Papers
from the
Sixth Annual Meeting
of the
Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association

Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, Newfoundland
November 12-13, 1982

Actes
du
Sixième Colloque Annuel
de
l'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques

Université Memorial de Terre-Neuve
St-Jean, Terre-Neuve
le 12-13 novembre 1982

Edited by/Rédaction
S. Clarke & R. King

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

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

Henrietta Cedergren (Guest Speaker/orateur invité). The Structure of Sound Change in Progress: Problems and Methods.

John A. Barnstead. Russian Noun Temporality.

J. I. M. Davy and Derek Nurse. Synchronic Versions of Dahl's Law: The Multiple Application of a Phonological Dissimilation Rule.

John Edwards. Attitudes to Gaelic and English among Gaelic Speakers in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia.

Helmut Zobl. Intra-Rule Variability and the Naturalness of Inter-language Systems.

Yuen-Ting Lai. Leibnitz on The Chinese Language.

The Conference also featured a workshop on linguistic variability, led by Henrietta Cedergren.

En plus, Mme. le professeur Cedergren a dirigé un atelier qui portait sur la variation linguistique.

Acknowledgements

This volume and the November 1982 conference were made possible through the generous assistance of Memorial University of Newfoundland. The guest speaker for the conference was Henrietta Cedergren of the University of Quebec in Montreal; her talk, entitled The Structure of Sound Change in Progress: Problems and Methods was made possible by a Conference Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Remerciements

L'ALPA tient à remercier l'Université Memorial de Terre-Neuve de la subvention généreuse qui a financié son colloque annuel (MUN, St-Jean, Terre-Neuve; novembre, 1982) et la publication des présents actes. Une subvention spéciale du CRSH a rendu possible l'assistance de notre orateur invité, Mme. le Professeur Henrietta Cedergren de l'Université du Québec à Montréal. La participation de Mme. Cedergren — ainsi que son discours, intitulé "The Structure of Sound Change in Progress: Problems and Methods" — étaient fort appréciés par les organisateurs du colloque et par tous les membres de l'Association.

PREFACE

OFFICERS OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION, 1982-83

BUREAU DE L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES, 1982-83

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The Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association (APLA) publishes on a regular basis the Journal of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association (JAPLA)/Revue de l'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques (RALPA), as well as a Newsletter. Papers of the annual meeting are also published in a separate volume, entitled Papers from the (...) Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association (PAMAPLA)/Actes du (...) Colloque Annuel de l'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques (ACAALPA). These are edited by members of the various host universities in the Atlantic Provinces, and have appeared as follows:

1977 Annual Meeting — appeared in JAPLA/RAPLA 1 (1978) (Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax)

1978 Annual Meeting — PAMAPLA/ACAALPA 2 (ed. George W. Patterson, Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia)

1979 Annual Meeting — PAMAPLA/ACAALPA 3 (ed. Moshé Starets, Université Ste-Anne, Church Point, Nova Scotia)

1980 Annual Meeting — PAMAPLA/ACAALPA 4 (ed. A. M. Kinloch and A. B. House, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick)

1981 Annual Meeting — PAMAPLA/ACAALPA 5 (ed. T. K. Pratt, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island)

STYLE SHEET

Papers appearing in the various volumes of Papers of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association annual meetings are photocopied from the camera-ready copies submitted by their authors. As the paper format adopted for the Sixth Annual Meeting was somewhat different from that of previous meetings, the style-sheet is reproduced here in full. It is hoped that this style-sheet will be adopted by the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association, both for its Papers and for its regularly-appearing Journal.

Les articles publiés dans les Actes des colloques annuels de L'ALPA sont reproduits directement des originaux soumis par les auteurs. Cette année, les Actes suivent un format de publication différent de celui employé dans le passé. Ce format est reproduit ici dans son entier, et les éditeurs espèrent qu' il sera adopté par l'Association et employé regulièrement dans sa revue annuelle.

Papers of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association

Style Sheet

1. The manuscript must be of camera-ready quality, typed on 8½ x 11 inch paper. All copy must be typewritten, on one side of the sheet only. Single space within paragraphs, but double space between paragraphs. Leave margins of 1½ inches on all four sides. Number the pages of your article on the back only.

2. The typeface should be 12 point Prestige Elite. Use italics or a single underline for cited linguistic forms and for titles of books and journals.

3. Titles and headings: All headings are to be on a separate line, triple-spaced above and double-spaced below. Major headings (e.g. FOOTNOTES, REFERENCES) are to be centered on the page and are fully capitalized. Minor headings (i.e. section headings such as Introduction, Conclusion) are to be at the left margin and in normal capitalization, with underlining.

   Each article begins with the following items typed on the first page on separate lines: the title; the sub-title, if any; the author's name and the name of his/her institution, or his/her city if he/she has no institutional connection--all with normal capitalization and without underscore. A space of 4 lines is to be left on the first page between the above information and the beginning of the abstract, and also between the end of the abstract and the beginning of the text. Do not include mention of the APLA conference in the title.

4. Abstracts (of a maximum of 10 lines) are to be single-spaced below the paper title. They are preceded by the heading ABSTRACT centered on the page.

5. Footnotes are numbered serially throughout the article using a raised numeral following the word or passage to which each applies; they are not enclosed in parentheses or followed by a period.

   Footnotes appear at the end of the article; they are separated from the text by a space of 4 lines, and are introduced by the

heading FOOTNOTES centered on the page.

Each footnote is typed as a separate paragraph, single spaced with the first line indented 5 spaces. It begins with its reference number, raised above the line of type but not enclosed by parentheses nor followed by a period. Use double spacing between footnotes.

