PAPERS

from the

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

of the

ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

November 8 - 9, 1985

Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
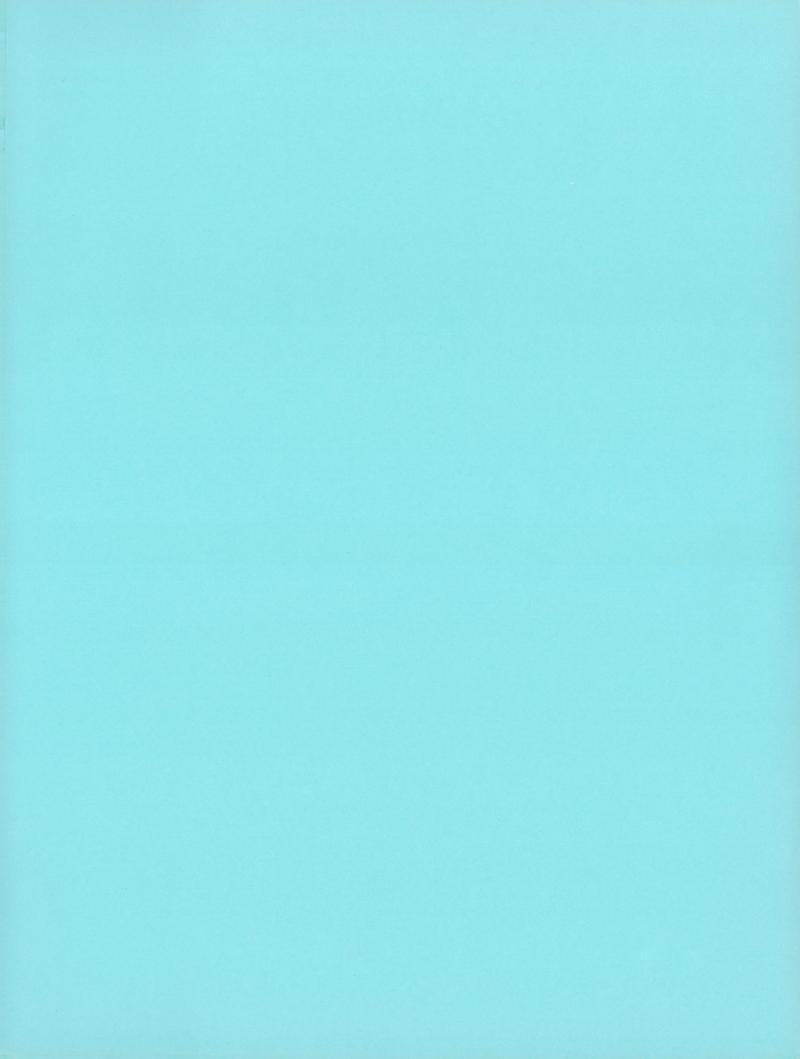
ACTES

du

Neuvieme Colloque Annuel

de

l'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques

le 8 - 9 novembre, 1985

Edited by/Redaction

L. Falk, K. Flikeid and M. Harry

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In addition to the papers printed here, the following were also
presented at the ninth annual APLA meeting:

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

Cheris Kramarae (Guest Speaker/Orateur invité). University of
    Illinois. "A Feminist Critique of Sociolinguistics."

Donna Atkinson. York University and University of Toronto.
    "Attitudes towards Maiden Name Retention and the Use of Ms."

John A. Barnstead. Dalhousie University. "Syncretism in the
    Actor-Object Suffix System of the Quechua Verb."

Paul Bauschatz. University of Maine at Orono. "Language Acquisi-
    tion and Sound Symbolism: Recent Points of View."

Sandra Clarke. Memorial University of Newfoundland. "Socio-
    linguistic Patterns in St. John's English."

John Edwards. Saint Francis Xavier University. "Language and
    Group Identity."

Karin Flikeid. Saint Mary's University. "Contrastes socio-
    linguistiques dans l'emploi de 'je . . . -ons' dans les
    parlers acadiens de la Nouvelle-Ecosse."

W. Terrence Gordon. Dalhousie University. "Significs and C.K.
    Ogden: The Influence of Lady Welby."

Ruth King. York University. "Women and Language Shift."

Louise Péronnet. Université de Moncton. "Analyse d'un corpus
    d'éléments léxicaux acadiens (Région du Sud-Est du N.-B.)."

Lewis J. Poteet. Concordia University. "'Not to Put Too Fine a
    Point on It': Rough Measure and Method in Nova Scotia Dialect
    Research."

Terrence J. Pratt. University of Prince Edward Island. "Writing
   Definitions for the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island
   English.*"

Allison Sollows-Astle. Fredericton. "Production of English c/j
   by Native Cantonese Speakers."

Moshé Starets. Université Sainte-Anne. "Attitudes affectives et
   pragmatiques à l'égard de la langue majoritaire (anglais) et
   de la langue minoritaire (français) en Nouvelle-Ecosse."

Rex Wilson. London, Ontario. "Side Glances at the Language of
   Southeast New England, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton in 1873."

Roy Allen Wright. St. Thomas University. "Chaumonot's Huron
   Grammar."

The programme also included an informal discussion with Cheris
Kramarae (University of Illinois) on *The Feminist Dictionary*,
and a workshop, "Phonetic Practicum," conducted by Murray Kinloch,
William Davey, Anthony House, and Anthony Lister, all of the
University of New Brunswick.

THE STUDY OF CLITICS IN
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses several problems connected with the
study of clitics in historical and comparative linguistics. In
(1) some of the problems connected with defining clitics accentually
in pitch-accent languages will be discussed. Close juncture
between full words is typical of Vedic Sanskrit, whereas in Ancient
Greek there are only relics of this original contonational system,
seen in the accentuation of the copula and the verb to 'say'.
Clitics in Ancient Greek can be accented in certain circumstances
by the operation of the general accentual rule. Two categorical
indeterminacies regarding the status of clitics will be studied in
some detail on the basis of data from Classical and Modern Indo-
European languages. (It may be difficult to identify a certain
element as a synsemantic word or as a clitic, on the one hand; and
as a clitic or a grammatical morpheme, on the other hand). In (2)
it will be shown that the degree of phonological cohesion between
the clitic and its phonological host is complete to various degrees
in the combination of the article + noun (Ancient Greek, Tiberian
Hebrew and Classical Arabic will be considered). Other manifestations
of phonological cohesion (segmental modifications, retroflexion in
Sanskrit and vowel harmony in Turkish) will be brought into dis-
cussion. In (3) the accentual difference between enclisis and
proclisis will be studied. It will be shown that Greek proclitics
are without accentual influence on the main word (whereas enclitics
may require the main word to carry a secondary accent), and that
Turkish proclitics do not undergo vowel harmony whereas enclitics
do.

(i) <u>Definition of a Clitic</u>

Currently, there is no generally accepted definition of what
counts as a clitic. Broadly speaking, we have to distinguish
<u>clitics</u> from the <u>inflectional affixes</u>, on the one hand, and from
the <u>independent words</u> on the other. Independent words can be
dichotomised into full, or <u>autosemantic</u>, words (i.e., those possessing
lexical meaning) and grammatical, or <u>synsemantic</u>, words (i.e.,

those possessing grammatical meaning). The latter group includes prepositions, conjunctions, articles, particles, and various grammatical auxiliaries. If we adopt a traditional definition of a clitic ('grammatical word which is accentually dependent on its host') as a working definition, we may place the clitic tenatively between the grammatical word and the grammatical affix.

Chart 1. Cliticization: Interface of Phonology, Morphology and Lexology

SEMOLOGY	Grammatical meaning		Lexical meaning
LEXOLOGY and MORPHOLOGY	Grammatical morphemes (inflectional affixes)	[synsemantic words] Grammatical words	[autosemantic words] Full words
		CLITICS	
PHONOLOGY	(i) accentual dependence on the host word (ii) accentual enrichment of the host word (iii) segmental modifications (vowel harmony, voicing, retroflexion)		

There are several venerable traditions of marking clitics by diacritics, namely that of Ancient Greek, Tiberian Hebrew and Vedic Sanskrit. The latter system--as found in Rigvedic Hymns--can be reduced to two main points:

(i) If the clitic is attached to a word which has a desinential high pitch the clitic will carry the falling glide (svarita). This is marked by the vertical stroke. The clitic and its phonological host are usually spelled as two orthographic words (or less commonly as a single orthographic word). We may examine the following verse (RV v.83.6) 'Give us, O Maruts, the rain of heaven'

(1) दिवो नो   वृष्टिं मरुतो ररीध्वं
     divo=no   vṛṣṭi maruto raridhva
     of heaven=us rain=Maruts give

It may be observed that in addition to the falling glide on the clitic 'us' the first syllable in divo 'of heaven' is marked with the horizontal stroke indicating low pitch (anudā-tta). Thus the phonological word divó=nò begins with a low-pitch di rises up by a musical fifth on the following syllable vó and the high pitch falls on the clitic nò 'us'.

(ii) If the clitic is attached to a word which does not carry a desinential high pitch (i.e., if the word is paroxytonon or proparoxytonon), then the clitic will carry a low pitch (<u>anudātta</u>). This is marked by the horizontal stroke. The clitic and its phonological host may be spelled as two orthographic words or as a single orthographic word. Examine the following verb phrase (RV i.1.9): 'Abide with us...'

(2) सचस्व नः
sacásvā=nah

The high pitch (<u>udātta</u>) is on the first syllable, the following syllable <u>cà</u> carries the falling glide (<u>svarita</u>), and the last syllable and the clitic are low-pitched.

The next step undertaken by grammarians is to enumerate what counts in the respective language as a clitic. Chart 2 shows what counts as a clitic in Vedic Sanskrit, Ancient Greek and Czech. The data from these three I-E languages may show how languages may differ widely in types of clitics and cliticization. For instance, the conjunction 'and' is not a clitic in Ancient Greek, whereas it is a proclitic in Czech (and Arabic and Hebrew), and it counts as an enclitic in Vedic Sanskrit (and Latin). Indefinite pronouns are clitics only in Ancient Greek (because they are monosyllabic):

(3)   ho=ánthrōpos 'the man'
      the=man

(4)   ánthrōpós=tis 'a (certain) man'
      man=some

Within Ancient Greek, it is baffling to realise that the neuter definite article does not count as a proclitic (whereas its masculine and feminine counterparts do). The article <u>tò</u> is not unaccented but carries a low pitch as the following adjective does:

(5)   tò agathòn téknon 'the good child'
      the good   child

Chart 2. CLITICS ACROSS SOME LANGUAGES

	Vedic Sanskrit	Ancient Greek	Czech
prepositions		certain monosyllabic prepositions: eis 'into' eks 'from' en 'in' hōs 'to'	certain prepositions (both mono- and disyllabic): mezi 'between' skrz 'through'
conjunctions	ca 'and' vā 'or'	certain conjunctions: ei 'if' hōs 'as, that'	a, i 'and' že 'that' až 'when, till'
articles		Masc + Fem in the Sg Pl (but not Neuter)	
emphatic particles	svid, ha, ghā	(égō)ge 'I (myself)'	
negative particles		ou(k) (but not oukhí)	
discourse particles	u 'now also' sma 'just, indeed kam 'gladly'	per 'just' pō 'somehow' te, toi 'upon my faith'	však 'however'
auxiliaries	any verb in the main clause	'BE' (but not in 'SAY' the 2nd Sg)	'BE' jsem... (Pres) bych... (Cond)
indefinite pronouns		+	
pronominal objects	+	+	+

It seems to me that the grammatical tradition is wrong in this respect because the masculine article tòn, realized as [tòl] in tòl=lógon, counts as a clitic from the point of view of segmental phonology. Furthermore, Allen (1973:246) suggested that an accentuation such as *agathós basileús 'good king' with the high pitch on the ultima of the adjective would involve the falling glide being carried by the initial syllable of the following (full) word, which would have been contrary to general Greek junctural tendencies. This situation could be resolved only by a lowering of the final pitch to a level where it was no higher than the initial of the following word. On the other hand, close juncture between full words is typical of Vedic Sanskrit:

(6) Agním=íḷe (RV 1.1.1)
Agni + ACC = magnify + I
'I magnify Agni ...'

In (6) the accentuation in the verb phrase 'I magnify Agni' involves the high pitch on the ultima of 'Agni' and the falling glide being carried by the initial syllable of the following verb 'I magnify'. Phonologically, these two words are in close juncture. (It may be observed that orthographic conventions of Sanskrit capture this fact by spelling these two lexical words as a single orthographic word अग्निमीळे).

In Ancient Greek there are only relics of this (presumably) original contonational system seen in the accentuation of the copula and the verb to 'say':

(7) ho=basileús=phēsi 'the king says ...'   ὁ βασιλεύς φησι

(8) ho=basileús=estin 'the king is ...'   ὁ βασιλεύς ἐστιν

In (7) and (8) the first syllable of the following enclitic 'says' and 'is' could in fact carry the falling glide; if the juncture between these two words was close (as in Vedic Sanskrit) then the Greek spelling conventions do not betray this fact. But this seems to be only a consequence of a more autonomous phonological status of words in Greek than in Vedic. To judge by the orthographic conventions, in Greek there was a clearer demarcation between 'close' and 'open' juncture than in Vedic Sanskrit and the custom of spelling full words in open juncture as separate orthographic words could have been carried over to cases involving close juncture as in (7) and (8).

As mentioned by Zwicky (1985:287), the accentual test is probably the most popular rule-of-thumb for distinguishing clitics from independent words, but it is most unreliable. The problem with

this test is the fact that various languages permit clitics to be accented in certain circumstances by the operation of general accentual rules. For instance, in Ancient Greek the enclitics can be accented in the following circumstances. If the enclitic is disyllabic and its host word has the penultimate accent:

(9) lógoi=tinés vs.   lógos=tis
    '(certain) words   'a (certain) word'

The copula can be accented sentence-initially:

(10) Eisìn ánthrōpoi...' vs. ánthrōpoí=eisin
     'there are people...'   'the people are...'

Also, if it means 'exist' (not 'to be'):

(11) theòs ésti vs.   theós=esti...'
     'God exists'   'God is...'

In the cases of synenclisis, i.e., where more than one enclitic occur in succession:

(12) Hómērós phēsi...'Homer says...'
     Hómērós phēsí pou 'H. says somewhere...'

A propos the definition of a clitic, I want to review two categorical indeterminacies, namely, when a certain element is difficult to identify as a synsemantic word or as a clitic, on the one hand; and, as a clitic or a grammatical morpheme, on the other hand. As an example of the first indeterminacy, i.e., that between the full word and the clitic, we may consider the conjunction 'and' across various languages. 'And' can be classified as an enclitic in Sanskrit and Latin, as a proclitic in Slavic and Semitic languages, and as an independent word in Greek, Latin, and English:

(13) sutás=ca duhitá=ca (Sanskrit)
     son=and daughter=and
     'the son and the daughter'

(14) fīlius fīliá=que(Latin)
     son   daughter=and

(15) sýn a=dcéra (Czech)
     son and=daughter

(16) hab=bén wə=hab=báθ (Hebrew)
     the=son and=the=daughter

(17) ho=huiòs kaì hē=thugátēr(Greek)
     the=son and the=daughter

It may be noted that the Sanskrit example is actually a polysyndetọn 'son=and daughter=and', but the other type, namely, sutó duhitā=ca (as in Latin) was also possible. Latin is interesting in possessing two options, i.e., que 'and' as an enclitic, and et 'and' as an independent word:

        Enclisis   Syndeton

fīlius   fīliā=que   fīlius   et   fīlia

'And' as a proclitic and its host are spelled as a single orthographic word in Hebrew and Arabic, but not in Czech and Russian (Czech syn *adcera, Arabic al=ibn *wa al=bint).

                Proclisis

(hab=bén)   wə=(hab=báθ)

As an example of the second indeterminacy, i.e., that between the clitic and the inflectional affix we may quote the possessive 's in English which attaches phonologically to whatever word is adjacent by Wackernagel's Law:

(18) my father's car

(19) the boy who I saw's father

(20) the boy I talked to's father

In (18) the phonological host of the possessive suffix is father; but in (19) the phonological host is the verb saw; and in (20) the phonological host is the preposition to.

This, of course, is a fairly known example of a phrasal affix and we may prefer to look at another erratic -s, namely the form of the 2nd Sg of the auxiliary to 'BE' in Czech.

This is a reduced from of jsi 'you are' which may appear in an utterance such as 'you were there' as a clitic or as a suffix:

(21) byl=jsi   tam   'you were there'

(22) byl+s   tam   'you were there

As in English, Wackernagel's Law may attach the suffix s_ to the second sentential position, shown in (23):

(23) Ty=s tam byl?   YOU were there?

On the other hand, -s_ was recategorized as a person marker in the auxiliary of the conditional:

by + ch	1st Sg	'I would be'
by + s	2nd	'you would be'
by	3rd	'he would be'

As a result of this indeterminacy, utterances such as kde=s byla+s 'where were you?' may be heard. Here the first -s is a clitic placed after 'where' by W'L and the second -s is an inflectional suffix indicating the 2nd person.

(ii) <u>Degree of Phonological Cohesion</u>

The degree of phonological cohesion between the clitic and its phonological host word varies from language to language. In Tiberian Hebrew the clitics could lose their phonological material, most typically in instances of synproclisis: bǝ=haš=šāmayim 'in the heavens' may end up (in allegro pronunciation, presumably) as baš=šāmayim:

(24) bǝ=haš=šāmayim
    b(ǝ=h)aš=šāmayim

In this phrase the synproclisis has been reduced to the proclisis. Ancient Greek, on the other hand, shows rather two independent grammatical words in the same phrase: en=tóis#ouranóis 'in the heavens'. It would seem that in Hebrew we are dealing with a PHONOLOGICAL WORD (consisting of the proclitic + proclitic + autosemantic word) whereas in Ancient Greek we are dealing rather with a PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE (consisting of the preposition + article + autosemantic word), in keeping with Zwicky's terminology (1985:286).

In I-E languages, accentual features are most typically involved in similar noun phrases.

In <u>Ancient Greek</u> a word followed by an enclitic normally retains its accent unchanged, and the enclitic may be accomodated by means of a secondary accent, as in (4) ánthrōpós=tis 'a (certain) man'.

In <u>Latin</u> the cohesion is complete, with the accent by which the enclitic enriched the host word becoming the primary accent, shown in (25):

(25) hómínḗs   'men'
      hominḗs=que 'and men'
      men=and

The cohesion is complete to various degrees in the combination of the article + noun. The article is proclitic (in the sense of being unaccented) in a variety of languages but not all of them allow for the adjective to intervene. Ancient Greek, Romance and Germanic languages construct their phrasal nouns in this fashion:

(26) ho=agathòs ánthrōpos (Ancient Greek)
      the good man

Semitic languages, however, show a complete cohesion of the article and the noun; no adjective can intervene and the proclitic article and its host are spelled as a single word. For instance, in Tiberian Hebrew we cannot say

(27) * haṭ=ṭōḇ ʔīš

but only

(28) hā=ʔīš haṭ=ṭōḇ 'the=man the=good'

The latter option (which is the only one in Semitic languages) is also available in Ancient Greek. In Classical Arabic the definite article is construed as a proclitic, whereas the indefinite one is suffixed as a grammatical morpheme; contrast <u>al=maliku al=kabīru</u> 'the great king' with <u>malikun kabīrun</u> 'a great king':

<u>Arabic</u>

Ancient Greek

$$ho= agathòs ánthrōpos \qquad ho=ánthrōpos \quad ho=agathós$$

The intermediate status of some such sequences between cohesion and independence can lead to variations in usage. To quote a fairly known case, in Polish there is twofold usage regarding the accentuation of combination with the enclitic of the conditional _-by_:

(29) písał ≠ by   'he would write'
      pisáł = by   'he would write'

The antepenultimate accentuation would imply two separate words (since the rule of penultimate accentuation in lexical words would be breached), whereas the penultimate accentuation would imply a single phonological word.

In Sanskrit a word followed by an enclitic retains its accent unchanged and the enclitic is not accomodated by means of another accent on the host word; however, the feature of retroflexion may extend across the word boundary

(30) agnés#ávena ⟶ agner#ávena
      'by favour of fire'

In Sanskrit the clitics and their host words may undergo other segmental modifications governed by various phonological rules of assimilation in voice and manner. Thus the pronominal object _tat_ 'it' may a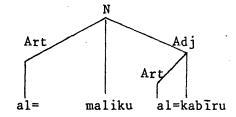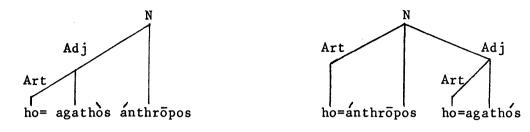ppear as _tad_, _taj_, _tac_, _tan_, _tal_, as determined by the initial of the following word. Similar examples are more difficult to come by in Ancient Greek, but they really do exist in inscriptions. As mentioned already, _tòn_ in _tòn=lógon_ 'the word' (in the accusative) would not be considered a clitic by the accentual test, but the rule of internal sandhi (by which _n_ ⟶ _l/-l_) points unmistakenly to a phonological word; that is, we can evaluate _tòn_ as a proclitic (in spite of the grammatical tradition which considers only the nominative of the article as a clitic).

I would like to emphasize that the Sanskrit example in (30) falsifies Zwicky's phonological test (1985:286) of internal/external sandhi. Zwicky claims that specifically 'internal sandhi' rules

apply only within phonological words, whereas specifically 'external sandhi' rules apply only between phonological words and not within them. In Sanskrit retroflexion operates typically within phonological words, whereas our example of 'by favour of fire' is clearly a phonological phrase. And, finally, let us remind ourselves that in Turkish the vowel harmony operates across the word boundary if enclitics are involved; i.e., an enclitic will undergo vowel harmony operating from the host word rightwards. Contrast

(31) Allah büyük=tür   'God is great'
     Ahmed evde=dir   'Ahmed is at home'

(iii) Enclisis versus Proclisis

Both proclitics and enclitics are in principle atonic (or, rather, low-pitched in pitch accent langauges). The difference between them lies in the direction in which they attach to their host word—proclitics do it from the left rightwards, whereas enclitics do it in the opposite direction. I would like to mention some additional differences. In Greek the proclitics are without accentual influence on the main word whereas the enclitics may require the main word to carry a secondary accent (or primary accent in Latin). The accentual influence of enclitics in Greek and Latin appears to be a simple consequence of the fact that their accentual rules operate from the ends of words and not from their beginnings. Consider the following minimal pair of sentences from Modern Greek where the form mas can operate both as an enclitic (possessive pronoun) and as a proclitic (direct or indirect object), with direct accentual consequences (Warburton, 1970:112):

(32) o=jítonás=mas   to=púlise
     the=neighbour=our it=sold
     'our neighbour sold it'

(33) o=jítonas   mas=to=púlise
     the=neighbour   us=it=sold
     'the neighbour sold it to us'

The other language I examined from this point of view is Turkish, where it appears that proclitics do not undergo vowel harmony whereas enclitics do. That is, we cannot say *önü=ver 'give=it' (only onu=ver is correct); on the other hand, we have to say ev+de=dir and büyük=tür. Summing up, the distinction between proclisis and enclisis is a matter of degree of accentual dependency: both proclitics and enclitics carry a low pitch (in pitch-accent langauges), but only the latter may carry a falling glide and can undergo vowel harmony:

	Proclitics	Enclitics
low pitch	+	+
falling glide	—	+
vowel harmony	—	+

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THE DESCRIPTION OF MEANING AND ITS PRINCIPLES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is twofold, to test actual descriptions
of meaning and to reassess the principles that govern semantic
description. Testing is carried out on natural language para-
phrases as found in *The Longman Dictionary of Idioms* (T. H. Long
and D. Summers) and *The Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*
(R. Courtney) and, while it constitutes a way of assessing the
relevance of theoretical principles, these are examined in their
own right, as scientific claims made in the framework of a seman-
tic theory, in an attempt to capture all aspects of meaning
description.

The present paper will deal with two fundamental aspects of
semantic research: the principles that allegedly govern a theory
of semantics and the testing or verifiability of actual meaning
descriptions. A meaning description can be defined as any metho-
dological device that is designed to make explicit the meaning of
an expression. Depending on one's theoretical horizon, a meaning
description can be a definition, a paraphrase, a synonym, or a
set of symbols. The use of "expression" here will cover lexical
items, compounds, idiomatic expressions, phrases, clauses and sen-
tences, but should exclude utterances, since these belong to prag-
matics, as I tried to show in an earlier paper, read at a
previous meeting of our Association (Choul 1982).

The testing of descriptions and the reassessment of principles
have similar epistemological implications, but we should remember
that there is no actual need to define meaning. While a scientific
discipline is required to state its object, it is not required to
define the nature of its object. In other words, meaning as a
phenomenon could very well be outside the realm of semantics or
linguistics. For our immediate purpose, we can say that the meaning
of an expression is any device used to describe it.

Actual descriptions of meaning

My examples are borrowed from two commercial sources: the
Longman Dictionary of Idioms (Long and Summers 1979) and the *Longman*

Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs (Courtney 1983). The reason for this choice is twofold. Dictionary testing is one of the most fruitful applications of a semantic theory, and has now evolved precise procedures (Choul 1985a). Moreover, to avoid individual interpretations in semantic studies, Coyaud (1965:33) had suggested that any analysis be a collective effort. As a corollary I should also mention that as a non-native speaker of English, I feel more confident working on non-original data.

The choice of idioms and phrasal verbs is again motivated by two distinct factors. Idiomatic expressions are still the stumbling block of any linguistic theory, especially when it comes to describing their meaning. On the other hand, those who are familiar with my work know that idioms occupy a special place in my research (Choul 1982b).

An actual meaning description will look like (1):

(1) *Make allowance(s):* To take into consideration (certain facts or conditions, esp. particular difficulties or the weaknesses of a person).

In (1), we have an idiom followed by what can be called a natural language paraphrase. Such a paraphrase could be in another natural language, such as French or Italian. The paraphrase is itself accompanied by some additional information which can be identified as metalinguistic information, since it pertains to the use of the expression. It is also paradigmatic in the sense that it allows speakers to effect a series of possible commutations within the given paradigms: a) facts and conditions, b) difficulties or weaknesses of a person. The indication /of a person/ is a sub-paradigm.

In (2), we have a phrasal verb, whose presentation follows the same model as in (1):

(2) *Peep over:* v adv;prep to take a small look over (something) (IO+OVER/over).

The additional information is grammatical, and would be important if we were testing the dictionary as such. For semantic purposes, the basic testing procedure is related to commutation, and constitutes a governing principle of a semantic theory, as a corollary of a wider-scope principle which can be identified as the *testing principle*: any part of a description is subject to testing for generality and repeatability. Both of these conditions constitute principles in their own right, and will be discussed later.

The procedure consists in substituting the description for the expression it describes. In (3) then, we would be testing (1):

(3) The success of the team depends upon its members' willingness to work together and (to take into consideration) (for each other).

The example sentence is borrowed from the same source and illustrates a difficulty, as it supplies the reader with additional grammatical information, i.e. the construction of *make allowances* with *for*. Obviously the internal coherence of the entry is doubtful, and (3) is deficient. It can also be noted that the paradigmatic information is incomplete, since the example provided requires a third paradigm using only the sub-paradigm of (b) above. Testing may be more successful on the other example supplied by the same source.

(4) (Taking into consideration) (for) bad weather and (for) my own laziness, I think the job will be finished before the end of the year.

With the exception of the prepositions *for*, substitution can be carried out properly and the metalinguistic conditions correspond to items appearing in the context. *Laziness* can be assimilated to the /weaknesses of a person/ and *bad weather* to /certain facts or conditions/. (4) can be said to satisfy two principles in a semantic theory: the already mentioned substitution principle and the *paraphrase principle*, according to which any description is governed by its integration into a paraphrase.

The paraphrase principle and the substitution principle are two instances of the testing principle. These principles do not necessarily share the same status within the theory. Some deal with the epistemological requirements of a theory, others with the internal requirements of a specific theory, and still others are data-dependent constructs.

As an example, the paraphrase principle is also governed by another principle within the theory, and this principle is an axiom with epistemological implications: the *equivalence principle* states that the fundamental semantic relation is equivalence. It has a corollary which has often been used as a central claim in various semantic theories, the *difference principle*, which was first stated by de Saussure. According to this principle, the meaning of a given unit is whatever is not the meaning of other units. This principle makes the description of meaning within a natural language practically impossible. It also suggests that the best description can be carried out from the outside. If we retain the difference principle together with the equivalence principle, we require some device to make them compatible.

The solution is found in the *redundancy principle*, according to which feature redundancy governs all semantic relations. While this principle relies on another one to be efficient, it makes it possible for a theory to describe meaning in terms of a combination of identity and difference. This consolidates the equivalence principle as a methodological device, since it does not imply the generalization of synonymy. To be effective, the redundancy principle requires a statement as to what is to be considered a feature. The *feature principle* establishes the necessity for all semantic descriptions to have a specific metalinguistic level: the feature level.

As expected, this principle does not stand alone, and is governed by an application principle, used to generate geatures. This is known as the *transcoding principle* and is dependent on the choice to use natural language as a descriptive tool. It also constitutes a theoretical precaution, since it is only through transcoding that a natural language will be used for semantic description. The transcoding principle states that any lexical item can be promoted to the status of a feature as required by a given description. The transcoding operation, apart from being identified graphically by conventional slashes, deprives any lexical item of its reference.

This transcoding convention is implicit in most dictionary definitions, and is clear in what I referred to as metalinguistic information. Let's take the case of /something/ in example (2), tested below in (5):

(5) I can see a little face (taking a small look) (over) the *fence*. Who is it?

The /something/ paradigm can be considered to be at the feature level, since it can be verified through an inclusion-type operation, which I call infrasemy. Just as /weaknesses/ for *laziness*, /something/ occupies a higher node than *fence* in a tree-like organization, and can be reached through suprasemy.

Features and descriptions alike are governed by a fundamental principle, known as the *monosemy principle*. While this may be self-explanatory, it is derived from the transcoding principle, as an extra precaution due to the use of natural language.

This principle is not satisfied by the defining term *small* in example (2). Dictionaries in general are unable to satisfy this requirement without the use of an often cumbersome system of cross-reference.

Idioms and phrases

In fact the monosemy principle is a technical requirement as well as an axiomatic principle. It depends, for its completion, on another dual-status principle, the *accessibility principle*, or the principle of minimal formalization. This system could be transferred to actual descriptions, but would probably interfere with consultation. Let us borrow another example from one of our sources. In (6), due to the limited expansion of the paraphrase, it would not be so bad, but in (7) economic constraints would forbid the use of anything else than cross-reference symbols or numbers.

(6) *Out of the ark:* very old

(6a) *old* = having lived or existed for a long time or long enough to show signs of age

(7) *Once bitten, twice shy:* if one has been cheated or deceived on one occasion by someone or something, one will be more careful when one meets that person or thing again.

Even with a formal cross-reference, such a dictionary would be dependent on another dictionary for its monosemy. In the present theory, minimal formalization corresponds to the use of lexical items promoted to the status of feature and of a limited set of symbols, such as the assignment notation, shown in (8), for (6):

(8) *old* := /existing for a long time/

The notation has an interlocking capability, and makes both sides of the symbols cases of monosemy. It has to be noted that it normally applies to an expression, and not to its paraphrase or definition. (6) would then read as (9):

(9) out of the ark:=VERY OLD

In (9) we have a simplified version, since the normal descriptive procedure would assign a value to each form, although some assignments may become redundant.

