteurs qui en accélèrent la disparition, de même que des moyens éventuels pour y lutter.

Les tableaux et les cartes présentés ci-dessous précisent la distribution des francophones de l'île-du-Prince-Edouard par région et par comté, de même que le taux d'assimilation de cette minorité à la majorité anglophone. Ce dernier chiffre a été déterminé en comparant les statistiques fournies par le recensement du Canada portant sur l'emploi du français comme langue maternelle avec celles qui mesurent le degré d'utilisation du français à la maison. Le tableau numéro 2 permet de situer la population acadienne par rapport à la population globale de l'île, de même qu'à l'intérieur de chacun des trois comtés.

L'examen de ce tableau permet de constater que, sur les quelque 12% de la population de l'île qui étaient d'origine française en 1981, moins de la moitié avait appris le français comme langue maternelle. Et il y avait un peu plus de la moitié de ce dernier groupe qui continuait à utiliser le français à la maison en 1981. Bien que des statistiques relativement à l'utilisation du français à la maison n'existent pas pour les recensements antérieurs à 1981, les données du premier tableau démontrent clairement que l'écart entre le nombre des insulaires de souche française et ceux de langue maternelle française a augmenté de plus de 200 depuis les cinquante dernières années.

Le tableau numéro 2 démontre clairement la répartition très inégale de la population francophone de l'île -du-Prince-Edouard, dont la très grande majorité se trouve concentrée dans le comté de Prince qui occupe la partie nord-ouest de la province. A l'intérieur de ce comté, l'on constate que la population francophone habite surtout la région de la ville de Tignish (à savoir les cantons 1 et 2) et la région dite Evangéline qui englobe les cantons 14, 15, 16 et 17, présentés dans le tableau 3 et visualisés sur la carte B. La carte C présente une analyse détaillée de la répartition de la population francophone du comté de Prince. Il est intéressant de constater que dans les cantons qui séparent les deux régions acadiennes, l'assimilation est quasi-totale. Le tableau numéro 4 situe la population francophone dans les deux

régions urbaines de l'île, à savoir celles de Summerside et de Charlottetown. L'on constate aussi un taux d'assimilation fort élevé.

Nous avons exclu ces deux centres urbains de notre corpus acadien, étant donné le caractère hétérogène de leur population francophone. En effet, le Ministère fédéral des anciens combattants établi depuis quelques années à Charlottetown et la grande base de l'Armée de l'air située à proximité de Summerside ajoutent un nombre non-négligeable de Québécois à la population francophone de l'un et l'autre de ces centres urbains. Nous projetons, par conséquent, de faire de ces deux régions l'objet d'une étude distincte de l'autre.

3. L'étude-pilote

3.1 L'échantillon linguistique

Les informateurs retenus pour notre étude-pilote sont originaires de villages de la région Evangéline et de celle de Tignish où la population francophone est très largement majoritaire.

L'échantillon plutôt restreint comporte des témoignages fournis spontanément par une vingtaine d'informateurs qui nous avaient été proposé comme étant représentatifs des locuteurs des deux régions, des deux sexes et des différentes tranches d'âge. Nous avons, en effet, parmi nos informateurs pour chaque région, des adolescents, de jeunes adultes, des adultes d'âge moyen et des personnes âgées.

Outre ces informateurs, nous avons fait enregistrer un Acadien et une Acadienne âgés de plus de 60 ans, qui sont natifs du village de Bloomfield. Celui-ci est le seul à majorité francophone qui se trouve à la limite de la région Evangéline et de celle de Tignish, comme l'indique la carte A.

3.2 Les interviews

A une exception près, tous les informateurs retenus ont été interviewés par des Acadiens qui étaient, pour la plupart, originaires du même village que celui de l'informateur. Les enquêteurs ont recueilli des informations bibliographiques au sujet des informateurs et de leurs familles et ont posé des questions ouvertes conçues dans le but de les inciter à parler de manière spontanée et naturelle de leur vécu personnel et de leur milieu. Les interviews ont duré en moyenne une heure environ.

3.3 La transcription et l'analyse des données

Toutes les interviews ont été transcrites en graphie courante modifiée à certains égards de manière à tenir compte des particularités acadiennes constatées, telles *l'ouïsme* (*l'houmme* [lum]), l'ouverture de [ɛ] devant [r] (*l'hivar* [livar]), la prononciation de certaines consonnes finales (*le boute* [bUt]), etc. Nous avons effectué une transcription phonétique d'une tranche d'environ dix minutes de l'enregistrement de chaque locuteur.

Vu les dimensions plutôt réduites du corpus préliminaire, nous avons fait porter l'essentiel de nos analyses jusqu'ici sur la phonologie. Nous nous sommes donc efforcés de dégager l'essentiel du système phonologique commun aux deux régions, tout en identifiant des variables phonologiques qui pourront servir de base à une étude sociolinguistique plus étendue et plus approfondie. Nous avons déjà déterminé certaines variantes phonétiques qui semblent présenter des différences de distribution géographique. Nous devons toutefois disposer de plus de données avant de pouvoir incorporer à l'analyse des contraintes de type social et avant d'être en mesure de mettre en lumière des variables morphologiques et syntaxiques. Nous croyons qu'un examen plus approfondi de notre corpus préliminaire permettra, au cours des mois à venir, d'identifier au moins quelques-unes de ces variables qui présentent une distribution géographique.

4. L'analyse phonologique préliminaire

Notre première analyse, qui est toujours en cours, vise tout d'abord à dégager le système sonore de chacune des deux régions retenues, de manière à pouvoir déterminer par la suite le système commun aux deux, et, par la même occasion, d'éventuels phénomènes de variation d'une région à l'autre. Rappelons qu'à cette fin nous avons transcrit phonétiquement un échantillon réduit d'une durée de dix minutes des témoignages de chacun de nos informateurs. Nous présenterons ici quelques-unes des caractéristiques les plus frappantes du système sonore dégagé jusqu'ici, telles qu'elles se manifestent chez quatre informateurs, un homme et une femme âgés de 68 et de 71 ans respectivement, natifs tous deux de la région de Tignish, et un homme et une femme originaires de la région Evangéline, ayant 93 ans et 86 ans respectivement. Ces quatre personnes appartiennent toutes au même groupe socio-économique, les deux hommes ayant travaillé l'un et l'autre comme pêcheur et agriculteur, les deux femmes ayant été ménagères. Aucun de ces informateurs n'avait poursuivi ses études au-delà du cycle primaire.

Nous examinerons tout d'abord le système des voyelles nasales chez ces quatre informateurs pour décrire ensuite la fermeture que connaissent chez eux dans certains contextes les voyelles orales surtout mi-fermées et enfin l'affrication des deux occlusives dentales /t/ et /d/.

4.1 Les voyelles nasales

Comme l'indique le schéma présenté ci-dessous, les deux régions à l'étude partagent un système à trois voyelles nasales. Dans les contextes sonores où ces trois phonèmes sont distincts les uns des autres, les oppositions entre eux reposent, d'une part, sur les traits "fermé" et "ouvert", qui opposent en bloc les deux voyelles fermées /ɛ̃/ et /ɔ̃/ à la voyelle ouverte /ã/ et, d'autre part, sur les traits "antérieur" et "postérieur" qui suffisent à opposer /ɛ̃/ à /ɔ̃/. La voyelle antérieure /æ̃/ est complètement absente de notre corpus.

Les voyelles nasales: système commun aux deux régions

	Antérieure	Postérieure
Fermées	/ɛ̃/	/ɔ̃/
Ouverte	/ã/	

Les voyelles nasales en syllabe fermée accentuée ¹

ɛ̃	[ɛ̃] T,E	ɔ̃	[ɔ̃] T,E	ã	[ã] T,E
			[ɔ̃ ^w] T,E		[ã] T,E

Les voyelles nasales en syllabe fermée inaccentuée

ɛ̃	[ɛ̃] T,E	ɔ̃	[ɔ̃] T,E	ã	[ã] T,E
					[ã] T,E

En syllabe fermée, accentuée et inaccentuée, les trois voyelles nasales s'opposent entre elles de manière tout à fait stable dans les deux régions, /ɛ̃/ ne présentant que la réalisation [ɛ̃], /ɔ̃/ se réalisant [ɔ̃], sous l'accent et en dehors de l'accent, mais connaissant aussi, sous l'accent, une certaine tendance à la diphtongaison, à savoir [ɔ̃^w], comme dans les segments *quatre-vingt-onze* [kætər vɛ̃ hɔ̃^wz] ou *dans le monde* [dã l mɔ̃^wd]. Dans ces mêmes contextes, la voyelle nasale ouverte présente des réalisations qui peuvent varier, chez un locuteur donné, entre le timbre postérieur [ã] et le timbre antérieur [ã̃]. Ainsi, sous l'accent *licence* [lisã̃s], *commence* [kumã̃s] ou *patience* [pasjã̃s], *différence* [dʒɪfã̃rãs] et, en dehors de l'accent: *bande d'enfants* [bãd dãfã̃] ou *dans le grade cinq* [dã l grad sɛ̃k].

En syllabe ouverte, et surtout sous l'accent, les oppositions sont plus fragiles entre les trois voyelles nasales, d'une part, et entre certaines des voyelles nasales et les voyelles orales correspondantes, de l'autre.

Les voyelles nasales en syllabe ouverte inaccentuée

ɛ	[ɛ̃] T,E	ø	[ø̃] T,E [œ̃] T [õ] T [ã] T	ã	[ã̃] T,E [ã] T,E [ã̃] T [a] T,E
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En syllabe ouverte inaccentuée, /ɛ̃/ reste distinct de /ø̃/ et de /ã̃/. Quant à ces deux dernières voyelles, en règle générale elles se distinguent l'une de l'autre dans ce contexte précis. Ainsi, on a *nous pêchions le homard* [nu pæʃjõ l huma:r], *ils voyont faire les autres* [l weʃõ far lez owt], *dans le printemps* [dã l prẽtã], *c'en est une* [sãn e jyn], et *à l'entour* [a lãtur]. Nous avons cependant trouvé dans ce contexte syllabique une occurrence où la voyelle /ø̃/ se réalise [ã̃]: *ils avient adopté cet enfant-là* [il avjã adopte stãrã la], exception qui semble confirmer la règle ici. Dans ce même contexte de syllabe ouverte inaccentuée, les trois voyelles nasales /ɛ̃/, /ø̃/ et /ã̃/ présentent dans les deux régions une certaine tendance à la dénasalisation qui peut, à la limite, devenir complète. Il peut donc en résulter une confusion avec les voyelles orales correspondantes /ɛ/, /o/ et /a/ ou /ɑ/, confusion qui vient perturber le fonctionnement de l'opposition orale-nasale. Nous avons relevé, par exemple, *mon défunt père Jack* [mõ defẽ per dzæk], *je l'envoyais à la maison* [ʒ lãwaʒe a la me:zã], *la light empetissait* [la laʃt aptise], *c'était un beau (ou bon) bout* [ste ẽ bo bUt], *du beau (ou bon) bord* [dʒy bo bo:r]. Dans les trois derniers cas cités, l'on constate une neutralisation complète de l'opposition entre les voyelles orales et nasales.

Les voyelles nasales en syllabe ouverte accentuée

	[ɛ̃] T,E		[ø̃] T,E		[ã̃] T,E
	[ɛ̃] T,E		[œ̃] T,E		[ã̃] T
ɛ	[ɛ̃] T,E	ø	[ã̃] T,E	ã	[ã̃ŋ] T
	[œ̃] T		[ã̃ŋ] T,E		[ã̃ŋ] T,E
	[ɛŋ] T		[ã̃ŋ] T		[ã̃w] E
	[œ̃] T		[ã̃w] E		
	[œ̃] T				
	[e] T,E				

En syllabe ouverte accentuée, si la voyelle /ɛ/ conserve un ensemble de timbres qui lui sont propres, y compris des diphtongues comme [ɛ¹] et [ɛ¹], ceci malgré une tendance très marginale à la dénasalisation, il n'en va pas de même de la voyelle nasale /ɔ/. En effet, celle-ci connaît très systématiquement, en syllabe ouverte accentuée, un ensemble de réalisations identiques à celles de la voyelle nasale /ā/. Considérons les exemples suivants relevés chez les locuteurs des deux régions: *des fois ils viennent* [de fwa i vɛnjā], *ils appellent* [il apɛljā], *un petit garçon* [ɛ pt^si garsā] et *je l'envoyais à la maison* [ʒ l'āvawje a la me:zā], et sous un accent encore plus énergique: *lui, il restait à la maison* [lɥi i reste a la me:zāŋ], *la façon que je vivions* [la fasā kə ʒ vivjāŋ] et *quarante gallons* [k^harāt galāŋ]. Comme on peut le constater, ces réalisations se caractérisent par la délabialisation de la voyelle, qui connaît chez un même locuteur une réalisation soit postérieure [ā], soit antérieure [ā], accompagnée ou non de la consonne nasale vélaire [ŋ]. La présence de cette consonne entraîne, du reste, la dénasalisation plus ou moins complète de la voyelle. /ɔ/ et /ā/ se confondent donc, comme en témoignent les occurrences suivantes de la voyelle /ā/ en syllabe ouverte accentuée: *quinze arpents* [kɛz arpā], *un beau passe-temps* [ɛ bo pas tāŋ] et *onze ou douze ans* [hɔz u duz āŋ].

Rappelons que cette neutralisation de l'opposition entre /ɔ/ et /ā/, en syllabe ouverte accentuée, est attestée dans d'autres ensembles de parlers acadiens. On la constate aussi, par exemple, dans la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie et à Chéticamp, en Nouvelle-Écosse, bien que les réalisations précises de ces voyelles puissent varier d'une région à l'autre.

Parmi les réalisations phonétiques des deux voyelles /ɔ/ et /ā/ attestées jusqu'ici, la seule qui semble propre à la région Evangéline est la diphtongue [æ^w], que nous avons relevée en syllabe ouverte accentuée dans des énoncés tels *c'est si différent* [se si dʒifaraæ^w], *bien, eux venant* [be zɔ vnaæ^w], et *qu'il appellent* [kil apɛlja^w].

4.2 La fermeture accrue des voyelles mi-fermées et mi-ouvertes

Nous aimerions signaler encore deux caractéristiques particulières du système sonore des deux régions. La première est la tendance à la fermeture que présentent les voyelles orales mi-fermées et mi-ouvertes, tendance qui s'étend plus d'une fois à la voyelle nasale /ɛ̃/. La fermeture en [u] ou [U] des voyelles orales [o] et [ɔ], phénomène connu sous le nom d'*ouïsme*, est l'un des traits sonores les plus répandus et le mieux connus du phonétisme acadien. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que nous ayons relevé de nombreuses occurrences d'*ouïsme* chez tous nos locuteurs. Ce qui frappe davantage, c'est la tendance à la fermeture que présentent les voyelles /e/, /ɛ/, /ø/ et /œ/ en syllabe ouverte, que celle-ci soit accentuée ou inaccentuée. Les exemples qui suivent viennent de la région Evangéline et de celle de Tignish:

[ɛ[^]] *prenez vos crayons et vos cahiers.* [prene vo krejaŋ e vo kaje[^]]
*on était absolument pas allowedé de veiller avec son gars tout
seul.* [ðnete asœlmã pa elawde də veje[^] avek sɔ ga t^hu sœl]
je m'assisais dans la chambre à manger [ʒ m asi:ze dã la ʃãb a
mäže[^]]
J'en mouillais tout mon oreiller [ʒ ã muje tUt mɔn œreje[^]]

[œ[^]] *J'en ai encore plusieurs* [ʒãn e ãkor plyzjœ:[^]r]

[ø[^]] *puis j'en ai conservé deux* [pi ʒãn e kɔsarve dø[^]]

[ɛ[^]] *une qu'était grande* [yn k ete grãd]
y avait un petit garçon [j ave ẽ pt^si garsã]
que le prêtre voulait faire l'après-midi [kə l pret vule far lapre
midzi]
J'étais vieille [ʒ ete vje]

Dans les deux régions, cette tendance à la fermeture s'étend à la voyelle nasale /ɛ̃/ qui se réalise plus d'une fois [ɛ̃], voyelle qui peut aussi se diphtonguer en [ɛ̃¹]. Ainsi, on trouve *pour rien* [pur ørjɛ̃], *comme rien* [kum ørjɛ̃¹], *y en avait un* [j ãn ave jɛ̃]. L'on constate donc une certaine tendance à la neutralisation de l'opposition entre /ɛ/ et /e/ en syllabe ouverte. Il semble que /i/ reste distinct de [e], bien que la distance entre les deux voyelles soit considérablement réduite. Il en va de même des deux voyelles /y/ et /ø/. Cette tendance à la fermeture, que nous avons l'intention d'examiner bien plus en détail, constitue un trait sonore frappant de ces parlars acadiens.