Footnotes are not used for citations; see 6 below.

6. Bibliographical reference: Within the text, references should be cited in parentheses including author's name, year of publication, and page number(s) where necessary.

e.g. (Chomsky 1957:32)

Do not use footnotes for such references.

The full bibliography is to appear immediately following the end of the article (starting on the same page if space is available). It is to be single-spaced, double-spaced between entries, with the heading REFERENCES centered on the page. Type the author's surname in capitals and indent subsequent lines of a reference 10 spaces.

Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors; multiple works by one author are listed chronologically, with suffixed letter a,b,c, etc. to distinguish several items published in a single year. Each entry should contain the following elements: author's surname, given name(s) or initials, co-authors, if any, (given names first), year of publication, title of work. In the case of journal articles, give the name of the journal, volume number, and page numbers for the article as a whole. In the case of an article in a collection, give the title of the collection, the editor's name, and the page numbers of the article. For all monographs and books, state the edition, volume number or part number, the series in which published (if any), the place of publication, and the publisher's name. Book titles and names of journals should be in italics or under-lined; title of articles in single quotes.

BLOOMFIELD, Leonard. 1933. Language. New York: Holt.

BOLINGER, Dwight. 1965. 'The atomization of meaning'. Language. 41. 555-73.

For details of punctuation and cited linguistic forms see the LSA style sheet from which this style sheet has been in part derived.

A Preliminary Report on a Study of the Acoustic Effects of Variants of /l/ on Preceding Vowels

Marian Atkinson

Memorial University of Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on the preliminary findings of the effects of variants of /l/ on the formant structure of preceding vowels. A description of the results of an auditory study is followed by an acoustic analysis of the formant frequencies of preceding vowels [i:, ɪ, u:, ʊ, æ, ɑ]. A sample of speakers from three dialect areas of Newfoundland was chosen. These speakers reflect the British, Irish, or mixed British/Irish heritage of their communities and the clear or dark variant of /l/ associated with that heritage

In acoustic investigations of "l"-like sounds, a considerable variety has been observed. This is accounted for by the fact that these sounds, when produced with various vowels, reveal different places of articulation (Tarnóczy 1948:75).

In particular dialect areas of Newfoundland, we find two variants of /l/ predominating. These are the "clear" /l/ and the "dark" /l/, each of which is associated with the Irish or English heritage of that specific community. "Clear" /l/ is associated with Irish and "dark" /l/ with English (Paddock 1977:94).

Immigrants of Newfoundland stemmed from southwest England, the Channel Islands and southeastern Ireland (Mannion 1977:24). The tendency for Irish immigrants was to settle in the southern Avalon Peninsula and there was almost exclusive Irish immigration to Placentia Bay (Mannion 1977:45). Conception Bay was dominated by the English, but some Irish settlements did emerge in that area and Notre Dame Bay, on the northeast coast, was populated mainly by the English.

Subjects for this study were selected from Placentia Bay, Notre Dame Bay and Conception Bay. These communities reflect the predominant Irish, English and mixed Irish/English dialect sources. Six subjects were interviewed in each dialect area; three from what would be considered a rural community and three from an urban community. Efforts were made to elicit word-final

/l/ after each of the vowels and to obtain, where possible, the same answers in each dialect area for phonological/phonetic comparison. Where 'same' answers were not obtained, minimal pairs are used in the analysis. All subjects are male, ranging in age from 54 - 84 years.

Auditory Analysis

Placentia Bay

Tapes were completed for five subjects from Placentia Bay. Of these five subjects, four are of Irish ancestry. The two subjects from the rural community of Placentia Bay are of Irish ancestry. Both subjects exhibit "clear" /l/ following the front vowels [i:, ɪ, æ] in the words wheel, keel, quilt, hill, still, mallet, tally.

There is an even distribution of "clear" and "dark" /l/ after the back vowels. One subject exhibits all "clear" /l/'s while the second subject exhibits "dark" /l/ in all but one word, and in this word we find a 'backed' variant of the "clear" /l/, e.g. [l˃]. However this same subject fronts the high back vowel /u/ before the "dark" /l/ and produces the variant [ʉ] in the word pool, [pʉɫ].

In the urban community of Placentia Bay, two of the subjects interviewed are of Irish origin while the third is of English origin. Those of Irish origin exhibit "clear" /l/ following all front vowels and back vowels. Once again we find a fronted variant of /u/ but this time preceding the "clear" /l/, e.g. pool [pʉl̟]; and we find a fronted variant of /ɑ/ in such words as trawls and squalls, [trɑl̟z], [skwɑl̟z]. Where "dark" /l/ follows /ʊ/ we find a lowered variant [ʊ˯] in pull, [pʊ˯ɫ].

The third subject, of English origin exhibits "clear" /l/ after front vowels and "dark" /l/ after back vowels. Words used in the analysis are: seal, wheel, still, hill, mallet, tally, pool, pull, trawl, hall, squall.

Notre Dame Bay

All subjects interviewed in this area are of English ancestry. In the rural community, "dark" /l/ was found after all vowels except [æ] but in the case of the high and mid-front vowels [i:] and [ɪ], we find schwa-insertion between the vowel and "dark" /l/ in 10 out of 12 words. Only one subject failed to insert [ə]

between the mid-front vowel [ɪ] and "dark" /l/ while all speakers inserted [ə] between the high-front vowel [i:] and "dark" /l/. Only one sample of the high-back vowel [u:] was elicited but all subjects raised [ʊ] as in pull to [u:] as in pool.