It may be helpful here to make a distinction between sense descriptions such as those found in lexicographic sources and semantic value assignments. While sense descriptions are materially limited and have to be as general as possible, assignments can be carried out for spontaneous utterances, including sentences. Their requirements do not include generality, but only reproducibility, or repeatability. These two concepts form two essential principles in any semantic theory.

The *generality principle* requires any part of an assignment or of a description to satisfy some degree of generality, in order for speakers of the language to recognize it as a correlation.

The *repeatability principle* states that all parts of an assignment or of a description have to be reproducible under the stated conditions. The conditions themselves do not escape both principles. Even in an assignment where idiosyncrasy would determine an uncommon value, conditions still have to allow for the recognition of variations within a paradigm.

If we maintain the distinction between a sense description as found in a dictionary and a value assignment as carried out in the framework of a theory, a given description, such as the one in (10), has to be both general and repeatable. It should be applicable to example (11):

    (10) *Hunt out:* To search for and find (something which one knows or thinks that one has)

    (11) He had to hunt out all the necessary information.

In dictionary testing, this is called testing external coherence. In the present case, we notice that the paradigmatic information is excessively precise and would make substitution difficult. Consequently, (10) could be said not to satisfy the generality principle. Similarly, the conditions do not satisfy the reproducibility principle.

Both principles can be used to assess different descriptions for the same expression. Let us take *smell out*, as listed by Courtney, and compare it with *Macmillan's* (Halsey 1973) paraphrase:

    (12) *Smell out:* To discover (something, oft. bad) by guessing.

    (13) To seek or find by or as by smelling.

If we use the various illustrative sentences, we should be able to identify some problems:

    (14) He smelled out a bargain.

    (15) She certainly can smell out a secret.

    (16) He has a strange ability for smelling out a mystery.

Again, Courtney's description seems to be too restrictive. *Bargain* does not have a feature that can be assimilated to /bad/, and if *mystery* or *secret* have it, it is only by connotation, as a

virtual feature. On the other hand, *Macmillan's* description does not satisfy the monosemy principle, since it assigns a double choice, instead of a clear value. As a consequence, the paraphrase principle is jeopardized. The actual paraphrase for (14) would look like (17):

(17) He (sought or found) a bargain (by or as by smelling).

I will not list the various possible combinations, since we can readily notice their inability to capture the appropriate meaning. Conflated definitions are often used by lexicographers to save space or, worse, because they consider derived meanings as derivable by their reader. Anybody who has used a dictionary with students knows that if an alternative is given, the wrong choice is usually made. Defective sense descriptions are also the result of an inability on the part of the author to effect a satisfactory meaning separation, especially with figurative uses. Although the nose metaphor is widespread, as witnessed by another idiom, *to have a nose for*, there is no valid reason for a description of meaning to be metaphorical.

In fact, such a practice may go against another principle in the theory, the *differential representation principle*, according to which a given item cannot provide a semantic description of itself. This principle was first aimed at semi-formalized representations based on truth, as shown in (18):

(18) "Snow is white" if and only if snow is white.

In order to avoid metaphorical interpretations of alleged figurative expressions, we would have to extend the principle or restate it. This solution would in turn endanger the coherence of the theory, and resemble the observation that triggered its formulation. A principle should deal with one problem only. The best solution consists in formulating a new principle, which will provisionally be called the *non-figurative representation principle*. It states that a given description or assignment cannot reproduce the figurative relation of its object. In other words, the interpretation of a metonymy cannot assign a metonymic value. We may wish to exclude all other figures of speech from an interpretation, but this may be difficult to achieve, since all features are promoted lexical items. We must rely on the application of the monosmy principle to take care of that aspect of the problem.

The role of principles in the theory

Principles form a system that corresponds to the actual theory. Any statement made within that theory will be derived from a principle or a combination of principles. No principle stands alone. Their interdependence guarantees their effectiveness and their rigour.

Although they cannot compete with a truly formal system, they do reproduce some of its characteristics.

The majority of them correspond to rules, as required by the *rule-governing principle*, which states that all semantic descriptions, assignments and relations are governed by rules and can be expressed as rules. These rules are essentially semantic in nature, and this limits their application, since they cannot generate interpretations.

But as descriptive tools, they make it possible to test descriptions. The typical means of testing a lexicographic description would be to convert it into an assignment, that is, rewrite the description as an assignment rule, using the descriptors to fill the various positions.

While it is true that within the self-contained system of the semantic theory the sole purpose of rules is descriptive, there is a conversion principle that will allow the semantic rules to be turned into operations within the broader framework of a theory of semiotics. The *operationality principle* states that any part of a description or an assignment can be converted into a semantizing operation. This is especially necessary in the case of what has been called paradigmatic information in previous analyses. The presence of class-type features or descriptors in dictionary descriptions requires two basic semiotic operations in order to be used. If we take the case of *make a show of*, in (19):

(19) To pretend to have (a feeling).

The bracketted descriptor can only be reached through a generic or superordinate path, from a trigger utterance such as (20):

(20) Father made a show of anger.

This is a typical instance of the suprasemic operation. If we went the other way, from the description to the utterance, or the text, we would have a typical infrasemic operation, corresponding to instanciation.

Within the theory, the kind of information given in (19) between brackets, or in (21) as an enumeration, is typical of what can be referred to as conditions.

(21) *Flipper:* n. 1. Broad, flat limb, as of a *seal, dolphin, penguin or turtle*, adapted for swimming.

The presence of conditions in the description of meaning will obviously lead to a principle. This is known as the *condition/inference principle*, which states that all rules, assignments and des-

criptions are a function of at least one condition. If we take the
case of (21), *flipper* as a lexical item will be assigned the value
/limb/ only when the context can be correlated with one member in
the class identified by the condition. This principle provides us
with an indication as to the nature of meaning. Meaning is condi-
tional. Combined with the paraphrase principle, it allows us to
consider meaning as a conditional paraphrase. If we remember that,
within the theory, paraphrase is located at the metalinguistic
level, we can say that meaning is a correlation between an object
or form level and a metalinguistic or value level.

This is basically what is assumed by the *assignment/correla-
tion principle*, according to which meaning is best described as a
value assignment correlating a form and a metalinguistic device.

As I remarked earlier, not all principles share the same status
in the theory. Some are directly linked to observation, rather than
to technical or epistemological considerations. This is especially
the case with the *feature mobility principle* which describes an obser-
vable phenomenon: the reccurrence of some features in the description
of obviously unconnected items. This principle is also a precaution
against the temptation to consider some features as the property of
some items. Idiomatic expressions are typical of this absence of
one-to-one correspondence. If /find/ as a feature can be used for
describing *discover* as an item, it also appears in the description
of *smell out*, as we have seen.

Another principle, central in the theory, deals with another
observable phenomenon. The *distributivity principle* accounts for
the fact that cooccurring items or items that are co-present in a
sentence usually share some features. This form of mapping is also
called *isosemy*, following Pottier (1974:84). This principle does
not make any claim as to the regularity of the feature distribution
throughout the sentence. In fact, we can safely assume that this
is not the case, especially in view of another principle, much more
general in its application, the *disproportion principle*.

This principle is a typical semiotic principle, since its
scope exceeds the limits of a semantic theory. Basically, it states
that there is a discrepancy between the form level and the sense
level, as well as between the sense level and the reference level.
This principle is based on an observation of Michel Bréal, the founder
of semantics as a part of linguistics (Choul 1983). From a syste-
matic point of view, it is linked to the paraphrase principle. It
also allows a value to exceed the limits of a feature, as in (22):

(22) *Interpret:* to make clear.

It also accounts for the presence of idioms, compounds and phrases in language, and more generally for composite expressions which may have a single feature value, as in (23);

(23) *Cut across*: To interrupt.

From a more general point of view, the disproportion principle also accounts for an impression a speaker experiences very often: that language lets him down. This is due to the very nature of language units, and specifically of items known as shifters. But all lexical items possess this class property, since they can never be assimilated to labels or names. A lexical item is always general, while what we attempt to describe with it is always specific. A closer scrutiny of language makes it possible to reverse the saying that a picture is worth a thousand words. According to the disproportion principle, a word can be used for any object in its class.

If we return briefly to the distributivity principle, we may wish to isolate two different principles, since we were able to establish two distinct applications. For instances where a single feature can be assigned to various items in a sentence, we could retain Pottier's term, and state an *isosemy principle*, according to which the semantic acceptability of a sentence is dependent on the recurrence or iteration of features from one item to another.

The other aspect of distributivity could be covered by the *homosemic principle*, which would state, as a consequence of the equivalence principle, that one or more features can be shared by any number of items. This would be equivalent to a semantic connectedness principle, without having the drawbacks of a synonymy principle, which would be difficult to observe, due to its lack of generality.

Most of the principles I have discussed here were the object of an earlier presentation (Choul 1984), in a slightly less technical perspective. I have kept the most important one for the end: the *principle of relative autonomy*, which may be considered a foundational principle.

It states that a linguistic theory of semantics is autonomous within linguistics, and serves a dual purpose: first, it is used to exclude certain considerations from the scope of the theory, and second, it has a discriminatory function, since it makes the theory dependent on its object, language, and not on its uses, which are left to pragmatics and semiotics. The exclusion provision is related to the condition principle. Any factor or phenomenon excluded from semantics can be recuperated as a condition. This is the case of syntax, as well as of situation, or reference. Since there is no actual grammatical content to the theory and no attempt is made to

establish a series of correspondences between syntax and sense, any syntactic device which may be considered to have an incidence on meaning becomes a condition.

The autonomy of a semantic theory has been questioned by Berrendonner (1981:25), on the basis that an analysis of meaning could not be self-sufficient. According to him, such an analysis has to have some connection with an analysis of the 'signifiant'. It has to take into consideration the form level. His critique has no impact on the theory I have just outlined, since we have at our disposal principles that take care of that particular aspect. Moreover, an assignment cannot take place without an object. Similarly, his requirement for what he calls a 'syntagmatique' (Berrendonner 1981:30) is satisfied both in the assignment process and by the paraphrase principle.

As I tried to demonstrate, a theory of semantics is more than just a series of requisites, and its formal nature cannot be imported from another discipline. In order not to compete uselessly with other scientific endeavours, it must acknowledge its limitations and clearly state its objectives and the means used to achieve them.

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The Stressed Vowel Phonemes of a New Brunswick Idiolect
and Central/Prairie Canadian English

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ABSTRACT

Although scholars of Canadian English have established the
phonemes which are typical for most of Ontario and the Prairie
Provinces, little comparison has been made with other parts of
Canada. To begin the process of determining if these phonemes are
also typical of Canadian English east of Ontario, this preliminary
study compares the phonemes established for Ontario and the
Prairie Provinces with those of an idiolect from Harvey Station,
New Brunswick. This paper also briefly considers evidence of
Canadian raising in the idiolect. While the phonemes are
remarkably similar, some phonemic differences do distinguish this
idiolect from that of Ontario and the Prairie Provinces.

Consolidating and developing the work of W. Avis, A. M.
Kinloch established the phonemes for what he described as
Central/Prairie Canadian English (Kinloch 1983).[1] Stretching from
Ontario to the Prairie Provinces, this dialect represents a
populous and influential form of Canadian English. The question
that students of Canadian English might well now ask is: are
these phonemes typical of other parts of Canada, and, in
particular, to what degree are these phonemes found east of
Ontario? To answer this question thoroughly, of course, would
require the extensive work of a linguistic atlas. However, to
begin at least to answer the question, this preliminary study
establishes the stressed phonemes of a type one informant from New
Brunswick and then compares these phonemes with those of
Central/Prairie Canadian English (C/PCE).

The informant, a 67 year woman, lives on a farm outside of
Harvey Station, York County, New Brunswick. According to the
classification of informants outlined by Kurath et al. (1973:
41-44), she is a type one informant as she is intelligent and "an
elderly descendent of an old local family" (1973:41), who has
always lived in her community, has grade eight education, and is

the third generation in this community. The one exception to placing her in this classification is that her paternal grandfather, as a boy, came to Canada from Donegal Island, Ireland. As far as is known, all the men farmed and all the women worked at home, although the maternal grandmother also ran the local Post Office in the village of Magundy after her husband died.

Since the objective of this field study was to phonemicize the stressed vowels of the idiolect, I used a revised version of the Davis and Davis questionnaire (1969) and supplemented it with indirect questions that looked for further evidence of what Chambers (1973) calls Canadian raising (see also Joos 1942, Avis 1973a, Gregg 1973, Picard 1977, and Paradis 1980). To make the comparison of these two groups of phonemes clearer, I have reproduced the phonemes from C/PCE deduced by Kinloch (1983:34) in Table I and summarized those from the Harvey Station idiolect in Table II.

TABLE I

Stressed Vowel Phonemes of Central/Prairie
Canadian English (Kinloch 1983:34)

Checked	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	æ (a)		ə	ɑ	(ɔ)	o	ʊ	u	aɪ	aʊ ɔɪ
Free	i		e		æ (a)			ɑ	(ɔ)	o		u	aɪ	aʊ ɔɪ
Before /r/															
Intervocalic	i	ɪ(e)/ɛ/(æ)					ə		(ɔ)	o		u	aɪ	aʊ
Preconsonantal	i		e		æ (a)		ə		(ɔ)	o		u	aɪ	aʊ
Final	i		e		æ (a)		ə		(ɔ)	o		u	aɪ	aʊ ɔɪ

TABLE II

Stressed Vowel Phonemes of the Harvey Station Idiolect

Checked	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	æ	a	ə	ɝ	o	ʊ	u	aɪ	aʊ ɔɪ
Free	i		e			a		ɝ	o		u	aɪ	aʊ ɔɪ
Before /r/													
Intervocalic			e	ɛ	æ		ə						
Preconsonantal									o				ɔɪ
Final	i		e			a 3	ə		o		u	aɪ	aʊ

In the checked position C/PCE has the fifteen phonemes /i ɪ e ɛ æ (a) ə ɑ (ɔ) o ʊ u aɪ aʊ ɔɪ/ (Kinloch 1983:34). The phonemes /a/ and /ɔ/ are placed in brackets because they are no longer common in the checked position in C/PCE. As Avis explains in a note, "Although the phoneme /a/ is part of my idiolect, it is by no means common in general Canadian English nowadays. . . .

Nevertheless, most of the speakers who have the same vowel /ɑ/ in balm and bomb have the phone [a], that is, a low front vowel, before /r/ in car /kar/ and cart /kart/ and as the first element in the diphthongs /aʊ/ and /aɪ/. . ." (1973a:64, note 21). Further, Avis points out that "Most . . . Canadians no longer make a distinction between /ɔ/ and /ɑ/ in such pairs as caught and cot, naughty and knotty, which have contrasting vowels in most varieties of American and British English. In General Canadian, in fact, all such words have the phoneme /ɑ/, which may vary environmentally from [a>] to [ɒ], none of which are characterized by rounding" (Avis 1973a:64). Thus, in the checked position, both /a/ and /ɔ/ have become minority forms for most speakers of C/PCE.

The phonetic line for the vowels in the checked position for the Harvey Station idiolect is very close to that of C/PCE. Like Avis and like older and more conservative speakers, this informant has the phoneme /a/ in the words psalm [sa>ᵊm] and gather [ga^<ᶿɨɚ] The Harvey Station idiolect does, however, differ in two minor ways from that of C/PCE. The first difference is a matter of form. Where Avis (1973a) and Kinloch (1983) have used /ɑ/ to symbolize the low back unrounded vowel, I have used the symbol /ɑ̈/ because the latter symbol more accurately represents the sound of the informant. Second, although this idiolect does have the phoneme /a/, a minority form in C/PCE in this position, it does not have the other minority form, /ɔ/, in the checked position. Consequently, like most Canadians this idiolect uses the low back unrounded vowel, /ɑ̈/, for the pairs cot and caught, not and naught, tot and taught, without the contrast with /ɔ/ found in some other English dialects.

In the free position C/PCE has eleven phonemes /i e æ (a) ɑ (ɔ) o u aɪ aʊ ɔɪ/ (Kinloch 1983:34). Once more the Harvey Station idiolect has a similar phonemic line and again has the minority form, phoneme /a/, shown in lah [ɫaˤ]. This is as should be expected: "For the minority of Canadians who have /a/ as a checked vowel phoneme, of course, the symbol will represent this phoneme in free position as well" (Kinloch 1983:33). Unlike C/PCE, however, this idiolect does not have the phonemes /æ/ and /ɔ/ in the free position. In this position /æ/ is frequently found in C/PCE, but /ɔ/ is again a minority form, as Kinloch (1983:33) notes.

> In the free position, the symbol for /ɔ/ appears in Avis (1979) only as a second pronunciation, never as the only pronunciation, of any one word: thus saw, law, paw, etc. are recorded in effect as /sɑ/ or /sɔ/, /lɑ/ or /lɔ/, /pɑ/ or /pɔ/, etc. This implies quite clearly that phoneme /ɔ/ does occur in free position, but more rarely than other phonemes do.

Thus, in the free position, like the majority of Canadians, this informant does not use /ɔ/; however, unlike most Canadians this idiolect lacks /æ/ and has the minority form /a/ in this position.

Comparing the stressed vowels before /r/, one can see two differences between the phonemic lines. First, the Harvey Station idiolect has an extra phoneme, /ɜ/, resulting from the contrast between fur with [ɜʌ] and fir with [ɚ]. The other and most important difference is that this idiolect has fewer phonemes realized before /r/ than does C/PCE. Before intervocalic /r/, C/PCE has eleven phonemes /i ɪ (e)/ɛ/(æ) ə (ɔ) o u aɪ aʊ/ while this idiolect has four in this position /e ɛ æ ə/, lacking /i ɪ (ɔ) o u aɪ aʊ/. Before preconsonantal /r/ C/PCE has ten phonemes /i e æ (a) ə (ɔ) o u aɪ aʊ/ while the Harvey Station idiolect has only one of these, /o/ (from the allophone [ɔ] in more), and adds the diphthong /ɔɪ/ shown in Moirs. Before final /r/ C/PCE has eleven phonemes /i e æ (a) ə (ɔ) o u aɪ aʊ ɔɪ/, while this idiolect has eight of these, plus the extra phoneme /ɜ/: /i e a ɜ ə o u aɪ aʊ/.

The obvious question is why does the Harvey Station idiolect not have more phonemes realized before /r/, especially before intervocalic /r/ and preconsonantal /r/? In part, the brevity of the questionnaire accounts for some absences. For instance, the questionnaire elicited only two phonemes before preconsonantal /r/ and doubtlessly could have evoked more if words like beard, laird, gourd, tired, and ours (examples taken from Kinloch 1983:34) were used. On the other hand, the idiolect itself may partly explain the absence of other phonemes. The additional questions that looked for Canadian raising before /r/ succeeded in eliciting only two examples of stressed vowels before /r/ from seven tokens. For example, when the informant was asked for hour, the pronunciation was [aʌˈwɚ]. Thus, both the idiolect and the questionnaire are partially responsible for the lack of phonemes before /r/.

Another similarity between this idiolect and C/PCE is what has been variously called Canadian raising by Chambers (1973), but also termed centering by others (Labov 1963:282-83 and King 1972:536), and lowering by others (Gregg 1973:144, Bailey 1975:74, and Picard 1977:148). The supplemental items to the Davis and Davis questionnaire (1969) indicate that the Harvey Station idiolect has raising in certain contexts. As one would expect of Canadian English, when /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ precede a voiceless consonant, the nuclear vowel is frequently higher than when these diphthongs precede a voiced consonant, or when they two diphthongs are in a free position or before /r/. Table III illustrates selected examples from the supplemental questionnaire.

TABLE III

Words Used to Investigate /aɪ/ and /aʊ/
In Four Positions

/aɪ/

Following Consonant	Checked Vowels Before Voiceless Consonant	Checked Vowels Before Voiced Consonant	Free Position	Before /r/
f/v/-/r	wife [eʌI]	wives [a>I]	why [a·Iˆ]	wire [a>·j]
t/d/-/r	tight [eʌ‡]	tide [a>·I]	tie [a·Iˆ]	tire [a>·j]
s/z/-/r	lice [eʌIˆ]	lies [a>‡ˆ]	lie [a>I]	liar [a>‡]

/aʊ/

t/d/-/r	bout [ʌʊ]	bowed [a<ʊ]	bough [a<ʊˇ]	bower [aʌ<ʊˇ]
/ /-	mouth [eʊˆ]	mouthes [a<ʊ]	mow [a<ʊˆ]	
s/z/-/r	souse [ʌʊ]	sows [a<ʊ]	sow [aʊ]	sour [a>ʊ]

/aɪ/ and /aʊ/ Before Other Voiced Consonants

Following Voiced Consonant	/aɪ/	/aʊ/
l	island [a>‡ˇ]	
m	rhyme [aIˆ]	
n	pine [a>Iˆ]	down [aʊ]
j	Elijah [a>Iˇ]	gouge [a>·ʊ]

Although the informant's raising is regular, one inconsistency did occur with the /aʊ/ diphthong. When asked for the verb mouthe, the informant responded with mouth [meʊˆθ], with the raised nuclear vowel [e] instead of the expected low nuclear vowel [a]. This inconsistency probably occurred because the verb mouthe is not part of the informant's normal vocabulary (the word was spelled when the indirect questions failed to elicite the word.) As a result, the informant simply pronounced the familiar noun mouth by phonetic analogy, rather than the unfamiliar verb.

These data also contain several homophones which are typical of C/PCE. As mentioned earlier, Canadians tend to have the same vowel for caught and cot, naught and knotty (Scott 1939:22, Avis 1973a:64, Kinloch 1983:32). The Harvey Station idiolect has caught and cot, not, knot and naught, and for that matter also tot, taught, and taut, all with the same low back unrounded vowel /ɑ/. Similarly, Joos (1942:141) noted that pawed and pod are pronounced alike in Canadian English, as they are in this

idiolect, both having /ɑ/. Secondly, as Kinloch (1983:35) has noted, Canadian English has the same stressed vowel for morning and mourning, and forty and four; this idiolect likewise agrees with the dominant pattern: morning [mɔᵊrnɪˆŋ] and mourning [mɔˆᵊrnɪˆŋ], and for [fɔˆᵊɚ] and four [fɔˆᵊɚ]. Thirdly, most Canadians have Mary and Merry as homophones, and older speakers contrast this pair with marry (Avis 1973b:113). Following the older and more conservative pattern, this idiolect does have marry with the phoneme /æ/, but in addition it contrasts Mary with the phoneme /e/ and Merry with the phoneme /ɛ/.

In conclusion, the stressed vowel phonemes of the Harvey Station idiolect are very similar to those of C/PCE. Like most speakers of C/PCE the informant does not have the phone [ɔ] in the checked or free positions, but it does appear before /r/ and in the diphthong /ɔɪ/. Again like most Canadians the informant shows raising of the nuclear vowels of the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ before voiceless consonants, whereas other English dialects, notably the American dialects listed in LANE, more typically reflect raising in one or the other of these diphthongs.[4]

Unlike most speakers of C/PCE this speaker has /ɜ/ as an extra phoneme, resulting from the contrast between fir and fur, the first of the pair with /ə/ and the second with /ɜ/. Again unlike most Canadians, the informant lacks some phonemes—particularly before intervocalic and preconsonantal /r/—that are typically found in C/PCE. And finally, as one might expect of a type one informant, she reflects some of the conservative speech traits of older Canadian speakers. For instance, she retains the minority form /a/ in the free and checked positions, and makes a distinction found in the speech of older Canadians between Merry and marry, the first having /ɛ/ and the second having /æ/.

On a more general level, this preliminary study indicates that the phonemes of C/PCE are found east of Ontario. Since the informant lives close to the provincial capital, it is not surprising her phonemes are so similar to those common in central Canada. The implication for further research is obvious. More phonemic analysis and comparison are needed to discover to what degree the phonemes of C/PCE are typical of other parts of New Brunswick, of the Atlantic Provinces, and of the English speaking community in Quebec.

NOTES

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the encouragement and generous assistance of Professor A. M. Kinloch in the preparation of this paper and in the phonetic transcription of the field study.

[2] Because of the limitations of the typing elements available to me, I have used the LAUSC symbol 3 to represent the LAUSC symbol ɘ, an unrounded, upper mid central vowel. The sound is slightly farther forward and higher than schwa.

[3] While the debate over the development of this feature and over the name to give it is important, it is not the concern of this paper. Since my interest is in the current usage of this feature, I use raising to distinguish the minority form of /aɪ/ and /au/ with the higher nuclear vowel from the more frequently used form with the lower nuclear vowel.

[4] See Labov (1963:281-82) who cites maps 26 to 29 in H. Kurath and R. McDavid (1962), The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States.

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The Eastern Algonkian Animate Intransitive Negative

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ABSTRACT

The Eastern Algonkian languages have a distinct morphological formation for the negative which is not found in the other Algonkian languages. Based on this it is possible to surmise that this negative formation is an Eastern innovation.

As the data from Micmac, Delaware, Maliseet and Abenaki is so well-documented these four languages will be used to determine the form of the negative morpheme and its location within the verb.

Data from other Eastern Algonkian languages such as Natick, Penobscot and Mohegan-Pequot will be presented as these languages also show evidence for this negative morpheme.

The Eastern Algonkian grouping of languages consists of approximately 18 languages (Goddard 1978:70). Seven of these will be discussed with regards to their formation of the negative of the Animate Intransitive (AI) verb. These seven will be Micmac, Maliseet, Delaware, Abenaki, Penobscot, Mohegan-Pequot and Natick. Because of the varying availability of data, those languages with the most data available will be dealt with in the most detail.

The data available for Micmac, Maliseet, Delaware and Abenaki is much more comprehensive than that for the other three languages. Before the negative formation is discussed the inflectional endings of the AI affirmative paradigm of the independent indicative will be observed. AI verbs are used for action by an animate subject (ex. I sleep) and the independent indicative is used for simple statements and questions. It is necessary to study the paradigm of the affirmative and to gain an understanding of its derivations before any conclusions are drawn regarding the negative. These paradigms will be displayed in Table 1 below.

As the Micmac independent indicative corresponds to the conjunct (which is used in "if" and "when" clauses) of the other Eastern

languages, to facilitate comparisons and to allow for the inclusion
of the well-documented Micmac data, the conjunct forms of Maliseet
and Delaware will be used. Because of the relatively limited data
available for Abenaki there were few conjunct forms to be found.

Table 1 - Reflexes of Proto-Algonkian Conjunct Inflections

	Micmac	Maliseet	Delaware	PA
Sg.1	-Vy(an)	-Vyan	-a:n	*-ya:n
Sg.2	-Vn	-Vyin	-an	*-yan
Sg.3	-Vt	-Vt	-t	*-t
Pl.1(incl.)	-Vyikw	-Vyikw	-e:nkw	*-yankw
Pl.1(excl.)	-Vyek	-Vyek	-e:nkw	*-ya:nk
Pl.2	-Vyoq	-Vyekw	-e:kw	*-ye:kw
Pl.3	-Včik	-Vhtit/-Včik	-o:htit	*-čik

The inflectional endings used are those which were reconstructed
by Leonard Bloomfield (1946:101) for the Proto-Algonkian AI conjunct
with the exception of the 3rd plural. Bloomfield reconstructed
*-twaa or *-waat as the inflection of the 3rd plural of the AI
conjunct. By using either of these forms it would not be possible
to derive the Eastern forms. As *-t is the 3rd singular inflection
and *-ik is the plural marker of the verb it is possible to reconstruct
*-tik > *-čik as the inflection for this form. (*t > *č as a
result of palatalization caused by the following high front vowel
i). Evidence for this *-čik inflection is also found in Cree as
the 3rd AI conjunct in Cree is -čik (Ellis 1983:653).

As can be seen from the data, the correspondences between the
Eastern languages are quite evident. They share much of the same
morphology and the derivation of the forms from PA will help show
why this is the case. (see Appendix 1)

The next step is to display the AI negative paradigms (Table
2) so as to identify and isolate the negative morpheme. The languages
to be used are once again Micmac, Maliseet and Delaware. Abenaki
will be included because even though the forms are not conjunct there
are correspondences which help define the negative morpheme and
show its position in the word.

Table 2 - Eastern Algonkian AI Negative

	Micmac	Maliseet		Delaware	Abenaki
Sg.1	-Vw(an)	-Vw	-Vwan	-Vwa:n	-Vw
Sg.2	-Vun	-Vwon		-Vwan	
Sg.3	-Vkw	-Vhkw		-Vkw	-Vwi
Pl.1(incl.)	-Vwkw	-Vwehk		-Vwe:nkw	-Vppena
Pl.1(excl.)	-Vwek	-Vwohkw		-Vwe:nkw	-Vppena
Pl.2	-Vwoq	-Vwehkw		-Vwe:kw	-Vppa
Pl.3	-V:kw	-Vhtikw/-Vhtihkwik		-Vhti:kw	-Vwiak

It should be noted that the negative morpheme replaces the -y- of the 1st and 2nd plural inflections in Micmac and Maliseet.

Based upon this data it is possible to isolate the negative morpheme and to locate its position within the verb. Some data from Micmac and Delaware will display the difference between the formation of the affirmative and the negative.

Micmac	Negative	Affirmative
mu pemie-u-n	"you are not walking"	pemie-n
mu pemie-w-ek	"we (dual excl.) are not walking"	pemie-yek

Delaware		Affirmative
máta pá:-w-an	"you are not coming"	pá:-an
máta pá:-w-e:kw	"you (pl.) are not coming"	pá:-e:kw

In comparing the negative and the affirmative forms it can be seen that the negative is formed by adding a negative morpheme directly after the stem final vowel or consonant and before the inflectional endings. In Micmac, Maliseet, Delaware and in some of the Abenaki forms the negative is quite distinctly marked by a single w-element. The negative morpheme for Eastern Algonkian is therefore -w-.

This conclusion regarding -w- as the marker of the negative in Eastern Algonkian throws light on the Abenaki data. Abenaki does not always contain the w-element but it shows the effect of the once-present -w-. The effect of the -w- can be seen in the 1st and 2nd person plural forms of the independent indicative present.

	Affirmative	Negative
Plural 1	-pena	-ppena
Plural 2	-pa	-ppa

The forms with the original -w- morpheme would have occurred

at some stage in the development of Abenaki and these forms would have been:

Plural 1   -w-pena > -ppena
Plural 2   -w-pa > -ppa

The presence of the -w- caused the following consonant which was originally lenis to become fortis with the assimilation of -w- in these forms. The geminated devoiced -pp- in the negative forms is a reflex of the cluster -wp- and this change is due to the preceding -w-. The evidence that the negative morpheme -w- must have at one point existed in these forms is that this element still exists in several of the Abenaki forms such as Sg.1 and 3 and Pl.3. Thus the distinction between the affirmative and the negative in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural in Abenaki is indicated by the change in the consonant.

This phenomenon of the -w- affecting the following consonant was reported by Teeter (1971) for Maliseet, and may be seen in the Maliseet paradigm of the AI independent indicative negative. In the paradigm displayed in Table 3 below it should be noted that in the affirmative forms there is only a simple -p- which is phonetically a lenis [b]. When the -w- negative morpheme is added before this [b] the result is that it has an effect on the following [b] so that it becomes -hp- which is phonetically a fortis [p].

Table 3 - Maliseet AI Independent Indicative

	Negative	Affirmative
Sg.1	-w	-
Sg.2	-w	-
Sg.3	-w	-u
Pl.1(incl.)	-whpon	-upon
Pl.1(excl.)	-whpon	-upon
Pl.2	-whpa	-upa
Pl.3	-iwiyik	-uk

Based on the data from these four languages it is possible to postulate an original -w- as the marker of the negative in the Eastern Algonkian languages.