4.3 L'affrication

Signalons, avant de conclure, l'existence d'une affrication qui, tout comme au Québec, affecte les deux consonnes dentales /t/ et /d/ devant les voyelles antérieures fermées /i/ et /y/ et les deux semi-voyelles correspondantes. Cette affrication caractérise ces deux consonnes chez l'ensemble de nos locuteurs, bien que le phénomène semble plus accusé dans la région Evangéline. En voici des exemples:

[tʰ] *un petit balai* [ɛ ptʰi bale]
 ils ont résout (résolu) de bâtir une église [iz avõ rezuʷ də
 ba:tʰi ɛn egliz]²
 votre leçon d'écriture [vot lesã d ekritʰyr]
 votre métier [vot metʰje]

[dʒ] *moi, je savais pas la différence* [mwa ʒ save pa la dʒifarãs]
 bien, je les ai toutes perdues [bɛ ʒ lez e tUt pardʒy]
 aujourd'hui [ozurdʒɥi]

Insistons sur le fait que tous nos locuteurs sont originaires de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, y ayant passé la quasi-totalité de leur vie. Du reste, nous n'avons réussi à identifier jusqu'ici chez eux aucun contact avec le Québec qui expliquerait ce phénomène. Ce trait de prononciation est d'autant plus intéressant qu'il ne semble pas avoir été attesté jusqu'à présent dans d'autres parlers acadiens.

5. Conclusion

Nous avons donc esquissé les objectifs principaux, l'orientation méthodologique et quelques résultats concrets de la première étape d'une étude sociolinguistique que nous souhaitons être à même de poursuivre au cours des trois années à venir. Cette étude, nous vous l'avons dit, porte sur le dernier ensemble de parlers acadiens dont l'analyse restait à entamer.

Nous sommes aussi très conscients de l'importance de la dimension comparative de notre étude. Dans cette optique nous souhaitons pouvoir collaborer avec des chercheurs qui se penchent en ce moment sur les autres ensembles de parlers acadiens de l'est du Canada.

- 1 T = région de Tignish; E = région Evangéline
 2 Le mot *église* est au masculin dans notre corpus.

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TABIEAU I. L'île-du-Prince-Edouard: Evolution de la population acadienne 1931-1981¹

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Population globale	88,038	95,047	98,429	104,629	111,640	122,506
D'origine française	12,962 (14,7%)	14,799 (15,6%)	15,477 (15,7%)	17,418 (16,6%)	15,325 (13,7%)	14,770 (12,1%)
De langue maternelle française	10,137 (11,5%)	10,678 (11,2%)	8,477 (8,6%)	7,958 (7,6%)	7,365 (6,6%)	5,915 (4,8%)
Français parlé à la maison						3,420 (2,8%)

¹Source: Recensement du Canada.

TABIEAU II. Pour la totalité de l'île-du-Prince-Edouard²

	(1) Population globale	(2) D'origine française	(3) De langue maternelle française	(4) Français parlé à la maison	(5) Taux d'assimilation ³
Population globale	122,506 (100%)	14,770 (12,1%)	5,915 ⁴ (4,8%)	3,420 (2,8%)	42,2%
Comté de Prince	42,821 (100%)	9,255 (21,6%)	4,895 (11,4%)	3,290 (7,7%)	32,8%
Comté de Queens	60,470 (100%)	4,520 (7,5%)	900 (1,5%)	120 (0,2%)	86,7%
Comté de Kings	19,215 (100%)	995 (5,2%)	115 (0,6%)	10 (0,05%)	91,3%

²Statistique Canada: Recensement du Canada 1981, doc. E-872.

³ $\frac{(3) - (4)}{(3)} \times 100 = \text{Taux d'assimilation.}$

⁴L'écart de 5 habitants figure dans les données du recensement officiel.

TABIEAU III. Les deux régions principales du comté de Prince à l'étude:
A) Cantons⁵ 1 et 2; B) Cantons 14, 15, 16 et 17

Région A: (région de Tignish):

	(1) Population globale	(2) D'origine française	(3) De langue maternelle française	(4) Français parlé à la maison	(5) Taux d'assimilation
Canton 1	1,808	795	495	330	33,3%
Tignish	982	430	265	180	32,1%
Canton 2	2,311	1,081	610	395	35,3%
TOTAL	5,101 (100%)	2,306 (45,2%)	1,370 (26,9%)	905 (17,7%)	33,9%

Région B: (région dite Evangéline):

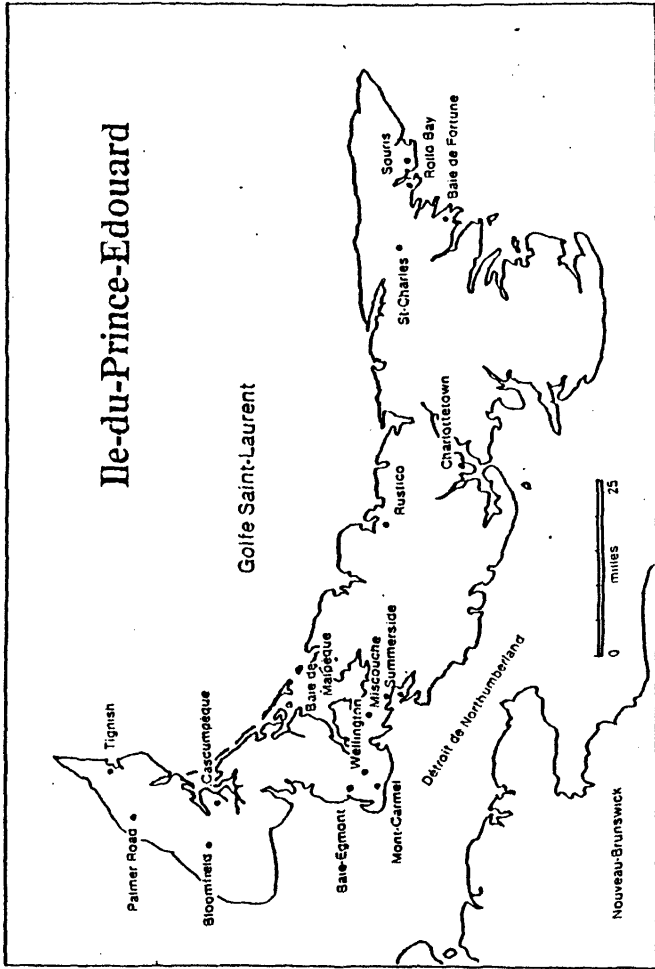
Canton 14	804	185	170	130	23,5%
Canton 15	1,200	1,055	1,010	955	5,4%
Abram's Village	351	325	275	255	7,3%
Canton 16	618	250	255	245	3,9%
Wellington	376	220	185	175	5,4%
Canton 17	2,091	510	275	150	45,5%
Miscouche	752	355	140	60	57,1%
TOTAL	6,192 (100%)	2,900 (46,8%)	2,310 (37,3%)	1,970 (31,8%)	14,7%

⁵Conformément au Recensement du Canada 1981.

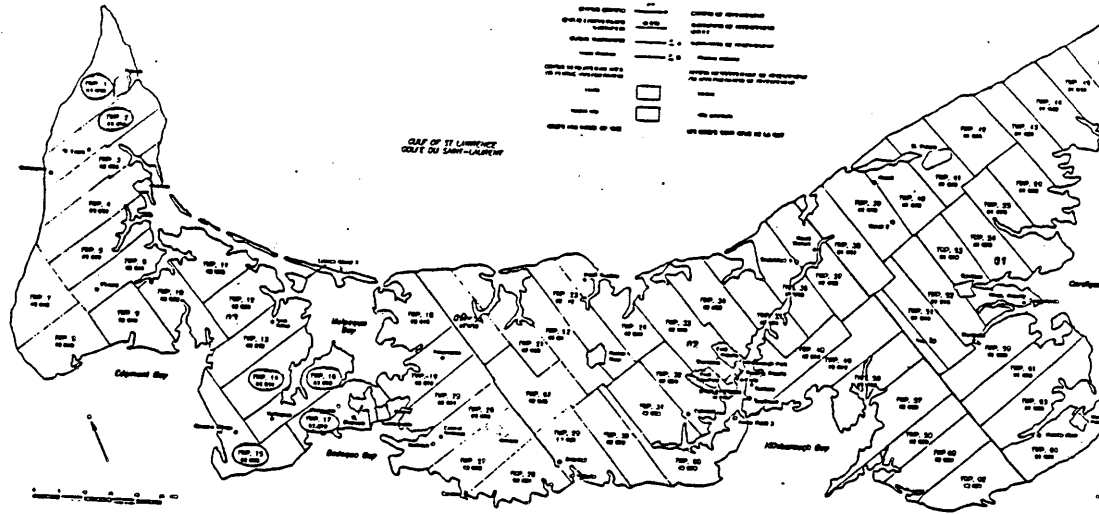
TABLEAU IV. Régions urbaines de: **A) Summerside-St. Rleanors (Comté de Prince)**
B) Charlottetown (Comté de Queens)

	(1) Population globale	(2) D'origine française	(3) De langue maternelle française	(4) Français parlé à la maison	(5) Taux d'ass
Summerside St. Rleanors	10,554 (100%)	2,405 (22,8%)	780 (7,4%)	315 (3%)	59,6%
Charlotte- town	15,282 (100%)	1,185 (7,8%)	292 (1,9%)	25 (0,2%)	91,5%

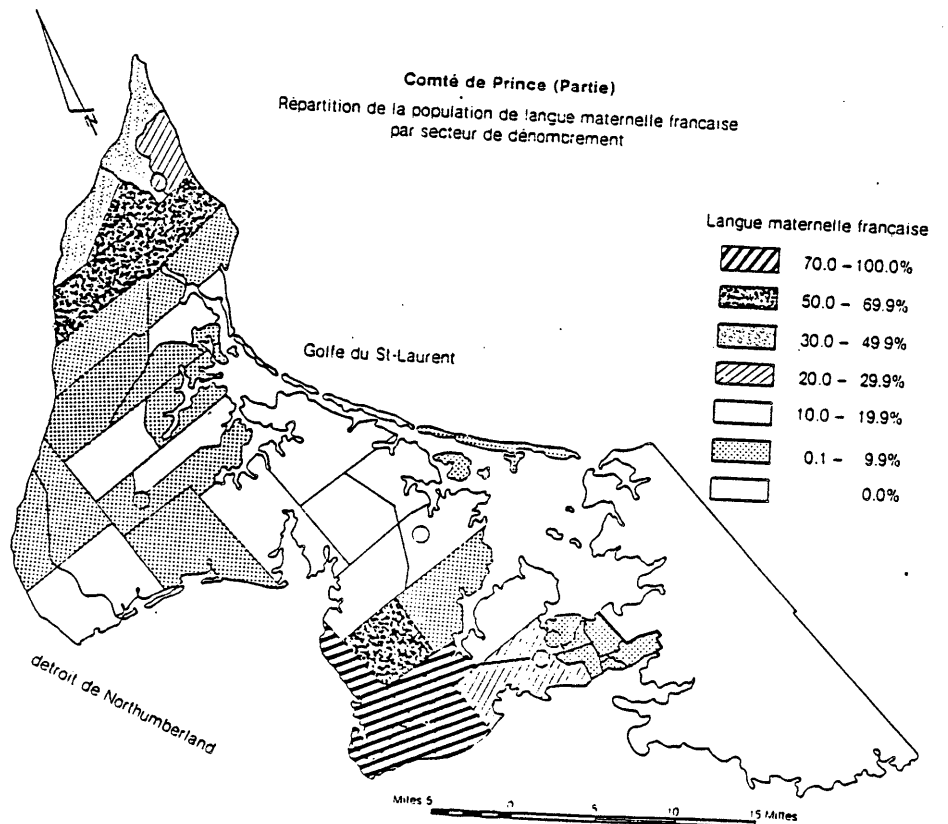
CARTE A



CARTE B



CARTE C



Doubly-Inflected Verb Forms in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

Robert M. Leavitt
Micmac-Maliseet Institute
University of New Brunswick

ABSTRACT

Transitive Inanimate Verb forms with two inflectional endings marking the same feature have been reported for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (Leavitt and Francis, 1984). Further investigation has shown that double inflections are not limited to these particular II examples, but appear in transitive and intransitive verbs of both genders in the changed and unchanged conjunct modes. In addition, there are other doubly - or multiply - inflected and derived verb forms in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. The function of many of these redundancies seems to be either emphasis or humour. They are at the least stylistic idiosyncrasies of speakers.

1. Doubly-inflected TI Verb Forms When the second edition of Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Verb Paradigms was published in 1984, David Francis and I listed (p 43) a set of doubly-inflected negative participle forms of Transitive Inanimate verbs. The forms, now known only to older speakers, appear to be archaic. What is surprising in these conjunct verb forms is that the repeated elements are of opposite aspects - one negative, the other positive. Examples of the forms which first drew the phenomenon to our attention are given in (1) - (corrected from Leavitt & Francis, 1984: the order of persons here is followed in other examples where forms or endings are listed).

(1) nomihtun II he sees it

1	skat nemihtuwaniyanil	the ones (inan)	I do not see
2	skat nemihtuwoniyinil		you do not see
3	skat nemihtuhqicil		he does not see
11	skat nemihtuwehkiyekil	the ones (inan)	we do not see (excl)
12	skat nemihtuwohqiyiqil		we do not see (incl)
22	skat nemihtuwehkiyeqil		you do not see (pl)
33	skat nemihtuhtihqihqicil		they do not see

These "alternate" negative participles are doubly inflected. The usual participles appear in (2).

(2)	SINGULAR OBJECT		PLURAL OBJECT	INFIXED 2nd ENDING
	skat nemihtu	skat	nemihtuwanil	-iyan
	nemihtuwon		nemihtuwonil	-iyin
	nemihtuhk		nemihtuhqil	-it
	nemihtuwehk		nemihtuwehkil	-iyek
	nemihtuwohq		nemihtuwohqil	-iyiq
	nemihtuwehq		nemihtuwehqil	-iyeq
	nemihtuhtihq		nemihtuhtihqil	-ihtit

In (1), the endings infixed before the plural *-il* are the positive (!) conjunct endings as they appear in TI or AI verbs with stem-vowel *-i-*. The set of all conjunct endings for TI and AI verbs - which share many of the same inflections - is given in (3), where the endings shown include the stem-vowel of the verb in its surface realization. It is by combining these endings that speakers form double inflections like those in (1).

(3) STEM-VOWELS:

-i-	-u-	consonant- final stem*	-e-	-a- (AI only)
-----	-----	---------------------------	-----	---------------

POSITIVE

-i(yan)	-u(wan)	-∅(an)	-i(yan)	-ay(an)
-iyin	-uwon	-on	-iyin	-ayin
-it (=ic-)	-aq	-ok	-et (=ec-)	-at (=ac-)
-iyek	-uwek	-ek	-iyek	-ayek
-iyiq	-uwoq	-oq	-iyiq	-ayiq
-iyeq	-uweq	-eq	-iyeq	-ayeq
-ihtit	-uhtit	-uhtit	-ehtit	-ahtit
(=ihtic-)	(=uhtic-)	(=uhtic-)	(=ehtic-)	(=ahtic-)

NEGATIVE

-iw(an)	-u(wan)	-u(wan)	-ew(an)	-aw(an)
-iwon	-uwon	-uwon	-ewon	-awon
-ihq	-uhk (=uhq-)	-uhk (=uhq-)	-ehq	-ahq
-iwehk	-uwehk	-uwehk	-ewehk	-awehk
-iwohq	-uwohq	-uwohq	-ewohq	-awohq
-iwehq	-uwehq	-uwehq	-ewehq	-awehq
-ihtihq	-uhtihq	-uhtihq	-ehtihq	-ahtihq

*NOTE: Consonant-final stems are listed in Leavitt and Francis 1984 as having stem-vowel *-o-* (schwa).

Final *-t* in the third-person endings in (3) palatalized to *-c-* when followed by *-i*. For the first-person singular forms, both

positive and negative, the syllable in parentheses is used in the changed conjunct subjunctive (see Sherwood 1983), in the unchanged conjunct, and in all changed and unchanged forms when further endings are added, such as plural-object participial or various preterit and dubitative endings. The -il ending which appears in the TI participle forms marks the plural inanimate object. Thus forms in (1) may be analysed as in (4).