No samples of word-final /l/ were elicited following the low-front vowel [æ]. However, medial /l/ was elicited but in each case it was followed by a front vowel, for example in the words scallops (pronounced [skæl̟ɪps]) and tally. Each subject exhibited "clear" /l/ in these words.

Subjects interviewed in the urban community of Notre Dame Bay also exhibit "dark" /l/ after all vowels except [æ] where /l/ occurs medially between two front vowels. Here we find a "clear" /l/ [l̟] or a fronted variant of "dark" /l/ [ɫ̟]. Schwa-insertion is found only between the high-front vowel [i:] and "dark" /l/. As in the rural community, the mid-back vowel [ʊ] is raised to [u:] so that there is no phonetic distinction between pool and pull in five out of six samples.

Conception Bay

The six subjects interviewed in Conception Bay are of English origin. In both the rural community and the urban community, "clear" /l/ occurred after front vowels and "dark" /l/ after back vowels. In the one sample where "dark" /l/ occurred after the high-front vowel, schwa-insertion occurred. In the urban community, a fronted variant of "dark" /l/ followed the high- and mid-back vowels.

This auditory analysis does confirm the /l/ allophony one would 'expect' to find in these communities based on their population sources and the /l/-variants associated with those sources.

Acoustic Analysis

In the acoustic analysis of words elicited from these speakers, and for the purpose of this presentation, I have completed spectrograms on the speech of two subjects. These subjects are representative of the two most diverse communities of the three areas being studied. The rural community in Placentia Bay is of almost exclusively Irish origin and in Notre Dame Bay it is of almost exclusive English origin.

Three types of spectrograms were made for each of the following words on the K-sonograph, model 6061B.

D2-MSR[1] - Placentia Bay		D1-MSR - Notre Dame Bay	
wheel	[wi:ɻ]	peel	[pi:əɻ]
hill	[hɪɻ]	gills	[gɪəɻz]
tally	[tæɻi]	tally	[tæɻi]
pool	[puɻ]	--	
bull	[buɻ]	pull	[pʊ^ɻ]
squalls	[skwaɻz]	trawl	[trɑ<ɻ]

(1) wide-band, expanded scale, three-dimensional spectrogram from which frequency and time dimensions are measurable.

(2) a section of the vowel in each word from which frequency and intensity can be measured.

(3) an amplitude display from which overall intensity and time can be measured.

From the three-dimensional spectrogram (A), the different spectral shape of the formants for "clear" and "dark" /l/ can be seen. These spectrograms confirmed the auditory analysis where "clear" or "dark" /l/ was perceived.

From the amplitude display, we can see the energy peaks (B). This display draws a continuous curve which specifies the rise and fall in total intensity as the various sounds succeed each other. Here we can verify the schwa-insertion from the 'extra' peak of intensity when comparing amplitude displays for the words wheel [wi:ɻ] and peel [pi:əɻ].

Sections were made of each vowel and the formant frequencies measured. These were compared to see if significant differences occurred in the formant frequencies of the 'same' vowel before the "clear" and "dark" /l/ (see sample spectrograms).

(a) With the high-front vowel [i:], F1, F2, & F3 were much lower before "dark" /l/.

(b) The opposite occurred with the mid-front vowel [ɪ], but these differences are relatively minimal.

(c) Sections of the mid-back vowel /u/ also verify the variant pronunciations found between the two speakers, for example, [ʊ] vs. [ʊ^]. Both variants occur before "dark" /l/. However, when the formant frequencies of each variant are compared to the average formant frequencies of vowels as compiled by Peterson and Barney (1952:183), the Notre Dame Bay

dialect does indeed fall more in line with the norm for /u/ rather than /ʊ/. This confirms the 'raised' variant perceived in the auditory analysis.

Peterson & Barney		Notre Dame Bay, Nfld.
[u:]	[ʊ]	[ʊ^]
F1 - 300 hz.	F1 - 440 hz.	F1 - 350 hz.
F2 - 370 hz.	F2 - 1020 hz.	F2 - 800 hz.
F3 - 2240 hz.	F3 - 2240 hz.	F3 - 1600 hz.

The Placentia Bay sample of /u/ is realized as [ʉ]. A section of this vowel gives the formant frequencies as: F1 - 400 hz.; F2 - 1500 hz.; F3 - 2000 hz. When compared to the formant frequencies of [ʉ] in Swedish vowels, as compiled by Fant, it seems safe to propose that the [ʉ] of Placentia Bay is a variant more similar to the Swedish [ʉ] than to the English /u/ in pool. According to Fant, Swedish [ʉ] has the formant frequency pattern F1 - 285 hz., F2 - 1640 hz., F3 - 2250 hz. (Fant 1973:96).

"Clear" /l/ had no significant effect on the formant pattern of the low-front vowel /æ/, and "dark" /l/ had no significant effect on the formant pattern of the low-back vowel /ɑ/. This is not surprising since "clear" /l/ has formant frequencies appropriate to front vowels and "dark" /l/ has formant frequencies appropriate to back vowels (Fry 1979:120-121). We would therefore expect notable changes in the formant patterns of vowels when "dark" /l/ follows front vowels and "clear" /l/ follows back vowels.

In this study, so far, however, where "dark" /l/ follows a front vowel the main effect seems to be the schwa-insertion which would allow a gradual transition from front to back. Further spectrographic analysis of subjects in Placentia Bay, in particular, should yield some interesting data on the effects of "clear" /l/ on back vowels. This is the only dialect area of the three presently under investigation which exhibits this phenomenon.