Three of the other Eastern Algonkian languages besides those already discussed also show evidence for this -w- negative morpheme. To find these forms a variety of sources had to be consulted such as journal articles, dictionaries, lexicons and collections of tales.

The evidence for Natick is from the information contained under the headword NO, NOT in Trumbull's <u>Natick Dictionary</u> (1903). Trumbull made a statement under this headword which explains the whole formation of the negative in Natick. He states, "The negative verb is formed from the affirmative by interposing the diphthong ∞ between the radical and the syllable following as in:
oowadchanum-un   "he keeps it"
oowadchanum-∞-un "he does not keep it" ". (Trumbull 1903:301) This is the only example given by Trumbull but it does show the distinctive negative formation of Eastern Algonkian. The lack of data given by him is compensated for by his conclusive statement on the formation of the negative.

Two sources were used in determining the negative formation in Mohegan-Pequot and both of these were journal articles. One of these, 'The Modern Pequots and Their Language' by Prince and Speck (1903) includes the statement that the "...negative (is) expressed by the inherent w." (209) Two examples given are: adwākōnjūswōn "lead us not" and chūwa·k "they do not desire". For the chūwa·k example the statement "The negative is included in this word by means of w; chu-w-ak."(207) is made.

The other source of data and information is the article 'A Tale in the Hudson River Indian Language' by Prince (1905). Within this article more examples were found, some with following conclusive statements about the negative formation. These examples and statements are: out·ap·ρ·ewan 'she is not here ' "...with negative ending -wan" (82) and ersta-ãm-geese-k·wanawik 'not can I bury them'. "Note the negative -w- in the verb-form."(84)

The other Eastern Algonkian language which shows evidence for the negative morpheme is Penobscot and the data for this language comes from Speck's 'Penobscot Transformer Tales'(1918). This article from IJAL consists of tales written in Penobscot with an English translation. The examples of the negative are:

a·ʿ tama na·mi·h-áwi·-ak	"they could not see"
a·ʿ tama ugi·zelda´muwan	"he would not give up"
a·ʿ tama maska´m-owun	"he did not find it"
nda·ʿ tama una·´mi·h-a·wial	"he did not see her"
a·ʿ tama madjeoda´ai·wi·ak	"they will not leave"

Here again the negative is marked by a -w- element.

A manuscript possibly written in the late 18th century entitled 'Mots Loups' gives a list of words in an unidentified Indian language (which has been called Loup A) followed by a French translation. The language has been shown to belong to the Eastern Algonkian group which was originally spoken in the central New

England area and the language may have been spoken by one of the central Massachusetts tribes (Goddard 1978:71).

Gordon Day (1975) published this manuscript entitled The Mots Loups of Father Mathevet. The following examples are from this publication and it can be seen that the -w- negative morpheme also appears in this language as well.
mat net-ent-88an   "Je ne scai pas faire cela" (14)
mat nipetam-8-au   "Je ne l'ai pas entendu" (46)
mat nimigai8   "je ne suis pas lache" (104)

Because of the type of data available for Natick, Mohegan-Pequot, Penobscot and the Mots Loups it was not always possible to find examples of negative AI verbs. In some cases verbs from other categories had to be included as examples such as Transitive Inanimate and Transitive Animate verbs. This same negative element which is found in the AI verb is also found in the other verbal categories in the same position in all the Eastern Algonkian languages. The point to be made with the data from these languages is that the -w- element is used to mark the negative in other Eastern Algonkian languages besides Micmac, Maliseet, Delaware and Abenaki.

Based on all the above data from the Eastern Algonkian languages it can be seen that the use of -w- as a negative morpheme is spread throughout this whole group of languages. In conclusion it can be stated that the Eastern Algonkian languages have a distinct morphological formation of the negative which is not found in other Algonkian languages.

APPENDIX 1

Derivations of the Eastern Forms From PA

Sg.1   Micmac   Maliseet   Delaware   PA
          -y(an)   -yan   -a:n   *-ya:n

- Micmac and Maliseet display the expected result. The (an) is
bracketed in the Micmac form as it only occurs when there is
another inflectional elememt following. The derivation of the forms
is as follows:
*y > y
*a: > a
*n > n
- Delaware loses the *y but it retains the remainder of the PA form.

Sg.2   Micmac   Maliseet   Delaware   PA
          -n   -yin   -an   *-yan

- With this derivation of the Micmac form the specific stem final
vowels have to be taken into account. The derivation from PA
forms with a long stem final vowel would be: *-V:yan > -Vy∂n >
-Vyn > -Vn. The short vowel in PA would have been an *i and this
derivation would have gone through a different series of stages in
the development to Micmac which would have been: *-iyan > -i:n > -in.
- Delaware loses the *y but it retains the remainder of the PA form.
- There is a problem with deriving the Maliseet vowel from the PA
vowel.

Sg.3   Micmac   Maliseet   Delaware   PA
          -t   -t   -t   *-t

- Micmac, Maliseet and Delaware display the expected result as
*t > t.

Pl.1(incl.)   Micmac   Maliseet   Delaware   PA
              -yikw   -yikw   -e:nkw   *-yankw

- The Micmac and Maliseet forms seem to have gone through the same
series of stages. These stages involve the inclusion of the stem
final vowel so the derivation would be : *-V:yankw > -Vy∂nkw >
-Vykw > -Vikw [Vyikw].
- The Delaware form seems to have been reshaped.

<u>Pl.1(excl.)</u>   Micmac   Maliseet   Delaware   PA
              -yek   -yek   -e:nkw   *-ya:nk

- There is a problem with deriving the vowel in Micmac and Maliseet as by following the expected stages the result would have been -yak. These stages are : *-ya:nk > -yank > -yak.
- The Delaware form seems to have been reshaped.
   The Eastern forms do not seem to be reflexes of the PA forms. A Proto-Eastern Algonkian form should be reconstructed from which the forms are derivable. Such a possible form would be *ye:nk.

<u>Pl.2</u>   Micmac   Maliseet   Delaware   PA
              -yoq   -yekw   -e:kw   *-ye:kw

- There is a problem with deriving the Micmac form as the expected result is -yekw if the regular derivational steps are carried through. The stages are : *-ye:kw > -yekw.
- The form in Maliseet is the expected result.
- Delaware loses the *y but retains the remainder of the PA form.

<u>Pl.3</u>   Micmac   Maliseet   Delaware   PA
              -čik   -htit/-čik   -o:htit   *-čik

- Micmac loses the final vowel which is the regular development and gives the expected result.
- Maliseet has two possible forms for the inflection of the Pl.3. The -čik form is the expected result in the derivation from the PA and would follow the same stages as the Micmac form. The -htit form seems to be related to the -o:htit form found in Delaware and it is possible that these two forms could come from some other PA form.

   As it can be seen from the above data there are some problems with deriving some of the Eastern forms from the PA forms and in some cases this could be remedied by setting up PEA forms reconstructed based on the Eastern Algonkian languages.

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The Use of Nova Scotia Idiom
in Books for Young Readers

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ABSTRACT

In the early 1950's there appeared books with local settings
such as The Mountain and the Valley, and The Channel Shore, both
destined to gain more than local prestige, and both making use of
local speech as an integral part of their language. The question
raised in this paper is whether enough books can be found for
younger readers, which could build the appreciation of local
speech as having intrinsic literary value. Several books set in
Nova Scotia, suitable for readers from age five to adolescence,
are examined with this question in view. It appears that
although several books do make the effort to include local
speech, such effort is not widespread enough, and young readers
do not have sufficient opportunity to see Nova Scotia idiom used
as a serious part of literature for children and adolescents.

The use of local idiom in literature is generally thought to
have an important literary value. When a book attains literary
distinction, local idiom is seen as an integral part of the work.
For most readers, the "content" seems closely bound to the
language. Whether the local idiom is pervasive, as in Sir Walter
Scott, or occasional, as in D.H. Lawrence, it is hard for us, as
readers, to imagine the book without its specific language.

This paper will survey some books, (excluding poetry and
drama) which have Nova Scotia as their locale and which therefore
could include local idiom as a part of the book's language. The
emphasis will be on books for young readers, stemming from the
general expectations that if local idiom is to be both expected
and accepted by adult readers, the encounter with local idiom in
literature should occur early in one's reading experience. It is
not always easy to set apart books specifically written for young
readers from books which are mostly read by younger readers,
although not so intended. This brief survey will include

references to books with young protagonists, even if these books bear the marks of adult literature.

Of the books clearly intended for young readers, one can consider The Wee Folk, subtitled About The Elves in Nova Scotia by Mary Alma Dillman (1953); the fairly recent The Ghost of Lunenburg Manor by Eric Wilson (1981) and The Hand of Robin Squires by Joan Clark (1977). Even these three books alone illustrate a wide diversity in the scope and extent of the use of local idiom, from the natural and inobtrusive, through the laboured and disappointing, to the very sparse, so as to be almost absent.

Of these, The Elves is a book addressed to younger audiences, perhaps 4 to 6 or 7. This book does not seem to make a conscious effort to sound "local" but as luck would have it the elves live in family units very much like the best-regulated Nova Scotia population, and pursue similar occupations. They pick berries, go on picnics, visit with each other, celebrate Christmas, and in general live a very orderly life. The book, then, offers local idiom for family relationships: Grandma, Grandpa; names of berries teaberries, wintergreen berries, haw-berries, spice-bush berries; names of meals: after dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile; names of activities: they gather spruce gum. The idiom is presented as if it was also very natural to the author, without conscious deliberation. Such lack of deliberation can also lead to pitiful results, but in The Elves it is very successful.

Next is a book which uses a conscious approach but without much success.

In The Ghost of Lunenburg Manor by Eric Wilson (1981) something of this "conscious approach" can be seen. In this book two youngsters, Tom and Liz, solve a gruesome mystery while they are on vacation in Lunenburg. As outsiders, (they are from Winnipeg) they often ask questions about local words. A good ploy, but this time-honored device introduces only: kartoffelsuppe, solomon gundy, boomer windows, a forerunner, headers 'young boys employed to cut off fish heads', and Bluenoser. Carl, a local fisherman, taking the children out for an outing, refers to his sandwiches as being some good and to the snack as a mug-up. The words are genuine, but their use seems forced. Altogether a meagre yield of local speech, in an altogether less than satisfying book. As the young sleuths Tom and Liz threaten to take up the mystery of Oak Island on their next round of spine-chilling adventure, it is perhaps a good idea to circumvent them by taking up The Hand of Robin Squires which offers a solution to the mystery in the form of the memoirs of

Robin Squires, a young boy from England who was employed by his
wicked uncle to build the pumps and tunnels in Oak Island in
order to bury the Uncle's treasure. The cruel uncle is, alas, a
pirate. Robin writes the story in 1709. But Robin is
unacquainted with the idiom of 1709. He writes blithely in
Modern General Canadian, speaks of being <u>sick to his stomach</u>, of
taking his <u>exams</u> (1877 in Shorter Oxford), <u>of returning in</u> the
<u>fall</u>, and, <u>when</u> the uncle reproaches him for listening to the
<u>adult</u> conversation, ("you have big ears," says the uncle) Robin
retorts "the better to hear you with." But, as the Grimm
Brothers were not born yet, we can only speculate where the uncle
and Robin came upon these striking expressions.

A certain amount of local speech enters when Robin strikes a
friendship with a local Micmac boy his own age. A number of
Micmac words are then introduced. The Micmac youth, Actaudin,
very luckily, had learned some English from passing traders.
Daniel Defoe, and Robert Louis Stevenson, where are you when we
need you? Still, the book, with its stronger sense of cruelty
and danger, and a certain dose of realism, is not impaired by its
modern general idiom. It reads well, and is likely to please
young readers. So, although local (or historical) idiom is
almost absent, the quality of the book is not adversely affected.

The Baitchopper by Silver Donald Cameron (1982) a book
suitable for ages 11 to 13, offers an excellent integration of
content and local speech. Nomen-omen, from the title onwards, we
have a book that may be said to be written mainly in the local
idiom. There is a good deal of dialogue as well as abundant
references to the daily work of the fishermen, and the
occupations going on at home, as well as to clothing and gear.
There are also some curses and insults, in scenes where tempers
are raised in the course of the heated social struggle. While it
is true that the local characters do not differ much from each
other in their speech, readers can nevertheless obtain the
satisfying impression that these people do speak a local idiom.

The main characters here are 13 year old Andrew Gurney, a
fisherman's son, and his cousin Denny. The language of the boys
is not clearly differentiated from that of the adults, but both
ring reasonably true. Grammatical forms and constructions are
authentic:

"Well, you can't just <u>lay</u> down and let'em kick you!" (p. 28)

"They <u>give</u> Ernie a pretty bad time today."(p. 29)

"Had a little tangle with George Jackson and <u>them</u>." (p.61)

The insults and exclamations are genuine:

"You are some lucky" (p. 10)

"Holy snappin'" (p. 50 & p. 130)

"What in tunket would they want with pictures of us?" (p. 68)

"'Holy dyin' you going to be a fisherman, young Andrew?"
(p. 70)

"Bald-headed Moses, Phonse," (p. 76)

"What in tarnation does that thing mean?" (p. 81)

"Lord Liftin'" (p. 145)

"'Holy liftin' Moses!" (p. 135)

"Holy liftin', let me in there!" (p. 138)

"Hasn't got the brains God gave to geese" (p. 41)

"None of them Ritceys got anything under their hair at all."
(p.41)

"You can't trust Jeff no farther than you can throw him."
(p. 41)

"Don't give me your sauce." (p.44)

"That son of a rubber boot!" (p.61)

"That judge can take that court order and use it for to wrap
fish in" (p. 84)

"Well, that skunk!" (p. 102)

There is hardly as a negative intensifer: "They don't hardly
jail them that long for murder!" (p. 113) and there are many
double negatives. There is even an indication of Acadian English
sound patterns, when the boys are rescued from their perilous
journey. The Acadian fishermen say by de saints, by de saints,
by de saints (p. 148), wit'us (p. 149), t'ought, t'ink and
someting (p. 149) dat boat (p. 150).

An interesting feature of this book is a glossary of 42 words, some of them fishing and boating terms, and some of them "general" words such as "delegation" and "legislature." Of the books considered so far The Baitchopper achieves the best integration of language and story, and this integration in turn, enhances the literary quality of the book.

Also of interest is a valiant, but perhaps insufficient, attempt to convey the flavour of local speech to school-children in the textbook The Fishermen of Lunenburg (James H. Marsh, 1968). A number of local words are explained, e.g. finnan haddie, inshore fishermen, dory, but, more interestingly, there is a long quoted speech by a local retired fisherman, characterized by a few grammatical and phonological traits - I were the skipper, we bin sailing; wessel for 'vessel' wery lucky for 'very' lucky; vorst for 'worst', but all other W-words are left unchanged (waves, water, wintertime). His speech is introduced with:

> 'His accent is quite different from speech you would hear anywhere in North America except perhaps in parts of Pennsylvania and around Waterloo Ontario, where Dutch and German farmers settled. The accent is soft with a "twang." Lunenburg is "Luningburg."'

This is rather limited information, and probably not entirely clear. Instead of saying that the fisherman speaks with an "accent" and a "twang" it would be better to offer a concise explanation about local speech.

Next, Chipman Hall's book Lightly well repays our interest. The narrator, a 10-year old boy, speaks of his life in Little Cove, which seems to be along the Eastern Shore. The book was made into a movie, "Bayo", which transferred the locale to Newfoundland, and made changes in the idiom, too, which is unfortunate, because the book itself is very successful in using the local language as a part of its strictly literary quality. The language manages to sound authentic without being blatant. The idiom is often reflected in expressions with into and onto:

> ... I will scream that one at her if she comes onto me (p.6)

> She will be on at me about this ankle (p.6)

> I did not guess Grandad could set us onto this work (p.79)

> He [the seagull] was thinking so hard, onto making a free fall all the way to a big rock . . . (p. 79)

If I told her what I did or came onto her about painting the house, she probably wouldn't feel so well about being on at me ... (p. 84)

Into, onto, are also used in the concrete sense:

When he [Squid] tries tripping Grandad again, I come on to him across the ass with the broadside [of the two by four]. (p. 52)

The waterbug came onto his hand. (p. 103)

Jimmy White stepped onto his cabin top (p. 85)

In a moment Jimmy's boat hit the logs true in the middle and rode right up amidship onto them. (p. 85)

Vocabulary:

pond as a body of shallow salt water (p. 51)

The water lawled in and out with a slight ripple in the surface (p. 124)

We started in on a talking jag (p. 99)

Mike White's oxen hawed through the field. (p. 55)

There is no attempt to convey any phonological traits, but the idiom and the vocabulary create the impression of authentic speech.

Prepositions are used in accordance with local idiom: different to, keep up to him, verb forms: I laid beside her and I hove in.

The insults sound real:

"Shut up you float head"

"Don't cry or we'll have to put a worm in your mouth to suck on"

"Shut up you goddam float head . . . fish mouth."

"Don't swear at me, tar pot." (p. 67)

Lightly although not intended for young readers, offers an example of local idiom used by a young narrator. The literary quality of this book depends greatly on the author's use of local idiom.

Stories of outdoor life can also command some attention in the present context. Some of these show a certain aspiration to literary quality, others are offered simply as "how-to" books. There is room for local speech in both genres and The Look-Off Bear (subtitled Stories of the Outdoors) by Jack Dowell (1974) and Backwoods Basics by Bud Inglis (1984) can serve as examples. The former offers wistful, stylized vignettes culled from the author's youth near Halifax, and his hunting and fishing escapades. Although written in polished Standard throughout, it includes appropriate local outdoor terms and such grammatical forms as the unchanged plurals with reference to fish, fowl, and animals (e.g. "the patridge were plentiful"). On the other hand, when a crusty local hobo, Addy, is introduced, he is given only a generalized non-standard speech, without local overtones. Backwoods Basics is very informative in its hunting, trapping, and fishing terminology - in brief, in its "backwoods" lexicon, but it has little occasion for dialogue, and so local grammatical or syntactic forms are not a feature to be expected in this book.

First-person reminiscences may, or may not, be classed as "literature." In the case of Cape Breton's Andy MacDonald, whose book of reminiscenes set in Sydney Mines in the thirties is replete with local lexicon, the book seems to acquire a literary quality mainly by virtue of the language. In Bread and Molasses (1976), readers can pick up the strong flavour of local speech in expressions such as:

Baggy Butler - a person who comes to a party without a partner (p. 125)

bald-headed gum-rubber - a worn-out rubber boot (p. 69)

boonie - an outdoor toilet (p. 71)

bootlegger - a person who makes or sells illegal liquor (p. 10)

double holer - outdoor toilet with two seats (p. 74)

dough boys - dumplings for stew (p. 29)

jib - a face, in this case, the teacher's face (p. 24)

figs - rolled up wads of chewing-tobacco (p. 43)

coal hod - receptacle for the coal (p. 15)

poltags - heavy garments - odds & ends - worn in the winter
(p. 91)

pound parties - a party to which one had to contribute one
pound of anything (p. 106)

thumb stall - the part of the mitt for the thumb (p. 40)

Not only is there a sampling of what may be called local
lexicon, but local expressions can also be noted; thus, the boy's
parents are consistently called Pa and Ma, meals are called
breakfast, dinner, supper, a light meal is called a lunch, a very
small pot is called a dipper, another small vessel is called a
hand dish, the stove in the kitchen is called the cookstove, and
what you sit on in the front room is called a chesterfield, what
you pull down are shades, and what you take for a cold along with
your aspirin is Niter.

The idiom also rings true as in:

  Pa had volunteered the both of us to go. (p. 44)

  Spying the spoon on the left side of the desk made me feel
  safe... (p. 28)

And unchanged plurals can be seen in:

  This one Christmas Eve, four pair of bobskates were found.
  (p. 56)

  Putting two shredded wheat in the bowl and doctoring them up
  good with lots of milk and sugar, I began to enjoy my longed-
  for cereal (p. 62).

As the young readers mature to the stage where they would be
reading the Nova Scotia classics of the 1940's and 1950's (such
as The Channel Shore, The Mountain and the Valley, The Nymph and
the Lamp, Each Man's Son, Barometer Rising) they may find
themselves already so heavily exposed to, and drilled in, the
proprieties of Standard English, that the local idiom in the best
of books may seem an anomaly, the marked language of the rural

dweller, the poor, and the uneducated, rather than a fully fledged local idiom which, if its importance were more fully recognized by writers for the younger age-group, could considerably enrich the linguistic sensibilities of all young readers, both those actually living in Nova Scotia, and those living elsewhere.

This brief survey shows not so much that there is insufficient reading-matter for young readers where Nova Scotia idiom would be a part of the literary fabric of the work itself, but that it is unequally distributed, with very little representation for the youngest reader, hardly more for the adolescent, where The Baitchopper is a noble exception among books that neglect the challenge of using local speech in creating local characters and local situations.

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MARKEDNESS AND THE ACQUISITION OF PIED-PIPING AND PREPOSITION STRANDING*

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ABSTRACT

This paper will discuss two hypotheses of markedness in acquisition theory and the implications which they have for the way in which children might acquire unmarked and marked structures. According to the "developmental hypothesis", the child initially adopts an unmarked structure (in advance of any data), and only later is the marked structure adopted. The "learnability hypothesis" of markedness states that the unmarked form is chosen in the absence of evidence to the contrary. Unlike the developmental hypothesis it does not necessarily imply that children should proceed in an unmarked to marked sequence.

In the syntactic literature it is generally agreed that pied-piping is unmarked and preposition stranding is marked. Twenty-eight children from three to five years old were tested on their comprehension and production of pied-piping and preposition stranding. The results indicate that children have simultaneously acquired both structures as can be consistent with the learnability hypothesis. This paper questions the developmental theory of markedness as an explanation for real-time acquisition.

1. Introduction

In order to explain how the child acquires language, generative linguistics assumes that the child must be innately predisposed with a specific linguistic capacity. In the task of acquiring language the child is exposed to linguistic input (or primary data) which is viewed as a trigger and is guided by a finite set of universal rules and principles which are part of a genetic capacity for language, in the form of Universal Grammar (UG). Children are assumed to be endowed with universal principles that are partly responsible for language acquisition; the way in which children (unconsciously) hypothesize about language is

highly constrained by the principles of UG (Chomsky, 1965; 1975).
Universal principles are constraints on the application of rules
and on possible representations.

Part of the goal of linguistic theory is to arrive at grammars
which the child can deduce on the basis of positive evidence only,
i.e., grammars must be 'learnable'. In constructing grammars the
linguist must bear in mind the type of evidence which the child
actually encounters. It has been suggested that negative evidence
is not reliably available to the child (Brown and Hanlon, 1970)
and even when it is children tend not to restructure their grammars
to accommodate it (McNeill, 1966; Braine, 1971).

Although any theory of acquisition must be distinct from
the theory of grammar, there is an important relationship between
them. The theory of grammar specifies the content of part of what
a theory of acquisition assumes, i.e., as a sub-component of
acquisition theory, the theory of grammar characterizes a person's
linguistic knowledge. For example, the theory of grammar outlines
certain universal rules and principles which make up part of what
is assumed in acquisition theory. However, a theory of acquisition
has to account for many other phenomena, including, for example,
processing and cognitive development, as well as the existence of
real-time sequences in the child's developing grammar. It is
often assumed that the theory of grammar (through the theory of
markedness) may contribute an explanation for developmental sequences.
This paper will present an experiment which was conducted to test
whether or not one is justified in assuming that markedness involves
a developmental claim. I will therefore consider whether or not
the theory of grammar ought to account for the existence of
developmental sequences.

2.   Two Markedness Hypotheses in Acquisition Theory

Part of the focus of this paper is on two views of markedness
in acquisition theory. One notion of the relationship of markedness
to acquisition is based on claims about learnability. Chomsky
(1981) states that in the absence of evidence to the contrary,
unmarked options are selected. This view of markedness, which
will be called the "learnability hypothesis" suggests that the
marked option is only selected on the basis of specific evidence
and the presence of such evidence in the input enables the child
to realize a marked construction in his grammar. It does not make
any assumptions concerning real-time acquisition and, consequently,
it does not suggest an early or late realization of a marked (or
unmarked) structure in child grammars. It can therefore be consistent
with the child's acquiring marked opinions without having gone
through a stage of acquiring an unmarked structure and it can

allow for the simultaneous emergence of unmarked and marked forms. The learnability hypothesis is neutral with respect to acquisition over real time, and, in fact, it should be emphasized here that the neutrality of this hypothesis is often overlooked.

According to the second view of markedness, which will be called the "developmental hypothesis", the child initially adopts an unmarked structure as a necessary preliminary stage before he acquires a marked structure (Williams, 1981; Hyams, 1983). This hypothesis makes a strong claim because it assumes not only that the unmarked structure is the child's initial hypothesis - the hypothesis which is provided by UG - but combines this with an additional assumption that an unmarked structure is adopted as an initial stage by the child even if there is evidence that this unmarked structure is not present or not the only form in the linguistic input. In other words, when the input contains only marked forms or both unmarked and marked forms this hypothesis predicts that the child will initially ignore evidence of the marked structure, even if that marked structure is common or frequent in the input. In the acquisition literature people assume the developmental hypothesis without question. The aim of this paper is to discuss which of these two markedness hypotheses (if either) is able to account for data which was collected in an experiment on the acquisition of pied-piping and stranding in the grammars of young children.

In recent syntactic literature, it is generally agreed that stranding is a marked phenomenon (Van Riemsdijk, 1978; Hornstein and Weinberg, 1981; but cf. Stowell, 1981, for contrary claims). Stranding results when a WH element has moved out of a prepositional phrase to the front of the sentence, leaving the preposition behind. Examples of stranding are given in (1):

1a.   Which briefcase did John put the book in?
 b.   Which river did Gayle swim across?
 c.   Which table did the dog hide under?

Pied-piping, on the other hand, is unmarked and results when the entire prepositional phrase has moved to the front of the sentence, as in (2):

2a.   In which briefcase did John put the book?
 b.   Across which river did Gayle swim?
 c.   Under which table did the dog hide?

Given the claim that pied-piping is unmarked and stranding marked, then according to the developmental hypothesis, pied-piping should emerge before stranding in the grammars of young children learning

English, since pied-piping (an un unmarked structure) is the
child's initial hypothesis which is set in advance of data. The
developmental hypothesis assumes that the child should initially
persist with this structure; at some later point stranding will be
adopted. The learnability hypothesis does not necessarily imply
such a fixed sequence. Since both pied-piping and stranding are
in the input available to children acquiring English, then the
learnability hypothesis could be consistent with the simultaneous
emergence of these two structures. It could allow for the possibility
that the child will adopt marked constructions immediately.

The developmental view is very common in the acquisition
literature and has received a lot of empirical support. For
example, studies conducted on the first language acquisition of
datives show that the [V NP PP] structure emerges before the
[V NP NP]-or double object--construction, thereby appearing to support
the hypothesis that there is a real-time sequence consistent with
predictions made by the developmental claim. Fischer (1971), Cook
(1976), and Krause and Goodluck (1983) have all shown that children
acquire the unmarked dative construction (as in (3)) before the
marked double object construction (as in (4)):

3a. Geoff read a story to Roxanne.   [V NP PP]
 b. George sent a present to Hilda.

4a. Geoff read Roxanne a story.   [V NP NP]
 b. George sent Hilda a present.

These studies show that children around the age of three years
perform very poorly in tests on the comprehension of the marked
double object construction, whereas their success rate is very
high on the comprehension of the unmarked dative construction. On
the basis of studies conducted on the datives, a real-time sequence
consistent with markedness predictions can be argued for. However,
as pointed out by Pinker (1984), these studies should be taken
cautiously. He states that in these studies the difficulty children
had with the marked dative construction is strongly related to the
animacy of the indirect and direct objects. Pinker cites studies
which have recorded children's spontaneous production of both the
unmarked and marked structures (Brown, 1973; Bloom et al., 1975),
suggesting that the marked double object construction is not
necessarily learned later than the unmarked dative structure.

A study of the acquisition of pied-piping and stranding
may further test the claims made by the developmental hypothesis
of markedness.

3. <u>Experiment on Pied-piping and Stranding</u>

3.1 <u>Subjects</u>

Thirty-three subjects from the daycare centre at McGill
University in Montreal were tested on their comprehension and
production of pied-piping and stranding. These subjects were
divided into three age groups: the age five group (from 4 (years),
7 (months) to 5,6), the age four groups (from 3,9 to 4,5), and the
age three group (2,11 to 3,5). A pretest established that each
child included in the results understood the verbs, prepositions,
and relative clause construction used in the test. Five children
were eliminated from the sample because of their low success rate
on the pretest. Of the 28 children included in the results, 13
were bilingual and 15 were monolingual. Ten five year olds, 9
four year olds, and 9 three year olds successfully completed the
comprehension task. Ten five year olds, 5 four year olds, and 3
three year olds were included in the results of the imitation
task. Four of the four year olds and 6 of the three year olds
were excluded because they failed to understand the nature of the
imitation task.

3.2 <u>Comprehension Test</u>

The total number of test sentences for the comprehension
test was 24 (12 pied-piping and 12 stranding) and these were
divided into two sets so as not to make the task too long for each
child. Each child was assigned to either Set A or Set B; both
sets consisted of 6 pied-piping and 6 stranding constructions.
These two sets are in Appendix A. Before giving each child a test
sentence the experimenter acted out two interpretations of the
sentence; two interpretations made possible on the assumption that
the child may or may not interpret the preposition. For example,
before giving the test sentence (1) in Set A "Show me the box
which the boy hides in" or (1) in Set B "Show me the box in which
the boy hides", the experimenter acted out a boy hiding in a box
and a boy hiding a different box, on the assumption that which box
the child chose would reflect whether or not he was analyzing the
prepositional phrase. Therefore it was crucial that each test
sentence made sense both with and without the preposition. If the
child choose the box which the boy hid, then it was assumed that
he ignored the preposition. If he pointed to the box in which the
boy hid, then it was assumed that he interpreted the prepositional
phrase. If stranding is late to emerge, then there might be a
tendency for the children to ignore the preposition more often in
the stranded version of the test sentence.

Not only could each sentence have two interpretations, but each verb used could take different prepositions and therefore the meaning of the sentence changed according to which preposition was used. By doing this the child could not guess the meaning of the preposition on the basis of familiarity with a common verb-preposition sequence.

3.3 Imitation Test

It has been argued that children will not imitate that which is beyond their current grammar (Fraser et al., 1963). The study reported here employed an imitation task to collect data on the children's production of pied-piping and stranding. For the imitation task, a total of 12 sentences were divided into 2 sets. Each set consisted of 3 pied-piping and 3 stranding constructions which each child was required to imitate. These 2 sets are given in the Appendix. Sets A and B were distributed randomly amongst the children and each child received either Set A or Set B. Neither set included both a pied-piped and stranded version of the same sentence. The imitation test was recorded on a portable cassette recorder. This task was usually done immediately after the comprehension task; if not, it was administered during a later session on the same day.

3.4 Results and discussion

A series of ANOVA tests, post-hoc (Scheffé) tests, as well as some t-tests were run on the results to see if there were significant differences between the comprehension of pied-piping and stranding in each age group and to see if there were significant differences for each structure across age groups. The production results were analyzed in the same way.

The overall trend in the results of the comprehension test suggests that the children seem to have an equal understanding of pied-piping and stranding, since taken as a group they had a success rate of 68% on the comprehension of both constructions. Table 1 presents the results broken down into age groups.