- (4)a skat nemiht/uwan/iyan/il
not see-(changed)/1-conjunct-neg/1-conjunct-pos/inan-pl
- b skat nemiht/uwohq/iyiq/il
not see-(changed)/12-conjunct-neg/12-conjunct-pos/inan-pl

The doubly-inflected forms seem to occur only with plural-object or other additional endings following the positive ending. Thus, in (5), we see that forms without such additional endings are not allowed.

- (5)a Nihtol nit skat nemihtuwaniyanil.
Those are the ones I do/did not see.
- b *Nit nit skat nemihtuwaniyan. - cf (5)f
That's the one I do/did not see.
- c *Nit nit skat nemihtuwani. - cf (3) and (5)g
That's the one I do/did not see.
- d Nit nit skat nemihtuwaniyans. - cf (5)h
That's the one I must not have seen.
- e Nit nit skat nemihtuwaniyanpon. - cf (5)i
That's the one I did not see (past).
- f *Nit nit skat nemihtuwan.
That's the one I do/did not see.
- g Nit nit skat nemihtu.
That's the one I do/did not see.
- h Nit nit skat nemihtuwans.
That's the one I must not have seen.
- i Nit nit skat nemihtuwanpon.
That's the one I did not see (past).

Even in the unchanged conjunct, where the "full" positive ending in the first-person normally appears in final position, it may not do

so in the doubly-inflected form, as shown in (6).

- (6) *tokec op skat nomihtuwoniyin if you (sg) do/did not see it
 *nomihtuhqit if he does/did not see it
- tokec op skat nomihtuwoniyinsopon if you (sg) had not seen it
 nomihtuhqitsopon if he had not seen it

The verb nomihtun has stem-vowel -u-, but the doubly-inflected forms occur in II verbs with other stem-vowels as well, shown in (7), using the same second endings.

- (7) skat qasahkewaniyansopon [qasahk(e)-]
 if I had not thrown it away
- skat micihqicil [mic(i)-]
 the ones he did not eat
- skat nutomuwoniyins [nutom(o)-]
 the one you must not have heard

II. Doubly-inflected Forms in Intransitive Verbs The Animate Intransitive (AI) and Inanimate Intransitive (II) paradigms produce similar participles.

In (8) we see examples from the AI and II paradigms.

- (8)a opu AI he sits
 Tokec op skat nil opiwansopon...
 Tokec op skat nil opiwaniyansopon...
 If I had not been sitting...
- b ote II it is there
 Tokec skat otenuksopon... (-enuhk + -sopon = -enuksopon)
 Tokec skat otenuhkiksopon... cf positive oteksopon
 If it had not been there...
- Nihtol 'tiyali qiluwahtunol ehtenuksoponil / ehtenuhkiksoponil.
 cf positive ehteksoponil
 He was looking around for the things that must once have been there (but were not there any longer).

Positive and negative conjunct endings of the II paradigms are shown in (9). Conjunct forms are the same for singular and plural subjects, except that participles add -il for plural subjects.

- (9) STEM-VOWELS (no II verbs have stem-vowel -u-)
 -i- -o- (schwa) -e- -a-

POSITIVE

-ik -ahk/ak/ok -ek -ak

NEGATIVE

-inuhk -unuhk -enuhk -anuhk

As in the TI examples, the positive endings in (8) are those used for verbs with stem-vowel -i-. It is not clear why this particular paradigm is used, although we note, in (10), that one set of syllables which can normally follow the negative endings begin with -i-, viz, animate plural -ik; obviative plural -i or -ihi; inanimate plural or obviative singular -il. Yet others, beginning with schwa (-o-), occur in this position, as shown in (10).

- (10) Inflections occurring after conjunct endings; those in (a) may be added to the endings in (c), but not to those in (b).

a	-ik	animate plural
	-i, -ihi	obviative plural
	-il	inanimate plural, obviative singular
b	-s, -os, -oss	dubitative
c	-pon, -opon	preterit
	-sopon, -osopon	dubitative-preterit

A few forms have been recorded with the second ending following the pattern for verbs with stem-vowel -e-, but this second ending is negative in form. See example (16). Whatever the phonetic factors involved, the second verb-endings in all doubly-inflected forms mark the person of the subject of the verb - since either there is no object or the object is inanimate.

III. Doubly-inflected TA Verb Forms We also find doubly-inflected forms in the TA paradigm. TA conjunct endings are given in (11) (corrected from Leavitt and Francis 1984).

(11)	DIRECT FORMS		INVERSE FORMS	
	POS	NEG	POS	NEG
	-uk	-awan	-it	-ihq
	-ot	-awon	-osk	-oluhk
	-at	-ahq	-iht	-ihq/okuhk
	-ek	-awehk	-inomok	-inomohq/inomuhk
	-oq	-awohq	-olinoq	-olinohq
	-eq	-awehq	-olinaq	-olinahq
	-ahtit	-ahtihq	-okuhtit	-okuhtihq
	YOU - ME/US FORMS		I/WE - YOU FORMS	
	POS	NEG	POS	NEG
	-iyin	-iwon	-olan	-oluwan
	-iyek	-iwehk	-olek	-oluwehk
	-iyeq	-iwehq	-oleq	-oluwehq
	INDEFINITE SUBJECT FORMS			
	POS	NEG		
	-oki(yan)	-okew(an)		
	-okiyin	-okewon		
	-ut	-amuhk		
	-okiyek	-okewehk		
	-okiyiq	-okewohq		
	-okiyeq	-okewehq		
	-ut	-amuhk		

In (11), the direct theme is -a- (evident in all independent indicative endings), and the negative conjunct endings follow the pattern of AI verbs with stem-vowel -a-.

The inverse theme -oku- (evident in the independent indicative endings) appears only in third-person forms here.

The you-me/us theme is -i-, marking first-person object (seen also in the appropriate inverse endings), and the negative conjunct endings follow the pattern of AI verbs with stem-vowel -i-.

The I/we-you theme is -ol-, marking second-person object (seen also in the appropriate inverse endings), and the negative conjunct endings follow the pattern of AI verbs with consonant-final stems, some of which have stems ending with -ol (eg, -tkiqol(o)- AI be heavy).

The indefinite subject theme is -oke-, and the negative conjunct endings follow the pattern of AI verbs with stem-vowel -e-, except in the third-person forms.

Examples of TA doubly inflected direct forms appear in (12).

(12) nomiyal TA he sees him

a Niktok nit skat nemiy/a/wan/iyan/ik.

see/direct/ 1-conj-neg/1-conj-pos/animate-pl

Those are the ones I did not see.

b Nihtol nit skat nemiy/a/hq/it/s.

see/direct/3-conj-neg/3-conj-pos/dub

That (obv.) is the one he must not have seen.

c Nihhiht nit skat nemiy/a/hti/hq/ihtit/s/upon/i.

see/dir/33-conj-neg/33-conj-pos/dub/pret/obv-pl

Those (obv.) are the ones they must not have seen.

Inverse forms are shown in (13). Note that the positive ending marks the subject of the verb - ie, third person. The unstarred forms in (13) are acceptable, but here the usual, non-doubled forms are preferred.

(13) wicuhkema! TA he helps him

a Tokec skat wicuhkem/i/hq/it/s/upon...

help/1-obj/3-conj-neg/3-conj-pos/dub/pret

If he had not helped me...

*wicuhkem/i/hq/iyan/s/upon

*help/1-obj/3-conj-neg/1-conj-pos/dub/pret

b Tokec skat wicuhkem/ol/uhq/it/s/upon...

help/2-obj/3-conj-neg-3-conj-pos/dub/pret

If he had not helped you...

*wicuhkem/ol/uhq/iyin/s/upon

*help/2-obj/3-conj-neg/2-conj-pos/dub/pret

You-me/us and I/we-you forms are direct and inverse, respectively, according to the Algonquian person hierarchy. In these forms, too, the second, positive ending must mark the subject, as shown in (14).

- (14) 'tokomal TA he hits him
- a Tokec skat tokom/i/wehk/iyin/s/ophon...
 hit/2,1/11-conj-neg/2-conj-pos/dub/pret
 If you (sg) had not hit us...
 *tokom/i/wehk/iyek/s/ophon
 hit/2,1/11-conj-neg/11-conj-pos/dub/pret
- b Tokec skat tokomiwonyinsopon...
 If you (sg.) had not hit me...
 *tokomiwonyansopon ("sounds like hitting myself")
- c Tokec skat tokomoluwaniansopon...
 If I had not hit you (sg)...
 *tokomoluwaniansopon cf (13)b

Indefinite subject forms of TA verbs are shown in (15).

- (15) musal TA he cuts his (someone else's) hair
- a Tokec skat mus/amuhk/et/s/ophon... *musamuhkitsopon
 cut-hair-of/3-indef-subj-conj-neg/3-conj-pos/dub/pret
 If he had not had his hair cut...
- b Tokec skat musamuhkehtitsopon... *musamuhkihtitsopon
 If they had not had their hair cut...
- c Tokec skat mus/uke/wohq/iyiq/s/ophon... (stem vowel -e- or -i-?)
 cut-hair-of/indef-subj/12-conj-neg/12-conj-pos/dub/pret
 If we (incl) had not had our hair cut...

The use, in the second endings, of the pattern for verbs with stem-vowel -e- is interesting in (15). Note that the stem-vowel of the indefinite subject theme is also -e-. Speakers do not accept the corresponding doubly-inflected forms with stem-vowel -i-.

But apparently speakers are not simply matching the stem-vowels of the endings. For some of the doubly-inflected forms, it is also acceptable to make the second ending negative, as shown in (16). Here again, the second ending often follows the pattern for verbs with stem-vowel -e-. These endings "sound better" or "fit better." (No examples of double-positive forms seem to occur.)

- (16) musamuhkehtiqsopon (-ehtihq + -sopon = -ehtiqsopon) cf (15)a
 wicuhkemihqiqsopon (-ihq + -sopon = -iqsopon) cf (13)a
 *wicuhkemihqeqsopon
 nemiyawanewanik (note use of stem-vowel -e- here)cf (12)a
 nemih tuwanewans (note use of stem-vowel -e- here)cf (4)a

What we have then, in (1) through (16), is a set of conjunct verb forms - participles, dubitatives, and preterits - which are inflected with two conjunct endings, one negative, the other positive. The forms have negative meanings identical to that of the normal, non-duplicate forms, and they are used in the same way.

A possible explanation at this point seems to be that the speakers who use these forms reinterpret the inflected stem as a derived stem with a (built-in) negative meaning, and then proceed to inflect it positively. Intuitively, this makes sense for the participle forms, which (with one ending) could take on a meaning like "one-that-I-don't-see" and which then might be re-participialized, as it were, as a unit. Presumably, a similar process occurs with the forms used in conditional clauses. The TA forms are also treated as derived stems, with intransitive inflection marking the subject only.

These forms may be idiosyncratic (to date, reports all come from the Pleasant Point reservation, in Maine) and stylistic. The examples given in the next section, (17) through (20), are often, and frankly, characterized as such; while those in (1) through (16) are said to be "old" or "no longer used," and younger speakers have not heard them. Nevertheless, they are evidence of a productive way to inflect inflected forms - resulting in words which are acceptable to speakers.

IV. Other Doubly-inflected Forms In Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, other morphemes used in deriving and inflecting stems may be repeated or reduplicated. Most commonly repeated are the diminutive endings used with nouns. Words such as those in (17) are all used in conversation, particularly in baby-talk, and in talking about children.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| (17) was | child (vocative) |
| wasis | child |
| wasossis | little or cute child |
| wasisossis | very cute little child |
| wasisossisossis | unbelievably cute little child |
| etc. | |

The themes used to derive plural (ie, non-singular, non-dual) verb stems of AI verbs may also be strung together, repeating the meaning. For some speakers, certain verbs are treated this way consistently. The inventory of themes, with their associated "stem-vowels," is shown in (18). These are the six surface realizations of the two basic forms of the multi-plural theme described by Sherwood (1983), plus a seventh theme, with stem-vowel -a-, used in a small number of verbs meaning sit, lie, etc.

- (18) -ult(i)-
 -uht(i)-
 -hot(i)-
 -aht(i)-
 -olot(i)-
 -awolot(i)-
 -iy(a)-

These themes may be used in combination, depending upon the compatibility of the stem-vowel with the beginning of the following theme. See (19).

- (19)a toloka AI he is dancing
 CHANGED CONJUNCT
 etolokat when/where he is dancing
 etolokahtit when/where they (dual) are dancing
 etolokawolotihtit when/where they (plural) are dancing
 etolokawolotultihtit
 *etolokawolotahtihtit
- b opu AI he sits
 INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE
 ntop I sit
 ntopipon we (excl, dual) sit
 ntopultipon we (excl, plural) sit
 ntopiyapon we (excl, plural) sit
 ntopiyahtipon
 ntopiyawolotipon
 ntopiyawolotultipon
 ntopiyawolotultiyapon
 *ntopiyawolotultiyahtipon ("too many!")
- c opalokittiyawolotultuwok they... (includes expletive infix)

In the course of supplying such examples, informants usually make one of two comments. Either they indicate that "that's the way John always talks" or that "Mary always used that with such-and-such a verb," or they will say that the extra themes emphasize the

plural meaning; ie, the subject becomes more and more numerous. After giving the forms listed in (19)b, David Francis added, "Opalokittiyawolotultuwok! (19)c - They're all sitting the hell down!" Clearly the repetition of the plural themes has a humorous and emphatic aspect - whether or not the words are under scrutiny at the time.

Finally, for some speakers, the non-singular theme in changed-conjunct third-person endings, viz, -hti-, may be repeated, as in (20). In this case, however, it is not the plurality that is emphasized, but the quality of the action itself. And again we hear, "My wife uses that."

(20)

a etuci- PV (very; to an extreme; at that point) + -ewest(u)- AI (talk)

etutewestaq	he is talking seriously, earnestly, etc.
etutewestuitit	they (dual) are talking seriously
etutewestuitiitit	they (plural) are talking seriously
etutewestuitiitiitit	" (emphasizes the seriousness of their talk)

b etuci-PV + -tehkom(o)-AI. (dance)

etuttehkomuhtiitiitit	they (plural) are dancing very hard (emphasizes their putting their hearts into it)
-----------------------	--

The examples here would seem to show that speakers can exploit themes and inflectional endings in the same productive - and playful - manner as they do roots of verbs and nouns, classifiers, preverbs, and other "meaningful" morphemes. Inflectional endings and theme markers, which carry no lexical meaning, can change the sense of the root or stem with which they are used. In addition, speakers may in certain cases regard an inflectional ending (negative) as part of the meaning of the verb, thus deriving a new stem, which can be inflected again.

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FUNCTIONAL TERMS OF LOCATION IN CHINESE

Anthony C. Lister

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

ABSTRACT

The usual locative pattern in Chinese is a preposition zài before the noun and a positional suffix after it. Names of countries and cities do not take the suffix. Marked place expressions normally precede the main verb but they can also be found in a post verbal position, a new tendency in Chinese. When a marked place expression modifies a noun a modifier de is added to the positional suffix and in all such cases in the corpus zài was also dropped. Zài is also dropped sometimes even when the phrase is not being used to modify a noun. In the examples examined this only occurred at the beginning of a sentence.

In this paper the Chinese equivalents are examined of English place prepositions, which do not involve movement. The corpus was composed of forty-two sentences and phrases taken from Chinese newspapers and magazines.

One of the problems in discussing Chinese syntax is the fact that there is still no universally accepted terminology. In the European languages, for example, word classes or "parts of speech" have become agreed upon over the centuries through common sense and through reference to an agreement reached earlier for a different language, namely Latin (Kratochvil: 108). In Chinese no such consensus has yet been reached, partly because there has been no "parts of speech" tradition in Chinese, and efforts to define Chinese "parts of speech" go back less than one hundred years. In a sense this is an advantage since there is not a wealth of erroneous or arbitrary traditional ideas as in the case of the grammars of the European Languages. In fact early attempts to define Chinese "parts of speech" were based on the traditional grammars of modern European Languages and Latin, grammars which were specific to those particular languages and were inadequate even for that. The inadequacies of these grammars for Chinese soon became very apparent. Thus the development of a modern Chinese grammar has had to start from scratch and textbooks for learners of Chinese as a foreign language are probably more in conformity with modern linguistic theory than grammars of French or English.

While in English or French it is widely agreed that words such as at, in, à, dans are prepositions of place, there is no such widely agreed upon definition yet of the Chinese equivalents. The equivalent

of the English preposition in in the following Chinese phrase can serve as an illustration of the problem of definitions:

zài hòuchēshì Lǐ
(AT waiting-room IN)
in the waiting room

For Kratochvil (1968: 115) zài is implied to be a "marker" and lǐ is a "positional suffix". Alleton (1973: 118) defines zài as a locative preposition and lǐ as a suffix. Tewksbury (1968: 51-53) describes zài as a "co-verb as setting for main action" and lǐ as a "positional suffix". He writes, "A co-verb indicates a relationship between a noun and the main verb. It functions like an English preposition,..." In The Chinese-English Dictionary of the Beijing Foreign Language Institute zài as used in the above example is described as a preposition. (The Chinese translation of preposition is jiècí, literally "an introductory word".)