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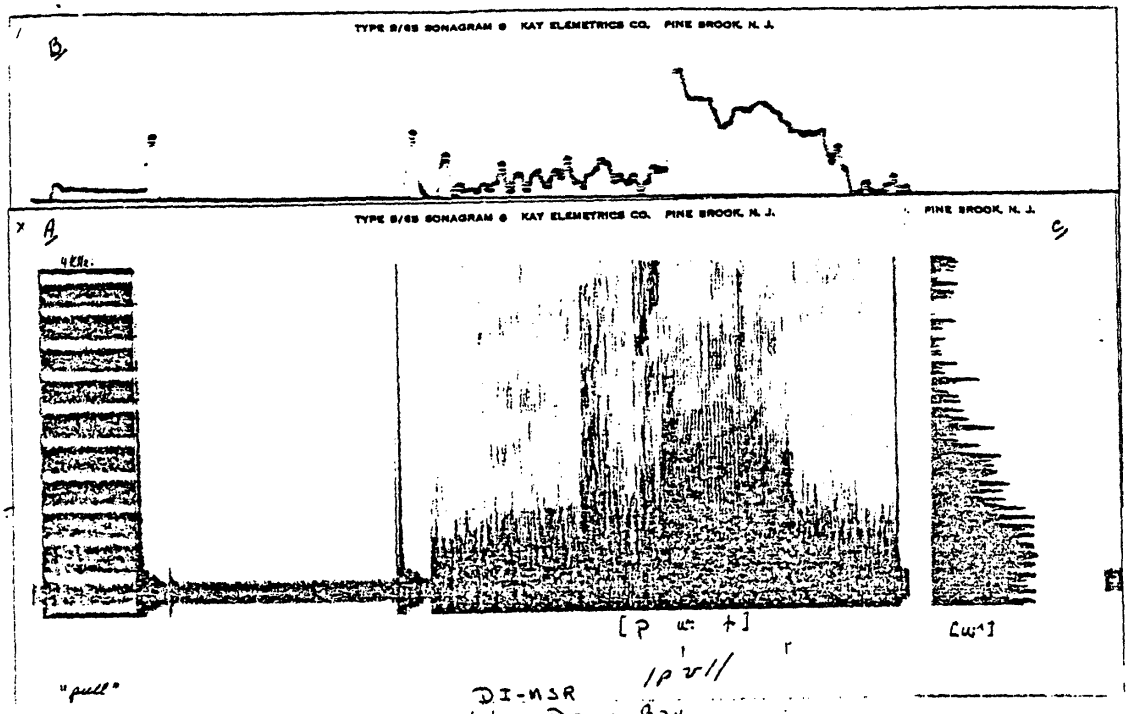
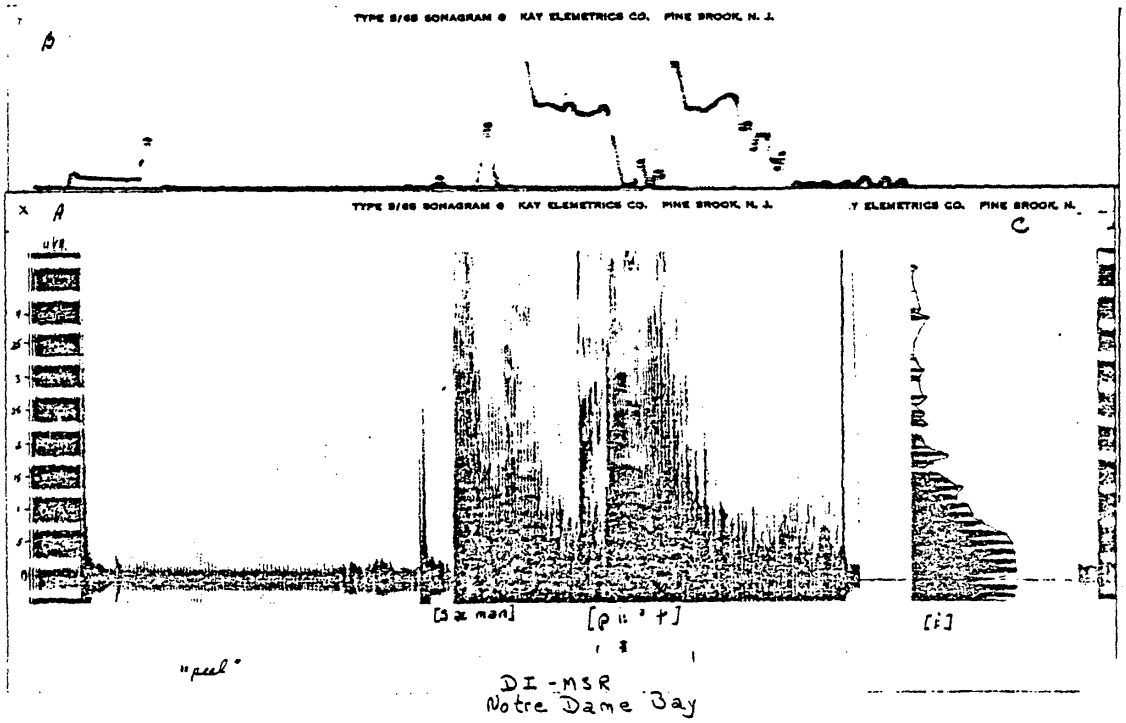
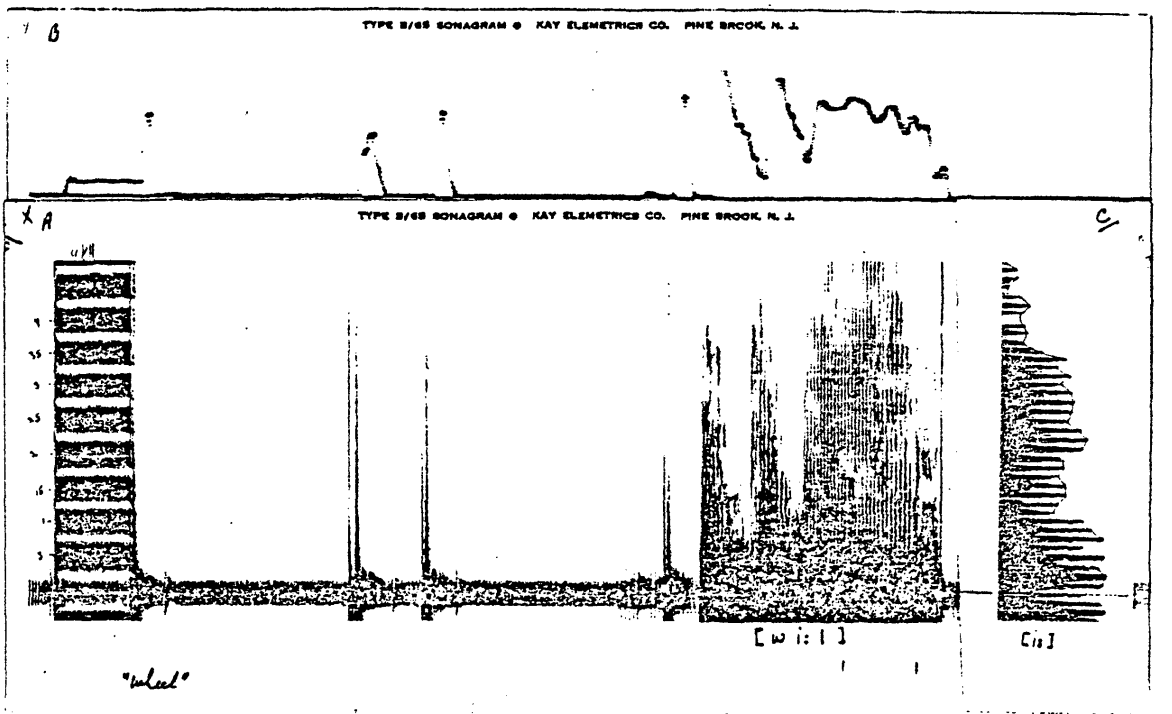