TABLE I

Comprehension Test: Percentage Correct by Age Group

Structure	Age 3 (n=9)	Age 4 (n=9)	Age 5 (n=10)
Pied-piping (n=6)	70%	72%	63%
Stranding (n=6)	60.8%	68.1%	76.4%

The difference between pied-piping and stranding for each age
group is not significant, as shown by t-tests. The fact that the
two youngest groups do not show a preference to pied-piping in the
comprehension test suggests that the developmental claim is too strong.

The results were also analyzed to see if age had a significant
effect on the comprehension of either pied-piping or stranding.
Scheffé tests show that the apparent improvement in the comprehension
of stranding is not significant. In fact, the Scheffé tests
reveal that there were no significant difference between the age
groups on the comprehension of both structures, suggesting that
all groups have an equal understanding of these constructions, so
that there is no significant improvement in the comprehension of
either the unmarked or marked construction with age. If we were
to support the claim that young children acquire marked forms
late, then we might expect the three year old's comprehension of
stranding to be much poorer than it actually is. In fact, they
have a success rate of 60% on the comprehension test, therefore
showing some understanding of stranding rather than little or none
at all. It seems that the comprehension results of each age group
as well as the cross-group results do not support the claim that
pied-piping (as an unmarked structure) is realized before stranding
in the grammars of the young children.

As shown by an ANOVA test, the overall results of the production
test indicate a significantly higher success rate on the production
of stranding as compared to the production of pied-piping, further
suggesting not only that the developmental claim is not supported,
but also that the children may prefer stranding in production.
The 18 children who completed the imitation task scored 29% correct
on the production of pied-piping and 55% correct on the production
of stranding. Table 2 shows the age group breakdown of these
overall results.

TABLE 2

Production Test: Percentage Correct Imitations by Age Group

Structure	Age 3 (n=3)	Age 4 (n=5)	Age 5 (n=10)
Pied-piping (n=3)	11%	18.3%	56.4%
Stranding (n=3)	25.7%	44.2%	93.2%

We might expect the youngest groups to produce pied-piping better than stranding if the developmental hypothesis were correct. However, the results of t-tests indicate that the three year old and four year old groups show no significant difference between the production of pied-piping and stranding. As shown by a t-test, the five year olds produce stranding significantly better than pied-piping (p .007). Again, the prediction made by the developmental claim, that young children should have the unmarked structure in their grammars prior to the acquisition of the marked construction, is not borne out in the results.[1]

The trend in the production results may, at first sight, appear to support the developmental claim as there seems to be an improvement in stranding production across age groups, unlike what was found for the comprehension data. However, Scheffé tests indicate that this trend is not significant.[2]

4. Conclusion

We can conclude that the results of this experiment indicate that the children have not ignored available positive evidence, contrary to the developmental claim. That the children seem to have both structures suggests that the necessary triggering experience in the input has established the unmarked and marked constructions in the children's grammars. In addition, the results do not show a significant developmental pattern from unmarked to marked thereby challenging the predictions made by the developmental claim.[3] In a recent study on dative relatives Goodluck and Gallucci (1984) show that 48 four to seven year olds understand stranded constructions in dative relatives better than pied-piping constructions in dative relatives, supporting the general trend in the study reported here. The children tested scored 36% correct on the comprehension of stranding and 24% on the comprehension of pied-piping.[4]

One consequence of these results is that we need a theory
which permits us to account for the simultaneous acquisition of
unmarked and marked constructions, something which is not permitted
by the developmental approach to markedness. The learnability
conception of markedness does allow for the simultaneous emergence
of pied-piping and stranding since it is neutral with respect to
real-time acquisition. This raises the question of how to deal
with studies, such as the datives, which appear to be supportive of
the developmental hypothesis. If markedness is not necessarily
involved in accounting for the real-time sequences there may be
alternative explanations for why children seem to proceed develop-
mentally in the acquisition of certain structures, explanations
which may have nothing to do with markedness.[5]

The developmental claim of markedness seems to suggest that
linguistic theory has something of relevance to say concerning
stages of acquisition. In other words, given what this hypothesis
claims for real-time acquisition, stages going from unmarked to
marked can be explained by linguistic theory. The theory of
markedness necessarily contributes to an explanation of acquisitional
sequences (at least sequences of unmarked to marked). However, if
one adopts the learnability hypothesis, one may nevertheless
assume that certain structures still lead to acquisition sequences,
but that they are not necessarily due to markedness.

FOOTNOTES

*This paper is based on excerpts from my Master of Arts thesis
completed in the Department of Linguistics at McGill University,
Montreal in August, 1985.

[1]The positive evidence contains more instances of the marked
structure (Goodluck, in press), and the production results suggest
that the children are attending to the structure more frequent in
the evidence available. Nevertheless, the results for pied-piping
in the comprehension test suggest that the infrequency of pied-piping
in the input does not necessarily hinder the acquisition of this
construction.

[2]In any case, whilst the data show a trend towards improvement
with age in the production of stranding, this trend is equally
apparent in the production of pied-piping. It is suggested here
that there is general improvement in imitation abilities, or
in the production of prepositional phrases, as opposed to anything
specific to the marked structure.

[3]However, the developmental hypothesis is not specific about when the marked form should emerge. It may be that the marked form emerges in the grammars of children who are younger than those tested in this sample. That is, we cannot eliminate the possibility that a developmental progression from unmarked to marked occurs before the age of three years. If this is the case, then because the data reported here does not include an adequate sample of children below the age of three years, the developmental claim can neither be rejected nor supported. However, the testing of children below the age of three years may be problematic. Since most of the three and four year olds in this sample did not understand the imitation task, then children below the age of three years may also have problems with this task.

[4]The generally lower scores in this study are attributable to the complexity of the dative relative structures used in their testing, particularly the number of NPs involved.

[5]As noted by Pinker (1984), the difficulty children seem to have with the marked dative construction may be related to the animacy of the indirect and direct objects. He states:

> However, here the results must be interpreted with
> caution, since the observed difficulty of the double
> object datives in these experiments interacts strongly
> with the animacy of the indirect and direct objects, and
> since a number of parsing and task-specific strategies
> could lead to double-object forms being difficult to
> parse regardless of the ease of initially learning their
> lexical forms (Pinker, 1984, p. 398).

Therefore, whilst the lack of a sequence from unmarked to marked in the acquisition of stranding is inconsistent with the developmental hypothesis, the finding of acquisition sequences for certain structures like the datives is not problematic for the learnability hypothesis, in conjunction with factors of the kind raised by Pinker (1984).

APPENDIX

COMPREHENSION TEST

SET A

1. Show me the box which the boy hides in.
2. Show me the box on which the bear eats.
3. Show me the chair behind which the lion paints.
4. Show me the table which the bear moves under.
5. Show me the box on which the boy paints.
6. Show me the box which the dinosaur eats behind.
7. Show me the box in which the boy moves.
8. Show me the chair which the dog hides under.
9. Show me the table on which the pig moves.
10. Show me the box which the boy paints in.
11. Show me the table which the dinosaur eats under.
12. Show me the chair behind which the lion paints.

SET B

1. Show me the box in which the boy hides.
2. Show me the box which the bear eats on.
3. Show me the chair which the lion paints behind.
4. Show me the table under which the bear moves.
5. Show me the box which the boy paints on.
6. Show me the box behind which the dinosaur eats.
7. Show me the box which the boy moves in.
8. Show me the chair under which the dog hides.
9. Shoe me the table which the pig moves on.
10. Show me the box in which the boy paints.
11. Show me the table under which the dinosaur eats.
12. Show me the chair which the lion hides behind.

PRODUCTION TEST

SET A

1. What is the cat hiding in?
2. On what is the girl sitting?
3. What is the dog walking under?
4. In what is the boy jumping?
5. Behind what is the mouse hiding?
6. What is the horse running under?

SET B

1. In what is the cat hiding?
2. What is the girl sitting on?
3. Under what is the dog walking?
4. What is the boy jumping in?
5. What is the mouse hiding behind?
6. Under what is the horse running?

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Les parlers cajuns de la Louisiane -

où en est la recherche?

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RESUME

Chacun sait que, depuis une vingtaine d'années, les parlers franco-acadiens des Provinces Atlantiques retiennent l'attention d'un nombre croissant de chercheurs. Voit-on en Louisiane une activité tout aussi grandissante de la part des linguistes? N'y aurait-il pas, vu la parenté étroite entre les dialectes acadiens et cajuns, de nombreuses recherches comparatives à entreprendre? Un récent séjour en Louisiane m'a permis de visiter quelques centres de recherches, de m'entretenir avec plusieurs collègues et de puiser dans différentes archives. J'ai donc été amené à tenter de faire le point.

"Les Acadiens constituent une partie utile de notre
population, bien qu'un bon nombre soient aussi humbles
et ignorants que leurs ancêtres de 1755....Les progrès
de l'enseignement public accélèrent la disparition de
leurs dialectes. Aussi ne doit-on pas différer plus
longtemps l'étude de leurs moeurs et de leur langue."

Alcée Fortier, Etudes louisianaises, 1894.

1. Introduction

Sans doute n'est-il guère plus besoin d'insister sur le fait que, depuis une bonne vingtaine d'années, les études consacrées aux parlers acadiens des Provinces Atlantiques se font de plus en plus nombreuses. Le nombre toujours croissant de communications à ce sujet présentées aux réunions annuelles de notre association en témoigne d'ailleurs de façon éloquente. En serait-il de même pour

ce qui est des parlers cajuns de la Louisiane? Où en est au juste la recherche? Curieux d'en savoir un peu plus, j'ai décidé de passer une dizaine de jours en Louisiane francophone, et surtout en Louisiane "cajun", en février/mars 1985. Mais avant d'aborder le sujet de la linguistique acadienne louisianaise proprement dite, sans doute serait-il utile de passer brièvement en revue quelques faits saillants qui touchent à la fois le passé et le présent des Franco-acadiens du sud de la Louisiane.

Pour ce qui est de l'histoire, Jacques Henry insiste à juste titre sur le fait que "la multiplicité des origines et la diversité des évolutions font de la communauté francophone louisianaise, environ 500,000 personnes soit 15% de la population de l'état, une réalité variée délicate à appréhender". (1984: 2) A peu près 300,000 de ces francophones seraient des Franco-acadiens. On n'est pas sans savoir que l'on continue à parler au moins trois différents dialectes français en Louisiane; Revon Reed, auteur du célèbre Lâche pas la patate, estime même qu'on peut dégager six dialectes franco-louisia-nais. Il faut au minimum faire la distinction entre le français plutôt standard des Créoles blancs de la vieille bourgeoisie de la Nouvelle-Orléans, le "français nèg" appelé aussi le "gombo", qui est le dialecte (ou le créole) des Noirs francophones, et le dialecte franco-acadien. Je ne peux évidemment m'attarder que sur ce dernier dialecte. Il va sans dire que les termes "cajun" ou "cadjin" n'ont rien de péjoratif et ne font que refléter des prononciations locales du mot "acadien". Si bon nombre de ces "Cajuns" sont des descendants directs des déportés de 1755, d'autres immigrés d'origines diverses se sont vite joints à eux. Au dire du chercheur Louis-Jacques Dorais, "les descendants des déportés ne constituent sans doute même pas la majorité des francophones louisianais. A part quelques intellectuels et quelques familles de grands planteurs du Tèche (autour de St. Mar-tinville en particulier), les Cadjins ignorent tout de la déportation et de la légende d'Evangéline. Leur culture, fruit de l'histoire et des conditions écologiques spécifiques à la région, est tout à fait originale." Et, de poursuivre Dorais, le dialecte franco-acadien "a pris lui aussi une forme spécifique. Influencé à la fois par l'acadien (qui, au 18e siècle, n'était sans doute pas très différent des parlers ruraux de l'Ouest de la France), le créole, l'espagnol et l'anglais, sans parler des langues amérindiennes locales, il constitue aujourd'hui un dialecte (ou plutôt un ensemble de parlers) sui generis." (1983: 21)

Mais, comme c'est presque toujours le cas pour les minorités, les Franco-acadiens louisianais n'ont pas toujours eu la part belle en ce qui concerne la préservation de leur culture et de leur langue. Jusque dans les années soixante, l'épopée acadienne a été marquée par une progression lente vers l'acculturation et l'assimilation linguistique au sein du "melting pot" américain. En 1921, par exemple, l'utilisation de la langue française a été interdite en Louisiane. L'historien Denis Vaugeois affirme qu'"il reste des Cajuns...qui se souviennent d'avoir copié cent fois: 'I will no longer speak French in the schoolyard'".

(1984: 119) Et pourtant, tout comme les Acadiens des Provinces
Atlantiques, les Cajuns ont eu droit, eux aussi, à leur renaissance
culturelle et linguistique au moment même où ils semblaient se
rapprocher de l'assimilation totale. Citons pour mémoire la créa-
tion en 1968 du CODOFIL (le Council for the Development of French
in Louisiana) qui devait assurer "la préservation et l'utilisation
de la langue française pour renforcer la position de la culture
louisianaise" (loi 408 du 20 juillet 1968), la mise en vigueur d'un
nouveau programme d'enseignement en français dans les écoles primaires,
le resserrement des liens et une nouvelle co-opération entre la Loui-
siane et la francophonie (notamment le Québec et la France) et enfin
l'utilisation des mass media pour assurer la diffusion de nombreux
programmes en français. Selon Jacques Henry, le mouvement de
renouveau francophone "utilise les media, instruments uniques pour
diffuser, à défaut de construire, une image contemporaine de l'iden-
tité cadjine bilingue, vivante et ouverte sur la réalité actuelle".
(1984: 2) En 1970, plus de 50% de la population de six paroisses
dans le sud de la Louisiane (celles de St. Martin, Evangéline,
Vermilion, Lafourche, Acadia et Lafayette) ont indiqué que le fran-
çais était leur langue maternelle. Mais, pour finir cette brève
esquisse sur une note plutôt pessimiste, en dépit du renouveau
francophone récent, entre 1970 et 1980, en dix ans donc, "la pro-
portion de gens de langue maternelle française a chuté partout de
moitié, entre autres raisons à cause de l'accroissement par
l'immigration du nombre de citoyens d'autre origine dans toutes
les régions". (Vaugeois 1984: 122)

Il est cependant indéniable qu'une renaissance culturelle et
linguistique a eu lieu en Louisiane francophone il y a à peu près
vingt ans, et elle se poursuit, cette renaissance, de nos jours.
"La polémique persistante sur les programmes d'enseignement du
français", affirme Jacques Henry, "les difficultés continues que
rencontre leur installation montrent combien la question linguistique
reste primordiale et comment la langue reste le point d'ancrage de
l'identité cadjine. La langue fonde le passé des Cadjins, elle
conditionne aussi leur avenir selon la forme qu'elle aura et la place
qu'elle occupera dans la vie et la conscience sociales." (1984: 5)
A-t-on assisté donc, et assiste-t-on actuellement, à une activité
parallèle et grandissante dans le domaine de la linguistique
acadienne? Je vais tenter de passer en revue les principales
recherches consacrées aux parlers acadiens louisianais depuis une
cinquantaine d'années, et ceci par une présentation thématique.

2.1 Etudes de phonétique   et de phonologie

La première en date des descriptions linguistiques qui se voulaient
complètes d'un parler acadien est celle de Hoséa Phillips; il s'agit de
son Etude du parler de la Paroisse Evangéline, publiée en 1936.
L'analyse phonétique assez réduite que l'on peut consulter est basée sur
des spectographes de la prononciation de l'auteur lui-même qui a donc

été "à la fois l'expérimentateur et le sujet" (p. 1). Phillips
compare, non pas son parler et le français standard, mais les sons
propres au français "cadien" et ceux de l'anglais. On retiendra
également de Hoséa Phillips deux articles, "Spoken French of Evangeline
Parish (Louisiana)", paru en 1939 et "Vowels of Louisiana 'Cajun'
French", publié en 1945. L'auteur commente dans ce dernier article
la distribution des onze voyelles orales et des quatre voyelles nasales
du parler de sa paroisse.

Un chapitre de la thèse de doctorat du professeur John Guilbeau,
The French Spoken in Lafourche Parish, Louisiana (la thèse a été soutenue
en 1950), est consacré à une analyse phonologique du parler à l'étude.
On trouvera dans l'appendice de cette thèse à la fois la transcription
phonétique et la traduction en français standard de plusieurs échantillons
du parler enregistrés par l'auteur entre 1938 et 1949. Ses informateurs
provenaient de plusieurs groupes d'âge différents. Le travail de
Guilbeau est à la fois substantiel et bien documenté. Quelques années
plus tard, en 1958, il a publié un article intitulé "La phonologie et
les études des parlers franco-louisianais". En dépit de la référence
aux parlers franco-louisianais, l'auteur se limite encore une fois
au parler de la paroisse Lafourche. Les allophones de chaque phonème
dégagé par Guilbeau sont passés en revue dans cette étude.

Trois ans plus tard, Marilyn Conwell a soutenu sa thèse de doctorat,
"Lafayette French phonology: A descriptive, comparative and historical
study of a Louisiana French dialect". Si le titre de cette très bonne
recherche en dit presque assez, ajoutons que la plupart des textes sur
lesquels l'étude est basée sont transcrits phonétiquement à la fin du
travail. En outre, Conwell a jugé bon de les diviser en neuf sections
selon leur intérêt socio-culturel. L'auteur a repris ses matériaux
linguistiques et a révisé quelque peu son analyse phonologique quand
elle a fait paraître en 1963, cette fois avec le concours de son directeur
de thèse, Alphonse Juilland, Louisiana French Grammar: Phonology, mor-
phology and syntax. Il en sera question plus loin quand j'aborderai les
travaux de morphosyntaxe.

Il faudrait d'abord signaler la plus récente, et sans doute la
meilleure, étude de phonétique consacrée à un parler louisianais. Il
s'agit de la thèse de doctorat de Larbi Oukada, Louisiana French: A
linguistic study with a descriptive analysis of Lafourche dialect (1977).
Oukada fait précéder son analyse phonologique, d'inspiration générativiste,
du parler de Lafourche par une présentation succinte de la plupart des
études linguistiques qui avaient été consacrées au dialecte franco-acadien
louisianais. Il conclut que fort peu d'études sophistiquées ont été
effectuées dans ce domaine. La description phonologique d'Oukada est
suivie d'une analyse partielle de la morphologie du verbe et des pronoms
personnels du parler étudié. Ce travail est sans doute le plus scientifique
et donc le plus satisfaisant sur le plan linguistique des études consacrées
jusqu'à date aux parlers cajuns.

Citons enfin, avant de passer à la morphosyntaxe, deux thèses de
maîtrise. Joseph Saltzman se contente d'une analyse phonétique dans

<u>A phonetic study of the French spoken in Saltzman Settlement, Vermilion
parish, Louisiana</u>, tandis que Shirley Nelson tente une analyse phono-
logique dans <u>A phonetic study of the French spoken in Reserve, St. John
the Baptist parish, Louisiana</u>. Le lecteur aura déjà remarqué qu'à
quelques exceptions près, tous les travaux de linguistique franco-
louisianais sont rédigés en anglais!

2.2 Etudes de morphosyntaxe

Le glossaire édité par Jay K. Ditchy, <u>Les Acadiens louisianais
et leur parler</u>, paru en 1932, contient plusieurs remarques plutôt
fragmentaires sur la grammaire des parlers cajuns, mais c'est l'ouvrage
déjà mentionné de Hoséa Philipps, <u>Etude du parler de la paroisse
Evangéline</u>, qui constitue la première tentative sérieuse de description
du système grammatical d'un parler franco-louisianais. D'après le
chercheur David Wetsel, le travail de Phillips reste un ouvrage
fort utile, "precisely because it is based, not on twenty or thirty
interviews, but on a personal knowledge of the language the author
grew up with". Et, de poursuivre Wetsel, avec une mise en garde pour
les linguistes venant de l'extérieur, "though limited to a study of
the French of Evangeline Parish (and therefore free of the faulty gen-
eralizations which visiting linguists have tended to make concerning
French in Louisiana as a whole), I have found this nearly 50 year-old
study to be the most useful single guide to understanding the grammar
of French dialects spoken throughout Louisiana." (1985:14) Le
travail de Phillips renseigne plus sur la morphologie que sur la
syntaxe du parler de l'Evangéline; on trouvera, pour toutes les parties
du discours, des tableaux à trois colonnes où l'auteur présente les
formes du français standard, du "cadien" et, toujours à titre contrastif,
du créole. Plusieurs exemples viennent étayer les remarques plutôt
hétéroclites sur la grammaire.

La thèse de maîtrise de Charles Chaudoir, <u>A study of the grammar
of the Avoyelles French dialect</u> (1938) analyse, dans une présentation
basée encore une fois sur la notion de parties du discours, les
écarts entre le parler d'Avoyelles et le français standard. Dans la
thèse de John Guilbeau qui a déjà été citée, l'on trouvera un assez
long chapitre consacré à la morphologie et à la syntaxe du parler de
Lafourche. Guilbeau, lui aussi, subdivise sa présentation en huit
parties pour correspondre aux huit parties du discours!

La description grammaticale la plus complète du dialecte cajun
est sans doute celle de Conwell et Juilland, <u>Louisiana French Grammar:
Phonology, morphology and syntax</u> qui a paru en 1963. La plus complète
et pourtant loin d'être complète, car l'analyse des auteurs repose
sur un corpus fermé enregistré surtout dans la région de Lafayette.
Vingt-quatre informateurs provenant de plusieurs groupes d'âge y
figurent. Aucune enquête supplémentaire n'ayant été entreprise, de
nombreuses données, surtout d'ordre morphologique, font défaut. Les
auteurs se sont donné un triple but: faire une description synchronique
du parler de Lafayette, le comparer systématiquement avec le français

standard et, enfin, l'opposer aux autres parlers acadiens de la
Louisiane. Cet ouvrage fondamental a été vivement critiqué par nombre
de linguistes. Les auteurs postulent, par exemple, que le parler de
la ville de Lafayette est plus conservateur, plus pur que les parlers
des régions rurales environnantes. Ils citent, pour appuyer leur
hypothèse, le maintien de l'emploi de l'auxiliaire être là où on trouve
dans les régions rurales l'auxiliaire avoir. Je suis tout à fait
d'accord avec David Wetsel qui dit: "In fact, Conwell and Juilland
have it backwards. The modern forms which they discovered in Lafayette
are the result of a contamination by standard French as taught in the
schools and through contacts with 19th-century immigrants. It is the
rural dialects which are in fact far closer to the French brought to
Louisiana by the Acadians at the end of the 18th century. "Avoir" has
not become the only auxiliary used in the country dialects. It was
the only auxiliary used by the Acadian immigrants and by many of the
speakers of a "français populaire" who arrived directly from France
during the course of the 19th century." (1985: 14) Mais il n'est pas
dans mon intention de polémiquer au cours de ce court bilan et je ne
peux plus m'attarder sur ce travail; j'y renvoie tout simplement le
lecteur. Mentionnons enfin la thèse de doctorat de Arthur Charles, A
Comparative study of the grammar of Acadian and Cajun narratives, soutenue
en 1975. Certaines différences entre le dialecte acadien des Provinces
Atlantiques et le dialecte cajun de la Louisiane ont été répertoriées
et analysées dans une perspective tagmémique. L'étude repose sur un
corpus de trois contes acadiens et quatre contes cajuns, corpus fermé
donc. Un chapitre est consacré aux écarts lexicaux relevés par l'auteur.

Force est de constater, avant de passer aux études lexicales, que,
à ma connaissance, aucune autre étude morphosyntaxique du dialecte cajun
n'a été entreprise depuis 1975. On ne peut que le regretter.

2.3 Etudes lexicales

Qui dit lexique franco-louisianais dit d'abord William Read. Son
Louisiana French, qui remonte à 1931, est surtout un glossaire de mots
d'origine française, espagnole et amérindienne qu'il a relevés dans divers
dialectes louisianais, dont le dialecte acadien. L'on y consultera
plusieurs observations fines d'ordre étymologique ainsi que de nombreuses
remarques sur les noms-de-lieu et les noms de famille. Il est à regretter
que le professeur Read ne nous renseigne nulle part sur la prononciation
des lexèmes retenus.

Il serait peut-être permis de considérer la décennie des années
trente comme étant celle de la belle époque de la lexicologie louisianaise.
Jay K. Ditchy, nous l'avons déjà vu, a publié son glossaire intitulé
Les Acadiens louisianais et leur parler un an seulement après la parution
du Louisiana French de Read, en 1932. Rappelons également qu'en 1935,
Hoséa Phillips a consacré un chapitre de son Etude du parler de la Paroisse
Evangéline au vocabulaire. Mais il faudrait surtout souligner le fait
qu'entre 1932 et 1937, en l'espace de cinq ans donc, pas moins de quatorze

thèses de maîtrise qui portaient surtout sur le vocabulaire acadien ont été complétées, presque toutes à la Louisiana State University à Baton Rouge. Le format de ces thèses varie peu; il s'agit essentiellement de glossaires où on présente des lexèmes qui font écart avec le français standard; leurs équivalents en français, et souvent en anglais, sont présentés par la suite, accompagnés ou non de remarques d'ordre étymologique. A peu près toutes les paroisses anciennes de la Louisiane ont eu droit à au moins un glossaire. Citons à titre d'exemple <u>Variants from standard French common to the dialects of Lafayette parish and Canada</u> de Nina Pirkle (1935), <u>A glossary of variants from standard French in Lafourche Parish</u> de John Guilbeau (1936) et <u>Etymological glossary of the variants from standard French in Assumption parish</u> de Lucie Trahan (1936).

Depuis 1940, il y a eu encore quelques thèses, dont la plus récente semble être celle de Carole Doucet, terminée en 1970. Si <u>The Acadian French of Lafayette, Louisiana</u> est surtout un glossaire d'écarts lexicaux accompagnés d'une transcription phonétique, on peut également consulter plusieurs remarques sur quelques caractéristiques phonologiques et grammaticales du parler de Lafayette. Le professeur James Redfern a publié en 1980 un article au titre de "Curiosa from a lexicon of Louisiana French" où il fait état des recherches des professeurs Hoguet Major et W. A. Pickens qui ont dirigé bon nombre des thèses des années trente dont il vient d'être question. Mais il faut surtout retenir parmi les recherches récentes sur le vocabulaire cajun le livre de Jules Daigle, <u>A dictionnary of the Cajun language</u> qui a paru l'an dernier. Impressionnant de par ses dimensions (près de 600 pages), l'ouvrage déçoit cependant par son manque de rigueur scientifique. Aucune transcription phonétique n'accompagne les entrées, et les étymologies proposées par l'auteur sont souvent fort douteuses. Le lexème "chaoui" proviendrait-il vraiment d'une rencontre entre un Acadien et un raton-laveur où l'Acadien aurait crié "Chat, oui!" Il aurait peut-être fallu que l'auteur relise Molière ainsi que certains des travaux de lexique que nous venons de passer brièvement en revue.

2.4 <u>Etudes de dialectologie et de sociolinguistique</u>

La plupart des recherches en dialectologie et sociolinguistique—et celles-ci sont assez peu nombreuses—ont été effectuées depuis 1965. Dans son article paru en 1942 déjà, "To what extent is an atlas of Louisiana French available and desirable?", Walter von Wartburg a lancé un défi qui doit retenir l'attention des linguistes des Provinces Atlantiques. "Since the Acadian variety of the French language has not been brought over directly from French provinces like Poitou or Anjou but from Acadia, ... a geographical study of Canadian French is of the greatest importance for Louisiana French". (1942: 81) Mais dans le même article, la réponse à la question du titre semble être: "A map would not add very much to our knowledge" (p. 79). Heureusement, certains chercheurs n'ont pas écouté ce conseil assez négatif.

Dans sa thèse de doctorat, <u>A word atlas of Lafourche parish and Grand Isle, Louisiana</u>, Nolan Philip Le Compte Jr. a comparé le vocabulaire

utilisé pour plus de 300 concepts différents et a tenté une étude de variabilité basée sur l'âge, le sexe, l'occupation et l'éducation. L'on peut consulter également quelques remarques sur l'influence du français sur l'anglais parlé dans les deux régions.

Raleigh Morgan Jr., dans "Dialect leveling in non-English speech of Southwest Louisiana", discute de la neutralisation de plusieurs catégories grammaticales à la fois en acadien et en créole. Selon l'auteur, les trois dialectes français de la Louisiane, jusqu'alors bien distincts, manifestent diverses tendances qui pourraient mener à une certaine uniformisation. Il émet l'hypothèse que "for any concept or any grammatical form there are usually two or more allomorphs from which the speakers may choose ... either for sociolinguistic factors or for no reasons at all". (1970: 52) Il note dans sa conclusion que, "with few exceptions, English has exerted no influence on the order of constituants but has had an effect on internal changes in the system produced by erosion of categories of inflection such as concord and gender. Cases of neutralization of person and number may well reflect basic trends in French dialects" (p. 61).

Je n'ai malheureusement pas pu consulter deux thèses à orientation sociolinguistique, la thèse de maîtrise que Deborah Clifton a achevé à l'Ohio State University en 1975, La conspiration, la variation et la stabilité linguistique: le cas des consonnes affriquées aux parlers français de la Louisiane, et la thèse de doctorat de Dorice Tentchoff soutenue deux ans plus tard à Case Western Reserve University, Speech in a Louisiana Cajun community. Déjà en 1975, Dorice Tentchoff avait fait paraître l'article "Cajun French and French créole: their speakers and questions of identity". Elle y discute plusieurs des facteurs sociolinguistiques qui entrent en jeu lors d'une conversation où il y a changement de dialecte entre un locuteur cajun et un locuteur créole.

Dans Géographie du français et de la francité en Louisiane (1979), Roland Breton étudie essentiellement la répartition géographique des francophones louisianais et donne une esquisse des caractéristiques des zones linguistiques, c'est-à-dire des trois dialectes français de la Louisiane. Il fournit aussi plusieurs cartes qui indiquent les aires linguistiques, le pourcentage de francophones par région, etc. L'on y trouve également quelques commentaires diachroniques sur l'évolution du cajun. Breton et D. L. Louder distinguent, dans leur article "La géographie linguistique de l'Acadiana", quatre types de zones linguistiques: 1) des zones de retranchement, 2) des zones de solide majorité francophone, 3) des zones équilibrées et 4) des zones à minorité francophone.

Mentionnons enfin deux autres articles qui pourraient intéresser le sociolinguiste, "Bilingualism in Southern Louisiana: A sociolinguistic analysis" de Margaret Marshall, paru en 1982, et, de 1978, "Les francophones de la Louisiane: Problèmes sociolinguistiques" par Louis-Jacques Dorais, chercheur déjà cité ci-dessus.

Le lecteur trouvera dans la bibliographie, classées sous la rubrique "divers", plusieurs autres études susceptibles d'intéresser le linguiste et que je ne pourrai aborder dans cette brève esquisse. J'espère toute-

fois avoir indiqué les recherches les plus importantes entreprises
jusqu'à date dans le domaine de la linguistique franco-acadienne louisi-
anaise.