In Chinese zài not only serves as a place marker but also as a stative verb meaning "to be present", "to be located at". The following sentence is an example of this:

Wǒ de fùmǔ ZÀI nóngcūn
(Lit. My parents are located in the countryside.)
My parents are in the countryside.

The fact that zài can be used as a verb explains why Tewksbury defines it as a co-verb when used as a place marker and there is often a functional ambiguity in Chinese as to whether a given term is primarily being used as a marker/preposition or as a verb. There is actually a gradation of markers with some being of a purely functional nature and others almost totally verbal. Thus, "to eat with chopsticks" is "yòng kuàizǐ chīfàn" (lit. use chopsticks to eat). Most of the markers lie somewhere between these two extremes.

The place markers and suffixes in the corpus were as follows:

zài...duìmiàn	opposite
zài...jiān	between
zài...lǐ	in, inside
zài...hòumiàn	behind
zài...nèi	within
zài...shàng	on
zài...wài	outside
zài...xià	under
zài...zhōng	among

Names of cities or countries after zài do not take a positional suffix:

ZÀI Ōu Měi, lǚyóu huódòng yǐ jìn wěishēng²

(IN Europe, America, tourist activities already close to end)
In Europe and America the tourist season is already drawing to an end.

Zài also occurred by itself in the following sentence:

Tā hé Luó Lián zhù ZÀI tóngyī tiáo jiē³
He and Luo Lian lived IN the same street.

Some examples of zài followed by a noun and a positional suffix are given below:

Yǒu shǎoshù nóngmín ZÀI tián chéng JIĀN cóngshí gōngzuò.⁴
(There was minority peasants IN paddyfields paths BETWEEN engaged in work.)

A small number of peasants were working in the paddy fields.

ZÀI Zhōngguó fāngyǐng hòu, yǐnqǐle rèliè de zhēngyì, tèbiè ZÀI qīngnián guānzhòng ZHŌNG.

(IN China, screened afterwards, it roused fierce dispute, especially IN young spectators AMONG.)

After the film was shown in China it aroused a fierce debate especially among the young spectators.

Tāmen ZÀI liúxuéshēng lóu XIÀMIÀN jùjí qǐlái hūhǎn.⁶
(They AT foreign students' building UNDERNEATH assembled began shouted.)

They began to assemble and shout beneath the foreign students' building.

In two of the above examples the marked place phrase precedes the main verb in the traditional pattern in Chinese syntax. According to Tewksbury (1968: 53) "The co-verb and its object always precede the main verb, and form a setting for the action of the main verb." However, the positioning of the place phrase after the main verb is also not unusual, a tendency Kratochvil (1968: 144) attributes to Western influence, particularly English and Russian. In the following examples the word order is similar to English in that the main verb is followed by the place expression:

Dàyuē èr bǎi rén jùjí ZÀI hūnyīn zhùcèchù mén WÀI.⁷
(Approximately two hundred people gathered AT marriage bureau doors OUTSIDE.)

About two hundred people gathered outside the doors of the marriage bureau.

Suǐrán jiāotōng shìshì duō fāshēng ZÀI chéngshì ZHŌNG...⁸
(Although traffic accidents mostly occur IN city WITHIN...)
Although most traffic accidents occur within the city...

Two other examples of this pattern have already been quoted above.

The marked phrases mentioned so far have all been short but they can also be much longer as for example in the following sentence where the positional suffix follows a phrase in parenthesis:

ZÀI Běijīng hé Shànghǎi de jǐ suǒ zhùmíng dàxué (rú Běijīng dàxué, Fúdàn dàxué) Lǐ, liúxuëshēng yǐ chéngwéi dàxuëshēng de zhōngyào zúchéng bùfēn.

(AT Beijing and Shanghai's several famous universities (as Beijing University, Fudan University) IN , foreign students already are becoming students' major component.)

In several famous universities in Beijing and Shanghai (such as Beijing University and Fudan University) foreign students are already becoming a major component in the student body.

A syntactical feature to which little attention has been drawn is the deletion of zài under certain conditions. It appears in particular that zài is dropped in short place phrases modifying nouns. In addition the suffix de is added to the place phrase to show that it is being used as a modifying element. The phrase precedes the noun being modified, unlike in English. The following three sentences were typical:

Tá nàgè hòu jǐngpiàn HOUMIÀN DE yǎnshén fēicháng lěngkù.¹⁰
(His those thick lenses BEHIND DE eye expression extremely grim.)
The expression in his eyes behind those thick lenses is extremely grim.

Jūn ZHŌNG DE gè jí língdǎo zhīwù yào yóu zhīshi fēnzǐ jiēbān."
(Armed Forces IN DE all classes of command positions must by intellectual elements be taken over.)
All classes of command positions in the armed forces must be taken over by intellectuals.

Xiǎoshuō ZHŌNG DE nán zhǔjué Zhào Yǒngfú wèi cǐ gǎndào fèn fèn bùpíng.¹²
(Novel IN DE male hero Zhao Yongfu about this feels indignant.)
The hero in the novel Zhao Yongfu feels indignant about this.

The modified nouns in the above examples were the subjects of the sentence. However, object nouns can also be modified in the same way:

Shēngyīn yánzhòng gānrǎole dǎilóu dōng bān bù yǐjī fùjìn liǎng zuò lóu
NĒI DE Zhōngguó xuëshēng.¹³
(Noise seriously disturbed high building east part and closeby two buildings INSIDE DE Chinese students.)
The noise seriously disturbed the Chinese students in the east wing of the high block and in the two nearby buildings.

The variation in the place phrase when it modifies a noun is similar in some respects to the French variation in the preposition in sentences such as:

Les hôtels de Paris sont chers.
A Paris les hôtels sont chers.

In the first case "de Paris" modifies a noun whilst in the second "A Paris" an autonomous syntagm is used adverbially.

Three examples occurred in the corpus of the deletion of zài without the addition of de. In other words, the zài phrase was not modifying a noun as in the examples just quoted. The three sentences were the following:

suǒyǐ wǒmen tuán Lǐ bù shǎo rén dōu shì dūshēn.¹⁴
(therefore our group IN not a few people are single)
therefore in our group quite a lot of people are single

Dǎng quán zhě ZHŌNG yǒu rén dàizhe fēngjiàn de yǎnjìng.¹⁵
(Party power people AMONG there are people wearing feudal glasses.)
There are some powerful people in the party who have feudal attitudes.

Dàn sān èr yī sān hào yúléi tíng SHÀNG qī mǐng jūnguān ZHŌNG, yījǔ zhī xià wǔ rén sàngmìng, liǎng rén zhòng shāng.¹⁶
(However 3213 number torpedo boat ON seven officers AMONG, at one stroke five people lost life, two people seriously wounded.)
However among the seven officers on the torpedo boat number 3213, at one stroke five lost their lives and two were seriously wounded.

It would be unwise to draw any rules from such a small sample. However, certain observations can be made. Firstly, the deletion of zài occurs in all three cases at the beginning of the sentence (after a conjunction in two cases). Secondly, in all the examples in the corpus zài (without de) is retained when it follows either the subject or the main verb, or both. From the evidence in the corpus it might be surmised that the addition of zài to a place phrase could give it a certain autonomy since it could then be moved to another position in the sentence.

I discovered one case where a place phrase is completely non marked. In this example which was a sign outside a prison there is no zài nor is there a positional suffix:

Jiānyù wéi qiáng bù zhǔn bō chē.¹⁷
(prison surrounding wall not allowed to park cars)
No parking outside the prison wall.

Here the sense of the English preposition outside is conveyed simply by the context. It is possible that the omission of zài or a

suffix can be explained by the fact that the language of signs tends to be concise in Chinese, just as is often the case in English or French. It is also possible that unmarked place phrases are not uncommon but are simply more difficult to spot than the marked phrases.

Time clauses are constructed in a similar way as place phrases with an initial zài which is sometimes deleted, a verb and a final time word (to use Tewksbury's term). The following sentence is an example of this pattern:

ZÀI yǒuguān dāngjú wánchéng diàochá HÒU, tā dīng huì zhuījiū zérèn.¹⁸
 (AT concerned authorities completely investigated AFTER, he certainly will examine responsibilities.)
 After the authorities concerned have completed their investigations, he will certainly examine his responsibilities.

Because of the fact that zài can be used to mark both a place phrase and a time clause, it is possible for zài to mark both at the same time. In the following sentence, for example, it is difficult to tell whether zài is a part of the place expression, the time expression or both:

Lúo Lián ZÀI jiē SHÀNG zǒu SHÍ, cháng yǐnqǐle yìxìng zhùyì.¹⁹
 (Luo Lian AT street ON walked TIME, always attracted opposite sex attention.)
 When Luo Lian walked on the street she always attracted the attention of the opposite sex.

In conclusion the general pattern for expressing location in Chinese is zài preceding the noun and a positional suffix following. However, zài is often deleted in certain circumstances while the suffix is usually retained. For this reason the suffix seems to be the more important of the two grammatical features. In addition, since individual suffixes are used less frequently than zài, they have more information value. This study is based on a very small corpus, but it reveals a wider range of variation than one might expect from reading grammars of Chinese. A larger sample would probably reveal an even greater variation. One of the features of Chinese is the vagueness of the norm. Unlike in the modern European languages, the norm is still being established and when there are variations of usage among native speakers it is difficult to say which variation is better or worse, or even less which is correct or incorrect. The Chinese themselves are very tolerant and flexible concerning the use of their language, a fact reflected in this study.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 "The first attempt to present a systematic description of parts of speech, of the European kind in Chinese was made by Ma Jianzhong in 1898". (Kratochvil: 109)
- 2 Cheng Ming (magazine), vol. 64, p. 28, Hong Kong, 1983.
- 3 Sing Pao (newspaper), Hong Kong, July 13, 1984.
- 4 Cheng Ming, vol. 64, p. 28.
- 5 Ibid., vol. 91, p. 29, 1985.
- 6 Ibid., p. 64.
- 7 Sing Pao, op. cit.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Cheng Ming, vol. 91, p. 19.
- 10 Pai Shing (magazine), Hong Kong, July 1, 1985, p. 18.
- 11 Cheng Ming, vol. 91, p. 67.
- 12 Ibid., p. 64.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid., vol. 92, p. 42, 1985.
- 15 Ibid., vol. 64, p. 64, 1983.
- 16 Ibid., vol. 91, p. 67.
- 17 Sign.
- 18 Dong Fang Ri Bao (newspaper), Hong Kong, June 3, 1985.
- 19 Sing Pao, op.cit.

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APPENDIX

CHINESE CHARACTER TEXTS OF QUOTATIONS

(The numerals refer to the footnote numbers.)

2. 在歐美，旅遊活動已近尾聲。
3. 他和羅連住在同一條街。
4. 有少數農民在田塍間從事工作。
5. 在中國放映後，引起了熱烈的爭議；特別在青年觀眾中。
6. 他們在留學生樓下面聚集起來呼喊。
7. 大約二百人聚集在婚姻註冊處門外。
8. 雖然交通失事多發生在城市中，……
9. 在北京和上海的幾所著名大學（如北京大學，復旦大學）裡，留學生已成為大學生的重要組成部份。
10. 他那個厚鏡片後面的眼神非常冷酷。
11. 軍中的各級領導職務要由知識份子接班。
12. 小說中的男主角趙永福為此感到憤憤不平。
13. 聲響嚴重干擾子大樓東半部以及附近兩座樓內的中國學生。
14. 所以我們團裡不少人都是獨身。
15. 當權者中有人戴着封鎖的眼鏡，
16. 但三二一三號魚雷艇上七名軍官中，一舉之下五人喪命，兩人重傷。

17. 監獄圍牆不准泊車。
18. 在有關當局完成調查後，他是會追究責任。
19. 羅蓮在街上走時，常引起異性的注意。

I should like to thank Professor Larry N. Shyu for writing out the above Chinese character text.

THE ACTUATION PROBLEM FOR GENDER CHANGE IN WESSEX VERSUS NEWFOUNDLAND

Harold Paddock

Memorial University of Newfoundland

1. Introduction

It is assumed that some changes in a language have a mainly extralinguistic (e.g., social) motivation while others have a mainly intralinguistic (e.g., psychological) motivation. This paper proposes intralinguistic motivations for a grammatical change in Wessex Vernacular English (WVE). These motivations will be used to explain why an earlier three-gender system for nouns in WVE has been well preserved in those varieties of Newfoundland Vernacular English (NVE) which have mainly Wessex origins, while change towards a two-gender system has taken place in the source area of Wessex¹ itself in southwestern England. This is the type of question that Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968:102) called the "actuation problem"² which "can be regarded as the very heart" of a theory of language change.

Intralinguistic motivation of language change may be better understood if we regard each lect (i.e., language, dialect, or variety) as a system of systems or subsystems. This paper will attempt to explain some grammatical differences between two closely related lects of Modern English, WVE and NVE, in terms of how linguistic subsystems tend to support or undermine one another within a given lect. It is assumed that speakers or learners of any lect are subject to (conscious or unconscious) psychological pressures towards a state of "systemic congruency"³, in which associated subsystems are maximally congruent with one another.

At the system (or macrosystem) level we can easily see the lack of one-to-one correspondence between distinctions made in the five main components of any lect, that is, in the phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and semantics.

A similar lack of one-to-one correspondence between distinctions is found at the subsystem or microsystem levels. For example, in the Wessex-type lects discussed below nouns that are semantically <mass> nouns are normally assigned to the syntactic category of NEUTER⁵. However, such <mass> nouns are sometimes reassigned to the syntactic category of FEMININE, especially when the speaker seems to be attributing to them such semantic features as <mobile> or <self-moving>. Hence, such mass nouns as rain, snow, fog or ice are normally referred to in NVE by using the NEUTER pronoun it; but when rain showers, snow flurries, fog banks, or ice pans are seen approaching one often hears sentences such as "Here she comes!" However, this reassignment of gender might be more apparent than real in NVE. This is because the nouns shower, flurry, bank, and pan are all <count> nouns in NVE. Furthermore, all <count> nouns are

either MASCULINE or FEMININE in NVE and the only <inanimate> <count> nouns that are normally FEMININE in NVE are those that are <self-moving>, such as boat, ship, car, and airplane. For example, in NVE cheese as a <mass> noun selects the NEUTER pronoun it; but a slice of cheese selects the usual NVE <inanimate> + <count> pronoun, the MASCULINE he⁶.

2. Gender Marking in Wessex-type English

It is usually claimed that English nouns lost their grammatical gender during the historical period called Middle English, roughly 1100 to 1500. But this claim needs some qualification. What actually happened during the Middle English period was that more overt gender marking of English nouns gave way to more covert marking. As in Lyons (1968:281-8), the term gender is used here to refer to syntactic classes of nouns. It is true that the loss of adjective concord in Middle English made gender marking less overt; but Modern English still retains some determiner concord which allows us to classify nouns (Christophersen and Sandved 1969). In addition, Modern English (ModE), like Old English (OE) and Middle English (ME), possesses pronominal distinctions which enable us to classify nouns.

We can distinguish at least three distinctly different types of gender marking along the continuum from most overt to most covert. The most overt involves the marking of gender in the morphology of the noun itself, as in Swahili (Lyons 1968:284-6). Near the middle of the overt-covert continuum we could place the marking of gender in adnominals such as adjectives and determiners. At or near the covert end⁷ of the scale we find the marking of gender in pronominal systems.