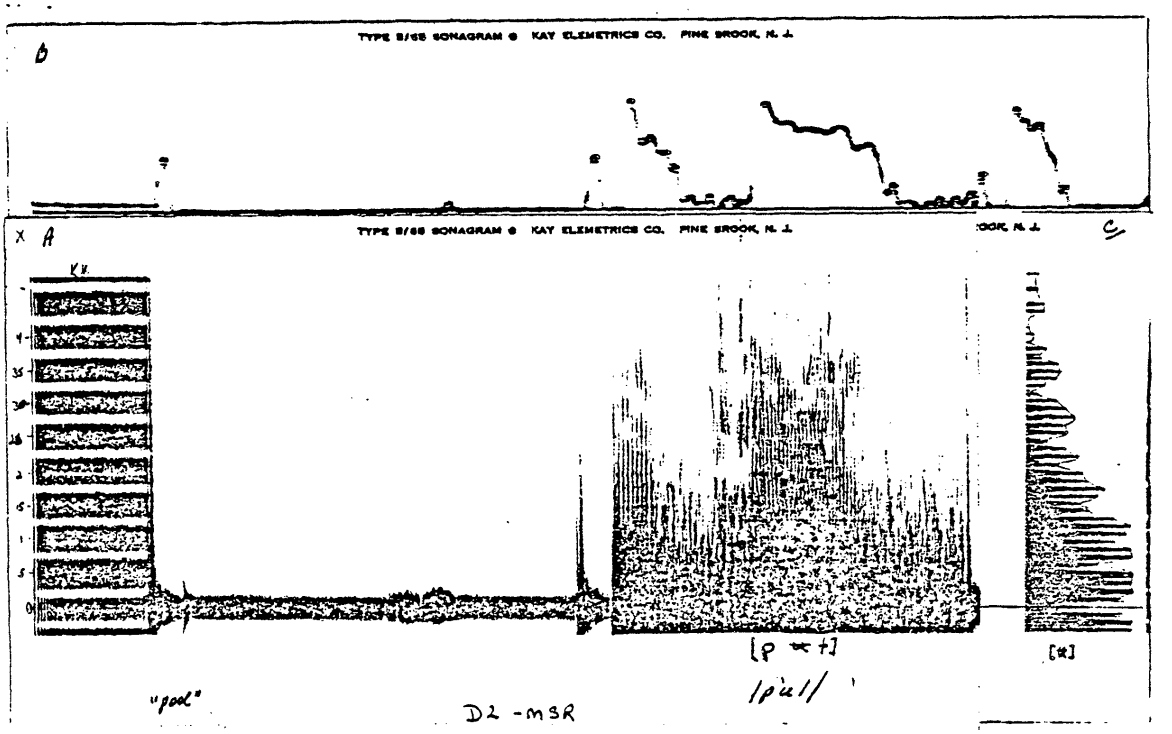
DI-MSR
Notre Dame Bay



DI-MSR
Notre Dame Bay



D2 - MSR
Placentia Bay



D2 -MSR
Placentia Bay

A Sociolinguistic Study of Long Island, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland

B. Wade Colbourne

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ABSTRACT

The study reported on in this paper attempted to apply the standard methods of sociolinguistic investigation to a rural Newfoundland community (Long Island, Notre Dame Bay) in which there were no obvious socio-economic classes. Eleven linguistic variables (seven phonological plus four grammatical) were investigated in five different contextual styles. Purely linguistic conditioning was also investigated. The 24 speakers (informants) were divided into eight cells based on three binary divisions by sex, age, and education. A difference of means test was used to determine the statistical significance of observed differences in frequencies of variants.