3. Conclusion

Que conclure au terme de ce très court bilan? Est-il possible
d'affirmer que, tout comme dans les Provinces Atlantiques, il y a une
activité grandissante dans le domaine de recherche qui a retenu notre
attention? Hélas, la réponse semble être non, l'activité serait
plutôt décroissante. Non seulement y a-t-il eu relativement peu d'études
de grande envergure effectuées depuis une vingtaine d'années, mais
aucun grand projet de recherche n'est actuellement en cours, ni dans
les universités ou centres de recherches du sud de la Louisiane ni, à
ma connaissance, ailleurs. "Curiously enough", nous dit David Wetsel,
"serious linguistic study within Louisiana seemed to dwindle to almost
nothing about the time the popular language revival initiated by
CODOFIL began to get off the ground .... Now this popular language
revival is in full swing, one can but wonder why the academic world in
Louisiana has produced so few home-grown linguistic researchers ....
Where are the contributions of the language and linguistic departments
of those institutions of higher learning?" (1985: 18)

Le terrain linguistique de la Louisiane dans un sens redevient
vierge, et de nombreuses recherches descriptives et comparatives seraient,
me semble-t-il, à entreprendre. Tout comme pour les parlers acadiens
des Provinces Atlantiques, les parlers cajuns de la Louisiane ont toujours
constitué, et continue à constituer "asteur", une mine d'or pour le
linguiste.

NOTES

[1] La bibliographie de Larbi Oukada, Louisiana French: An annotated lin-
guistic bibliography, m'a été fort utile, tant pendant mon séjour en
Louisiane qu'au cours de la préparation de cette étude.

[2] Voir, par exemple, le compte-rendu détaillé d'Albert Valdman dans
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REQUISITES FOR A SOUND MICMAC ORTHOGRAPHY

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Earlier in this century a simple underdifferentiated orthography was in use among native speakers of Micmac. It is known as the Pacifique orthography, since it was popularized by the Capuchin missionary Father Pacifique who, in 1939, published the only comprehensive grammar of the language that has so far been printed. He seems to have been the last of a distinguished line of missionaries, extending back to the seventeenth century, who spoke and wrote the language not only fluently, but with a certain amount of distinction.

Pacifique used this orthography for a great variety of publications, but he did not devise it himself: he states that he discovered it in use among the Micmac, and simply adopted it, adding superscripts, subscripts, capitals and punctuation wherever he felt it necessary for specific purposes (1939:9). In the first sentence of his grammar, for example, he states that the Micmac alphabet has thirteen letters, five vowels and eight consonants. Linguists working on Micmac are in complete agreement that Micmac has in fact eleven vowels (five long, five corresponding short vowels, and a schwa), so that Pacifique's five vowels (which include o and ô) are quite incapable of representing the realities of the language. Such an orthography, while it may be considered satisfactory for those who already know the language, is less than adequate for those who wish to learn the language, because of the lack of information on the accurate pronunciation of words. An alphabet that is to be useful to learners should convey as much information as possible on the correct pronunciation of words.

As a result several competing orthographies have been developed in recent years, and a review of these different orthographies is to be found in Fidelholtz's (1976) paper at the Seventh Algonquian Conference, in which he discusses not only the history of the various Micmac orthographies but also the social and cultural issues that are involved in the development, adaptation, or revising of an orthography.

It is important now to work towards a single coherent orthography that will be acceptable to everyone. In this regard, some of the innovations are negotiable, since the necessity of making certain distinctions is agreed on by a majority of those involved in

discussing the issues. Some issues, however, are still contentious, because the underlying phonological facts are either not known, or not understood.

In this paper the attempt will be made to clarify the phonological facts that need to be taken into account in a Micmac orthography. Of particular interest to linguists are those cases where the structure of the syllable interferes with a simple segmental analysis, so that an orthography that is based only on a segmental phonology is either insufficient, or will misrepresent the realities of the Micmac sound system.

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The Negotiable Elements

The negotiable items all concern the different ways of writing the same fundamental phonological facts. Traditionally, for example, the six obstruent consonants have been written p/t/ĝ/g/tj/s, and there have been proposals to alter three of these symbols, while still recognizing six fundamental segmental distinctions.

It is well known, for example, that the three basic plosives /p,t,k/ have been written as p/t/g because of the influence of French orthography, in which the letter k is almost non-existent. It obviously makes better sense to a phonologist to use p/t/k rather than p/t/g, but if such a move alienates the traditionalists, the gain is not worth the cost, and the use of g instead of k becomes a worthwhile compromise.

The use of g, with or without a circumflex accent, to indicate the post velar obstruent in such words as /qalipu/ caribou and /qapskw/ waterfall on the other hand, is not acceptable, and really not negotiable when the symbol q is the appropriate phonological symbol, is readily available on the typewriter, sufficiently resembles g to keep the traditionalists happy, yet is a distinctive symbol for a segmental feature that contrasts minimally with /k/. The use of g to represent two different phonemes is a weakness that may be easily and elegantly avoided by the use of q.

The use of tj for /č/ is happily not a bone of contention, since it is now commonly agreed by all parties that this French spelling may be reduced to j, and that this reform streamlines and improves the traditional orthography. Common words such as /čipu:či:č/ brook and /čičipči:č/ little bird are thus reduced by three and four orthographic symbols, respectively.

As far as the obstruants are concerned, therefore, there are two evenly balanced negotiable issues, and one reform that has already been commonly accepted.

The only remaining consonants are the three sonorants /l,m,n/ for which everyone uses the traditional symbols. These three consonants, however, present one of the thornier problems for a Micmac orthography, because there are times when they are predictably syllabic, and times when they are unpredicably syllabic. When they occur after an obstruent in the same word, for example, they are always syllabic. Consequently we may write a word such as /atlasmit/ he rests with only three vowels, although it has five syllables. Writing syllabic consonants in this way, without orthographic vowels, occasionally lead to spelling whole words without any vowels as is the case with /kmtn/ mountain and /pmtn/ mountain ridge. One easily gets used to this very satisfactory convention, but it may be somewhat of a distraction for those who are not used to sight of a word without orthographic vowels.

To write vowels in these words, however, would be a very serious error, because it would indicate a quite different syllable structure, a syllable structure that these words do not have. To introduce a vowel between the p and the m of pmtn would indicate a syllable structure of CVC, whereas the fact that the t of the word is voiced is a clear indication that the initial syllable is CV, not CVC: to be voiced, the t must be in intervocalic position, which it would not be if the initial syllable were CVC. In fact if we were to write a schwa in the initial syllable we would have to pronounce the word [pəmʔtn] because of a fundamental rule of Micmac phonology which requires the insertion of a glottal stop into consonant clusters of sonorant plus obstruent. This rule, obviously does not apply when the sonorant is syllabic, as in pmtn, because there is then no longer a consonant cluster, and the structure of the word is necessarily CV-CV, not CVC-CV, which would require a quite different pronunciation.

We see this contrast between closed syllables and open syllables very clearly in the full and reduced forms of the stem of certain Micmac verbs. A verb such as /temsək/ he cuts it, for example, has a CVC-CVC structure with a medial consonant cluster /ms/ in which there is a glottal catch between the two elements, and the /s/ is voiceless. The reduced form of this stem, found in the future and the imperative, for example, loses the vowel of the initial syllable, so that the /m/ being immediately contiguous to the proceeding /t/ automatically becomes syllabic, and the structure of the initial syllable thereby altered from CVC to CV. In the imperative /tmse:n/ cut it!, as a consequence, the /s/, being

in intervocalic position, is no longer voiceless, but is heard voiced:
[tɯze:n].

In similar fashion the imperative form of the verb /kelpilk/
I tie him up is /klpil/ tie him up, pronounced [klbil]. In these
cases it is not necessary to mark the changing status of the
sonorant (whether it is syllabic or non-syllabic) because it is
already accounted for by regular phonological processes: after a
vowel a sonorant will normally be non-syllabic, after an obstruent
a sonorant will automatically be syllabic. Problems do arise,
however, in those infrequent occasions when a sonorant that follows
a vowel is itself clearly syllabic. In Newfoundland, for example,
we recorded the word for my head as /nunuči/, with three clear
vowels and a syllable structure of CV-CV-CV. In Nova Scotia and
elsewhere, however, the word is heard as [nun:ji]. We cannot
write this as nunji, which would indicate two syllables with a glottal
catch between them. We are required, in fact, to indicate that the
second n of this word, for all that it follows a vowel, is in fact
syllabic, shown by the fact that the /č/ is heard voiced. The
syllabic nature of the postvocalic /n/ also shows up on spectograms,
where it is seen to be twice as long as the ordinary non-syllabic
/n/. The orthographic convention that has been commonly agreed
upon is the use of an apostrophe to mark such postvocalic sonorants
that are syllabic, and the spelling nun'ji is again an elegant
solution because it is used in other orthographies to indicate the
deletion of a vowel. In this case the deletion of a vowel has
led, in the Micmac word, to the preceding sonorant becoming syllabic.

The Vowels

When we turn to the vowels we see that there are two things that
would appear to be easily negotiable: (1) the way of marking long
vowels, and (2) the symbol for representing schwa. In the traditional
orthography vowel length was not marked, although Pacifique occasion-
ally used a macron when he wanted to mark a vowel as long. The
fact that he was already using a circumflex to distinguish /o/
from /u/ meant however that it was impossible, in print at least,
to mark /o:/, which would have required a circumflex accent surmounted
by a macron. The Smith/ Francis orthography uses an apostrophe to
mark length, and this ties in nicely with use of the apostrophe,
already mentioned, to mark the long (i.e syllabic) sonorant. This
convention is also readily available on any typewriter, whereas
the DeBlois/Metallic convention of writing a grave accent on the
long vowels requires a French or bilingual typewriter, which is of
course not difficult to find in Canada. The one solution that
will not work, it should be pointed out, is vowel gemination, since

phonological vowels may occur in sequence, including short and long variations of the same vowel.

Traditionally the schwa was written with the letter e, again showing the French influence upon the traditional orthography. This of course causes confusions with /e/ and /e:/, and the DeBlois/ Metallic revision of the traditional orthography has solved the problem by writing ê, which again requires a French keyboard. The Francis/Smith symbol is i, which is slightly misleading, even to linguists, and requires two strokes on the typewriter, just as does ê. Here is apparently a very simple problem, but nobody has yet found a simple solution. One radical solution would be to write the letter v which is not required elsewhere in the orthography, but this solution would probably be too radical for the tradition- alists.

The biggest problem with the vowels, however, and the one that causes the most uproar is the use of y and w to represent the non-syllabic variants of the high vowels /i/ and /u/, which, just like the sonorants /l,m,n/ may be either syllabic or non-syllabic, and follow the same fundamental phonological processes as do the sonorants. We may note, for example, in a contrastive pair of words such as [aw?ti] path and [padaudi] table that in the former the high back vowel is heard as a semi-vowel (half the length of the regular vowel), and is followed by a glottal stop before the following obstruant, exactly the pattern recorded above for the non-syllabic sonorants. In patauti, by contrast the high vowel is fully syllabic, and the following /t/ is voiced, not unvoiced. We have seen that, for a coherent orthography, we need two different symbols for syllabic and non-syllabic /l,m,n/ when their syllabic status is not predictable. In similar fashion we need to be able to distinguish the syllabic and non-syllabic forms of the high vowels, which are frequently not predictable.

In a verb such as tewiet, for example, there are three syllables, and we write w to show that the high back vowel is not syllabic in this word. In the reduced form of the stem, when the vowel of the initial syllable is lost, it becomes syllabic, just as the sonorants do in similar circumstances (Cf /klpil/ above) and the imperative form is /tuia/ go out!, the future /tuietew/ he will go out. It follows that those who are prepared to mark syllabic sonorants with an apostrophe in order to make the orthography more coherent should not resist the introduction of y and w, the purpose of which is essentially the same.

Conclusion

In conclusion we may say that the actual symbols used for /k,q,/ vowel length and schwa are negotiable, since all parties are agreed that distinctive symbols are needed to represent these segmental differences. Not all parties, however, have yet recognized the need for the fine tuning of the orthography that requires the use of the apostrophe and the symbols y and w.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, has been twofold. The primary intent has been to show what differences could be settled easily, because what is at issue is no more than the choice of a symbol. The secondary intent has been to show how the phonology of the syllable in Micmac also requires us to use symbols to represent what are syllabic rather than segmental distinctions if the orthography of the language is to be properly coherent for the reader and the learner.

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BASIC FORMATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE MICMAC VERB

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ABSTRACT

Words in Micmac are composed of hierarchially distinct formative elements. Traditionally, in Algonkian studies those elements have been labelled preverb, root, medial, verb final and inflection. An analysis will show the presence of these same formative elements in Micmac.

A single formative element in Micmac may however, play more than one grammatical role depending on its relationship to the other formatives. For example, an initial element such as tel(i), thus may be either a preverb or root depending on its relationship to the following formatives.

The morphology of such alternatives will be examined and an analysis of fundamental word formative patterns presented

1.0 Introduction

Verbs in Micmac are of four basic types; AI,II, TA and TI. AI verbs are intransitive verbs with animate subjects such as AI kekwa'sit, S/he moves slowly. II verbs are intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects such as II kekwa'sik, It moves slowly. Transitive verbs with animate objects are TA verbs as in TA ankamk, I look at him/her. while transitive verbs with inanimate objects are TI verbs as in TA ankaptm, I look at it.

All Micmac verbs are composed of hierarchially distinct formative elements. Traditionally in Algonkian studies these elements have been labelled preverb(PV), root(R), medial(M) and verb final(VF). These five formative elements occur in a set pattern within the Micmac verb. This basic Micmac verb formative pattern is as follows:

(PV)-	R-	(M)-	VF-	I
preverb	root	medial	verb final	inflection

It is a formative's position within the verb pattern which allows one to identify it as either a preverb, root, or verb final; verb formatives being classified by position not by meaning. The formative pattern is built on the root, verb final and inflection. Every Micmac verb must contain these three formative elements, with preverbs and medials being optional.

2.0 Roots

The root is considered the basic formative element. Roots, unlike medials, verb finals and preverbs may form verbs with just a verb final and the appropriate verbal inflection. Examples one through four show verbs containing a root, verb final and inflection.

1. (AI)   S/he falls down: nisiet   nis - ie - t
                                           R   VF   I
                                          DOWN

2. (II)   It falls down: nisiaq   nis - ia - q
                                        R   VF   I
                                       DOWN

3. (TA)   I ask for him/her: kelumk   kelu - m - k
                                            R   VF I
                                           ASK FOR

4. (TI)   I ask for it: kelutm   kelu - t - m
                                       R   VF I
                                      ASK FOR

3.0 Medials

Medials immediately follow roots. Medials often describe the participants in the verbal event or play an adverbial role. A root may be followed by one or two medials. Medials must always be followed by a verb final. Inflectional endings may not be added directly to a medial. Examples 5 through 7 show verbs which contain one medial while examples 8 through 9 show verbs which contain two medials.

5. (II)   It lies atop: ke'koqtek   ke'k - oq - te - k
                                          R   M   VF
                                         ATOP SOLID PLACE

6. (AI) <u>S/he has well shaped/sized</u>
         <u>feet:</u> welsitat

          wel – sit – a – t
          R   M   VF
          NICE FOOT

7. (AI) <u>S/he runs fast with head a</u>
         <u>bobbing:</u> kesikawatpe'pit

          kesikaw – atp – e'pi – t
          R   M   VF   I
          FAST   HEAD RUN

8. (AI) <u>S/he has large eye(s):</u>
         maqalqikwat

          maq – alq – ikw – a – t
          R   M   M   VF I
          BIG   HOLE EYE(S)

9. (II) <u>It is round (globular):</u>
         piptoqopskek

          pipt – oq – opsk – e – k
          R   M   M   VF I
          ROUND SOLID GLOBULAR

4.0 Verb Finals

Verb finals may occur alone or in groups of two or three and augment the medials and roots to which they attach. Verb finals may be abstract or concrete.

Abstract verb finals add information about the transitivity of the verb further marking the verb as animate intransitive(AI), intransitive inanimate(II), transitive animate(TA) or transitive inanimate(TI). The verbs of examples 1 through 4 exhibit abstract verb finals in each of the four verb types. In examples 1 and 2 one can see the contrast between the AI verb final -ie as in nisiet: <u>S/he falls down.</u> and the II verb finals -ia in nisiaq: <u>It falls down.</u> In examples 3 and 4 one can see the contrast between a verb marked with a TA abstract verb final (the -m in kelumk: <u>I ask for him or her</u>) and the TI abstract final -t in kelutm: <u>I ask for it.</u> Verb finals usually occur in pairs, usually a set of corresponding AI/II verb finals and a set of corresponding TA/TI verb finals.

Concrete verb finals add more tangible information to the verb than do abstract verb finals. The verbs numbered 10 through 12 show examples of verbs with concrete verb finals. It should be reiterated that the difference between a medial and a concrete verb final is one of position; medials never occur directly before the inflection.

10. (AI) S/he has a pecular shape:
          <u>kesikit</u>   kes - iki - t
                                                    R   VF   I
                                                    SHAPE

11. (AI) S/he runs fast:
          <u>pemi'pit</u>   pem - i'pi - t
                                                    R   V   I
                                                    ALONG RUN

12. (TA) S/he ties him/her up:
          <u>kelpilk</u>   kel - pil - k
                                                    R   VF   I
                                                    HAVE TIE/
                                               AUTHORITY STRING
                                                    OVER

13. (AI) S/he accidently cuts
          <u>himself/herself:</u>
          <u>petsusit</u>   pet - su - si - t
                                               R   VF   VF   I
                                      ACCIDENTALLY   (TA) (AI)

     When two or three finals occur together in a verb, the verb
stem is usually being reshaped. In example 13 we see a TA stem
ending in the TA verb final -su being reshaped as an AI verb by
the AI verb final -si.

     It should be noted that inflectional endings have been given
in this paper only to indicate their position in the overall word
formation pattern of the verb. The Inflectional formatives will
therefore not be discussed.

5.0 Preverbs

     Preverbs are formatives which are prefixed to the root and
add aspectual or adverbial information to the verb. Up to three
preverbs may occur before the root. The verbs numbered 14 through
16 show examples of preverbs. Preverbs are formed from roots by
the addition of -i. The semantic content of a root does not
change when it acts as a preverb; it simply serves a different
morphological function.

14. (TA) I push him/her ahead:
          <u>nikaniksma'lɨk</u>   nikani - ksm - a'l - ɨk
                                               PV   R   VF   I
                                               AHEAD   PUSH

15. (TA) <u>I push him/her slowly ahead:</u>
          sankewinikaniksma'lɨk

          sankewi – nikani – ksm – a'l – ɨk
          PV   PV   R   VF   I
          SLOWLY   AHEAD   PUSH

16. (TA) <u>Thus I slowly push him/her ahead:</u>
          telisankewinikaniksma'lɨk

          teli – sankewi – nikani – ksm – a'l – ɨk
          PV   PV   PV   R   VF   I
          THUS   SLOWLY   AHEAD   PUSH

6.0 Grammatical recategorization of formatives

     Though meaning does not play a role in the classification of
the formatives it can not be overlooked. It is the total meaning
of the verb which demands that certain formatives, with specific
meanings, occur in the make up of the verb. Whether a formative
takes the position of a root, medial, preverb or verb final
depends on the other formatives it occurs with.

     The formative labels preverb, root, medial and verb final
represent grammatical categories and may be grammatically
recategorized, meaning the same formative element may, at times,
take a different formative label indicating that its grammatical
role has changed. For example, the same formative element may
occur in the root position and be classified as a root or it may
occur in the preverb position and be classified as a preverb.
When this happens we say that this formative, which sometimes
occurs as a root, has been grammatically recategorized as a
preverb.

     When formative elements are grammatically recategorized they
exhibit morphological alternations, however the meaning of the
formative does not change. For example, in the data given in
table one the roots of the verbs in the left-hand column have been
grammatically recategoried as preverbs in the right-hand column by
the addition of the suffix -i.

TABLE ONE

Grammatical Recategoriazation of Roots

Roots	Preverbs

(AI)<u>S/he descends:</u>

    nis – a'si – t
     R   VF   I
  down

(AI)<u>S/he rolls down:</u>

    nisi – te'tipj – ie – t
    PV   R   VF I
    down   roll

(AI)<u>S/he eats out:</u>

    tew – atal – g
     R   VF   I
  outside eat

(AI)<u>S/he vacates or moves out:</u>

    tewi – ws – i – t
    PV   R   VF I
   outside move

(AI)<u>S/he is good or useful:</u>

    wel – ie – t
     R   VF   I
  well

(AI)<u>S/he is well dried:</u>

    weli – pia – si – t
    PV   R   VF   I
    well   dry

(AI)<u>S/he is ahead:</u>

    nikan – pi – t
     R   VF   I
  ahead   to place

(AI)<u>S/he embarks ahead:</u>

    nikani – pus – i – t
    PV   R   VF I
   ahead   embark

(AI)<u>S/he goes ahead:</u>

    nikan – a'si – t
     R   VF   I
  ahead

(AI)<u>S/he rolls ahead:</u>

    nikani – te'tipj – ie – t
    PV   R   VF I
   ahead   roll

7.0 Conclusion

From the data presented in this discussion one may conclude that there is a fixed verbal formative pattern in Micmac. This pattern is:

```
(PV)- (PV)- (PV)-  R-    (M)-    (M)-    (VF)- (VF)- VF-     I
pre-  pre-  pre-  root  medial  medial  verb  verb  verb  inflection
verb  verb  verb                        final final final
```

This summary pattern is an extended version of the basic Micmac verbal formative pattern (PV)- R- (M)- (VF)- I. The backbone of the extended pattern is still the root, verb final and inflection. Most Micmac verbs must contain one root followed by at least one verb final and be inflectionally marked even if covertly so.

The formative pattern is extended in that the root of a verb may be followed by one or two medials but by not more than two. Up to three verb finals may occur before the inflection while as many as three preverbs may come before the verb root. It is possible that four or more preverbs could be present in a Micmac verb; however, semantically this would be very difficult to process and is thus unlikely to occur.

Formative elements may change their position within this pattern by being grammatcially recategorized. When this happens the formative's grammatical role changes, however; its meaning remains the same. The reshaping of a verbal root into a preverb by the addition of the suffix -i is one example of the grammatical recategorization of a verbal formative. The grammatical recategorization of verbal formatives emphasizes that it is the position of a formative within the verb which determines its gramatical function and not the meaining of the formative itself.

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Speech Communication in Canada's Educational System

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In my paper this morning, I would like to offer information both on the Nova Scotia Speech Communication Association and on the discipline of Speech Communication itself. I am then going to muster up enough courage, before an audience of linguists, to restate the obvious, perhaps, in your view. In other words, I, a Speech Communication professional, am going to dare to offer a purview of language, which purview, in essence, forms the rationale for the Nova Scotia Speech Communication Association's major academic goal: namely, "to have Speech Communication, *as a subject in its own right*, introduced into the Nova Scotia school curriculum from Kindergarten through Grade 12." I will then provide information on Speech Communication in Canada's Educational System.

The Nova Scotia Speech Communication Association was founded on September 29, 1983, with headquarters at the University College of Cape Breton, Sydney, N.S. The Association developed from the rapid success of the sub-department of Speech Communication at UCCB where now are available seven full-credit courses in the discipline. These courses are titled as follows: *Interpersonal Speech Communication; Voice, Articulation and Nonverbal Behavior; Argumentation, Debate and Small-Group Discussion; Public Address and Persuasion; Rhetorical/Communication Theory and Research; Speech Communication Genres and Criticism;* and, *Speech Communication for the Classroom Teacher.* In other words, at UCCB there is in existence an undergraduate program leading to a concentration in Speech Communication. Such a situation, incidentally, is in stark contrast to that existing in the United States. Practically every American undergraduate university of even mediocre status offers a concentration or a major in Speech Communication. In addition, master's and/or doctoral degrees in Speech Communication can be obtained at nearly 300 American graduate schools.

And now, for an explanation of the term, *speech communication.* Stated simply, speech communication is what you and I are engaged in right now—the process of trying to understand and influence one another through the exchange and interpretation of three types of messages—visual, vocal and verbal. The process involves both listening and speaking, and it occurs on multiple levels such as in private conversation, small-group discussion, public address

and media presentation.

In academic terms, speech communication is the study of the nature, processes and effects of human symbolic interaction. To study speech communication is to study what it means to be human. Now, that may seem to be an exaggerated claim until one checks the far-reaching influence, for good or evil, which the process plays in our day-to-day lives. Speech communication is centrally involved in the shaping, *positively or negatively*, of an individual's self-concept, considered to be a person's most influential possession. In addition, speech communication is the chief instrument people use for building, healing, and/or damaging relationships, for learning how to think, to express thought, share information, solve problems and generally contribute to the direction and development of society. Indeed, competence in speech communication, formerly known in academic circles as Rhetoric, should be the hall-mark of every educated person, especially in a democratic country, like Canada, as it was for some 2,000 years in classical/medieval and early modern-day democracies.

Without doubt, speech communication is THE most significant form of human behavior. Seventy-five per cent of the average person's daily communication time is spent in speech communication, i.e., listening and speaking. Only twenty-five per cent is spent in written/print communication, reading and writing.

The *sine qua non* of speech communication is language. Were it not for the existence of language, you and I, and humans every-where, would almost certainly be communicating at the same primi-tive level as do animals. But—and it is a *big* but—the essence of language, what it is at its primary level, not only its sec-ondary level—what its nature is and its principal functions—such matters are often, often inaccurately concluded and grossly misunderstood, even by so-called educators.

You linguists in my audience are the scientists of language, and so you really know what language is. Ron Wardhaugh, a University of Toronto linguist, defines the term as follows and I am sure you will accept his definition: "Language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols used for human communication." You will note the type of symbols identified—vocal. First and foremost, then, you will agree, language is speech—only secondarily, and as a derivative system, does language consist of pen-marks or print on a page.

The nature of language, as speech, is social, even as the nature of human beings is social. You and I need one another, *and* we need to interact with one another. Speech is the chief instru-

ment we use for expressing and developing our social nature. Listening and speaking are social acts usually occurring in the midst of openness, dynamics, even noise, unlike the solitary, non-social acts of reading and writing which call for privacy, passivity, even silence. Earlier in this paper, the principal functions of language as speech were noted. But, what about the principal function of language as letters or print? Again, back to linguist Wardhaugh who states that the principal function of language as letters/print is "to lend some form of permanence to the spoken language, and not to prescribe in any way language as speech."

What a far cry from the way many English teachers in Canada and elsewhere view spoken language as something to be "tolerated only . . . a necessary evil" (as reported by Andrew Wilkinson), or as "a debased form of writing" (reported by Ron Wardhaugh)! It is a human tragedy of immense size and impact that the powerful instrument of language, as speech, has been so sorely neglected and for so long, especially in Canadian schools, colleges and universities. Little wonder that Brown and Van Riper, two senior and superior speech teachers, compared the way so-called educators use speech "to the way an ape would use a flute—to scratch himself!"

Let us look now at Speech Communication in Canada's Educational System. At best, the overall picture is poor, even dismally so. Oh! there are two or three widely separated corners of activity, but they are almost lost in a nation-full of seeming darkness, ignorance and, perhaps, even fear.

On the whole, research data are sketchy. As well, they are hard to validate, at times even harder to interpret with clarity and reliability.

Perhaps the most current and dependable study, and quite certainly, the most exhaustive, was that conducted by the Canadian Conference of the Arts into the Arts in Education across Canada. The study was completed in 1979 after two years of inquiry. The National Chairperson for the art of Speech and Speech Communication for the overall study was Esmé Crampton, Professor of Speech with the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto. Professor Crampton's lengthy report was included in the Fall, 1979, edition of the Canadian Speech Association's *Newsletter*. I have here an excerpt from that report as follows:

A black hole exists across a spectrum of the arts in education today. This is the lack of recognition for speech as a fundamental link in the chain of human communication, and as a discipline in its own right, rather than as a ghost

within Drama/Theatre or Language Arts courses. More attention
tends to be paid to the complementary skills of writing and
silent reading, than to the prerequisite skills of speaking
and listening. Education is largely unprepared for the
renaissance of the oral tradition already occurring through
the technology of instant communication.

The need is in inverse proportion to what is happening
now. There are valuable oases, including programmes noted
at Memorial University in Newfoundland, College of Cape
Breton in Nova Scotia, the Faculty of Education and the
Royal Conservatory of Music at University of Toronto, the
Stratford Festival, Mount Royal College in Calgary and the
University of Victoria in British Columbia. But the total
picture is fragmented and out of synchronization with
developments elsewhere.

There is at least one unfortunate error in the Crampton find-
ings. I refer to the surprising omission of the University of
Windsor where for some ten or so years there has existed a strong
curricular identification with Speech Communication. In fact, the
University of Windsor for several years has been offering a B.A.
degree with a Major in Speech.

Throughout the rest of Canada, at the level of post-secondary
education, only scattered single courses or partial programs in
Speech or Speech Communication appear on the various curricula.
Many Canadian colleges and universities, however, offer degrees in
somewhat related areas such as Communication Studies (which appears
to be a type of Social Communication), in Mass Communication or
Radio/TV Arts, in Theatre and Dramatic Arts, and in Organizational
Communication. But as you will readily appreciate, such programs
deviate considerably from the linguistic and human communication
focus of this paper.

Before leaving the national scene entirely, I want to advise
that the eighteen-year-old Canadian Speech Association, which body
changed its name a few years ago to the Canadian Speech Communi-
cators Association, is showing healthy signs of new life and ded-
ication to the cause of Speech Communication education in this
country. Official results of a national survey conducted several
months ago have not yet been released, but they and the action
which hopefully will follow from them are awaited with eagerness
and expected soon.

As for speech communication in the school systems of our
various provinces, I have information concerning the province of

Nova Scotia only. Here are some comments and data from the Nova
Scotia Task Force Report of 1979, which report fed into the
national inquiry earlier examined. And I quote:

> When mentioned at all in the context of the educational
> system of Nova Scotia, speech is considered as a minor
> component of language arts or drama courses. Few realize
> that speech communication is a humanistic and scientific
> field of application, study and research. . . .
>
> Since speech communication is an essential component of
> our modern technological society, it is ironic and tragic
> that such a fundamental discipline is all but being ignored
> in Nova Scotia's educational system.
>
> To be specific, in the survey of school boards conducted
> for this report, only 10% of the questionnaires returned
> indicated that speech was offered as a component in the
> school program. This should be interpreted . . . to mean
> speech being taught ". . . not as a special subject but as
> part of other programs."
>
> At the junior and senior high school level, 1 out of 29
> school boards indicated a speech component in the program
> . . . 13% of rural and 24% of urban school principals re-
> ported speech being included in their elementary school
> programs. At the junior high levels, principals from rural
> schools reported 6%, and those from urban schools 2%. At
> the senior high level, it was 2% from both rural and urban
> school principals.
>
> At the level of teacher education, one would assume that
> speech communication, or at least speech arts, would be an
> integral part of the preparation of every teacher. But with
> the exception of courses at Mount St. Vincent University,
> and a program at the College of Cape Breton, it appears
> that speech is generally neglected.

I have some recent information on the Nova Scotia scene which,
at least on paper, is more encouraging. A series of Teaching Guide-
lines and Resource Documents issued by the Provincial Department
of Education in the last number of years, and which series I have
personally examined, shows a marked shift of interest toward
developing the Listening and Speaking skills of students from the
elementary grades through High School. One has to question the
motivation for this shift, however. If it is principally "to pro-
mote literacy," as indeed it seems to be—rather than what it should

be, to promote functional competence in all four language skills,
Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing—then the shift has to be
viewed as little more than tokenism! The fact, too, that the
implementation of the Guidelines is placed exclusively, it would
seem, in the hands of English teachers, the vast majority of whom
have their university degrees or teachers' college certificates
in English Literature, Criticism or Drama, and who have quite likely
yet to take even one full-credit course in Speech or Speech Commu-
nication, does not bode well that useful reform will occur here.
But so far, it is too early in the process to tell.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the facts about language, all of the
facts, must be faced squarely, and soon. Moreover, the teaching of
language as approved by our Provincial Departments of Education in
Canada must be adapted to conform with what those facts—and human/
societal needs—dictate! *Language as speech, and language as letters,
are complementary forms. They are meant to complete each other (not
compete with each other!), to influence and to enrich each other.
Language is a totality, involving the four skills of Listening,
Speaking, Reading and Writing. Functional competence in all four of
these skills must be the chief aim and constant concern of language
teachers, starting with the elementary grades and continuing right
on through university.*

*Under normal conditions and circumstances, ALL students in
this country have a RIGHT to the kind of education which will help
them demonstrate functional competence in all four language skills
by the time they graduate from our High Schools.* Unless results
like these are generally obtained throughout this land, and it is
embarrassingly easy to show that they do not, the education system
itself—as well as the colleges and universities charged with the
training of its teachers—have to be severely indicted and funda-
mentally reformed.