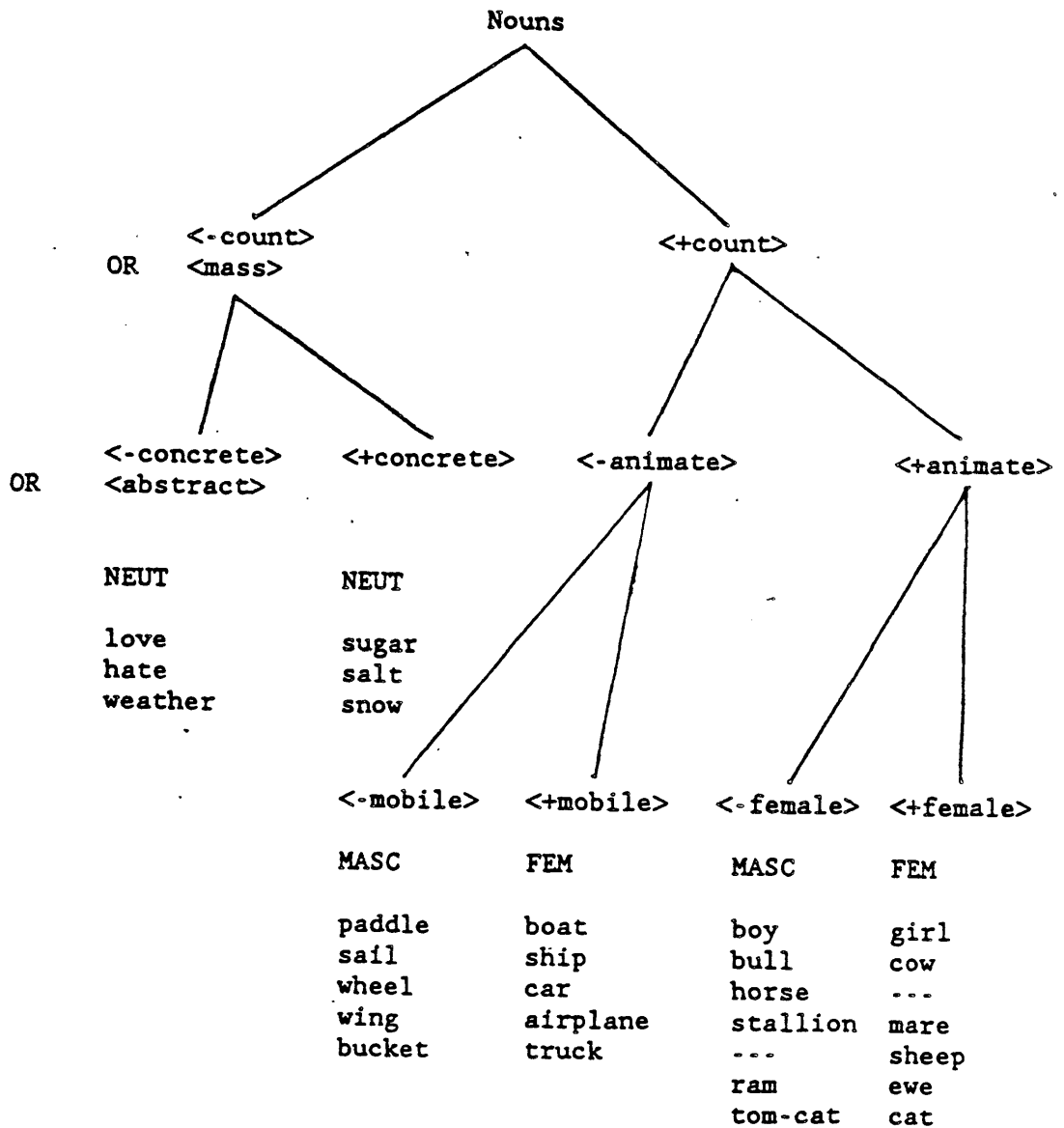
During the ME and Early ModE periods the southwestern (here called Wessex-type) dialects of England diverged from Standard English in their developments of adnominal and pronominal subsystems. In particular, the demonstratives of Standard English lost all trace of gender marking whereas in southwestern dialects their OE three-way distinction of MASCULINE/ FEMININE/NEUTER developed into a two-way MASS/COUNT distinction which has survived in some Wessex-type dialects of Late ModE⁸. The result in WVE was that the two-way distinction in adnominals such as demonstratives and indefinites⁹ came into partial conflict with the three-way distinction in pronominals.

3. The Hierarchy Principle

The Hierarchy Principle states that subordinate distinctions are likely to disappear or change before their superordinate distinctions do so. This principle is partially supported by the data from WVE, in which the subordinate masculine/feminine distinction is sometimes lost or changed but in which its superordinate neuter/non-neuter distinction is always preserved. However, this principle is not supported by the history of the animacy and mobility distinctions in WVE, for here we will see that the Mirror Principle has outweighed the Hierarchy Principle.

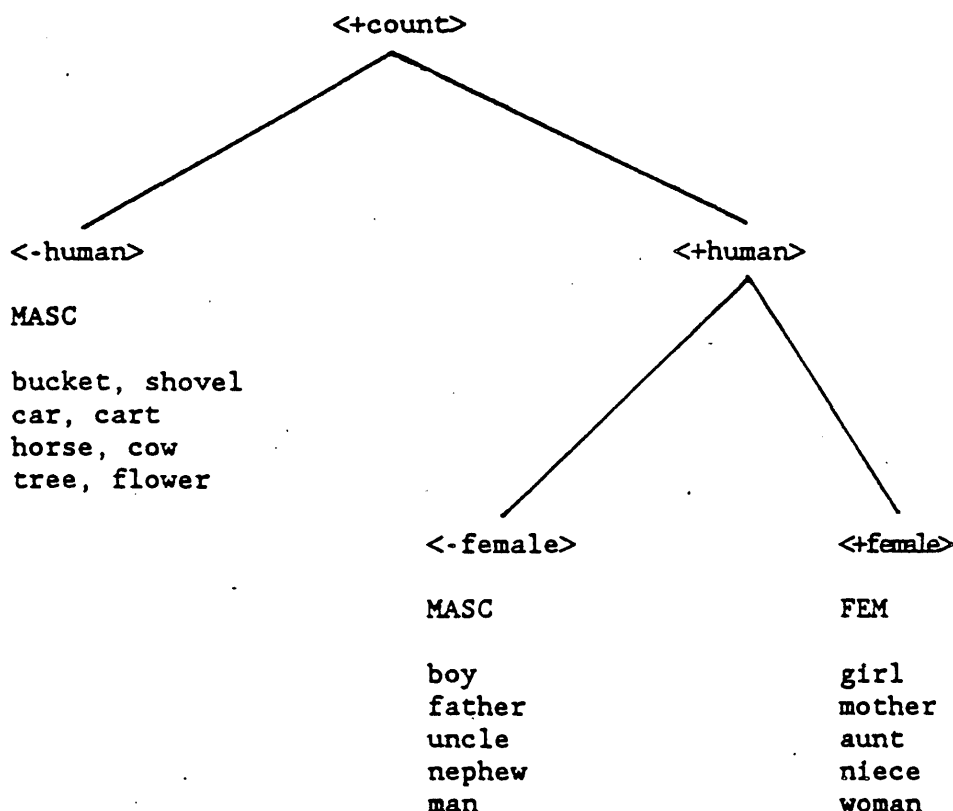
I will now try to deduce or, better, abduce (Andersen 1973) the underlying changes in the hierarchy which could lead to the observed genders of count nouns in such varieties of WVE. When one observes¹⁰ nouns such as car being assigned masculine gender ("You'll have to pay a lot for he!") one might assume that the <+mobile> distinction has been lost for all inanimate count nouns. But this assumption might be premature. It would be preferable if we could find a single underlying change that would account not only for the masculine gender of <+mobile> nouns like car but also for the masculine gender of <+female> nouns like cow ("Oh, he's more dangerous than any bull!").

Figure 1: A Gender Hierarchy for NVE



There exists a likely candidate for just such a single change - the reinterpretation of the <+animate> distinction as a <+human> distinction, as is observed in some varieties of Late Mod WVE (Elworthy 1875-6:32). This change would also tend to undermine the binary nature of any mobility distinction for <-human> nouns, since such nouns possess several different degrees and sources of mobility. The mobility feature would then become less ambiguous, since it would then be left with the single ("floating" or non-fixed) role of assigning temporary feminine gender to any noun, whether mass or count, as described in 1 above. This single underlying change would lead to the simplification of the <+count> portion of the gender hierarchy in some varieties of WVE, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: A Gender Hierarchy for Count Nouns in WVE



4. The Mirror Principle

The proposed Mirror Principle states that a distinction in one subsystem will be strengthened or weakened according to the extent to which it is reflected in analogous distinctions in other subsystems. When we compare mirroring of gender marking in NVE and WVE we find two important differences. In WVE, but not in NVE, we find a mass/count distinction in an adnominal subsystem, the demonstratives, which would strongly reinforce the neuter/non-neuter distinction in the pronominals. Again in WVE, but not in NVE, we find extensive surface neutralization of the masculine/feminine distinction in the pronominals. This would tend to seriously undermine the masculine/feminine distinction, since this gender distinction surfaces only in the pronominals and never in the adnominals.

As was shown in the historical sketch of gender marking in 2 above, the mass/count distinction was preserved in the morphology of the demonstratives in Late Modern WVE. The forms reported with singular mass nouns in WVE are similar to the standard ModE forms (proximate this and remote that), but the forms reported with count nouns are quite non-standard in form or function. Thus, the proximate demonstrative for singular count nouns was often of the these or thease¹¹ type, while the remote demonstrative for the same nouns was often of the thik or thuck¹¹ type. The demonstratives used with plural (count) nouns were also non-standard¹¹. Extensive regional and social variation in the forms and functions of the demonstratives has existed and still exists (Rogers 1979:32) in Late Modern WVE, but it is important to note that this variation has tended to blur first the distinction of deixis or proximity (Lyons 1968:278-9) rather than the mass/count distinction, which was well preserved even in the late nineteenth century (Elworthy 1875-6:29-32 and Barnes 1886:17-9).

In this respect WVE is very different from its sister (or, better, half-sister) varieties of NVE on the other side of the Atlantic. The mass/count distinction in demonstratives which was brought by most settlers from Wessex has not been preserved in Newfoundland. There are perhaps several reasons for this loss in NVE. No doubt one of the main ones is the strong influence of Anglo-Irish or Hiberno-English on most varieties of NVE. Whatever the reasons for the loss of the mass/count distinction in the demonstratives in Newfoundland, the result was that the strong reinforcement of the neuter/non-neuter distinction in the pronouns by the mass/count distinction in the demonstratives continued in WVE long after it was lost in Wessex-based varieties of NVE.

Furthermore, the strengthening of the neuter/non-neuter distinction in WVE has been accompanied by a weakening of the masculine/feminine distinction in WVE, but not in NVE. This weakening or undermining of the masculine/feminine distinction in WVE can be attributed to the homophony of some "weak" forms of third person singular pronouns. This homophony consisted of the same phonological form, usually [ə], being often used in WVE where more standard varieties of English would use either the distinctively masculine forms he, him, 'im or the distinctively feminine forms she, her, 'er. This homophony resulted from some rather radical functional and phonological changes in the pronouns of WVE.

A loss of morphological contrasts between subject forms and object forms of pronouns is commonly found in the whole southwestern area of England. In addition, extensive parts of the region have replaced the former contrast between subject and object forms with a contrast between "strong" and "weak" forms. In some instances, the strong/weak difference is realized by using the former subjects as strong forms and the former objects as weak forms. This yields variants such as the following:

FIRST PERSON PLURAL

1. a. Wé wouldn' do that, would us?
- b. Give us the shovel.
- c. Give the shovel to wé, not to théy.

THIRD PERSON PLURAL

2. a. They wouldn' do that, would 'um?
- b. Give 'um the shovel.
- c. Give the shovel to théy, not to wé.

The situation is complicated in the second person pronouns by the fact that some varieties of WVE, and conservative NVE, appear to use parts of an earlier formal second person (you, your, yours) as its strong forms, but parts of an earlier informal second person (thee, thy, thine) as its weak forms. This yields variants such as the following.

SECOND PERSON

3. a. Yu wouldn' do that, would 'ee?¹²
- b. I'll give 'ee the shovel.
- c. I'll give the shovel to you, not to hé.

It should be noted here that the weak second person from 'ee is not only from a formerly separate paradigm, that of the informal or familiar thee, but is also a phonologically reduced form without initial consonant.¹³ In some cases the weak forms of pronouns originate mainly from phonologically reduced, unstressed forms. This yields variants such as the following:

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR MASCULINE

4. a. Hé wouldn' do that, would 'e?¹⁴
- b. 'a wouldn' do that, would uh [ə]?¹⁵
- c. Uh wouldn' do that, would ur [ɜ]?¹⁶

The retroflex r-colour added at the end of 4c above is easily explained. In most of southwestern England, except for Bristol¹⁷, r-colour was often added to unstressed, schwa-like vowels at the ends of phonological words or phrases. Hence words like Martha, soda and shadda 'shadow' came to be pronounced as Marther, soder, and shadder. However, the r-colouring of the weak form of the feminine third person singular could represent a preservation of its Old English /r/¹⁸. Regardless of their sources, we find variants such as the following in WVE.

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FEMININE

5. a. She wouldn' do that, would 'er? (with stressed or unstressed she)
- b. Her wouldn' do that, would 'er? (with stressed or unstressed her)
- c. 'er wouldn' do that, would 'er [ɜ]?

One effect of the above variations is that 4c and 5c are almost totally homophonous. A stranger unacquainted with the dialect, and presumably a local child acquiring the dialect, must listen closely to detect any difference in retroflexion between the two initial schwa-types vowels in 4c and 5c. The result has sometimes been complete homophony for such pairs of sentences (Elworthy 1875-6:33).

WVE differs from its sister, or half-sister, varieties of NVE with respect to this neutralization of the masculine/feminine contrast in the third person singular pronouns. In Newfoundland this contrast has been rapidly reestablished or reinforced in Wessex-based varieties of NVE so that sentences with masculine ur [ʔ] were likely to be heard only from older rural male informants by the middle of the twentieth century in Newfoundland. In addition; the use of feminine 'er[ʔ] as subject apparently never flourished in NVE¹⁹. Again, the strong influence of Anglo-Irish or Hiberno-English on the Newfoundland Regional Standard, especially until Newfoundland's confederation with Canada in 1949, has no doubt contributed to this situation in NVE.

With respect to the Mirror Principle for grammatical gender, then, NVE differs from WVE in two important ways. On the one hand, the superordinate neuter/non-neuter distinction has been strongly reinforced by a mass/count distinction in the demonstratives in WVE but not in NVE. On the other hand, the subordinate masculine/feminine distinction has been undermined by frequent surface neutralization of this distinction in the third person singular pronouns in WVE but not in NVE. It is therefore not surprising that a change from a three-gender system towards a two-gender system developed in some varieties of WVE²⁰. The neuter nouns were unaffected by this development, but most of the formerly feminine nouns have been reclassified with the formerly masculine nouns. It would be misleading, however, to say that they have become "masculine", since the resulting binary gender distinction should be called neuter/non-neuter or mass/count rather than neuter/masculine.

5. The Overtness Principle

The proposed Overtness Principle represents an attempt to assign a relative weighting²¹ to different types of marking along the overt/covert gender marking continuum which has been outlined above in 2. Our Overtness Principle states that, other things being equal, a more overt distinction is likely to outweigh a more covert distinction whenever two distinctions fail to mirror each other. This statement is of course only a crude first approximation to the actual psychological weighting, because other things are rarely equal. For example, on the internal causation side there is the question of relative frequency. Thus, a more overt distinction may occur with lower frequency than does a more covert one. This will tend to equalize their weights. On the external causation side a more overt distinction may be less standard or less prestigious while its more covert rival may be more standard or more prestigious²². Again, this will tend to equalize their weights.

6. Conclusions

Because of the sociolinguistic movement pioneered in the nineteen-sixties by Labov, we now know a good deal about external (extralinguistic) motivations of language change and variation. These include such "semi-permanent" features of speakers as their age, sex, socioeconomic class and ethnic background, as well as the more "temporary" stylistic features. Sociolinguists have also given us insights into certain internal (intralinguistic) motivations for change, especially the phonetic environments that condition certain sound changes. Attempts have been made by sociolinguists to quantify all the above types of conditioning. These attempts have been successful to the extent that such conditioners of variation were real rather than spurious and were also amenable to controlled "scientific" observation²³. Unfortunately, however, sociolinguistics cannot give us a complete picture of linguistic variation and change. This is because some of the main conditioners are not directly observable at all, but must be hypothesized after the fact. This unobservable psychological conditioning of language variation and change may be just as important as is the more observable social conditioning. We can therefore say that followers of Chomsky (1972, etc.) such as Halle (1962) and King (1969) were justified in trying to find mentalistic or psychological explanations of certain changes in language. Of course, in specific cases we may be asked to choose between competing explanations. For example, Halle (1962) gives a psychological explanation of an apparent historical merger of English low vowels that later split to restore the surface contrast "lost" in the merger. Samuels (1972:34) rejects Halle's explanation and states that "From a purely intrasystemic viewpoint, merger is irreversible"; but Samuels provides his own social explanation by saying that "the old distribution can be 'borrowed back' from a neighbouring system", that is, from a neighbouring social or regional dialect.