Several interesting conclusions emerged which not only revealed Long Island's sociolinguistic structure but also yielded insights into the study of language variability in general.

1. Introduction

In recent years we have witnessed the emergence of many new procedures and principles in language study. One of these is the elaboration of what has become the standard methods of sociolinguistics which was spearheaded by William Labov and has been practised by numerous other researchers in the study of urban speech. As stated in the abstract, the general aim of this study was to show that these methods used in urban studies could be applied to rural dialectology.

The community selected for this study was Long Island in Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland with a population of 470 people, descendants of immigrants from Southwest England, who arrived on the Island approximately 150 years ago (Handcock 1972:35-42). Therefore, I am contending that one of the major accomplishments of this study was to show that the methods of sociolinguistics could be successfully applied to such a rural area despite the lack of very distinct socio-economic classes.

The data for the study was obtained using a questionnaire constructed along the lines of such proven formats as Labov (1966) and Wolfram and Fasold (1974). As with the construction of any questionnaire for a dialect survey concentration was placed on linguistic variables that I felt would be most productive for revealing Long Island's variabilities. Choice of these variables was determined by my own intimate knowledge of the local language and by following the criteria for selecting productive linguistic variables outlined by Labov (1972:8): that features occur frequently, that each be a structural unit capable of being integrated with other structural units, and that there be orderly distribution of the variable for different strata of society. With this in mind, eleven linguistic variables (seven phonological plus four grammatical) were investigated. These are briefly described in Table 1.[1]

In designing the questionnaire, care was also taken to control non-linguistic factors which affect variability. Thus, the twenty-four informants chosen to elicit data from were selected so that the linguistic data could be correlated with the "true social variables"--sex, age, and education--as they interacted with the five stylistic variables elicited by the various sections of the questionnaire. The groups chosen balanced twelve males against twelve females, twelve older and twelve younger speakers, twelve who had graduated from high school and twelve who had not reached that level.

To correlate the linguistic variables being investigated with the sociological variables I counted the number of times the standard (S) and the non-standard (NS) forms of each variable occurred. And to determine the statistical significance of differences found between the various groupings, I applied a difference of means test that gave a confidence interval which expressed how sure I could be that a "real" difference existed.

2. Results

While there were a number of different results revealed by the study this paper restricts itself to the sociolinguistic patterns of Long Island speakers that were revealed.

These sociolinguistic patterns are all summarized in Table 2. Table 2 presents the average NS usage for all eight cells of my sample when all eleven linguistic variables are considered. There is a significant difference of 30.8 percent between the most NS cell, -EOM, and the least NS cell, +EYF (99% confidence). The largest jump from one cell to a neighbouring cell occurred between

the educated older males and the uneducated younger males; a significant difference of 12.0 percent (80% confidence) which confirms that the most significant grouping is conditioned by age and sex variables combined--the older males, as a group, are much more NS than all other groups combined; in fact there is a significant difference of 19.6 percent between these two groupings (99% confidence). So one might say that the older males are the preservers of the local dialect. When one looks at the sex variable it can be seen that the four male cells are overall more NS than the four female cells, showing that sex is the only variable that separates the sample into two equal groups of more NS and more S. There is a significant 16.8 percent difference between males and females (99% confidence). Sex is thus the most consistent in its influence of all the social variables. As for education, we can see quite clearly that it is more important for females than males since both educated female cells are the most S.

To see the overall influence of each of the social variables and to rank them according to how much influence each had on all the linguistic features investigated it is necessary to summarize the influence of each social variable separately. These summary tables indicate the general influence of these social variables throughout the dialect.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 give the percentage of NS usage for sex, age, and education respectively for all eleven linguistic variables. We can see that sex differences exhibit the strongest influence; that age differences are also important but not as important as sex differences; and that education differences are the least important. The findings for sex and age parallel that found by Reid (1981) in another Newfoundland community, Bay de Verde. Paddock also found these two variables to have important influences on the speech behaviour of residents of Carbonear, also in Newfoundland. However, Paddock's community of Carbonear was a larger one with well-established social classes and in this respect is unlike the more rural communities of Bay de Verde and Long Island. This would account for the fact that Paddock (1966, 1975:117) found that socioeconomic class, age, and sex ranked first, second, and third respectively whereas Reid and I found that sex and age ranked first and second respectively. In addition, Paddock's methodology and data are not strictly comparable to Reid's and mine. For example, Paddock included numerous lexical variants, whereas Reid and I dealt with systematic or structural features.

The effects of contextual style on the linguistic usage was also investigated. Table 6 shows these effects. As can be seen

the five contextual styles investigated are arranged in the following continuum: minimal pairs, word lists, structural elicitation, reading passage, and casual speech.[2] This is the same as Labov found in New York City (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:83-94), although he did not include the structural elicitation frame. However, this order differs from Reid's (1981) who found that in Bay de Verde speakers were more formal in the reading passage section than in the structural elicitation section.

Several interesting points arise when we consider style as it interacts with the other social variables. Table 7 presents the overall stylistic pattern for each of the social variables.