This audience, in particular, will surely endorse the fol-
lowing statement made by a colleague of yours from Great Britain,
Henry Gleason, Jr. For me, as well, Gleason hit the nail on the
head with tremendous sharpness and force when he said:

> The fear of language, especially of its nature and its
> functioning, is driving teachers into looking for any
> other base than a language base upon which to build the
> English curriculum.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am at the end of my formal presentation. You
linguists before me will better understand now, I think, why I dared to
tell you earlier much of what you already knew—namely, the TRUTH about

language. It was and is my hope that having heard that truth yet
one more time, you will join with the Nova Scotia Speech Communi-
cation Association and other similarly enlightened people to
press anew and with vigor for the remedial action needed *to libe-
rate language throughout Canada's educational system, so that
language itself may help to liberate Canadians.*

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SIMULTANEOUSLY VARIABLE AND FIXED?

THE STATUS OF SOME INITIAL SIBILANTS
IN ENGLISH AND PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN

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ABSTRACT

Some Proto-Indo-European (PIE) words with consonant cluster
onsets have been reconstructed with a variable sibilant word-initially
because the daughter lects (dialects or languages) show a bewildering
variation as to the presence or absence of this sibilant. Modern
Standard English contains cognate pairs (such as smelt : melt)
which reflect this earlier variation. In addition, variable
word-initial sibilants are found in some modern non-standard
dialects of English. This paper reports data from Newfoundland
and southwestern England, the latter being a main source area for
the former. As a variable segment, the sibilant exhibits much
conditioning--linguistic, social, and regional. As a fixed segment,
the sibilant acts as a derivational intensifier when present; or
as a deintensifier where absent. This extremely complex situation
in dialects of Modern English may throw light on the role of
initial sibilants in the dialects of PIE. The striking acoustic
and perceptual properties of sibilants may help explain the persistence
or recurrence of their peculiar linguistic status.

1. Introduction and data

Some Proto-Indo-European (PIE) words with consonant cluster
onsets have been reconstructed with a variable sibilant word-initially
because the daughter lects (i.e., dialects or languages) show a
bewildering variation as to the presence or absence of this sibilant.
In the standard reference work by Julius Pokorny (1959) this variable
s- is reconstructed for PIE before both obstruents such as /p t k/
and sonorants such as /l m n/.

The following are examples before obstruents:

/p/	*(s)pen(d)-	(Pok. 988)	'to draw, sketch, spin'
/t/	*(s)teg-	(Pok. 1013)	'to cover'
/k/	*(s)kel-	(Pok. 923)	'to cut'

Some examples before sonorants are:

/l/	*(s)leidh-	(Pok. 960)	'slippery'
/m/	*(s)mei-	(Pok. 967)	'to laugh, smile'
/n/	*(s)neigwh-	(Pok. 974)	'snow; to snow'

Modern Standard English contains cognates which reflect this earlier variation. For example, PIE (s)pen(d)- gives us words such as spin and spindle via Germanic but words such as pendant and ponder via Romance. English also has ±s cognates from within a single branch of Indo-European. For example, we apparently get the verb smelt from West Germanic only but the verb melt from both North and West Germanic[1]. Such cognate paris in Modern Standard English represent fossilizations of what must have been a common and productive kind of variability at various times and places in the daughter lects of PIE.

However, variable word-initial sibilants are still found in some modern non-standard dialects of English. This paper reports some data from Newfoundland and southwestern England, the latter being a main source area for the former.

In the following list the first six examples are from southwestern England (Barnes 1886), while the remainder are from Newfoundland itself, most being taken from the Dictionary of Newfoundland English (Story et al. 1982).

(a) Some Dorset data, from Barnes (1886):

    (1) creak   screak   'to creak very strongly'

    (2) crunch   scrunch   'to crunch much or strongly'

    (3) knock   snock   'a smart (sharp) knock'

    (4) notch   snotch   'a wide notch'

    (5) quot (adj)   squot (vt)
         'very low in   'to flatten as by a
         proportion to   blow; to make very
         its breadth'   quot'

(6) whop   swop
     'a blow from a   'a great whop'
     strongly swung
     arm'

(b) Some Newfoundland data, from various sources but especially
     from the Dictionary of Newfoundland English (DNE):

(7) crag (n)   scrag (n) DNE 441 'tree stump; small
                            burnt or broken tree or
                            bush'. Also used of
                            similar objects such as
                            large sharp or broken tooth.

(8) croop, croup   scroop, scroup (v) DNE 444
     Compare (1) above   'to squeak; to make a grating sound'

(9) crump[1] (n) DNE 127   scrump (v) DNE 444
     'a stooped, hunched   In the phrase (to) scrump up
     position (from   'to shrivel by overcooking'
     England)

     crump[2] (n) DNE 127
     'small twisted tree
     or trunk' (from Ireland)

(10) cruncheons (n pl) DNE 127   scruncheons (n pl)
                                    scrunchin(g)s DNE 444-5
     Compare (2) above.

     ± s variants of the same word
     Sense 1: 'bits of animal fat or fish liver, expecially
               after its oil has been renderd out'

     Related sense 2:   'fatback pork, cut into cubes, often
                        fried and served as a garnish, especially
                        over fish and brewis'

(11) cunner, conner (n) DNE 112   scunner (n) DNE 448

     'the blue perch ... a   'member of crew who directs
     bottom-feeding fish of   or conns sealing vessel
     inshore waters, especially   through the ice-floes;
     common around wharves...'   look-out on a vessel'

(12) <u>cut</u> (v) DNE 131-2   <u>scut</u> (v) DNE 448
     <u>cut</u> (n) DNE 132   'to scrape or clean the
     various standard and   hull of a boat or vessel'
     and non-standard senses

(13) <u>knock</u>   <u>snock</u> (v) DNE 501

     Compare (3) above   'to make a snapping noise
                                  or biting movement, especially
                                  with the jaws of a hobby-horse
                                  in Christmas mumming'

(14) <u>lam</u> (n)   <u>slam</u> (n) DNE 490
     in the phrase   in the phrase
     <u>on the lam</u>   <u>all of a slam</u> 'in a hurry;
                                    violently'

(15) <u>louring</u>, <u>lowering</u>   <u>slouring</u>, <u>slowering</u> (pres
                                  part) 'looking threateningly
                                  (at another person)'

(16) <u>mooch</u>, <u>mouch</u> (v) DNE 332   <u>smooch</u>, <u>smouch</u> (v) DNE 500
     'to play truant from   'to prowl about in a
     school; to loaf or idle'   furtive manner with a view
                                  to mischief'

(17) <u>mop</u> (v) DNE 333   <u>smop</u> (v) DNE 499

     ±s variants of the same word
     'to take a draw or puff on a pipe'

(18) <u>nose</u>, <u>naz</u> (n)   <u>snas</u>, <u>snaz</u> (n) DNE 501
     <u>nose</u> DNE 352
     'the front of a sled   'a meddlesome, cranky old
     or komatik'   maid'

(19) <u>parch</u>, <u>parchy</u>   <u>sparchy</u> (adj) DNE 508
                                    <u>sparchy bough</u> 'dry red or
                                  brown branch of a spruce
                                  or fir'

(20) <u>peck</u> (n) DNE 373   <u>speck</u>
     'speck; tiny spot'

(21) <u>prinkle</u> (n) DNE 392   <u>sprinkle</u> (n) DNE 516

     ± s variants of the same word
     'needle of spruce or fir'

(22) <u>prong</u> (n & v) DNE 392-3   <u>sprong</u> (n & v) DNE 516

± s variants of the same word in Newfoundland.

(23) <u>puddle</u>   <u>spuddle</u> (v) DNE 518
                                  'to do something in a
                                  clumsy, awkward manner'

(24) <u>quid</u> (n)   <u>squid</u> (n) DNE 522-4
'cud of a ruminant;   a pelagic sea-creature
chew of tobacco'

(25) <u>quile</u>, <u>quoil</u>, <u>quail</u> (v)   <u>squile</u>, <u>squoil</u>, <u>squail</u> (v)
(vt) to coil   DNE 525 'to wear down a heel
(vi) to cringe, curl up   so that boot or shoe is
in fear   mis-shapen'

(26) <u>quob</u> (v) (Barnes 1886:90)   <u>squob</u>, <u>squab</u>
'to quiver like jelly'   <u>squabby</u> (adj)
                                  'so fat as to quiver'

(27) <u>quot</u>, <u>quat</u> (vi)   <u>squot</u>, <u>squat</u> (vt)
DNE 398   DNE 521
'to crouch down on   'to crush, bruise;
heels, often bowing the   squeeze; flatten'
head as if to hide'

Compare (5) above.

                                  <u>stern</u>, <u>stearn</u> (n)

(28) <u>tern</u> (n)   <u>stern</u>, <u>stearn</u>, <u>stearin</u> (n)
standard name   DNE 532
of common types of   Newfoundland name for the
sea-birds   same types of birds

(29) <u>tickle</u> (n) DNE 565-6   <u>stickle</u> (n)
'a narrow salt-water   (Elworthy 1886:714)
strait...often difficult,   for West Somerset: 'a shallow
or treacherous to   part of a river, where the
navigate...'   water runs rapidly'

Both variants occur in Newfoundland in names for the
stickleback such as <u>spannytickle</u> and <u>spannistickle</u>. See
under <u>spantickle</u> (n) DNE 507-8.

(30) <u>ting</u> (n & vi)   <u>sting</u> (n & vt)

(n) brief ringing sound,
usually made by impact of
small flying object

Compare <u>hoss-tinger</u> for Dorset (Barnes 1886:73) with
<u>horse-stinger</u>, <u>harse-stinger</u>, <u>hoss-stinger</u> for Newfoundland.
(DNE 259) as names for the dragon-fly, an insect which does
NOT sting horses but which does "ting" their ears.

(31) <u>wank</u>, <u>whank</u> (v)   <u>swank</u> (v) DNE 548
'to masturbate',   'to lug; to carry with a
especially in the   great deal of exertion'
the phrasal verb
<u>(to) wank off</u>

(32) <u>watch</u> (v & n)   <u>swatch</u> (v & n)
                              DNE 549-50
                              (v) 'to lie in wait for, and
                              shoot, seals in the "swatches"
                              or areas of open water in
                              an ice-field'

(33) <u>watcher</u> (n)   <u>swatcher</u> (n)
     DNE 599   DNE 549-50

± s variants of the same word, used of one who hunts
seals by "swatching", as in (32) above.

2. <u>Conditioners of the variable sibilant</u>

As a variable segment, the initial sibilant exhibits much
conditioning - linguistic, social, and regional.

The most extreme variation seems to occur when the onset
cluster of consonants contains the phoneme /r/.[2] For example,
when the sibilant is present we can find up to three variants in
the onset cluster. One of them is standard <u>shr-</u> [ʃr], another is
non-standard <u>sr-</u>[sr], a third consists of <u>s</u> plus a lingual plosive
plus <u>r</u>, i.e., [str] or [skr]. Some examples are shown below.

<u>SH+R</u>	<u>S+R</u>	<u>S+Lingual Plosive+R</u>
[ʃr]	[sr]	[str] or [skr]
shred	sred	stred

shrewd	srewd	strewd
shrimp	srimp	strimp
shrink	srink	strink
shram[3]	sram	scram
shrammed	srammed	scrammed
		scrammish
		scrammy

The Newfoundland variants with str- may have origins in Ireland. See, for example, the DNE entry (p. 542) for stroud 'shroud' which refers the reader to Joyce (1910: 355-6) "for Irish words in sr- becoming str- in English." Irish (Gaelic) has the word-onset cluster sr-, which would presumably yield a hissing [s] when the cluster is pronounced "broad" or "dark" (i.e., velarized) but a hushed [ʃ] when the cluster is pronounced "narrow" or "clear' (i.e., palatalized)[4]. One would therefore naturally assume that the Newfoundland variants with sr- should have origins in Ireland. However, it appears that they also have origins in southwestern England, since all the variants of shram given above have been collected in that region (Rogers 1979: 86-7). Perhaps this parallel between Anglo-Irish (Hiberno-English) dialects and some southwestern dialects of England (Rogers 1979: 27) is due to similar Celtic substrate effects, for Goidelic or q-Celtic underlies English in southeastern Ireland whereas Brythonic or p-Celtic underlies English in southwestern England. In fact, Cornish survived in parts of Cornwall well into the eighteenth century (Thomas 1984: 278).

The present regional distributions of the above variants in Newfoundland will only partially reflect the main source areas of the original settlers. This is because of extensive dialect mixing, especially of Irish and English sources, in many parts of the province. The result is that what were once ethnic or regional variants have sometimes become social variants, and now covary with such (independent) variables as age, sex, socioeconomic class, and degree of ruralness (versus urbanization). For example, in my 1965 field work in the old Newfoundland town of Carbonear (Paddock 1966 and 1981) I found that conifer needles were not called sprinkles by members of the highest socioeconomic class nor were they called prinkles by members of the lowest class. This ties in nicely with the fact that sprinkles in the sole variant used in many (east coast) Newfoundland communities that are far more rural than Carbonear.

If we studied an (sr) variable (for words like <u>shrewd</u> and <u>shrivel</u> in Newfoundland) with the three variants <u>shr-</u>, <u>sr-</u>, and <u>str-</u>, we would no doubt find that the <u>shr-</u> variant is most standard, the <u>str-</u> variant most non-standard, and that the <u>sr-</u> variant lies somewhere in the middle. Indeed, the <u>sr-</u> variant is still quite common among older speakers in some parts of the province, including the capital city of St. John's itself. For example, it has been recorded in the speech of former Premier J.R. Smallwood himself. This distribution of non-standardness among the three variants reflects nicely their origins discussed above. Historically, we would expect <u>sr-</u> to be more standard than <u>str-</u>, since the former variant was apparently brought from both of the main source areas of settlers in Newfoundland (that is, from both southwestern England and southeastern Ireland); whereas the <u>str-</u> variant seems to have come more exclusively from Ireland. Since the Irish settlers formed a relatively disadvantaged ethnic element in the early Newfoundland population, the <u>str-</u> variant would have become more stigmatized than the <u>sr-</u> variant.

3.   Semantics of plus-and-minus-S

The semantic differences between the plus-S and minus-S pairs of words are very interesting. It is not easy to improve on William Barnes's statement (1886: 13) that "S as a word-head has a strengthening force..." We can therefore often regard the /s/ as a kind of derivational morpheme (prefixed to word-initial consonants) which merely intensifies the meaning in pairs such as Dorset <u>creak/screak</u>, <u>crunch/scrunch</u>, and <u>whop/swop</u> (all from Barnes 1886). Similar words in some varieties of Newfoundland English would be the following:

(a)   <u>slam</u> (n), in the phrase <u>all of a slam</u> 'in a hurry...' (DNE 490). Compare colloquial English <u>lam</u> in the phrase <u>on the lam</u> 'in flight, especially from the law'.

(b)   <u>sparchy</u> (adj) in the combination <u>sparchy bough</u> 'dry red or brown branch of a spruce or fir' (DNE 508). The DNE reference to EED <u>sparch</u> 'brittle' indicates that the Newfoundland usage is based on the fact that the above conifer boughs are so intensely dry (parched) as to be brittle.

Conversely, it appears that an initial sibilant may be removed to deintensify the meaning of a word. Perhaps the chief effect is to produce a type of diminutive. This would give us such Newfoundland words as <u>peck</u> (from <u>speck</u>), <u>prinkle</u> (from <u>sprinkle</u>), and perhaps <u>tickle</u> (from <u>stickle</u>). Note that the DNE defines <u>peck</u> (n) as

'speck; **tiny** spot' (p. 373). For prinkle the DNE (p. 392) refers the reader to sprinkle (p. 516), both variants being used in Newfoundland as names for the **tiny** needles of the spruce or fir. We may relate the Newfoundland tickle (n), 'a **narrow** salt-water strait...' (DNE 565-6) to both adjective and noun meanings of stickle in southwestern England. As an adjective it has Wessex meanings such as 'difficult'[5] or 'steep' (Barnes 1886: 106). As a noun it refers to the difficult, shallow, fast-running parts of rivers and streams (Elworthy 1886: 714). In addition, both tickle and stickle are found in the highly variable names for sticklebacks in Newfoundland—see, for example, the variants under spantickle (DNE 507-8).

As we would expect with such a productive process, the meaning differences in the plus/minus-S pairs can go well beyond general intensity of meaning. In particular, the meaning difference can sometimes be narrowed down to something more specialized or specific, though the "underlying" intensity is usually still evident. This intensity is often related to INCREASED ACTIVITY of some kind.

In the case of the plus-S words that refer to sounds this INCREASED ACTIVITY is related to a more strident or penetrating sound. Here we see "sound symbolism" (compare "iconicity" in Anttila 1972) at work, for the added consonant is itself a strident sibilant. Here croup/croop becomes scroop (DNE 444) crunchin(g) becomes scrunchin(g) (DNE 444-5) and knock becomes snock (DNE 501). Sometimes the plus-S word does not directly name the sound itself but instead names something that produces the sound. We see this in the plural noun scrunchins 'crunchy cubes of fried salt pork'. We also see it in the verb scut 'to scrape or clean the hull of a boat or vessel' (DNE 448). This verb may well be derived from the verb cut, for in scutting a hull one is cutting off the barnacles and weeds with a scraper that produces the most intense strident noise. It is also evident in the name stearin/stearn/stern 'tern' (DNE 532), since terns are notorious for their insistent, strident cries.

In the case of non-auditory words this idea of INCREASED ACTIVITY often implies a position further up the Great Chain of Being, as one would expect. Here we can set up a chain of implications involving humanness (symbolized with ⊃ below) at the top and activity at the bottom. One possible chain would be the following:

human ⊃ volitional ⊃ animate ⊃ mobile ⊃ active

At the "top" of this chain we have plus-S words that refer to human beings derived from minus-S words that refer to non-humans. Thus a conner/cunner (DNE 112) is a common fish that conns its way

carefully among obstacles, whereas a <u>scunner</u> (DNE 448) is a crewman[6] who conns (sealing) vessels through ice-floes.[7] Similarly, the noun <u>snaz/snas</u> (DNE 501) 'a meddlesome, cranky old maid' derives from <u>nose/naz</u> because of the negative connotations of nosiness. In the same way, we can have a <u>louring/lowering</u> sky that looks threatening; but only a person is said to be <u>slouring/slowering</u>, when he/she frowns fiercely or threateningly at one. Examples may also be found further down the chain, below the human level. One example may be the animate <u>squid</u> (DNE 522-4) which could have been derived from the inanimate <u>quid</u> 'cud; chew of tobacco' because of the remarkable resemblance of the squirted squid "ink" to expectorated tobacco "juice". Even further down the chain we find <u>prong</u> (DNE 392-3) and <u>sprong</u> (DNE 516), the latter word being used in West Somerset (Elworthy 1886: 704) only for the springy (i.e., more active) tines of a <u>prong</u> 'pitch-fork'.

We are not surprised to find plus-S used as a way of forming causatives, since causality is associated with both increased activity and increased volition. Thus, we find the verb <u>spuddle</u> (DNE 518) with meanings such as to make a puddle (more concretely) or a muddle (more abstractly) of something. Similarly, the verb <u>cwile/cwoil/quile/quail</u> 'coil, curl up; quail or cringe with fear' probably gave rise to <u>squile/squoil</u> (DNE 525) 'to wear down a heel so that boot or shoe is misshapen'. In the same way, the intransitive Newfoundland verb <u>quat/quot</u> (DNE 398-9) 'to squat down' is related to the transitive Newfoundland verb <u>squat</u> (DNE 521) 'to crush or flatten'.

Again, it seems natural that plus-S is used to indicate something like serious intent. Thus the verb <u>mooch</u> (DNE 332) means 'to play truant from school; to loaf or idle' but <u>smooch/smouch</u> (DNE 500) means 'to prowl (loaf or idle) about in a furtive manner with a view to mischief'. Similarly, the VNE verb <u>swatch</u> means to watch with intent to kill; that is, 'to lie in wait for, and shoot, seals in the 'swatches' or areas of open water in an ice-field' (DNE 549).

4.   Conclusions

We should note that not all our plus-and-minus-S pairs of Modern English and its dialects have the same provenance. Some pairs have origins in the early dialects of PIE. Others no doubt have purely Germanic origins, being created after such distinctive Germanic innovations as the systematic consonant changes called Grimm's Law. Finally, there are the pairs which have been "created" in English since the Germanic conquest of England starting in the fifth century A.D. We have tried to show that in some dialects of

Modern English, specifically those of Newfoundland and southwestern England, the addition or deletion of word-initial sibilants has continued to be a productive process until the present day.

We should also note that different degrees of intention and consciousness were probably associated with the origins of different pairs. Some pairs may have been deliberately coined. Others may have been unconsciously coined by one or more speakers and just as unconsciously accepted by other speakers. Finally, some pairs may have origins that are purely fortuitous or serendipitous; that is, two words with entirely separate origins may "find themselves" in the appropriate phonological and semantic relationships to be interpreted (folk etymologized) as a genuine plus-and-minus-S pair.

The extremely complex situation in dialects of Modern English described above may throw light on the status of initial sibilants in dialects of PIE. The situation in PIE may in fact have been very similar, with some pairs of words being consistently distinguished by a fixed sibilant in a given lect, while an optional or variable sibilant would produce pairs of lexical variants in other cases in the same lect. As in our ModE dialects described above, the mix of variable to fixed pairs no doubt varied from lect to lect. This would naturally make reconstruction of a single form impossible, since the dialects of PIE contained both forms.

There must be something about the phonetic nature of the sibilant itself that could help explain the persistence or recurrence of this variation in some Indo-European languages or dialects throughout the whole recorded and reconstructed history of this large genetic family of languages. Perhaps the explanation lies in the striking acoustic and perceptual properties of sibilants. Of all the obstruents, it is the sibilants that have the most definite spectral shapes, with strong, sustained formant-like spectral peaks occurring at frequencies where the human ear is most sensitive to intensity. This gives sibilants a more intense and distinctive timbre ("colour pitch") than any of the other obstruents. This would make a sibilant a highly appropriate iconic (Anttila 1972) sound for a derivational intensifier. It also points to the fact that not all linguistic signs are entirely arbitrary. The phonology of any given lect no doubt allows its speakers to develop certain conventional links between sound and meaning which are felt (consciously or unconsciously) to be highly appropriate or iconic (Anttila 1972), and which are utilized for sylistic effect by ordinary people as well as by poets and other "heighteners" of language. Once such links are developed, whether deliberately or fortuitously, they can become productive and continue to persist for very long periods of time.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Compare also such standard verb pairs as tamp/stamp, well/swell and wipe/swipe. Note the similar relationships between sound and meaning regardless of whether such pairs are true cognates or not.

[2]Compare also the extreme variability associated with onsets containing /l/, the other liquid consonant. Note, for example, the variants slent and strent in Dorset (Barnes 1886: 101 and 106) and the variants slam and stram in Cornwall (Jago 1882: 267 and 281).

[3]The shram set of adjectives refers to humans, and especially to human hands, with meanings such as 'cold, chilled' and, by extension, 'clumsy or awkward' (especially with one's hands).

[4]"It is a rule of the Irish language that in any consonant group (with very few exceptions) all the consonants must be of the same quality; that is, all must be palatal or all must be non-palatal." (Bliss 1984: 138).

[5]Compare similar meanings of Standard English ticklish.

[6]Is scunner, with a rounded stressed vowel, also the source of the noun schooner? It seems to be a highly appropriate name for a sailing vessel that in much easier to "scun" (conn) than is a square-rigger.

[7]Compare also the Standard English verb con(n) with the several senses of the Newfoundland verb(s) scon(n)/scun(n) (DNE 447-8).

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Les phénomènes d'économie, de régularité et de
différentiation observés au sein du système des
pronoms personnels sujets d'un parler acadien

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RESUME

Le paradigme des pronoms personnels sujets du parler acadien
de la Baie Sainte-Marie, entre autres, présente des
manifestations frappantes d'une économie, d'une régularité
et d'une différentiation formelles accrues par rapport à la
langue normative. Il en résulte un ensemble de pronoms
sujets dont le maniement formel est, à certains égards, plus
aisé qu'en français standard. Si la simplification formelle
du paradigme aboutit, dans au moins un cas, à la disparition
d'une opposition grammaticale maintenue en français standard,
cette lacune se trouve compensée par une différenciation
formelle constante entre les personnes 3 et 6.

I. Introduction:

a) Objectifs de l'étude:

Parmi les caractéristiques du français dit "populaire"
qui le différencient le plus nettement du français normatif
figurent, c'est bien connu, une économie et une régularité
formelles accrues. C'est ce que constatent, entre autres,
Henri Frei, Henri Bauche, et Pierre Guiraud. Se présentent
aussi dans le langage populaire, selon ces mêmes linguistes,
et ceci en opposition apparente au phénomène réducteur d'une
plus grande économie, des distinctions formelles fonctionnellement
pertinentes inexistantes en français standard.

Nous examinons dans l'étude que voici certaines
manifestations frappantes de ces trois caractéristiques formelles
livrées par une analyse morphologique des pronoms personnels
sujets du franco-acadien de la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie,
en Nouvelle-Ecosse (Canada), parler régional essentiellement
oral et populaire. Les particularités retenues offriront
donc la possibilité d'observer de près comment une communauté
linguistique, largement soustraite aux influences de la langue
normative, s'efforce de concilier, au sein de la structure
d'une classe fonctionnelle essentielle de son parler, les

besoins à première vue contradictoires de l'économie formelle
et d'un code suffisamment différencié pour répondre au mieux
aux exigences d'une communication efficace. Elles permettront
aussi de cerner certains aspects de la spécificité formelle et
fonctionnelle du parler acadien de la Baie Sainte-Marie en
comparaison du français standard.

b) Modèle linguistique utilisé: le "fonctionnalisme":

L'examen des trois phénomènes formels en question, de même
que les analyses morphologiques préalables, ont été conduits
selon les principes et les techniques de la linguistique dite
"fonctionnelle", école structuraliste issue, rappelons-le, de
la linguistique saussurienne et de l'Ecole de Prague, sous
l'impulsion d'André Martinet.

Le modèle fonctionnaliste se prête d'autant mieux à une
étude de ces caractéristiques formelles du français populaire
qu'il fait de la tendance à l'économie l'un des éléments
essentiels du principe structural que Martinet appelle "la
dynamique interne" des langues. En effet, selon lui, les
utilisateurs d'une langue cherchent à établir un équilibre
entre les besoins de la communication et les moyens formels mis
en oeuvre pour y parvenir. C'est ainsi que la langue d'une
communauté tend à être économique en ce sens que les locuteurs
entreprennent d'exprimer un maximum d'informations avec un
minimum d'efforts. Comme le constate Martinent, "l'économie
linguistique, c'est la synthèse des forces en présence."[1]

Quant aux analyses morphologiques qui sous-tendent la
présente étude, a d'abord été dégagé l'inventaire des pronoms
personnels sujets d'un échantillon important du parler acadien
de la Baie Sainte-Marie. Par la suite, conformément à la
conception fonctionnaliste de la morphologie, nous avons relevé,
classé et décrit la totalité des variantes formelles que
présentait chacun des pronoms de l'inventaire. Ce sont donc le
comportement formel de certains ensembles de ces variantes et la
structuration de l'inventaire qui ont servi de base aux
observations qui suivent.

c) Corpus: caractéristiques:

Le corpus d'une durée d'environ cinq heures sur lequel repose
cette étude est constitué de témoignages fournis par dix locuteurs
de la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie, appartenant au même milieu
socio-culturel et représentant les deux sexes et cinq tranches
d'âge différentes, à savoir: a) 89,85 ans; b) 60 ans; c) 45 ans;
d) 25,22,21 ans; (e) 12, 11, 9 ans. Cependant, afin de favoriser

l'exhaustivité de l'analyse morphologique préalable,[2] une place prépondérante a été réservée à un examen fouillé du système des pronoms sujets de l'idiolecte de l'informateur âgé de 89 ans. Par la suite, les variantes dégagées chez cette personne ont été comparées systématiquement à celles livrées par des échantillons moins importants des neuf autres idiolectes retenus. Nous croyons donc être parvenu à bien contrôler la représentativité de l'idiolecte principal, tout en mettant en lumière certaines différences formelles qui se manifestaient d'un groupe d'âge à l'autre. Il importe néanmoins de souligner la grande cohérence morphologique du parler à travers les différentes générations en présence.

d)   La région de la Baie Sainte-Marie:

La région de la Baie Sainte-Marie, dénommée aussi "le District de Clare", occupe, dans le sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, une partie considérable du littoral du comté de Digby. Des quatre comtés néo-écossais où réside une population franco-acadienne relativement homogène et importante, c'est, semble-t-il, dans celui de Digby qu'elle est actuellement la plus nombreuse.[3]

La présence francophone dans le comté de Digby remonte jusqu'en 1768, date à laquelle le gouvernement britannique, qui avait repris la Nouvelle-Ecosse en 1713, concéda des terres à certains des rescapés de la déportation massive des Acadiens décrétée par le Gouverneur Lawrence en 1755. Depuis leur installation dans le District de Clare, région maritime peu fertile, les Acadiens vivent essentiellement de la pêche et de l'industrie du bois.

II.   L'économie et la régularité: manifestations au sein de l'inventaire des pronoms sujets:

Le paradigme des pronoms personnels sujets du parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie connaît une structuration formelle sensiblement plus simple, à certains égards plus régulière et aussi d'un meilleur rendement fonctionnel que l'ensemble correspondant du français standard. Les deux inventaires de pronoms sujets se présentent comme suit:

	Acadien-B.S.M.	Français standard
p. 1	$/ʒ/$	$/ʒ/$
p. 2	$/t(y)/$	$/ty/$

p. 3	/i(1)/	/il/
	/a(1)/	/ɛl/

p. 4	/ʒ...ᵒ̃ᵣ/	/nu(z) ...ᵒ̃ₘ/
p. 5	/vu(z) ...ᵉᵣ/	/vu(z) ...ᵉₜ/
p. 6	/i(1) ...ᵒ̃ᵣ/	/il(z) ...ᵣ/
		/ɛl(z) ...ᵣ/

Une comparaison des deux paradigmes révèle que l'économie accrue réalisée résulte, d'une part, d'une réduction du nombre des formes employées par rapport au français standard, et aussi d'une simplification de la structure sonore de certaines formes communes aux deux systèmes.

a) <u>Pronom /ʒ/: emploi à la personne 4</u>:

Sur le plan des inventaires, la simplification la plus frappante est sans doute l'inexistence, dans notre corpus, du pronom /nu(z)/ au profit d'une extension systématique du pronom /ʒ/ au contexte de la personne 4. Ainsi:

[ʒ nu mɛtjõ a la tab]   "Nous nous mettions à table."

[vu save ju s kə ʒ rɛstæ̃ʷ][4] "Vous savez où nous restons (habitons)."