In this paper, I have attempted to explain a change in grammatical gender of nouns in WVE in terms of unobservable psychological realities. To be more specific, I have tried to apply Henning Andersen's (1973) model of how learners or speakers of a language try to "solve" by means of "abductive reasoning" the structural ambiguities that always exist in the samples of the language that they experience. But how can we ever know that our assumed abductions are "right" or "correct", either in general terms or in any particular application. My own answer to this question would be very similar to Anttila's (1972:202) given below:

Abduction is certainly psychologically real, although we might get to know the particular cases only accidentally. It also explains why the actuation problem of change cannot be perfectly solved ..., because it is not a purely linguistic question, but a much wider one of human perception and reasoning. On the other hand, it explains the common core of change mechanisms ... and analogy in analysis ... Note that like folk etymology such analysis can be "wrong"...

In any case, regardless of the uncertainties involved, we cannot afford to ignore the psychological realities of language, for it is only these that can provide insight into the genesis of variants which may have purely internal origins. Such variants must be psychologically created before they can be socially constrained. In this sense then, psychological explanation is prior to social explanation. However, both types of explanation are necessary. For example, in this paper I have had to adduce external (extralectal and social) conditioning to explain why NVE has retained a three-gender system, but internal (intralectal and psychological) conditioning to explain why WVE has moved towards a two-gender system.

Furthermore, both social and psychological explanations are alike in that they utilize the concept of covariation. Social explanations adduce covariations between extralinguistic and linguistic variables, while psychological explanations adduce covariations between linguistic subsystems. Both types of explanation are post hoc and inductive (or better, abductive) and they therefore cannot attain the certainties of true deductive reasoning. The main difference between the two is that social explanations now utilize statistical tests of covariation. This paper proposes three principles by which we may more rigorously evaluate some of our psychological explanations of covariation. These three proposed principles should be tested on other cases of language change, and especially on gender changes in three branches of Indo-European (Indic, Romance, and Celtic) in which three-gender systems (of neuter/masculine/feminine) have evolved into two-gender system (of masculine/feminine or unmarked/marked).²⁴

Finally, it seems to me that Labov has been wisely cautious, but perhaps overly pessimistic, about our ability to throw light on the actuation problem in language change. I believe in some cases that there is much rather than "little that can be said about the particular social or linguistic events that trigger a particular change" (Labov 1972:317). For example, when two distinctive varieties of a language mix in a new location, as Hiberno-English and Wessex English have done in Newfoundland, it provides us with an opportunity "to explain why some forms from the dialects contributing to the mixture survive and some not" (Trudgill 1985:6). It even allows us, as this paper has shown, to explain why some features have survived better in the mixture than in the contributing dialects.

FOOTNOTES

¹Here the term Wessex is being used, as in Rogers (1979), as a convenient synonym for southwestern England. It is also an appropriate term for the main English source area for NVE, since most English settlers in Newfoundland came from Dorset, the heartland of Wessex, and from adjacent areas of Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire (Handcock, 1977:38).

²Weinreich et al. (1968:102) introduce the actuation problem as follows:

In the light of answers to these, we can approach a fifth question, perhaps the most basic: What factors can account for the actuation of changes? Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times? This actuation problem can be regarded as the very heart of the matter.

³Compare and contrast the use of the term "systemic regulation" by Samuels (1972:64-87).

⁴Compare the "squishes" described by Ross (1973) and others.

⁵Where it seems important to do so, I will distinguish semantic features from syntactic features by enclosing the former in arrow brackets, < >, and writing the latter in capitals.

⁶The masculine singular pronoun has a wide variety of forms in Wessex-type dialects. Some of these are described in the text below as well as in footnotes 14, 15, and 16.

⁷Perhaps the most covert gender of all is that claimed for English by Joos (1964), who classifies the -s suffix on English verbs as a gender marker since the third person singular subjects (he, she, it) have marked gender whereas the other personal pronoun subjects (I, you, we, they) have unmarked gender.

⁸See, for example, Barnes (1886:17-9) for the nineteenth century and Rogers (1979:32) for the twentieth century.

⁹The binary mass/count distinction has not survived to the present day in the demonstratives of NVE, but it flourishes in the indefinites of NVE. See, for example, Kirwin (1968), Paddock (1981:15) and Story et al. (1982:162 under e'er and either), all of which describe the non-standard NVE indefinites used with count nouns.

¹⁰I spent eight months doing fieldwork in the Wessex area in 1978-9. The sentences cited, showing the use of he to refer to car and cow, were recorded in Dorset at that time. The car example is from a younger male informant, the cow example from an older male. Compare sow as he in Elworthy (1875-6:32) for West Somerset about one hundred years earlier.

¹¹For some nineteenth century variants of Wessex demonstratives see Elworthy (1875-6:29-32) and Barnes (1886:17-9). For some twentieth century ones see Rogers (1979:32) and Orton and Wakelin (1967, Vol. 4, Part 3, pp. 1159-67).

¹²A phonologically reduced weak form ya, [jæ] and [jə], is also common in both WVE and NVE.

¹³According to Wakelin (1972:113), the weak second person form that I have written as 'ee may derive from ye rather than thee. But see Rogers (1979:35) on the unlikelihood of a ye origin.

¹⁴Both WVE and NVE possess another masculine singular weak form spelled variously as en, un or 'n which is commonly used as the weak object form rather than the weak subject form. As Wakelin (1972:113) correctly observes, the strong form "he is used as object in emphatic cases only". Since this alveolar nasal form is apparently from OE masculine accusative hine rather than from masculine dative him, its etymologically correct spelling would be 'in rather than en or un.

¹⁵The traditional Wessex spellings a or 'a for masculine singular appear to represent full vowels such as [ei] and [e] as well as reduced schwa-like vowels (Elworthy 1875-6:32-9). In this respect, the spelling parallels that of the indefinite article in Standard English.

¹⁶The more traditional Wessex spellings in 4c would be 'a or a instead of uh, and er instead of ur.

¹⁷In Bristol and some nearby areas an excrescent or intrusive lateral was added instead. Hence, words such as Martha, soda and idea became Marthel, sodel and ideal. See Wakelin (1972:163, fn. 17) and Wells (1982:344-5) on the restricted regional and social distribution of this highly stigmatized feature.

¹⁸But see Wakelin (1972:164, fn. 7) for another possible source of the /r/ in feminine singular her or 'er.

¹⁹This was due to regional and ethno-social factors arising from the patterns of settlement in Newfoundland. The earlier English settlers were mainly from farther west (and especially from Devon) and often settled with or near the Irish on the Avalon Peninsula, whereas the later English settlers were mainly from farther east (and especially from Dorset) and rarely settled near the Irish. The result was that the Devon-type or West Wessex settlers, with their more frequent use of feminine 'er as subject (Rogers 1979:35, fn. 3), were quickly exposed to Hiberno-English

and to some standardization in the more ethnically mixed and more urbanized Avalon Peninsula. The Dorset-type or East Wessex settlers, with their less frequent use of feminine 'er as subject, dominated nearly all of the Island of Newfoundland outside of the Avalon Peninsula (Handcock, 1977:28).

²⁰Our proposed Mirror Principle is also supported within Wessex itself by the fact that more of the feminine nouns became masculine in precisely those regions, such as West Somerset (Elworthy 1875-6:32-9), where surface neutralization of the masculine/feminine pronouns was most common.

²¹Compare Bailey's (1973) attempt to assign weightings to feature marking in phonology in order to better describe and explain some aspects of variation and change in sound.

²²Prestige itself may be either covert or overt. See, for example, Trudgill (1974:95-101) based on Labov (1972:243 and elsewhere).

²³See, for example, Fasold's (1975) reply to Bickerton (1971 and 1973) on such questions.

²⁴Germanic languages should also be compared with Wessex-type dialects of English. For example, a comparison of the historical developments of gender marking in WVE and Dutch would be particularly interesting and instructive. See Dekeyser (1980) for a model.

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CAN TWO DISTINCT GRAMMARS COEXIST IN A SINGLE LANGUAGE?

THE CASE OF MÉTIF

Robert A. Papen
Université du Québec à Montréal

The purpose of this paper is to report on the rather particular, not to say peculiar, nature of a contact language known as Métif (pronounced michif)¹, spoken by an undetermined number of Métis speakers living in various isolated communities in western Canada, in eastern Montana as well as in and around the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in north-central North Dakota.

Métif may be described as being both particular and peculiar because of the nature of its linguistic structure. It derives from the grammars of two (and perhaps three) very different languages. In very general - and to some extent oversimplified - terms, the structure of the noun phrase reflects the grammatical and lexical structure of French while the verb is essentially Cree, more specifically, the Southern Plains dialect of Cree. In both cases, the phonological structure, the lexical items, the various derivational and inflectional morphemes as well as the morphological and syntactic rules which apply internally to the syntagm are quite consistently maintained.

The French being referred to here is of course not Standard French but rather that of Métis French, a subdialect of Québécois French, spoken by a great number of Métis speakers in western Canada. This dialect reflects and probably derives from earlier stages of rural Québécois French (18th century). For example, dental plosives become alveopalatal affricates before high front vowels and glides and not apico-alveolar affricates as in modern Québécois speech. Also, velar plosives are variably palatalized before front vowels and glides, which reflects very conservative rural Québécois French. As might be expected, Métis French has evolved a number of independent phonological rules, quite a number of new lexical items as well as at least one particular syntactic rule which makes this dialect distinct from all other French dialects. For example, in Métis French, high-mid vowels (/e/, /ø/ and /o/, as

well as nasal /õ/) are raised to [i], [y], [u] and [ũ]. High vowels, including those that have been raised from mid position, are generally lax and somewhat centralized in unstressed position. Métis French does not diphthongize long mid or low stressed vowels as in a number of contemporary urban Québécois dialects but it does diphthongize low-mid back /ɔ/ to [wʌ] after velars in words such as [kwʌsɔ̃] 'cochon', [ʃɔkwʌlɑ] 'chocolat', [gwarɔ̃zi] 'gorgée'². The Métif phonemic system is given below.

FRENCH COMPONENT³:

i	y	ɛ	u	ẽ	œ	õ	p	t		k	
e	ø		o	ẽ	œ	õ	b	d		g	
E			0				f	s	ʃ	(ç)	h
a			ɑ		ɑ̃		v	z	ʒ	(j)	
							m	n		r	(ʝ)
								r	ʀ		
										j	w

CREE COMPONENT⁴:

ī		ū	i		u	p	t		č	k
ē								š		h
	ā			a		m	n			
									j	w

It is immediately evident that the two phonological inventories are quite dissimilar. Furthermore, the phonological processes operating in either are quite distinct. For instance, the affrication rule applying to dental plosives mentioned above functions only to items derived from French. That is to say, for French items, affricates appear only before high front vowels and glides while for Cree, the affricate may appear before any vowel since it is phonemic in Cree but not in French. Similarly, Cree has a distinct rule which inserts a t between a vowel-final prefix and a vowel-initial stem: ni-t-apin 'I am sitting'. A Cree innovation in Métif is that the short i of the first person marker ni- is deleted when the following consonant is an obstruent; obstruents are voiced after nasal consonants and word initial nasals are deleted in rapid speech. The combination of these four rules gives rise to surface initial voiced obstruents which are not permitted in Plains Cree⁵. These rules function only for the Cree component since for example, obstruents

are not voiced after nasals in French lexical items: en tas (and not *en das) 'a cup'.

Less than two percent of the nominal lexical items of Métif comes from Cree, these being limited to a few kinship terms, some common household items and a few terms for common wild animals or insects. Another ten percent of the nominal lexicon comes from English, particularly technical terms. However, many of these had in fact been borrowed earlier into Québécois or into Métis French since they are fully integrated phonologically in Métif. For example, [krakəs] 'crackers', [sɛim] 'steam', [rɔ'ber] 'rubber', etc. More recent English borrowings are not phonologically integrated and maintain typical English phonological structure: [blæk'aj] 'black eye', [skweɪdæns] 'square dance', etc. Cree nouns are never phonologically integrated to French since Cree phonological distinctions are consistently maintained.

Whenever an English noun (and more rarely a Cree noun) occurs, it will invariably be assigned French gender and it will therefore take the correct (for Métis French) form of the definite, indefinite or possessive determiner. For example: lɛ bos 'the boss', la suspan 'the saucepan', mû dresɛr 'my dresser', li wɛpinikɛwin 'the garbage', la uspɛhikɛwin 'the writing', mû kuʂkihɛwin 'my earnings', etc.

Curiously enough, demonstrative determiners are from Cree, where a proximate, intermediate and distant distinction is maintained, as are the Cree animate/inanimate gender and the singular/plural agreements. On the other hand, whenever a demonstrative is used, the French definite article (masculine or feminine) must also co-occur. This seems to point to some degree of internal reanalysis of the article. Some typical examples are given in (1):

- (1) ũhin liz afer 'these things' (PLURAL-PROXIMATE-INANIMATE)
 uki(k) lɛ bisû 'these twins' (PLURAL-PROXIMATE-ANIMATE)
- Ūma lɛ lêz 'this cloth' (SINGULAR-PROXIMATE-INANIMATE)
 awa lɛ ʂar 'this car' (SINGULAR-PROXIMATE-ANIMATE)
- anima la rob 'that dress' (SINGULAR-INTERMEDIATE-INANIMATE)
 ana la fij 'that girl' (SINGULAR-INTERMEDIATE-ANIMATE)

This means, of course, that a Métif speaker must not only determine whether the noun is grammatically animate or not (according to the Cree rules) but also whether it is masculine or not (according to the French rules) in order to correctly assign the demonstrative and the article forms.

French inflectional and derivational morphology is largely maintained in the noun phrase. For example, adjectives agree for gender and number, also a great number of French derivational affixes are maintained and many of them are (or at least seem to be) completely productive. This gives rise to a number of lexical items unknown in Standard or Québécois French: partinö-partinöz 'dance partner', kûfidasiû 'confidence', zôlies 'prettiness', etc. Many of these suffixes can also be used with English-derived stems: begöz 'a female beggar', trostab 'trust-worthy', etc.

Quantifiers come from both French and Cree, the latter being somewhat more common. All numerals are French, with the exception of pējak 'one', though 'first' is primji-primjer! Some examples are given in (2):

(2) FRENCH:	plûski hen li sokl	'more than one plow share'
	kat (li) kupl	'four couples'
	jêk cûkz ôr	'only a few hours'
	â mas li mâzi	'a lot of food'
	ê pci brê la sup	'a bit of soup'
CREE :	mîstahi li mâzi	'a lot of food'
	apîšîs la sup	'a bit of soup'
	jêk pējak ê zwejû	'only one onion' ⁹

Noun phrase syntax in Métif is by and large French, particularly the rules governing adjective placement and noun compounding. However, some French nominal expressions that require a preposition either lose the preposition altogether in Métif or the preposition used is not the same as the one used in French: ê žwal ni blâ 'a blaze-faced horse', en taš a buti 'a beauty spot'. The only instance of evident Algonquian syntax in the noun phrase is to be found in possessive constructions where the possessor is a noun. In such cases, Cree word order is used even though the French possessive determiner is also used, as in (3):

(3a) Pjer sŭ žwal 'Peter's horse'

(3b) Ma sŭr sŭ pci 'my sister's child'

If the noun happens to be Cree (usually in cases of kinship terms), either the complete Cree possessive system is used or a mixed Cree-French system holds as in (4):

(4a) Ni-māmā u-pāpā-wa 'My mother's father'

(4b) Ma māmā u-pāpā-wa 'My mother's father'

In (4a) both nouns take the Cree possessive prefixes and the 'possessed' noun takes the obviative (fourth person) marker while in (4b) the first noun takes the French possessive determiner and the second term takes the Cree possessive prefix and obviative suffix.

Verbs in Métif are almost totally derived from Cree. A very small number of verb stems come from either French or English but these take the full range of Cree inflectional prefixes and suffixes. As in all Algonquian languages, the verb agrees in animacy as well as in person/number with its agent (subject) if it is intransitive. If it is transitive, therefore requiring an animate agent, it agrees with its agent for person/number and with its goal (object) for animacy. If the latter is animate, the verb will also agree for person and number with the goal. Moreover, Cree -and therefore Métif- possesses a complete flexional system for verbs occurring in main clauses and a second paradigm for verbs occurring in subordinate, relative and conditional clauses (the so-called conjunct forms). Cree also distinguishes between a Present and a Future Imperative. Finally, Cree distinguishes between a third person 'direct' and a third person 'oblique' or 'obviative' (the so-called fourth person), between a first person plural inclusive (the speaker and the hearer) and a first person plural exclusive (the speaker and someone else but not the hearer), for a total of nine persons. This gives rise to more than two hundred possible verb suffixes, nearly all of which are maintained in Métif¹⁰.