In all cases except for casual speech we can see that the differences conditioned by age are much larger than those conditioned by sex, suggesting that age is the most important social variable to interact with style. And again we see that education is the least influential social variable; the difference in NS usage between less educated and more educated groups are less than those attributed to either sex or age.

However, it is interesting to note that the less educated have a wider range between the most NS and the most S than do the more educated speakers--30.8 percent as opposed to 22.0 percent. This is probably because the educated speakers enjoy greater social stability than do the uneducated speakers; educated speakers tend to talk the same in all situations whereas the uneducated speakers will more likely shift styles depending on the situation. The uneducated are the people who quite often have to travel off the Island to obtain employment in cities such as Toronto, therefore, when they return home on holidays or socialize with fellow Newfoundlanders in these cities they naturally speak more NS than when talking to employers, department store workers, or any of the more S speakers they come into contact with. And in the interview situation with the taperecorder, the questionnaire, and the interviewer it seems quite reasonable that style switching would be more evident for these less educated speakers.

It must be noted, as well, that one must not forget the influence of the interviewer on style switching of informants. Style is very much different from the other social variables since the informant can easily switch from one style to another whereas the informant has no control over his sex, age or education at the particular time of the interview. Thus the status of the interviewer is very much a part of the study being carried out on style. The fact that I was a young, educated, local male who for the most part knew the younger informants more personally than the older ones surely must have contributed to the differences in style

switching between the older and younger groups. I am quite confident that if anyone else carried out a similar study with these same people the results would be different depending upon the perceived status of that interviewer. Thus we see the "observer's paradox" as outlined by Labov being extremely crucial when studying style; there appears to be no way around this particular problem, yet it cannot be ignored.

The linguistic context of each variable was also investigated. And it was shown that language usage was also conditioned by this factor. However, because of the limitations of time and space of this paper this cannot be reported on here.[3]

3. Conclusions

This study revealed that there is extensive variation in the speech of Long Islanders, both between various groups of people and within the same group or individual. This variation is conditioned by five factors: the true social variables sex, age, and education (of which sex is the most important and education the least); the stylistic context that the speech occurs in; and finally, the linguistic context of each feature.

The results suggest that the speakers on the Island can be divided into two main groups: the older males (who in all cases were the most NS for each feature investigated) and all other groups--the younger males and females plus older females. This division, it appears, has been brought about mainly through the effects of the three social variables. Older females, who use their speech patterns as signs of social status (largely because they have no other way to raise their social status on the Island), are very much more S than their male counterparts. This aligns them with younger males and females, who are much more alike than older males and females in their language usage because of the effects of formal education and the alterations occurring in the traditional male and female roles in today's society. At least there is a much less sharp division than between the older males and females, although overall the younger males are more NS than any other group except older males, and overall the younger females are the most S of all the groups (see Table 2). The latter situation, it appears, is conditioned largely by education and, again, the social framework of the Island. The young educated males can afford to be more NS than their uneducated counterparts because, with education, they are assured employment in the immediate area of the Island whereas many of the uneducated must move off the Island to find employment. In a similar way younger females, now that education has given them a chance, must move off

the Island where standardization is more widespread, if they want employment that will allow them to move "up the ladder". Because of this, the two latter groups--less-educated younger males (-EYM) and more educated younger females (+EYF)--have had to standardize for very practical reasons.

It therefore appears that time will see the Long Island dialect become even more standardized. Once the "keepers of the dialect", the older males, die off, the only way that the dialect will survive is if what I consider the current trend towards bi-dialectalism continues. When looking at Table 6 one cannot help noticing the huge differences between casual speech style and the other styles--there is a mean difference of 22.3 percent between casual speech and the next most informal style, the reading passage. One can be assured that without the taperecorder, and the questionnaire, and the interviewer, the percentages of NS variants would be even higher. As it is, casual speech has a narrower range between the most NS group and its most S group than does any other style--15.2 percent as compared to 20.2, 36.0, 16.0, and 25.5 percent for the minimal pairs section, the word list, the structural elicitation section, and the reading passage, respectively. This suggests that in normal conversation there is a greater tendency for all Long Islanders to talk alike than in any other style.

This leads me to believe that Long Islanders, except perhaps the older males, are to a large extent becoming bidialectal. The NS dialect and the S dialect are becoming two different codes. The local dialect is used when talking to members of the community, friends, and so on. In fact, just about all of the more standardized informants admitted that they would use the more stigmatized features only when they were angry, or joking, and so on. This local dialect is used to express the most intense emotional experiences; [grɛət] for <u>great</u> is much more emphatic than [greɪt]. This suggests that the S dialect is still too remote from the people to express the more personal things in their lives.

On the other hand, many informants mentioned that they did not speak "proper English" and expressed a negative towards the way they talked. This attitude is similar to what Thelander (1976) found in Sweden; i.e., the dialect is looked down upon as a sub-standard form of speech by its own speakers. It is seen as a sign of ignorance, low class, low education, poverty, and so on. Therefore, it is little wonder that these people switch to the more standardized speech when in the presence of individuals who appear to occupy higher social positions than themselves.

These two attitudes exist side by side. Anyone who uses language features too far removed from the local dialect is immediately labelled as conceited (or "stuck-up" to use their own term). And, similarly, anyone who uses features of the local dialect that are too far removed from the S dialect is often ridiculed.

This suggests that the local dialect is still to some extent a sign of membership in the community while the move towards the S dialect is in response to the fact that these people must live in the modern world. Long Islanders are keeping a foothold in both worlds, it seems.