[ʒ avõ di vuz ɛt ʃy vu]   "Nous avons dit: vous êtes chez vous."

Il est clair que l'économie formelle que représente cette distribution élargie du pronom /ʒ/ ne porte nullement atteinte au bon fonctionnement de l'opposition entre les pronoms sujets 1 et 4, celle-ci assurée par la présence du segment /-õ/, devenu pertinent en acadien, là où l'opposition /nu(z)/ ≠ / ʒ / le rend essentiellement redondant en français standard. /õ/ s'oppose donc formellement et fonctionnellement à "zéro" dans ces contextes précis en acadien.

b) <u>Inexistence du pronom féminin à la personne 6</u>:

La simplification de l'inventaire des pronoms sujets s'effectue aussi, on le voit, par suite de la disparition, chez l'ensemble de nos locuteurs, de l'opposition entre le masculin et le féminin à la personne 6, au profit du seul

pronom masculin /il/, opposition maintenue constante toutefois
à la personne 3. Si nous relevons donc à la personne 6 un
énoncé tel:

> [le pɔto il avõ swasãt pje də   ·   "Il y a une distance de
> lwɛ̃ ã lwɔn]   60 pieds entre les
>   poteaux."

nous observons aussi les suivantes:

> [ste pupe la i sõ pɑ bɛl kùm   ·   "Ces poupées-là, ils
> le mjɛn]   sont pas belles comme
>   les miennes."

> [le fij ki sɑvjõ ɛ̃ pti i   "Les filles qui savaient
> brɔʃjæ̃ e i krɔʒjæ̃]   un petit (un peu), ils
>   tricotaient et ils
>   travaillaient au crochet."

On voit que dans ces trois phrases à sujets coordonnés par
reprise, un seul et même pronom masculin /il/ reprend le sujet
nominal, que celui-ci soit au masculin ou au féminin. Contrastons
ce comportement pronominal avec celui des pronoms sujets 3
attestés dans des phrases présentant aussi des sujets
coordonnés par reprise:

> [il avɛ pwɛ̃ də hard st ùm lɑ]   "Il avait point de hardes
>   (vêtements), cet homme-
>   là."

> [sa mer a tʃənɛ ʃɔp]   "Sa mère, elle tenait un
>   magasin."

Il est manifeste donc que, dans ce cas précis, la simplification
du pronom sujet 6 s'accompagne de la perte d'une importante
marque formelle de différence de genre grammatical ou de sexe.
Cependant, comme l'indique bien l'exemple à sujet /pupe/, cette
neutralisation ne s'étend pas normalement aux éléments de
l'énoncé tels les adjectifs et les pronoms possessifs se
rapportant à la même unité nominale que le pronom /il/. En
effet, ceux d'entre eux qui ont la faculté de varier formellement,
selon le genre ou le sexe de l'antécédent, la conservent le
plus souvent dans le contexte précis que nous analysons.

Si les phrases que nous venons de signaler ne sont pas
ambiguës, d'autres sont susceptibles de l'être pourtant,
comme, par exemple:

[il avõ sɔrti dy bwɑ]   "Ils sont sortis du bois."

[i la truvjõ bũn]   "Ils la trouvaient bonne."

L'on voit qu'il faut faire appel ici au contexte ou à la
situation extralinguistique pour lever l'ambiguïté qui porte
sur le genre ou le sexe du substantif auquel renvoie le pronom
sujet /il/ ou /i/.

c)   Comportement des pronoms 4, 5 et 6 au "passé simple":

      Une autre manifestation d'une économie accrue par rapport
au français standard non moins instructive que les deux déjà
examinées est fournie par le comportement du second segment
des pronoms sujets 4, 5 et 6 employé au contact du "passé
simple", le quatrième en importance des déterminants temporels
de notre corpus oral. Précisons, du reste, que la fréquence
de ce temps est même légèrement plus élevée chez nos locuteurs
que celle du "passé composé".

      Comme l'indique le tableau des pronoms sujets déjà précisé,
l'économie formelle réalisée provient de l'utilisation, aux
trois personnes 4, 5 et 6, d'un seul et même segment /-r/, à
l'exclusion totale des segments /-m/ et /-t/ employés en
français standard aux personnes 4 et 5 respectivement. Par
conséquent, les énoncés aux pronoms sujets suivants constituent
la norme dans notre parler:

[e ʒ la rãkõtri-r][5]   "Et nous la rencontrâmes."

[ʒ avãsi-r a la bɔs]   "Nous avançâmes vers
                                         l'autocar."

[kã ʒ nu mariji-r]   "Quand nous nous mariâmes
                                         ..."

[fodrɛk vu la rãwaji-r]   "Faudrait que vous la
                                         renvoyâtes."[6]

[h ɛmrɛ k vuz y-r vy sɑ]   "J'aimerais que vous eûtes
                                         vu ça."

[i le mɛti-r d ən ʃãnti]   "Ils les mirent dans une
                                         bicoque."

[i dmãdi-r la lĩs]   "Ils demandèrent la liste."

Il en résulte, on le voit, un ensemble pronominal 4, 5, 6 plus
régulier et d'un maniement formel plus aisé qu'en pareil

contexte en français standard, où la forme du second segment
de ces pronoms, à savoir, rappelons-le, /-m/, /-t/, /-r/,
varie en fonction de la personne grammaticale. Cette
invariabilité formelle contraste aussi, en acadien, aux
personnes 4, 5 et 6, et en français, aux personnes 4 et 5,
avec la forme variable que présente le second segment de
ces mêmes pronoms au contact de tous les autres déterminants
temporels. Ainsi:

F.S.	Acadien	Acadien
nu dɔn-õ	ʒ dun-õ	ʒ duni-r
vu dɔn-e	vu dun-e	vu duni-r
il dɔn	i dun-õ	i duni-r

Insistons aussi sur le fait que cette économie et cette régularité
accrues ne perturbent aucunement le rendement fonctionnel de
cet ensemble de six pronoms au passé simple, tous les pronoms
restant parfaitement distincts les uns des autres. Notons
enfin la pertinence fonctionnelle, à la personne 4 du passé
simple, du segment /-r/, celle-ci entraînée, rappelons-le,
par l'emploi aux personnes 1 et 4 de l'élément commun /ʒ/.

III. Economie: structure sonore des unités:

Les autres manifestations d'économie formelle livrées par
l'ensemble des pronoms sujets du parler de la Baie Sainte-
Marie portent essentiellement sur leur structure sonore. Nombre
de ces phénomènes de simplification, en rapport avec la
combinatoire des sons, semblent être communs, du reste, à
l'acadien et à d'autres variétés de français populaire ou
familier. Et, comme nous le verrons, cette simplification
sonore s'accomplit sans nuire pour autant à l'efficacité
fonctionnelle des pronoms en question.

/ʒ/:

La structure sonore du pronom sujet /ʒ/, employé aux
personnes 1 et 4, présente au moins trois types d'économie
formelle:

i) L'assourdissement que connaît le pronom en début
d'énoncé, directement suivi d'une consonne sourde, est l'un
des phénomènes de phonétique combinatoire les plus
caractéristiques du français oral en général. Ainsi:

[ʒ̥ tə l li:re]   "Je te le lirai."

[ʒ̥ pœrnjõ la gɑ:zɛt]   "Nous prenions le journal."

 ii) Devant les voyelles ouvertes [a] et [ã] surtout,
ce pronom sujet se réalise assez souvent dans toutes les
tranches d'âge examinées sous forme de la fricative
laryngale [h], variante caractéristique aussi du parler
saintongeais de France.[7] Nous relevons des énoncés tels:

[si h̲ avɛ bəzwɛ̃ d ɛ̃ sak]   "Si j'avais besoin d'un
            sac..."

[h avõ y de pret]   "Nous avons eu des prêtres."

[h ãn avõ y de bæ̃]   "Nous en avons eu des bons."

Une telle articulation laryngale ou glottale permet aux
organes phonatoires, on le voit, de se mettre en position
pour la voyelle ouverte suivante avant même l'articulation
de la consonne. Il suffit donc au locuteur de faire vibrer
les cordes vocales pour passer de la consonne à la voyelle.

 iii) Enfin, phénomène d'économie répandu en français
populaire et familier, le pronom /ʒ/, employé aux personnes
1 et 4, s'amalgame ou fusionne souvent avec la sifflante
initiale /s/ de certaines formes des verbes /ɛt-r/ "être"
et /saua-r/ "savoir". Par exemple:

[ʃy par isĩt]   "Je suis par ici."

[ʃi fjar dətwɑ]   "Je suis fier de toi."

[ʃɛ pwɔn]   "Je sais pas."

[ʃrõ pwɛ̃isĩt nyzot]   "Nous serons pas ici, nous."

[ʃõ sõ grã per e sɑ grã   "Nous sommes son grand-père
mer]   et sa grand-mère."

/t(y)/:

 En position pré-verbale, le pronom sujet /t(y)/ présente
presque invariablement chez l'ensemble de nos locuteurs la
forme économique écourtée /t/ devant élément à initiale
vocalique. Ainsi, sur les 25 occurrences de ce pronom relevées
dans ce contexte précis chez notre informateur principal, nous
en avons constaté trois seulement où il conserve la voyelle /y/.

Les exemples suivants représentent donc la norme dans la
région de la Baie Sainte-Marie:

    [t avɛ de prœv]   "T(u) avais des preuves."

    [si fo k t ã sav tã k sₐ]   "Si faut que t(u) en saches
                                 tant que ça..."

    [si t ɛ isĩt]   "Si t(y) es ici..."

/il/, /al/:

    i) Tout comme le pronom sujet 2 perd sa voyelle /-y/
devant une unité suivante à initiale vocalique, les pronoms
sujets 3 /il/ et /al/, employés devant lexème verbal,
présentent systématiquement devant consonne une variante
écourtée de sa consonne finale /l/. On entend régulièrement
alors dans la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie:

    [i̱ pwɛ pwɛ̃ vnir ₐ pje] "I(l) pouvait pas venir
                                  à pied."

    [i̱ jøz avɛ swɛte l gùd baj] "I(l) leur avait souhaité
                                  le good-bye."

    [i̱ m mã:di l ʒur k i s ʒ̃vɛ̃
dr ɛ]   "I(l) me fit savoir le jour
                                  qu'i(l) s'en viendrait."

    [ạ marʃɛ pwɔn]   "Elle marchait pas."

    [ạ s tʃənɛ dbùt]   "Elle se tenait debout..."

Ces réalisations économiques sont aussi attestées, rappelons-
le, en franco-québécois et dans d'autres variétés de français
populaire.

    ii) Devant voyelle, bien que la norme soit la forme lourde
/il/, ce pronom présente une certaine tendance, chez au moins
trois de nos informateurs, soit jeunes, soit d'âge moyen, à
se transformer en [iʲ], comme dans les énoncés suivants:

    [i̱ʲ etɛ bɛ̃ kuny pur
sₐ]   "Il était bien connu pour
                                ça."

    [i̱ʲ etɛ pₐ ʒœñ]   "Il était pas jeune."

    [i̱ʲ avɛ tire lₐ vaʃ̃]   "Il avait tiré (trait)
                                  la vache."

[lɔs k i^j ali dã la ^dʒar]   "Lorsqu'il alla dans la
                                          guerre..."

Il est clair que cette réduction formelle s'opère d'autant plus
aisément que le yod de transition utilisé entretient des rapports
articulatoires très étroits avec la voyelle /i/. L'emploi de
la variante [i^j] dans ce contexte témoigne donc d'une certaine
tendance, chez quelques-uns de nos locuteurs, à recourir
à un signifiant invariable à la fois devant consonne et devant
voyelle.

/vu(z) ...ᵉr̥/:

    Le pronom sujet 5 retient l'attention dans le cadre de cette
étude par la tendance très nette à la régularisation que présente
son second segment dans le contexte des lexèmes verbaux /fa-r/
"faire" et /di-r/ "dire". Si les formes [fɛt] et [dit] sont
attestées chez nos locuteurs, elles sont de toute évidence moins
courantes que [fəze] et [dize], comme dans les énoncés suivants:

    [kwɑ vu <u>dize</u> d zø̸]   "Qu'est-ce que vous dites
                                       d'eux?"

    [vu m <u>fəze</u> parle bak]   "Vous me faites reparler."

    [<u>fəze</u> vu l tur]   "Faites-vous le tour?"

/i(1) ...õ/:

    Les constatations faites au sujet de la simplification sonore
du pronom sujet 3 valent aussi pour le premier segment /i(1)/ du
pronom sujet 6 /i(1) ...õ/. Il faut aussi ajouter la quasi-
inexistence, devant voyelle, du /z/ de liaison qui caractérise le
français standard et qui marque le pluriel dans ces contextes
précis. En effet, sur 43 occurrences du pronom devant voyelle,
nous n'en avons trouvé que deux d'une variante à finale /z/,
réalisée /iz/ et attestées l'une et l'autre chez un enfant de
II ans. Il en est ainsi dans l'énoncé suivant:

    [sof kã s k <u>iz</u> ɑvõ træavle bak] "...sauf quand ils y sont
                                      retournés."

Toutefois, comme nous le verrons dans le paragraphe suivant,
l'acadien peut très bien faire l'économie de ce /z/ de liaison,
le pluriel du pronom 6 étant systématiquement marqué par son
second segment.

IV. <u>Différentiation formelle et fonctionnelle</u>:

Outre les exemples de simplification et de régularisation que nous avons examinés jusqu'ici, l'inventaire des pronoms sujets de ce parler acadien fournit un exemple frappant d'une différentiation formelle et fonctionnelle accrue par rapport au français standard. Il s'agit de l'opposition tout à fait systématique et constante entre les pronoms sujets 3 et 6, assurée par l'emploi du segment /-õ/, réalisé [æ̃], rappelons-le, sous un accent de phrase ou d'insistance, au contact de tous les déterminants temporels autres que le passé simple, la terminaison pronominale connaissant la forme /-r/ dans le contexte de ce dernier temps. Rappelons qu'en français standard, mis à part les contextes du futur et du passé simple, où la distinction formelle entre les pronoms 3 et 6 est systématique, l'opposition entre les pronoms 3 et 6 n'est assurée que de manière intermittente par les particularités morphologiques d'un déterminant temporel ou d'un lexème verbal donné. Les paires d'exemples qui suivent illustrent bien cette importante distinction formelle et fonctionnelle en acadien:

[i rɛst lɯ]   ≠   [i rɛstõ lɯ]

[i m di k il a...]   ≠   [i m di:zæ̃ k il a...]

[pur k i la truv bũn]   ≠   [pur k i la truvjõ bũn]

[i le mɛti lɯ]   ≠   [i le mɛtir lɯ]

[i la rãwaji a l ekɔl]   ≠   [i le rãwajir a l ekɔl]

Non seulement cette opposition améliore sensiblement le rendement fonctionnel du système des pronoms sujets acadiens en comparaison du français standard, mais aussi, on le voit, elle s'effectue de manière fort économique.

V. <u>Conclusions</u>

Une langue fonctionne essentiellement comme instrument de communication. Pour que cette fonction puisse se réaliser pleinement, l'économie formelle que recherchent avec une spontanéité toute particulière les utilisateurs de la langue populaire ne doit toutefois pas s'accomplir au détriment d'une différentiation adéquate du code. C'est pour cette raison, rappelons-le, que Martinet fait reposer une définition fonctionnellement opératoire de la notion d'économie sur la nécessité d'un équilibre entre les deux phénomènes de simplification et de différentiation. Ce principe d'une économie

linguistique conçue en termes d'un équilibre entre deux
forces opposées se concrétise fort bien, nous semble-t-
il, dans le comportement fonctionnel et morphologique des
pronoms sujets acadiens examinés, économie qu'une
comparaison avec les pronoms sujets correspondants du
français standard n'a fait que mettre en relief.

Nous avons constaté, d'une part, des exemples frappants
d'une économie formelle accrue par rapport à la langue
standard qui ne s'accomplit nullement au dépens de la
différentiation fonctionnelle. C'est le cas de l'extension
d'emploi du pronom sujet 1 /ʒ/ au contexte de la personne 4,
l'opposition formelle et significative se trouvant maintenue
par l'emploi pertinent du segment /-õ/. C'est aussi le
cas de la distribution élargie, en comparaison du français
standard, du segment /-r/ du passé simple, les six pronoms
sujets restant toutefois distincts les uns des autres.

Les comportements fonctionnel et formel de cet ensemble
de pronoms a aussi révélé qu'une différentiation significative
accrue par rapport à la langue standard peut très bien
s'effectuer de manière fort économique. Il en est ainsi, nous
l'avons vu, de l'opposition fonctionnelle stable, à tous
les temps, entre les pronoms sujets 3 et 6, assurée par l'emploi,
à la personne 6, des segments /-õ/ et /-r/, le premier employé
aussi à la personne 4, le second aux personnes 4 et 5 du passé
simple.

Cependant, l'équilibre entre l'économie et la différentiation
que l'on souhaiterait trouver partout dans un code linguistique
à structure optimale présente au moins une faille non-négligeable
dans le système des pronoms sujets acadiens examinés. Il s'agit,
rappelons-le, de l'inexistence, à la personne 6, de l'opposition
entre les pronoms sujets masculin et féminin, ceci au profit
du masculin.

Malgré une telle lacune fonctionnelle, l'examen que nous
avons effectué de cet ensemble de pronoms personnels sujets
semble nous autoriser à conclure que les locuteurs de la Baie
Sainte-Marie parviennent à y établir globalement un équilibre
fort satisfaisant entre l'économie et la différentiation.
Si l'on cherche à comparer l'efficacité de cet équilibre avec
celle des pronoms du français standard, l'on constate que, d'une
part, le parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie réussit à conserver
les mêmes oppositions significatives qu'en français standard,
mais de manière plus simple. D'autre part, l'acadien présente
une différentiation formelle importante inexistante en français
standard, différentiation créée de façon fort économique.

Soulignons enfin que les aspects de ce système pronominal
oral, populaire et régional que la grammaire prescriptive
qualifierait de "fautifs" ou d'"abusifs" ne constituent, le
plus souvent, qu'une tentative, parmi bien d'autres, chez les
locuteurs de cette communauté linguistique, pour conférer
à leur parler un maximum d'efficacité avec un minimum d'efforts.

NOTES

[1]Martinet, A. 1955. L'économie des changements phonétiques.
Berne: Editions A. Francke, p. 97.

[2]L'analyse morphologique dont sont tirées les données de
cette étude porte aussi sur les lexèmes verbaux et les
déterminants temporels du parler.

[3]Lors du recensement fédéral de 1981, sur une population
globale de 847,442 Néo-Ecossais, il y en avait 36,030 (soit
4,5%) qui se sont déclarés de langue maternelle française. Il
y avait 20,3% de cette minorité linguistique qui habitaient le
comté de Digby, les trois autres régions dites "acadiennes",
situées dans les comtés de Yarmouth, de Richmond et d'Inverness,
enregistrant respectivement les pourcentages que voici: 19,6%,
11,4% et 10,1%.
    Il est à noter que dans le comté et la région métropolitaine
d'Halifax, capitale de la province, résidaient en 1981, 21,8%
de la population néo-écossaise de   langue maternelle française.
Malgré son importance numérique, ce groupe est de toute
évidence moins homogène (comptant bon nombre de Québécois et de
francophones non-canadiens) et plus dispersé que celui de
chacune des quatre régions acadiennes.

[4]Le phonème vocalique nasal /õ/ connaît dans le parler de
la Baie Sainte-Marie la réalisation diphtonguée [æ̃ʷ] sous un
accent de phrase ou d'insistance.

[5]A noter au "passé simple" du parler de la Baie Sainte-
Marie l'utilisation systématique du signifiant /-i(-)/ au
contact de tous les verbes réguliers à infinitif en /-e/, ceci
à l'exclusion totale des variantes /-e/, /-a(-)/ et /-ɛ-/
employées en pareil contexte temporel en français standard.

[6]C'est le passé simple qui s'emploie, de toute évidence,
dans ce parler après un lexème verbal au conditionnel qui
exigerait en français standard l'imparfait du subjonctif.

[7]Léon, P. 1967. "H et R en patois normand et en français
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par J.-D. Gendron et G. Straka. Paris: Klincksieck/ Québec:
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FINAL VOWELS IN DEVERBATIVE NOUNS IN OSHIKWANYAMA

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the formation of nouns in OshiKwanyama which are derived from verb stems. Almost all verb stems end in a consonant; however, the phonological constraints on word shape in OshiKwanyama require that all words end in vowels. Verb stems are always followed by tense marking vowels; thus, deverbative nouns must add final vowels. Even though the constraint which requires the addition of these final vowels is phonological, it appears that some of these vowels act like morphemes.

OshiKwanyama is a Bantu language spoken in northern Namibia and southern Angola. As is typical of Bantu languages, OshiKwanyama has a rich and complex system of verbal morphology. In addition, verb roots are used productively and extensively to create new nouns. It is the formation of these deverbative nouns which I shall be examining in this paper.

The OshiKwanyama verb does not show person and number agreement with its subject by suffixation, as is common in Indo-European languages. Instead, the verb is obligatorily preceded by a subject pronoun which is different in the present and past tenses, as shown in (1).

(1)

		present		past		'work'
sg.	1	ohai	longo	onda	longa	
	2	oto	longo	owa	longa	
	3	ota	longo	okwa	longa	
pl.	1	ohatu	longo	otwa	longa	
	2	otamu	longo	omwa	longa	
	3	otava	longo	ova	longa	

In addition, tense is marked by a suffix on the verb root. Oshi-Kwanyama indicates three tenses morphologically: the present, the past, and the pluperfect. Future meaning is indicated by the use of the present tense with some time adverb or other time expression.

The past tense is marked on the verb root by the suffix -a; however, the present tense suffix varies. The left-hand column in (2) illustrates the present stem vowels.

(2)   present stem   past stem

kala	kala	'stay, live, abide'
hepa	hepa	'want, need lack'
ši:va	ši:va	'know'
suna	suna	'go back, return'
mota	mota	'be moist'
hale	hala	'wish, want'
ende	enda	'go, walk, travel'
mane	mana	'finish, end'
pepe	pepa	'blow (as of wind)'
holo	hola	'make love to'
mono	mona	'see, find, get'
ndodo	ndoda	'drip'
šivi	šiva	'summon, invite'
imbi	imba	'sing'
limi	lima	'till soil, hoe'
tutu	tuta	'carry, bear, take'
nyamu	nyama	'suck, imbibe'
kulu	kula	'grow old, mature'

OshiKwanyama has five vowels, i, e, a, o, and u, and any one of these vowels can be a marker of the present stem. Which vowel will occur is not predictable from the phonological shape of the verb root. The example forms in (2) show that any one of the five vowels can occur after roots ending in the same type of consonant; thus, a root ending in a nasal, for example, can be followed by a, e, i, o, or u. Similarly, it is not possible to predict the choice of present stem vowel based on the vowel of the root. Thus, if one examines the first five examples in (2), it is evident that any one of the five root vowel can occur with the present stem vowel -a. (In these verbs only, the use of the present tense subject pronoun distinguishes the tense, as the present and past verb stems are identical). The data in (2) illustrate that it is necessary to consign each verb to one of five different conjugation classes, each class having a different vowel marking the present stem. However, the process of memorization on the part of the native language learner is greatly facilitated by the fact that the most commonly used present tense vowel is -a. I have arranged the examples in descending order of frequency: while most verbs use -a as their

present stem vowel, and quite a few have -e, only a small number use -o or -i, while -u is used extremely rarely.

Notice, that while it is not possible to predict the present tense vowel suffix based on the vowel of the root, the suffixed vowel can predict (or narrow down) the choices for the root vowel. Thus, only roots with a or e have -e as a suffix, only vowels with a or u have -u as a suffix, while only i can have -i, and only o can have -o. This suggests to me an original system of vowel copy, which is now being replaced by the general use of a. Vowel assimilation between suffix and verb root is found in several suffix morphemes in the language; also, vowel assimilation of this type is generally widespread in Bantu languages; thus, this supposition seems plausible for OshiKwanyama.

Some additional verb forms are examined in (3), as exemplified by the verbs meaning 'work' and 'buy'.

(3)

present stem		long-o	'be working'
infinitive		oku-long-a	'to work'
pluperfect, 1. sg.	onda	long-el-e	'I had worked'
applied, 1. sg. pres.	ohai	long-el-e	'I am working for s.o.'
applied, 1. sg. past	onda	long-el-a	'I worked for s.o.'
applied, 1. sg. plup.	onda	long-el-el-e	'I had worked for s.o.'
causative		long-if-a	'put s.o. to work'
causative passive		long-if-w-a	'be used'
inversive		long-olol-a	'unload, off-load'

present stem	land-e	'be buying'
infinitive	oku-land-a	'to buy'
passive, pres. & past	land-w-a	'be bought'
passive, conjunctive	land-w-e	'be bought'(in subord. cl)
passive, pluperfect	land-el-w-e	'had been bought'
applied, pres.	land-el-e	'buy for s.o.'
applied passive	land-el-w-a	'be bought for s.o.'
causative	land-if-a	'sell'
causative applied, pres.	land-if-il-e	'sell for s.o.'

The pluperfect is marked by the use of the past subject pronoun, the suffix -el, and the final suffix -e. The form is considered to be constructed of two separate suffixes -el and -e, rather than one suffix -ele, because the two can be separated by intervening suffixes: note the passive pluperfect form of 'buy' land-el-w-e.

The applied suffix -el is used to convey a benefactive meaning, for example 'work for someone' or 'buy for someone.' It is distinguished from the pluperfect by differential use of subject pronouns and final suffixes. The applied suffix has a number of variant forms, as illustrated (4).

(4) causative: -if-

    passive: -w-

    applied: -el-   deng-el-   'hit for'
                  -en-   mon-en-   'find for'
                  -il-   fut-il-   'pay for'
                  -in-   tum-in-   'send for'

Forms with the vowel i are used if the preceding syllable contains a high vowel, otherwise forms with e are used. Forms with n occur if the preceding consonant is a nasal, l is used otherwise. The applied, passive, and causative suffixes are used not only in verb forms, but are also found in deverbative nouns.

The nouns in OshiKwanyama follow a typical Bantu pattern. Each noun root is prefixed by a marker which indicates that the noun is singular, or one which marks that the noun is plural. Thus, the root -nu is prefixed as follows: omunu means 'person', but ovanu means 'people'. In addition, these prefixes also classify nouns into groups. Thus, omu-/ova- is not the only pair of number-- marking prefixes in the language; there are nine different classes of nouns, as illustrated in (5).

(5)

Cl. 1 omu-/ova-   omu-nu   'person'
                         omu-pika   'slave'
                         omu-mati   'boy'

Cl. 2 omu-/omi-   omu-ti   'tree'
                         omu-nwe   'finger, toe'
                         omu-do   'year'

Cl. 3 e-/oma-   e-umbo   'house'
                         e-dina   'name'
                         e-fo   'leaf'
                         e-lao   '(good) luck'

Cl. 4 o(n)-/e:(N)-	om-baǰe	'jackal'
	o-dila	'bird'
	o-feleišo	'eyebrow'

Cl. 5 oši-/oi-	oši-nima	'thing'
	oši-lema	'cripple'
	oši-toma	'pneumonia'
	oši-kwanyama	'Kwanyama language'

Cl. 6. olu-/oma- or	olu-tu	'body'
e:(N)-	olu-panda	'cheek'
	olu-vinga	'horn'

Cl. 7 oku-/oma-	oku-twi	'ear'
	oku-fu	'winter'
	oku-dula	'ability, to be able'

Cl. 8 ou-/oma-	ou-ta	'bow, shooting weapon'
	ou-fiku	'night'
	ou-kaume	'friendship'
	ou-kwanyama	'land of the Kwanyama people'

Cl. 9 oka-/ ou- or	oka-nya	'mouth'
oma-	oka-hani	'crescent moon'
	oka-mbwa	'small dog'
	oka-dila	'small bird'

Class 1 nouns refer only to human beings, but it is not possible to find a single, cohesive semantic field for any of the other classes. Nevertheless, for some words of certain types one can normally predict which class they will occur in. Thus, names of languages always fall into Class 5. The names of countries are always in class 8, as are most abstract nouns, while diminutives are always Class 9 nouns. In addition to the inflectional function of number marking, these noun class prefixes are also derivational. Notice the forms in (6):

(6)

2 omu-ti 'tree'	4 o-mbwa 'dog'
3 e-ti 'block of wood'	5 oši-mbwa 'cur'
5 oši-ti 'wooden object'	9 oka-mbwa 'small dog'
9 oka-ti 'twig'	

1	omu-nai-ta	'enemy'
1	omu-kwai-ta	'soldier'
5	oi-ta	'army'
8	ou-ta	'bow, weapon'
8	ou-nai-ta	'hostility'
9	oka-u-ta	'bow-shaped musical intrument'

The root -ti, which means something like 'wood', has forms that mean 'live wood, i.e. tree', 'block of wood', 'wooden object', and 'diminutive piece of wood, namely 'twig'. See also the regular, derogatory, and diminutive forms of 'dog'.

As well, new forms can be created by combining a noun class prefix with another prefix and a second noun class prefix. Thus the class 5 word oita 'army' gives two class 1 words 'enemy' and 'soldier', as well as the class 8 form 'hostility', while the class 8 form 'bow' gives rise to the class 9 word meaning a 'bow-shaped muscial instrument'.

There are a number of phonological constraints on the shape of words in OshiKwanyama, and the constraints on nouns and verbs are identical. For example, only certain consonant clusters are allowed. Clusters of consonant plus glide can occur, as can clusters of nasal plus voiced obstruent. In fact, clusters of nasal plus voiced obstruent plus glide can occur, as seen in 'dog' but no other combinations of consonants are permitted. Furthermore, clusters are only allowed syllable-initially, never syllable-finally; thus, every syllable must be an open syllable. As a result, all words in OshiKwanyama must end in a vowel. This is one of the very strongest morpheme structure constraints in this language, as evidenced by the fact that borrowed words, which may or many not conform to other phonological constraints in the language, always add a final vowel.

Since the overwhelming majority of verb roots are consonant final, this requires that there be a process of final vowel addition when nouns are created from verbs. In (7) a number of examples are provided which illustrate six verb roots and the nouns derived from them.

(7)

	kwaf-	'help'			kwat-	'seize, hold'
1	omu-kwaf-i	'helper'	3	e-kwat-o	'arrest'
3	e-kwaf-o	'aid, assistance'	4	on-gwat-e	'prisoner'
			4	on-gwat-o	'(pair of) tongs'

lidipa- 'kill oneself'

1 omu-lidipa-i 'a suicide (person)'
3   e-lidipa-i 'act of suicide'

end- 'go, walk, travel'

1 omw-e:nd-a 'traveller'
5 oši-end-o 'trip'
6 olw-e:nd-o 'journey'

nu- 'drink'

5 oši-ku-nw-a 'beverage, drink'
6   olu-nw-o 'draught of liquid'

fi- 'die'

1 omu-fi 'corpse'
3   e-fy-o 'act of dying'
3   e-fy-a 'bequest'
4   e:-fy-a 'occurrence of death'
8   ou-fi 'death (in the
                abstract)'

There are only a few dozen verb roots in OshiKwanyama which are vowel final; three of these are shown in (7). Although these roots do not need to have vowels added, in most cases final vowels are suffixed (in which case a preceding high vowel is glided). This indicates that the vowel addition process is not merely an automatic phonological process, which would be necessary to fulfill the requirements of the morpheme structure condition forbidding consonant-final words; instead it appears that these vowels may have some morphological significance. This view seems to be further supported by the fact that the vowel suffixed is not phonologically predictable. Neither the vowel of the root nor the final consonant of the root condition the occurrence of the final vowel in the deverbative nouns. This lack of phonological predictability is further supported by the fact that more than one kind of vowel can be suffixed to the same root.