The above facts imply that a Métif sentence having nothing but pronominal referents will tend to be totally Cree as in (5)¹¹:

- (5) Mitōni kī- nīpēwiši - w kā- wāpam- at awijak
 COMPLETELY PAST BE HUMILIATED A13 SEE CONJ SOMEONE
 PAST TA3-4

ē- kuna- wāpam - ikut
 COMP INTENT SEE CONJ
 TA4-3

'He was completely humiliated upon seeing someone watching him.'

Of course, if either the agent or the goal happens to be a nominal, it will invariably be a French nominal expression, which implies that French morphological and NP-syntactic rules must apply. This further means that as for the demonstratives, a Métif speaker must correctly determine Cree gender (animate/inanimate) for both the agent and the goal in order to correctly select the verb suffix and the correct French gender in order to correctly select the determiner. A typical example is given in (6):

- (6a) Kī- micimin- ēw ātiht l aržâ
 PAST HOLD BACK TA3-4 SOME THE MONEY
 'He held back some of the money.'

- (6b) Kī- micimin- am ātiht la pej
 PAST HOLD BACK TI3 SOME THE WAGES
 'He held back some of the pay.'

In (6a) aržâ is animate and the verb shows the transitive-animate ending while in (6b) pej is inanimate and the verb shows the transitive-inanimate ending. In both cases the correct form of the French definite determiner is used. This implies, of course, that each nominal lexical entry (of whatever language) must be marked for both French and Cree gender.

In equative clauses, Métif uses either a typical Algonquian pattern: PRED NOMINAL/ADJECTIVE followed by the AGENT with no verb at all, or a form of the French copula as in the following:

- (7a) Lî martu pi la fu-d-mê li Rusjê lō sin.
 'The Russians' emblem is the hammer and sickle.'

- (7b) T î -t en mujîit parson
 'You're a damned person.'

- (7c) Ê `zur Carli i va jet li rwe d l Âglâter.
'One day Charles will be king of England.'

It is relatively evident that general sentential syntax is more Cree-like than it is French-like. Word order is much more TOPIC-oriented than it is SUBJECT-oriented. Métif sentences containing both a nominal agent and a nominal goal may have SVO, SOV, VSO or VOS order:

- (8a) SVO: Lî mažisjê ka-tut-am si maži.
'The magician will do his tricks.'
- (8b) SOV: Devid mišcēt liz animu ajaw-ēw
'David has many animals.'
- (8c) VSO: Kiškējim-ēw `Jon sū metr kā-l-ascini-cik.
'John knows his master in an argument.'
- (8d) VOS: Kušt-wēak li kūkūš liz âfâ.
'Children are afraid of monsters.'

Of course those few sentences that contain French verbs will obey French word-order patterns, including object clitic placement:

- (9a) ĩ m â âbrasi. 'He/She embraced me.'
(9b) Žî l flat. 'I flatter him/her.'
(9c) Žî rispek mûn Ūk. 'I respect my uncle.'
(9d) Si rar k Ū l-a pa-t niž. 'It's rare we don't have snow.'

In light of our present knowledge of the language, it is difficult to determine whether the semantics of Métif are primarily French or primarily Cree. It will probably turn out to be the case that the semantic projection rules required to correctly describe Métif will derive from both French and Cree.

Now, given the above grammatical sketch, we may turn to the following question: What kind of a language is Métif?

At first glance, one might well determine that Métif is merely a typical (?) case of intrasentential code mixing such as described by Sankoff & Poplack (1981). However, code mixing phenomena necessarily require speakers having a relatively good and active command of both languages involved in the discourse. In

the case of Métif, a great number of speakers, particularly those of the Turtle Mountain Reservation, can neither speak nor understand either French or Cree. At best, whatever French or Cree they do know is limited to French noun phrases and to Cree verbs, exactly paralleling the linguistic dichotomy shown in Michif.

If, then, Métif cannot be a case of code switching, could one consider it to be a jargon, like the well-known case of Chinook Jargon of the Pacific coast or even a pidgin like Hawaiian Pidgin or Tok Pisin? We adopt here Mülhaüsler's (1985:62) definition: 'Jargons reflect individual attempts at cross-linguistic communication; different jargon speakers using different strategies such as relexification, calquing, resorting to universal grammar, hypercorrection and holöphrastic learning. Stable pidgins, on the other hand, are social solutions to the problem of cross-linguistic communication; individual differences... are superceded by a socially sanctioned grammar. Such a grammar reflects the fact that a jargon has acquired a well-defined speech community, a step comparable in linguistic importance to the acquisition of native speakers by a pidgin (creolization)'.

In light of the distinction proposed above, Métif cannot be considered to be a jargon, since it clearly has a 'socially sanctioned' grammar¹². Neither can it be considered as a true pidgin if we also adopt Mülhaüsler's (1985:61) restriction on the creation of stable pidgins, to wit: 'No contact between two developed systems can give rise to a stable pidgin. Stable pidgins arise out of contact between minimally two unstable or three stable systems - unstable system being the result of contact between two stable systems.'

If these restrictions are correct, it would appear that Métif is not a pidgin. First, Métif is the result of contact between only two languages at any one point in time. In this case, French and Cree, both being developed stable systems. This is not to deny there is not a third stable system involved in Métif, namely English. But contact with English was either through French or when Métif was already an established stable system. As we have shown, English words in Métif are either totally adapted phonologically to French, but never to Cree, or are simply not adapted at all, as in the case of more recent borrowings.

Moreover, one specific and seemingly universal characteristic of pidgins is that they involve the process of simplification or reduction. Pidgins are always more 'simple' than any of their super- or substrate languages. Pidgins are rarely, if ever, inflected languages; pidgins are rarely, if ever, subcategorized for gender and they do not have obligatory categories of number for nouns¹³. None of these traits characterize Métif. Much to the contrary. Furthermore, if Métif is not a pidgin, it follows that it cannot be a creole since creoles are the result of a stable pidgin acquiring native speakers.

Finally, if we compare Métif to other so-called 'hybrid' languages such as Media Lengua of Ecuador or Pachuco, spoken by many Chicano youths in the American Southwest, we are struck by the fact that these are structurally quite different from Métif. In Media Lengua, for example, syntactic structure is essentially Quechua while its lexicon is ninety percent Spanish. The same can be said for Pachuco, where only lexical items are derived from English, along with some minor calquing; the rest of the speech is totally Spanish. This is obviously not the case for Métif, since the structure of the noun phrase is largely French, just as the structure of the verb is almost totally Cree. The lexicon of Métif is split more or less equally between French and Cree, as are most other aspects of the language. Although it does exist to some extent, relexification cannot by itself explain the structure of the language as a whole.

If Métif cannot be considered as any of the above, neither can it be viewed as an instance of what has generally been called 'interference', that is, the idiosyncratic uses of items from one's native language in order to fill gaps in the knowledge a speaker has of a second language. Métif is not an interlanguage and Métif speakers are not learners of either French or Cree. Moreover, interference phenomena typically involve a native language and a target language. In the present case, Métif is, by itself, a native language, and neither French nor Cree is, for Métif speakers, a native or a target language.

We are thus left with the possibility that Métif is simply (?) Cree with massive borrowing from French,

or of course, that it is French with massive borrowing from Cree⁴. The first published description of Métif (Rhodes 1977), by its very title, proposed just such a hypothesis. For all intents and purposes, Rhodes considered the language to be a new dialect of Cree since in Métif, the verb is by and large Cree and the verb is the most important, if not essential, element of Algonquian languages. Also, as we have attempted to show, general sentential syntax is more Cree-like than it is French-like. But if this is so, it must be admitted that Cree has borrowed linguistic material at ALL levels of the grammatical hierarchy as well as at the semantic and the phonological level.

This implies then that if Métif is actually a dialect of Cree, we must posit for the language a single grammar, that is to say, a single lexicon containing entries marked with a single set of subcategorization features, lexical insertion rules, word formation rules and lexical redundancy rules. We must also posit a single set of categorial rules along with a single set of movement rules, conditions on rule application and a single set of filters. As well, we must posit a single phonological component with a single set of rules. Finally, we must posit a single set of semantic interpretation rules.

But how is this possible for Métif, since in a great number of cases, certain rules - including lexical, categorial, movement and phonological rules - apply only to French-derived forms and certain other rules only to Cree-derived ones? Limiting ourselves to the structure of the lexicon for the moment, we could of course mark each lexical item as being [\pm FRENCH], with a supplementary set of rules limiting lexical and phonological rule application to just those items that are marked as either [+FRENCH] or [-FRENCH]. But that is equivalent to setting up two distinct lexicons, each having its own set of lexical rules and two distinct phonologies applying uniquely to a single lexicon. In other words, identifying each lexical entry as belonging or not to a particular language is the same as positing two distinct lexicons, perhaps two distinct grammars.

However, the structure of Métif does not allow us to categorically state that it is composed of two distinct and complete grammars since in both the Cree

and the French case, the grammar involved is only partial. It is not necessary in Métif to specify all the rules of French nor all the rules of Cree in order to correctly specify the rules required for Métif. Rather, we propose that Métif is best characterized as being composed of two partial but distinct grammars, each one filling the gap 'created' by the other. A kind of linguistic symbiosis, an intimate partnership of two dissimilar organisms operating together for their mutual benefit without either of them losing its particular identity.

Psychologically at least, this model reflects speakers' intuitions. When speaking Métif, they are quite generally aware whether a given form is French or Cree. This does not mean they KNOW French or Cree; it does mean that they can (un)consciously identify a given form as belonging to one given (partial) grammar.

NOTES

1. Métif has been spelled a variety of ways: Rhodes (1977) spelled it Mitchif, Crawford (1983) spells it Michif, while Rhodes (1985) uses the spelling Métchif. The term métif is a Middle French dialectal form (mestif, mestive) referring to mixed parentage which was the lexical rival of the modern-day métis, métisse. This term effectively won out and replaced the former in the late 18th century but not before it had crossed the Atlantic. In Métif, high-mid front vowels are regularly raised and dental stops are regularly palatalized and affricated before high-front vowels. Finally, high vowels are laxed in unstressed syllables as well as in stressed consonant-final syllables whenever the consonant is voiceless. These three phonological rules produce the surface form [mɪtʃɪf].
2. For further details, see Papen 1984.
3. Items in parenthesis indicate phonemes that occur in English-derived forms.
4. Plains Cree dialects vary considerably in the phonetic realization of /ō/. Some produce it as [o], others produce it as [u]. In Métif, it is always produced as [u], which is why we indicate /ū/. Short /o/ (or /u/) is always realized as [ɯ]. The realization of the anterior fricative also varies from an alveolar to a palatal. In Métif, it is consistently pronounced as [ʃ]. /h/ is also variably pronounced as [h], [ç], [x] or [ʃ].
5. The resulting form here is dapin.
6. This is not to deny that some convergence has occurred. It is more than likely that the raising of the mid vowels to high position for the French component was due to similar phenomena taking place in Cree. Likewise, there is a tendency for sibilant harmony in words such as šas (< chasse) 'hunt', zezū (< Jésus), etc. This reflects the phonetic variability of the equivalent Cree phoneme. Finally, although Cree has no nasal vowels, a few Cree-derived items in Métif show nasal vowels: [tʃɪ̃] 'interrogative marker'. [šẽma:k] 'immediately', etc.

7. The spelling system used here reflects a broad phonetic transcription. The circumflex over vowels indicates nasality; c and j indicate the palatal affricates, s and z indicate the palatal fricatives; length is indicated by a bar over the vowel; i is a central lax vowel, equivalent to French schwa; u and o are the front-rounded vowels.

8. A number of objectively-viewed inanimate objects are assigned animate gender in Cree.

9. Notice that the French definite determiner (or the indefinite, in the case of pējak) must co-occur with Cree quantifiers. This again points to some degree of reanalysis for the determiner since this construction does not occur in French.

10. In some verb paradigms, the distinction between 1st person plural inclusive and 1st person plural exclusive is lost.

11. We provide an item-by-item translation or morphological analysis for the sentence: AI indicates that the subject is animate and that verb is intransitive; CONJ indicates the conjunct form of the verb; TA indicates that the verb is transitive and that the goal is animate. The numbers indicate the agent and goal respectively.

12. This is not to say that Métif is not variable. It does however imply that the variability inherent in the language is not so extensive as to render interpersonal or even intergroup communication impossible. See Crawford 1983a.

13. Mülhaüsler 1974.

14. We exclude for the moment, the influence of English in Métif.

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The realizations of /y/ and /j/ in Corrientes, Argentina.

Sonia Thon

Acadia University

Introduction

The analysis of the consonantal system of the Spanish spoken in the Province of Corrientes forms part of a larger sociophonetic investigation conducted in Argentina in 1977-78.

Our study consisted of structured interviews based on a questionnaire designed to elicit both the most formal and the most spontaneous realizations of the language spoken in Corrientes.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first one was devoted to the collection of personal data. The second part included short questions and rapid identifications aimed at eliciting a less formal style which would furnish us with relevant phonetic features obtained in isolation. The third part consisted of free conversations prompted by subjective-type questions which dealt mainly with family matters, work, accidents, and personal likes or dislikes. This segment of the interview produced a casual style of speech in sharp contrast with the initial formal style. The informants were unaware of the purpose of the interview. All three styles of speech were transcribed and analysed.

As a guide for the composition of the questionnaire we followed Navarro Tomás (1945). We reduced his collection of 518 questions to 175 items of phonetic interest for the data studied. A series of drawings was also employed following Stanley M. Sapon (1957).

All the strata of the speech community were taken into account in order to obtain a representative corpus. The purpose of the interviews (which were taped and later transcribed) was not disclosed to the informants.

In the course of our field research we interviewed a total of fifty-nine informants. The criterion used for the selection of informants was based mainly on four sociolinguistic variables: place of residence: urban and rural population; sex: male and female; age: 18-25, 26-55 and 56 and over; educational background: "illiterate," "literate" and "semi-cultured." We considered as "illiterate" those informants with zero to grade three education; "literate," those with grade four to six; and "semi-cultured," those with high school or university education. (For sample breakdown see Table 1).

SAMPLE BREAK-DOWN (Table 1)

AGE GROUPS	URBAN		RURAL		TOTAL		TOTAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	URBAN	RURAL	MALE	FEMALE
18-25	6	4	4	4	10	8	10	8
26-55	6	8	5	3	14	8	11	11
56+	6	5	5	3	11	8	11	8
TOTAL	18	17	14	10	35	24	32	27
EDUCATION								
ILLITERATE	7	5	7	0	12	7	14	5
LITERATE	8	4	7	10	12	17	15	14
SEMI-CULTURED	3	8	0	0	11	0	3	8
TOTAL	18	17	14	10	35	24	32	27

The geographical regions selected for our investigation were located at some distance from each other in order to reflect the most representative speech of urban and rural populations. The urban areas that we studied were Corrientes, (the provincial Capital), Goya and Curuzú-Cuatiá. The three rural areas examined were San Luis del Palmar, Mercedes and

Monte Caseros. There was a total of thirty-five informants in the urban areas and twenty-four in the rural areas of our research.

The criterion used for the selection of variables was based on their relevance with regard to an abstract standard Spanish as well as to the peculiar linguistic features that have been exerted by the Guarani language on the phonology of Spanish.

In order to quantify the results obtained in our interviews we identified the occurrences of each variant in all transcribed texts, and established the number of informants using a particular variant, either exclusively or in combination with others. We did not focus on the frequency of occurrence. In our analysis we considered the manifestations of each variable and their distribution in the text (when applicable) because it was discovered that in many cases there was a considerable amount of fluctuation of variants in similar contexts.

In our statistical analysis we have used both figures and percentages: the figures provide easy reference to the actual number of informants interviewed, and the percentages are used for the interpretation of results to refer to the total population studied since it consists of relatively higher numbers.

This paper will focus mainly on the realizations of /y/ and /j/ in initial and intervocalic positions, as part of the consonantal system of the Spanish spoken in Corrientes.

(y) in word-initial position (Table 2)

The linguistic phenomenon "yeísmo" has drawn considerable attention in dialectal studies. In Peninsular, as well as in Latin American Spanish, the phonemes /y/ and /j/ present multiple allophonic variants ([y], [ÿ], [ž], [ś], [j̃]; [j̃], [ž], [ś], [y], [í]).