There does appear to be some evidence, on the other hand, that these suffixes can have a morpho-semantic function. For example, in (8) we see that deverbative nouns ending in -i designate human beings, regardless of whether their class prefix is class 1, which is the marker for human beings, or the prefix of class 4, which primarily contains the names of animals.

(8)
1   omu-kukum-i 'fugitive
1   omu-hombol-i 'bridegroom'
1   omu-kokom-i 'stutterer'
1   omu-humbat-i 'porter, carrier'
4   o-nemuk-i 'immigrant'
4   o-nal-i 'sentry, scout'

8 ou-hong-i 'teaching profession'
8 ou-fufy-i 'deceitfulness'

The examples in (8) make it evident that the suffix -i̲ must be some sort of human agent marker. The only exceptions are those cases in which some human trait or ability is nominalized in the form of an abstract nouns, in which case the class 8 prefix must apparently be used. A different set of deverbative nouns is shown in (9).

(9)

2	omu-kal-o	'career, manner of life'	4	on-gwat-o	'tongs'
3	e-kwat-o	'arrest'	5	oši-kwey-o	'crank'
3	e-hal-o	'wish'	5	oi-pandek-o	'handcuffs'
4	o-hal-o	'strong wish'	6	olu-šit-o	'created
8	ou-kal-o	'living conditions'			product'

From these examples one can see that the suffix -o̲ has two different functions; it apparently indicates that the noun has some sort of abstract character, as the left-hand column of examples show. However, it also can be used on nouns which designate man-made objects, as illustrated by the examples in the right-hand column. Note, also, the variety of noun classes in which this suffix occurs - apparently these suffixes are able to take on semantic functions because there are so few cases in which a particular noun class prefix is allied with a particular semantic field.

The following examples, in (10), show that the verbal causative suffix -i̲f can also be used in the formation of nouns:

(10)

3	e-wan-if-o	'completion'	1	omu-long-if-i	'boss'
5	osi-pat-if-o	'door latch, bolt'	1	omu-konĵ-if-i	'opponent'
5	osi-pep-if-o	'fan'			
5	oši-kwat-if-o	'vice, clamp'			
5	oši-kwat-el-if-o	'vice, clamp'			
8	ou-xwamek-if-o	'kindling, timber'			
9	oka-tw-if-o	'fork'			
9	oka-pat-if-o	'fastening device, clip'			

Thus wan- 'to be adequate or complete' can give rise to the form 'completion', that is, 'making there be completeness', while tu- 'to pierce, prod, or stab' gives rise to 'fork', that is, 'that which causes stabbing or piercing'. Note that, regardless of the noun class, all of these -o̲ final nouns designate either abstracts or man-made objects or products, as would be expected by our semantic descrption of this final vowel. The causative form also occurs

with the agentive suffix -i , thus the root long- meaning 'work' creates the noun 'boss' or 'employer', that is, 'one who causes someone to work'.

Finally, consider the examples in (11) which contain the passive marker -w:

(11)

1	omu-hong-w-a	'student, pupil'
1	omu-xut-w-if-ed-i	'clumsy, person'
4	o-mumb-w-e	'dearth, lack'
4	o-nung-w-i	'patch on clothing'
5	oŝi-ŝit-w-a	'creature (non-human)'
8	ou-kwat-w-a	'captivity'
8	ou-kol-w-e	'drunkenness, intoxication'

Notice that the passive marker is followed by the vowels i, e, or a, but never by the vowels o or u. Although u is not a common final vowel on nouns in general, o is the second most common final vowel after a. It, therefore, seems unusual that the vowel o would not occur with this suffix, especially as the meanings expressed by -o do occur in these passive examples. In fact, the explanation appears to be a phonological one. In OshiKwanyama there are no sequences of wo or wu, presumably because of the overly great similarity between the character of these back rounded vowels and that of the back rounded semi-vowel. Thus, there appears to be a sort of dissimilatory prohibition against this sequence of sounds; note the examples of w-initial verb roots in (12):

(12)

wilik-	'lead, command'
wed-	'annex'
wa-	'fall, drop'
*wo...	
*wu...	

While roots containing sequences of wi, we, and wa occur, no roots with sequences of wo or wu occur. Therefore, it seems that the final vowels o or u may also not occur after the -w suffix in deverbative nouns because of a phonological constraint against such sequences of sounds.

In this paper we have seen that final vowels in deverbative nouns must occur because of a phonological prohibition against consonant-final words. Nevertheless, these final vowels can also have semantic functions; that is, some of these vowels may be classed as morphemes. On the other hand, these morphemes also interact with other phonological constraints and, thus, may be prohibited from being used morphologically if their shape deviates from the phonological norm imposed by the language.

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The Inchoative in Kildin-Sami Sentences, Contrasted

with their Russian Translations

László Szabó

ABSTRACT

There are two major dialects of Kola-Sami (Kola-Lapp),
the dialects of Kildin and Ter. The "inchoative"
is a common form of the verb in both of them, although
not equally common. In the present paper, the
author studies the question only in the Kildin
dialect. No-one has ever given a detailed descrip-
tion of this phenomenon in linguistic literature.
The suffix of the inchoative is -kuadd, -škuadd,
etc., in the Kildin dialect. Its basic meaning
is this: it can express beginning action. But
it can be used in many other situations. The question
will be studied: when is it the same as the Russian
perfective and when is it different from it?

"Sami" means Lapp. The speakers of this language
live in three Scandinavian countries as well as
in the USSR. The word "Lapp" is the outsider's
term, while the speakers of this language call
themselves "Sami." In today's linguistic literature,
the word "Sami" is becoming more and more common.
In the USSR, Sami is spoken on the Kola Peninsula,
having two major dialects in Kildin and Ter.

Why do I choose the Kildin dialect for the purpose
of contrasting with Russian? Because materials
with Russian translations are available mostly
from this dialect. There are only three major
Kola-Sami (=Kola-Lapp) text publications: Itkonen's
stories (1) with Finnish translations, Kert's texts
(2) with Russian translations, and two Kola-Lapp
story books with German translations by myself (3).

I use all three of them, but in the present study,
my main sources are Kert's texts (2), as well as
his descriptive grammar of the Kildin dialect (4),
written in Russian.

What does the term "inchoative" mean in Kola-Sami? It
is a suffix which expresses basically the beginning
of an action. In the different villages of the
Kildin area, this suffix has several variants.
The most common versions of this suffix are: -kuadd-,
škuadd, kuɛdd, škuɛdd-.
The consonant at the end of this suffix can be
long or short (-dd- or -d-), depending on certain
morphological conditions, following the rules of
the Sami "consonant gradation". This suffix can
be at the end of the word or it can be followed
by other suffixes.

I shall investigate such questions as the following:
when is the inchoative used in the stories; are
there grammatical or semantic priorities or restric-
tions? At the same time I shall study the Russian
translations of the sentences. Since the perfective
aspect of the Russian verb can express (among other
things) the beginning of an action, it is just
logical to suppose that we can expect perfective
verbs in the Russian translations. The Kola-Sami
inchoative can express future as well. In Russian
the perfective verbs have a so-called "simple future
tense", while in the case of the imperfective verbs,
future is expressed by a compound form: буду +
the infinitive of the main verb. Many of our Sami
inchoatives have been translated into Russian either
by a simple future of a perfective verb or the
compound future, as well as стану + the infinitive
of an imperfective verb. In this way, both the
Russian perfective and imperfective aspects are
involved in our translations. However, the perfective
aspect is dominant, if we take into consideration
that the Russian verbs буду and стану are perfective
by themselves.

Our observations result in rules which are mostly true, but not without exceptions. There are several ways to bring out the beginning of an action in both languages. Sometimes one or the other device can be used in similar statements. For instance: ja sarne̮škudden, aĺkăv sarrne̮ 'И повели разговор. Начали говорить ' (Kld, K 1961: 104-13) 'And they began to talk, they started talking.'

Even though the inchoative is a common phenomenon in Kola-Sami texts, the so-called "perfective aspect" is still more common in Russian. If we meet three verbs in a sentence, it is quite possible that only one of them is "inchoative" in Sami, while all three are perfective in Russian. E.g.: juggin cirkiit, nimmpei juggin ja sarne̮škudden '(Они) выпили рюмки, по второй выпили и повели разговор' (Kld, K 1961: 104-13) 'They drank their glasses of wine, drank another glass (each) and started talking'.

Now I am going to quote sentences in which the Sami verbs are in inchoative, and we have single perfective verbs in the Russian translations. The number of such sentences is limited. When do we have such translations? As we shall see later, it depends on semantic and grammatical conditions.

In this section of our study, human beings are the acting persons in all sentences; their activities are typical human activities (speaking, living, feeding, etc.) In all sentences, without any exceptions, these actions happened in the past.

Examples for 'speaking' or similar activities: sonn kăvve̮s manas ja samguadD 'Он обернулся назад и сказал' (Kld, K 1961: 88-90) 'He turned back and said'; ke̮dzkudden te̮n niib 'Запросили тот нож ' (Kld, K 1961: 74-8) 'They asked (for the price of) that knife'; sonn kăbge̮nis ăRtgude 'Он с женой разругался' (Kld, K 1961: 57-60) 'He began to quarrel with his wife'.

'Knowing' and 'crying' are typically human activities, together with other intellectual and emotional actions.

E.g., siidɛst tidɛškudden sām' što vahtjnnɪpuɛddǎv ruc 'В
селе узнали саамы , что скоро придут шведы '
(Kld, K 1961: 93-4) 'The Sami people of the village
got informed (lit. started to know) that the Swedish
would come soon';

ɹuixkeškude 'Он заплакал ' (Kld, K 1961: 75-8) 'He began
to cry'.

Even though animals can "feed" somebody (most commonly
their little ones), this is more common in the
stories as human activity. E.g. aka pɐRtɛškude Lazar' a idž
ɹuɛihǩ 'Бабка накормила Лазаря, а сама плачет '
(Kld, K 1961: 6409) 'The old woman fed Lazar and
cried'.

The same is true about certain working and similar
activities, for instance, spreading out a skin
or carrying a load. E.g. iNca aka l'evhɛškude tulj
'Утром старуха расстелила шкуру ' (Kld, K 1961: 79-81)
'In the morning the old woman spread out the skin';

tɛl' sonn pjɛ pɛijel' vuɛɪ̀k nuɛt ja kuntkude 'Тут он положил
через плечо ношу и понёс ' (Kld, K 1961: 88-9) 'Then he
put the burden on his shoulder and carried it'.

There are other activities in our sentences of
this kind, which could be done either by human
beings or animals, but in all of our examples they
are done by human beings. Such activities are,
for instance, 'seeing', 'running back', etc. E.g.
mjnn uinɛškudde kiedg' aln' olmɛ 'Я заметил на камне человека '
(Kld, K 1961: 62-7) 'I noticed a man on the rock';

sonn mǎst pǎckeškude 'Он обратно побежал' (Kld, K 1961:
64-70) 'He ran back'.

I found only two sentences with such Lapp and Russian
constructions, in which the "acting person" is
not a human being, but 'a bit of bread' and 'a
billow (on the sea)': tɛn akkast pǎn montkɛštkuddii l'eip kuska
'У этой бабы в корне зуба остался кусок хлеба'
(Kld, K 1961: 63-8) 'In the tooth of this old woman
a bit of bread got stopped';

nɛmmp ɹiknɛškude 'Волна зашевелилась' (Kld, K 1961:
62-7) 'The billow started moving'.

In the case of past actions, sometimes we find present tense in the Russian translation. This is a stylistic phenomenon in Russian, typical in narratives. The Lapp verbs appear in our sentences with the inchoative suffix. If the translator wanted to use narrative present tense in Russian, he could not use perfective verbs, because the Russian perfective verbs do not have present tense. To use "narrative present tense", the Russian translator used the present tense of imperfective verbs. E.g., jennes sarngude ' Мать говорит ' (Kld, K 1961: 80-1) 'The mother said'; uinešķude julg čogčav jemne vuln 'Видит: только ноги торчат из-под земли' (Kld, K 1961: 87-9) 'He saw that only her feet were sticking out from the ground'; robotnɛhk̓ kuлл, sii koršķudden kuẋe 'Работник слышит: они храпят оба' (Kld, K 1961: 125-7) 'The servant heard that both were snoring (lit. started snoring)' (in the Russian translation: 'they snore'); tɛdd neggɛl' ja kičeškude 'Тот наклонился и смотрит' (Kld, K 1961: 117-20) 'That one bent ahead and looked (lit. started looking)' (in the Russian translation: 'he looks').

It is very common in the stories that the beginning of an activity is expressed in the Sami sentence by the inchoative, and in the Russian translation we find a perfective verb for 'begin' (начать or стать) and the verb of the main action is the infinitive of an imperfective verb. As far as the subject is concerned, we can make an observation similar to that in the previous section: human beings are mostly the subjects in these constructions.

I have examples for different speaking activities, swearing, reproaching, etc. E.g. aka kaлsa ortɛdeškudden 'Старик со старукой начали ругаться ' (Kld, K 1961: 86-7) 'The old man and the old woman began to swear';

i potom parrn лолćedɛškude 'Потом парень начал упрекать ' (Kld, K 1961: 86-7) 'And then the lad started reproaching'.

The main verb can have the meaning of some working process, wine making, preparing food, etc. E.g.: kiptɛškude vēnɛ '(Она) стала варить вино ' (Kld, K 1961: 81 2) 'She started making (lit. cooking) wine';

njit sonnɛ ịi činɛšk̦uadDa nimɛn ʼДевушка ему ничего готовить не стала⁾
(Kld, K 1961: 87-9) 'The girl did not prepare (lit. did not start preparing) anything for him'.

The present tense of the Sami inchoative can express future. In the Russian translations, we find either the simple future tense of a perfective verb (the first example below), or compound future, which consists of the auxiliary буду , будешь and the infinitive of an imperfective verb (the other two examples). The auxiliary by itself is a perfective verb. Semantically, the main verbs belong to the same categories as in the previous types of our constructions. I shall quote examples for 'seeing', 'knowing', and 'going to a place'. E.g.;
ɛvdɛš uịnɛšg̦uadak ʼДальше увидишь ' (Kld, K 1961: 58-60)
ᵀYou will see later (lit. further)';

ton vaʌtaχ tɛnn skatɛŕt i tịdDk̦uaddaχ, koχt narodD Rossijast jaʌʌ
ʼТы возьмёшь эту скатерть и будешь знать, как народ в России живёт '
(KLD, K 1961: 62-7) 'You take this tablecloth and you will see how the people live in Russia';
puɛdɛšk̦uddep sịitɛ ʼПоихолить будем к селу ' (Kld, K 1961: 94-5) ᵀWe shall go to the village'.

As we have seen in the present paper, the inchoative is much more common while reporting on a past action than on a future action. As far as present actions are concerned, I can quote only one example. This means that it is a marginal phenomenon in the language. When the inchoative present tense reports on a present action, we naturally find the present tense of an imperfective verb in the Russian translation, since the Russian perfective verbs do not have present tense. E.g.: kašt cårr pakašk̦uad karvuʌʌɛ, tɛl ʼТут царь заставляет караулить. вот ' (Kld, K 1961: 64-9) ᵀThere the Tsar commands to guard (that place)'.

Is the negative form of the inchoative verb used in the Sami stories? Yes, but very seldom. I said that the affirmative inchoative is more common when speaking about the past than about the future.

More or less the opposite of this could be observed about the negative inchoative. I never found a negative past inchoative in the texts. (Here I must make a comment on terminology. The simple "past" is called "imperfect" in the linguistic literature on Sami. In the present study I am not using this term to avoid a possible confusion, which might occur due to the Russian grammatical term "imperfective".) Even the negative inchoative present tense seldom occurs in the stories, and it refers in all of our examples to a future action (compound future in Russian). E.g.: mɪnn bol'šɛ t'inɛgɛim am ni jel'eškus̨ 'Я с вами больше не буду жить' (Kld, K 1961: 73-7) 'I shall not live with you any further';
mɪnn ɛm porškuɛd, a vancʌa odzɛ 'Я есть не буду, а пойду искать' (Kld, K 1961: 105-14) 'I shall not eat but go to look for it'.

I could not find any infinitives or any imperatives with inchoative suffix in the stories. I never found any conditional with this suffix. These and several other grammatical forms either do not exist with inchoative suffix in Kildin-Sami, or if they exist, they must be very marginal. Almost the same is true about most participles and the so-called "potential" with the suffix n.

I finish my paper by quoting examples for three very marginal phenomena. The first two are negative inchoative participial constructions, and in the last sentence, there is an inchoative potential.

In the following two examples, we meet the so-called "negative imperfect" with inchoative suffix. This compound form of the verb consists of the verb of negation (ii) and a participle. In the first sentence, the participial ending -inč follows the strong grade version of the inchoative suffix. In the second sentence below the ending of the -a participle follows the strong grade inchoative stem: kaʌsinč ii vuɛješkuaddinc sonnɛ oskɛt sihtɛ 'Старик не мог ему подобрать одежду' (Kld, K 1961: 117-20) 'The old man could not get clothes for him';

moᴧdas ii poRtiškuadDa 'Молодуха кормить не стала его' (Kld, K 1961: 100-2) 'His young wife did not feed him'.

No-one has ever commented in linguistic literature either about these participial suffix combinations, or about the combination of the inchoative and the potential, which we can see in my last example. In this combination, the inchoative suffix occurs in its weak grade version and is followed by the potential suffix n:

test mįi son peṅṅep anteskudne jellei čaz' 'Тогда мы её (уростим), ǥyọ̈ṅ ṅɣ̣ᴜᴄ.ᴀᴦᴜ ᴧ̆ᴧᴧᴜ /~° ᴡᴄᴜᴖᴊ' (Kld, K 1961: 118-23) 'Then we shall beat her up (and ask her) to give us (lit. she might start giving) the water of life'.

My research on the inchoative is not finished. I continue to work particularly on the semantic peculiarities of the verbs, and I am writing a separate article about this in the other major dialect, the Ter dialect.

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3. SZABÓ, László. Kolalappische Volksdichtung. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966.

   SZABÓ, László. Kolalappische Volksdichtung, Zweiter Teil. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968.

4. KEPT, Георгий Мартынович. Саамский язык. Leningrad: Nauka, 1971.

The Linguistic Substrata of the Province of Corrientes, Argentina.

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ABSTRACT

The Guarani language has received relatively little attention from the linguistic community in spite of exerting an important influence on Spanish and maintaining itself as the only language of communication in various rural districts of the north-east of Argentina. In order to stimulate some interest in the area, a brief review of its linguistic substrata will be presented.

Introduction

In 1500 the Portuguese discoverer Pedro Alvarez Cabral led the expedition which discovered the Guarani area. He explored it up to what is now known as the Brazilian state of Bahia and called it "Terra da Vera Cruz". In 1502 Amerigo Vespucci departed from Lisbon and participated in a voyage destined to explore the coast of the Terra da Vera Cruz; he travelled down the Brazilian shore to the vicinity of the Rio de la Plata. Many expeditions, several of which were Portuguese, came to the area in later years. In January 1532, during one of these journeys, the city of Rio de Janeiro was founded in San Vicente, an area occupied by the Guarani Indians.

In 1537 a party of 70 Spaniards arrived at a small bay near the junction of the Parana and Paraguay Rivers. There they encountered the Guarani Indians, who were being persecuted by other Indian tribes as well as by the Portuguese slave raiders, and who chose to receive the conquerors as allies. The Spaniards had suffered great losses in previous battles with the Indians and readily accepted an alliance with the Guarani. On August 15, 1537, soon after their arrival, they founded the fort of Asuncion.

The Jesuits were active allies of the Portuguese in the conquest of the Guarani Indians. The first missionaries to reach the area were led by P. Tomas de Nobrega. They arrived with the expedition of Tomas de Sousa, founder of Rio de Janeiro.

At the time of the Spanish exploration of the La Plata

region, the Guarani-speaking Indians occupied, almost exclusively, a vast area which spread from the Atlantic coast westward to the Paraguay River, covering what is now the territory of Rio Grande do Sul, Parana, Misiones and almost all of Paraguay east of the Gran Chaco.

Linguistic Substrata

The Indian tribes which inhabited the eastern and western shores of the Parana River have been identified with reasonable certainty. Serrano (1947) and Canals Frau (1953), who have left us important studies on the Argentinian indigenous population, have divided the coastal area "Litoral" into the northern, central and southern regions. According to this division, the northern portion of the territory was occupied by the Mepen and Mocoreta. These tribes seem to have been related to the groups which were known as Guaycuru. The southern area was inhabited by the Chana and Mbegua and the central region by the Timbu and Carcara, the Corondas, the Quiloaza and the Calchin. This area seems to have been strongly influenced by the cultures of the Amazon, represented first by the Arawak and later by the Guarani Indians. The Guarani as a distinct group is believed to have been in existence shortly before the Spanish Conquest.

The language of the tribes known as the "grupo del litoral", varied from region to region. References to this phenomenon have been made by chroniclers and travellers. Fernandez de Oviedo quotes in his Historia from the accounts of Alonso de Santa Cruz (a companion of Cabot who lived for more than two years among the Litoral Indians) that the southern tribes spoke one language (Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes 1851-1855). Ulrich Schmidl, the German traveller who came to the area with the expedition of Pedro de Mendoza and lived approximately four years among the Timbu, said that they, as well as the Coronda and Quiloaza who inhabited the central area, spoke only one language: "una sola lengua" (Schmidl 1944: 50), distinct from the ones that he had heard before. In the opinion of Canals Frau (1953: 269-270), the language of the Mepen tribe should also be included in the northern linguistic group, since there is little certainty as to the exact delimitations of the languages spoken in the Guarani area. He concludes his study on the language of the "Litoral group" by stating that:

> "Although the tripartite linguistic division of
> the Litoral people seems to be quite certain, we
> ignore the exact linguistic relationship that

could have existed between the different groups.
Especially, no one can say whether they spoke
three different or related languages, or three
dialects of the same language."

At present, in spite of all the serious scholarly work which
has been carried out in the area, there has not yet appeared a
definitive comparative study of this group of languages:
"Consequently the exact number of different languages and dialects
as well as the precise degrees of their relationships, remains
thus far indeterminate" (Gregores and A. Suarez 1967: 14).

Guarani was the first indigenous language encountered by the
Spanish conquerors in the southeastern region of what is now
Brazil, Paraguay and the northest of Argentina; they learned it
and spread it in a relatively short period of time. The Jesuit
missionaries simplified their linguistic task by levelling out the
language, using Guarani as the "lingua geral" and thus avoiding
the difficulty of communication created by the existence of
dialectal varieties spoken in that area. According to Tovar,"the
'lengua general' was recognized as such by the conquerors but as a
fact that preceded the conquest"(Tovar 1961: 188). This was a
compromise between the ecclesiastic ideal of preaching to the
Indians in their native tongue and the administrative aim of
imposing the Spanish language in the new continent.

Josefa Buffa, in her study of the place names of the
Argentine province of Entre Rios (Buffa 1966: 35), indicates that
the indigenous vocabulary compiled by the chroniclers demonstrates
that the diffusion of the "lingua geral" did indeed take place
before the actual conquest:

"Such denomination reflects the extent of the language spoken
by the community that used it and spread it through almost all of
the South-American continent."

Buffa differentiates the degrees of "guaranization" suffered
by the native tribes in the following manner:

a) tribes that lost their language and adopted the Guarani
language as their own--this was the first stage of "guaranization"
performed by the Jesuits--;

b) tribes that learned the Guarani language without
forgetting their own;

c) more obstinate tribes that in spite of the Guarani
influence continued to use their own language.

The term "guarani" was in general use in what is now
Paraguayan territory by the seventeenth century.   It was employed
by chroniclers to designate all the different tribes that
inhabited the Litoral areas as well as their language. In 1631, a
synod held in Asuncion ordered that the catechism translated by
the Jesuit Father Luis Bolaños should be used to indoctrinate the
native population.

From the arrival of the Jesuits in America until their
expulsion in 1768, their main concern was to catechize the Indians
through the native language.   It took them only twenty years to
establish the first twenty-five Spanish towns, but over one
hundred years to found the remaining cities and villages.   This
uneven development was due to the persecution which the Guarani
Indians suffered at the hands of the Brazilian slave raiders, the
"Mamelucos." The indians were forced to seek refuge in the jungle
up the Parana and Uruguay Rivers.   The Jesuits took advantage of
this situation and managed to control a large Indian population.
The Guarani Indians were looking for safety; the Spaniards were
trying to consolidate and hold as much territory as they possibly
could against their Portuguese rivals.   Nevertheless, according to
Azara, who reported the observations of his journey through
Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata at the end of the XVIII century,
there were extremely few clerics in the area because only one came
to Paraguay with the conquerors; twenty-five years later, the
first bishop and some other clerics arrived making a total of
seventeen.   Of this group, only two were acquainted with the
Guarani language, but their language proficiency was far from
adequate either for translating or preaching purposes (Azara 1942:
197).

The ecclesiastic as well as the political administration
openly favoured the use of the Guarani language in order to reach
a wider sector of the native population.   The church government,
mainly the Fifth Congregation of the Company of Jesus, which was
held in Rome in 1593, emphasized by Decree 67 the need for
indoctrination in the Christian faith of the indigenous
population. However, language acquisition proved to be more
difficult than expected.   Spaniards travelling in the area
reported the struggle of priests trying to communicate the
Scriptures to the Indians in their native tongue and harshly
criticized the Jesuit order for its lack of proficiency.   As late
as the end of the eighteenth century, Azara (1943: 173), expressed
some reservations about the missionaries' preaching:

"therefore one could not trust the exactness
of their catechesis since I have met only

three priests who dared to preach the gospel
in guarani, not withstanding the fact that
this was the native tongue of all the priests."

The labour and pains of learning and preaching the Guarani
language have been documented not only by chroniclers but also by
clerics themselves. In 1729 Father Cattaneo (1730: Letter April
25), listed his difficulties by saying that:

"only one missionary is in charge of so many
millions of souls that he keeps busy the whole
blessed day in preaching, confessing, explaining
the Christian Doctrine, assisting the dying,
administering sacraments. This takes a great
effort, especially in the beginning due to
the difficulty of the language which has no
relation nor resemblance to our own. That is
why it takes a long time, patience and dedication
to learn it."[2]

The communication gap was gradually bridged as the language
exchange became more intensive. Interpreters were used by the
Jesuits in their interaction with the indigenous population. This
resulted in the introduction of the Spanish language to Guarani-
speaking areas. The linguistic influence was in this respect
mutual.

Meanwhile, in the Spanish Court, criticism and distrust had
grown to the extent of reversing completely the Jesuit policy with
regard to language. The use of the native tongue was no longer
encouraged.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century there was already
an increasing concern about the teaching of Spanish to the
indigenous population. A series of decrees were issued by the
Spanish Court: that of August 8, 1685, praised the success which
Melchor de Navarra, the viceroy of Peru, achieved as a result of
teaching Spanish to the Indians; and it set forth the requirements
of the Spanish administration for those who would occupy positions
of authority, stating expressly that no native would be allowed to
hold any such position without proper knowledge of the Spanish
language (Muro Orejon 1956: 68).

Soon after the expulsion of the Jesuits, accused of promoting
the Guaranitic War (1753-1756) and of conspiring against the
monarchy in order to establish an independent republic, Charles
III, by a Royal Decree of May 10, 1770, called for the imposition

of Spanish as the only language to be taught to the indigenous population:

> "unique and universal, for being the language of
> monarchs and conquerors, in order to facilitate the
> administration and spiritual nourishment to the
> natives and that they should be understood by
> their superiors, learn to love the conquering
> nation, stop idolatry; with too much language
> diversity people do not understand each other,
> as in the tower of Babel. Since the natives
> have become able to learn and speak perfect and
> proper Spanish--many of them also latin--in a
> few years the Royal Ministers would be able to
> make themselves understood to the natives without
> the need of interpreters. Bishops would be
> understood in every village and the Indians would
> not be exposed to be cheated in their dealings,
> business or litigations, development would
> increase and the land would be better governed."[3]

The first Guarani grammar had been written as early as 1624 by the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, and "at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits in the eighteenth century, nine thousand volumes were found in nineteen of the missions, of which more than a thousand were in Guarani..."(Chapman 1938: 115). Most of the Guarani writings consisted of legal documents and government reports.

Although great pains were taken by the Crown to impose the Spanish language on the native population, the efforts were only partially successful. Spanish became the language of the administration, but Guarani continued to be spoken within the family, in social group interactions, and during times of war.

Several theories have been forwarded to explain the survival of the Guarani language. It has been suggested that the Indian women may have been largely responsible. According to Susnik (1965: 10), there are testimonies which date as far back as the settlement of Asuncion, in which the Indian woman is described as an invaluable element in the development of the area: "the Guarani woman was a maid, a farm arm and a procreator, an insurance for the mediocre domestic economy introduced in the epoch of Irala and an invitation to future settlers." Taking into account the fact that until the end of the eighteenth century schooling was, for all practical purposes, almost non-existent in the area, and that until only recently preference was given to the

education of men, it is very likely that the influence of women in raising their children was a decisive factor in the maintenance of the Guarani language.

Another factor which affected the relationship between the Spaniards and the Guarani Indians was the isolation of the Guarani-speaking area from the normal routes of trade with the neighbouring colonies and with Spain itself. In Paraguay, as well as in the Argentine province of Corrientes, this confinement played an important part in the survival of the Guarani language. In the case of Paraguay, isolationism was due to political considerations, mainly the policy of segregation favoured by Dr. Francia, who ruled from 1814 to 1840, and continued by the present Paraguayan administration. In Corrientes, it was due to the lack of bridges and roads, and a stagnant, non diversified economy.

Rubin (1968: 29-30) puts forward three basic reasons to explain why the Guarani language maintained its importance in Paraguayan culture:

1) the continued isolation during the 19th century and the failure to develop into an industrial society involved in world trade, 2) a positive association between Guarani and Paraguayan nationalism demonstrated during two major crisis situations--the war of 1865 and the Chaco War, 3) a division of functions between the two languages which was maintained by isolation.

Moreover, according to Susnik (1965: 26), the lack of further displacement of the Guarani language was due to the fact that the Jesuits never intended to eradicate the native speech. What they were aiming at was probably a form of bilingualism. The statistics available for Paraguay, indicate according to the 1962 census, that 59.3% of the population is bilingual and that Guarani monolinguals make up only 36.9% of the population. With regard to Corrientes itself there are no official data on the state of bilingualism, but from our own research we can confidently say that the Guarani monolingual population is limited to remote rural areas and is disappearing, giving way to a bilingual population which is formally educated in Spanish. The Guarani language is discouraged in the educational system, although its emotional appeal is obvious in all areas and among all strata of the population.

FOOTNOTES

[1] All translations from Spanish that appear in this text are mine.

[2] Cayetano Cattaneo,S.J.,De Buenos Aires a las Misiones del Uruguay, 1729. Communicion del litoral fluvial argentino en el siglo XVIII con algunas observaciones sobre la costa del Uruguay. Letter. 25 April, 1730; cited in Buffa, p. 24.

[3] Biblioteca Nacional, Cedulas Reales, X11, f. 193-198, ms. 2548; Real Cedula para que en los reinos de Indias se destierren los diferentes idiomas que se hablan, y solo se hable castellano, 10 de mayo de 1770.

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