The realization of /y/ as a voiced palatal affricate [ÿ] has been reported as a phonetic feature peculiar to the Spanish spoken in the Guarani area. However, Canfield (1981:70) recorded it in Antioquia,

(y) IN WORD-INITIAL POSITION (Table 2)

y/#_	N	F	U	R	18-25	26-55	56+	ILLIT.	LIT.	S.C
[y]	9	6	8	7	2	4	9	5	7	3
[\hat{y}]	26	21	28	19	16	16	15	15	22	10
[\check{z}]	12	15	17	10	10	11	6	3	16	8

DISTRIBUTION

[y + \hat{y}]	4	1	1	4	0	1	4	2	2	1
[y + \check{z}]	2	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	1
[\hat{y} + \check{z}]	9	9	12	6	8	6	4	2	10	6
[y + \hat{y} + \check{z}]	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
[y]	3	2	3	2	1	1	3	3	2	0
[\hat{y}]	13	9	14	8	7	9	6	11	9	2
[\check{z}]	1	3	1	3	1	3	0	1	3	0
TOTAL	32	27	35	24	18	22	19	19	29	11

PROVINCE OF CORRIENTES

6

PARAGUAY

MISIONES

Corrientes

San Luis d. Palmar

CHACO

PROVINCE OF CORRIENTES

Goya

Mercedes

Curuzú Cuatiá

Monte Caseros

BRAZIL

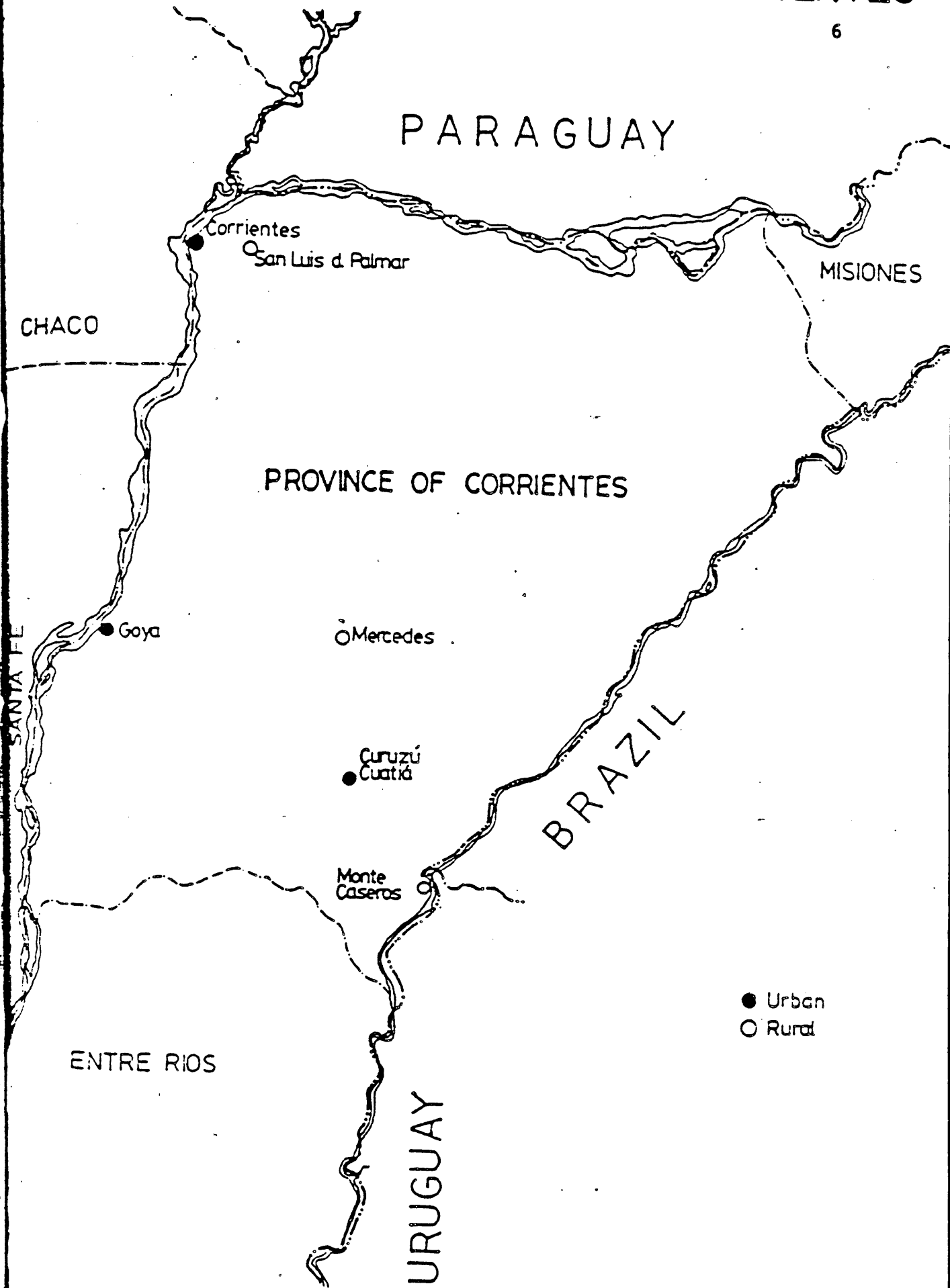
● Urban

○ Rural

ENTRE RIOS

URUGUAY

SANTA FE



Colombia, which is a non-Guarani speaking region.

When describing the voiced palatal affricate, Navarro Tomás (1945:129) pointed out that in Spanish it usually alternates with the realization of the non-assibilated fricative "the former being prevalent in slow, strong or emphatic speech, and the latter in familiar, rapid or careless speech." He illustrates this with examples such as: 'yegua' mare - *yégwa*, or *yégwa*, 'yo' I - *yó* or *yó*, 'yema' *eggyolk* - *yéma* or *yéma*. In "correct" Spanish, the [ʒ] variant is not accounted for in initial position and in the intervocalic position Navarro Tomás considers the assibilated fricative to be an anomaly of the language.

The [ʒ] realization of /y/ and /j/ has been recognized as widespread in Argentina, but mention has never been made of it as a feature encountered in the Guarani area. In fact, scholars have made a point of referring to the distinction between /j/ and /y/ in Corrientes: "In Corrientes, Misiones, and the parts of Formosa and Chaco that border on Paraguay ... the distinction exists in the phonetic manifestations, [j] and [y]" (Canfield, 1981:23-24). The "yeísmo rehilado" or lenis "yeísmo" has mainly been attributed to the coastal area with its cultural centre in Buenos Aires, where the voiceless variant [š] can also be heard.

We have found that the realization of [ʒ] in initial position is not an unknown feature in Corrientes. Compared with the fricative [y], [ʒ] manifested itself in an important proportion (46%) of the population. It was realized in 38% of the male variable and 56% of the female; 49% of the urban category, 42% of the rural; 56% of the young population and 50% of the middle-aged group. The literate category realized it in 55% of the cases, and the semi-cultured group in 73%. This is to say that more than half of the informants in most categories pronounced [ʒ] at some point in the interview. The fewest realizations occurred in the over-56 age group (32%) and in the illiterate group (16%). Hence, the female, urban, young and educated population seemed to favour the realization of [ʒ] over [y]. The older and illiterate population showed a preference for [y]: 47% and 26% respectively.

The affricate realizational variation was high in

all categories: male, 81%; female, 78%; urban, 80%; rural, 79%; ages 18-25, 89%; 26-55, 73%; 56+, 76%; education, illiterate, 79%; literate, 76%; and semi-cultured, 91%.

Malmberg (1947:187) believes that the generalization of the affricate /y/ is due to Guarani influence, and although he admits that it is a feature common to Peninsular Spanish and other American countries, he maintains that:

"its generalization is due undoubtedly to the indigenous substrata. The Guarani Indians who learned Spanish interpreted the [j] as their [dj] and this habit was adopted later on by the "mestizos" and creole population which became soon converted to a more or less bilingual population."²

In the distribution table it is interesting to note that [ÿ] was the highest consistently maintained variant, while [y] and [ž] tended to appear to a greater extent in combination with other variants. [ÿ + ž] occurred most frequently, whereas [y + ž] presented the lowest number. This fact may be explained in terms of articulatory tension. [ž] and [y] are both realized as lenis articulations when compared to the tense affricate. Therefore the choice seems to be between a lenis and a fortis: [y + ÿ] or [ž + ÿ]. We have not noticed any significant difference of realization due to rapid or slow speech.

(y) in intervocalic position (Table 3)

As in initial position, the realizational variation [ÿ] was the most common with a high rate of occurrence in all socio-educational variables. The lowest rates were found in the older generation group (68%) and in the literate group (66%). This is partly related to the fact that 34% of the literate group realized [ž], and 37% of the older age group favoured [y]. The [ž] variant was produced by 24% of the total sample and was divided evenly between the male and female groups as well as between urban and rural areas, 23% and 25%, respectively. The illiterate and semi-cultured groups showed a strong preference for the

(y) IN INTERVOCALIC POSITION (Table 3)

y/V_V	M	F	U	R	18-25	26-55	56+	ILLIT.	LIT.	S.C.
[y]	4	5	4	5	1	1	7	3	4	2
[\hat{y}]	24	20	26	18	15	16	13	16	19	9
[\check{z}]	7	7	8	6	6	5	3	2	10	2
[\check{s}]	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

DISTRIBUTION

[y + \hat{y}]	1	3	2	2	1	0	3	0	2	2
[\hat{y} + \check{z}]	2	3	2	3	3	1	1	2	2	1
[y]	3	2	2	3	0	1	4	3	2	0
[\hat{y}]	21	14	22	13	11	15	9	14	15	6
[\check{z}]	5	4	6	3	3	4	2	0	8	1
[\check{s}]	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	32	27	35	24	18	22	19	19	29	11

affricate realization: 84% and 82% respectively. Proportionally, the literate group seemed more inclined to the realization of [ʒ] (34%) than the other educational variables.

In our corpus there was only one realization of [ʃ]: interestingly enough, it was produced by a woman of a high educational level living in an urban area. We can point out, in this particular case, a clear influence of the speech of Buenos Aires. In our observations we recorded the fact that this informant was trying to use "porteño" expressions (the speech of Buenos Aires), such as [pápi] instead of [papá] and [kòpetín] cocktail when referring to [fjésta], as well as to imitate the intonation characteristic of upper class speakers of Buenos Aires. Her pronunciation was consistently maintained throughout the interview. This finding was not surprising, since in the study of "El ensordecimiento del *zeísmo* porteño" conducted by Guitarte, (1955) there is quantitative evidence that this realization is produced mainly in the middle and upper-middle classes by women more than by men.

The [y] variant was the most consistently maintained, mainly by the middle-aged male population. The [ʒ] realization followed with the greatest representation in the literate and urban categories; [y] was proportionally higher in the 56 + group.

In intervocalic position, /y/ realized as /ʒ/ was manifested by fewer people (24% compared to 46% in initial position), and there also existed a much higher representation in the literate and semi-cultured as well as in the young and middle-aged groups. It is definitely a new phonetic feature which has entered Correntino phonology and might gradually become more audible in urban-educated circles some time in the future. At present, however, it does not seem to threaten the prominent place occupied by [ŷ].

(1) in word-initial position (Table 4)

The phonological system of the Guaraní language does not include the voiced dorsopalatal lateral [ɺ]. This phoneme was introduced by the Spaniards to the speech community of the area and remains a strong characteristic feature. Morínigo (1931:55) pointed out

(j) IN WORD-INITIAL POSITION (Table 4)

↓/θ	M	F	U	R	18-25	26-55	56+	ILLIT.	LIT.	S.C.
[j]	30	23	33	20	16	19	18	19	24	10
[ŷ]	0	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	2	0
[ẑ]	4	3	3	4	4	2	1	1	5	1
[ŝ]	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
DISTRIBUTION										
[j + ẑ]	2	1	1	2	3	0	0	1	2	0
[ŝ + ẑ]	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
[j]	28	22	32	18	13	19	18	18	22	10
[ẑ]	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	3	0
[ŷ]	0	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	2	0
[ŝ]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	32	27	35	24	18	22	19	19	29	11

that throughout history there have been different realizations of this variant:

"Guarani speakers have not always given very consistent solutions to its [Spanish loan words] pronunciation before learning its articulation. Therefore we have:
Sp. caballo ['horse'] - Guar. kaɓayú;
Sp. morcilla ['sausage'] - Guar. mbusiá;
Sp. cebolla ['onion'] - Guar. sebóí."

However, it is claimed that once the palatal articulation became established, it maintained itself in its "purest" form. Paraguay and Corrientes are therefore considered to be "lleísta" regions. Malmberg (1950:4) reports that: "The conservation of [λ] in Paraguay is a general phenomenon found in all social classes."

He attributes this phenomenon to the fact that Spanish is not the most widely-spoken language in Paraguay, Guarani being the language in which most people communicate in their daily lives; and this may be the reason which would explain the fact that phonetic changes common to other areas did not affect the [ɭ] realization in this particular region.

Our data confirm the fact that the [ɭ] realizational variation is indeed a generalized phonetic feature in Corrientes, although we encountered manifestations of [y] and [ʒ] in minor proportions. Out of 32 male informants, 4 realized [ʒ], 2 of them in a consistent manner; out of 27 female informants, there were 3 with a [ʒ] realization. The proportion of speakers that produced the assimilated fricative variant was barely 12%; most of them belonged to the rural, young, and literate categories. The literate group constituted 71% of the total "zeísta" informants of our sample.

A voiceless realization of /ɭ/ was also recorded. It was manifested by the same female informant reported in (y) in intervocalic position. In this case however, she alternated [ɕ] with the [ʒ] realization. In general, there was a small representation of the affricate variant in our sample.

(1) in intervocalic position (Table 5)

Although [ɭ] continued to be the most prominent variant in intervocalic position, the non-assimilated fricative [y] and the assimilated [ʒ] appeared frequently as well. Of the total of our informants, 20% realized [y] while 14% used [ʒ]. This phenomenon

is interesting to analyse in the light of Alonso's (1953:256) phonological theory which claims that, according to general linguistic history, the /l/ is a phoneme that has a temporary quality since it shows great propensity to change.

As we have seen, the [l] in initial position was maintained more frequently than in medial position; this is a normal outcome, since there is more articulatory effort necessary to realize the variant in an initial breath group. But in medial position it tends to weaken, allowing for the realization of [y], especially in rapid speech. There is evidence in our data of a general insecurity in the realization of [y] since it was never consistently maintained and appeared in all cases in conjunction with [ʒ]. Of the male category, 25% realized [y] as opposed to 15% of the female group, and 26% of the illiterate as opposed to 24% of the literate informants. Furthermore, it was produced by 26% of the older generation group and 18% of the middle-aged one, while the proportion was lower in the youngest group. In the urban area the non-assimilated fricative was realized by 26% of the informants in contrast with 13% of those in the rural area.

The [ʒ] variant, on the other hand, was found most often among the female population, i.e. in 19% as opposed to only 9% in the male group, 11% in the urban area, 17% in the rural area, 22% among the young and 14% in the literate category. There was a 19% realization in the semi-cultured group, where [s̃] also appeared.

To summarize, the [y] seems to be more commonly pronounced by the urban, middle-aged, illiterate groups, while the [ʒ] occurs more frequently among the rural, young female and higher educational groups.

If indeed phonetic change is taking place in this area, it seems to be of a simultaneous nature affecting diverse sociolinguistic strata. Although the [y] realization is relatively more generalized, an accelerated change in the direction of [ʒ] may very well be predicted due to external influence. The new roads and bridges now being built will probably remove Corrientes from its isolation and increase communication with the capital city, which in turn will influence different aspects of Correntino life, including the linguistic one.

(j) IN INTERVOCALIC POSITION (5)

j/v_v	M	F	U	R	18-25	26-55	56+	ILLIT.	LIT.	S.C.
[ɰ]	31	25	32	24	17	20	19	19	28	9
[ŷ]	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
[y]	8	4	9	3	3	4	5	5	7	0
[ʒ]	3	5	4	4	4	2	2	2	4	2
[ʒ̃]	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

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[ɰ + y]	6	3	6	3	2	3	4	4	5	0
[ŷ + y]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
[ɰ + ʒ̃]	2	2	0	4	3	0	1	1	3	0
[y + ʒ̃]	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
[ə + ʒ̃]	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
[ɰ + y + ʒ̃]	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
[ɰ + ŷ + y]	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
[ɰ]	22	19	24	17	11	17	13	13	19	9
[ʒ̃]	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
[ə]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	32	27	35	24	18	22	19	19	29	11

¹ Notation:

- [y]: voiced tense non-assibilated dorsopalatal fricative
- [ÿ]: voiced affricative beginning as a palatal apico-alveolar and ending as a palatal fricative.
- [ž]: voiced apicoprepalatal or dorsopalatal assibilated fricative.
- [š]: voiceless apicoprepalatal or dorsopalatal assibilated fricative.
- [l̥]: voiced dorsopalatal lateral

² All translations are mine.

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