If people become more sophisticated at code-switching, then the younger residents might continue to speak a distinctively local dialect in casual speech on the Island and might shift quite easily to a more standardized dialect when off the Island or when using more formal styles on the Island. This conclusion is based on the huge difference of 31.2 percent more NS usage in the elicited casual speech than in the other four more formal styles, which showed a much smoother continuum from more formal to less formal than the sudden "quantum jump" conditioned by the casual style.

These findings tend to support many of the claims made by Labov (1972) in his classical island study of Martha's Vineyard. Although there are differences between Martha's Vineyard and Long Island, these differences are not nearly as significant as the similarities. Most importantly, both are islands connected to the mainland by ferry whose geographical isolation makes them ideal for maintaining a way of living and speaking distinct from the nearby mainland areas. Despite the fact that Martha's Vineyard has a relatively much longer history than Long Island there are many social and economic similarities. To put it quite briefly, people who chose to live on these islands struggle to maintain a traditional lifestyle in light of the steady encroachment of the modern North American society.

Overall, this study strongly supported Labov's (1972:3) claim that "one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of a community in which it occurs." Furthermore, many of Labov's specific claims are paralleled in this study. I found, as he did, that language features are used to identify speakers as members of the community (Labov 1972:36). In fact, when Long Islanders meet one another they usually exchange a few words of "broad" dialect as a kind of identification ritual. For example, one often hears some of the standard Long Island speakers greeting one another with a very NS phrase such as

"'Ow biss dee gettin' on?", etc. However, at this point in the history of Long Island one cannot say that Long Islanders pride themselves on these differences from mainland Newfoundland as Labov (1972:29) claimed Vineyarders did on their differences from the mainland of Massachusetts. But this will not at all be unlikely on Long Island if the present trend towards bidialectalism continues.

Despite the fact that Labov's findings on Martha's Vineyard were different from mine on Long Island in that his rural speakers were mainly "single-style speakers" as opposed to the multi-styled speakers found in larger urban centers (Labov 1972:21), many of his observations concerning stylistic usage are very similar to my findings. He found that fishermen between the ages of thirty and sixty years old were more NS than "any other social group on the island" (Labov 1972:30) while I found the same for male speakers above the age of fifty on Long Island. He also claims that the people who made a deliberate choice to stay on the Island were the ones who were the more NS (Labov 1972:30). This is the same as I found for the younger educated males who, because they were able to find steady employment on Long Island, deliberately chose to settle there. Furthermore, he found that younger speakers who intended to leave Martha's Vineyard showed "little or no" destandardization (i.e., centralizing of the diphthongs) of the linguistic variables he investigated which is very similar to my findings for the younger uneducated males who were forced to leave Long Island to obtain employment.

Very importantly, Labov (1972:31-37) found on Martha's Vineyard, as I did on Long Island, that the older males were the most NS. In fact, he even identifies the older males ("the old-timers") as the most important group for maintaining the dialect of Martha's Vineyard, as I did for Long Island.

On a more general note, it can be said that the frequency rate at which the NS variants of variables occurred depended mainly upon the degree of stigmatization (and hence standardization) of variables. However, the pattern of co-variation that occurred was very different from that described by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:127). They claim that grammatical variables obey a different socio-linguistic pattern than phonological variables do. They claim that grammatical features have either high or low frequencies of occurrences of the NS variants with few speakers near the fifty percent frequency range while phonological variables have most speakers near the middle of the frequency range with few speakers having extremely high or low frequencies. The variables investigated in this study did not follow this pattern.

The reason for this discrepancy between my results and Wolfram and Fasold's observations is probably due to the fact that the most significant social division in my sample was between the older males and all other groups combined. The "quantum jump" in the frequencies of NS variants occurred between these two groupings. Therefore, naturally one would find that there would be only small differences in the NS frequency distribution of all the speakers of the second grouping which includes eighteen of my twenty-four informants. Thus there was little opportunity for sharp stratification of the various cells in my sample. In fact, the second claim made by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:127) about the difference between the sociolinguistic patterns exhibited by grammatical and phonological variables does not apply at all to my data, no doubt because the communities on Long Island lack any distinct socio-economic classes. Therefore, their claim that NS variants have lower frequencies for the middle and upper classes for phonological variables while the upper classes have no NS grammatical variants at all occurring in their speech does not apply to this study.

Thus while my data do not support Wolfram and Fasold's (1974: 81) claim that grammatical variables are more "socially diagnostic", they do suggest that at least in some cases they are just as socially diagnostic as phonological variables are. This may seem to be in disagreement with Lavandera's (1978:171) claim that non-phonological variables "may in many cases be unrevealing". However, a closer investigation may reveal that Lavandera's caution about non-phonological variables is well founded. It must be noted that the one grammatical variable (PP), which involves change in meaning rather than in sound shows an exceptional pattern of distribution. This was the only variable in my data to have a NS frequency distribution ranging from extremely high to extremely low.[4] For example, the words <u>did</u> and <u>done</u> of the local dialect are not replaced by new words or pronunciations but are merely assigned (partially) new meanings (i.e., partially new grammatical functions). On the other hand, the other grammatical variables that behaved much more like the phonological variables in all cases involved the simple substitution of a new word or sound from the S dialect to replace the local dialect form. Thus since there was no change in meaning, the variables (an) (GG), and (-ing) behaved more like the true phonological variables than (PP) does.

It is also interesting to compare the influence of stylistic variation with the influence of social variation. By far the greatest discrepency between the influence of stylistic variation and the influence of social variation was is the NS usage of the four grammatical variables (i.e., (-ing), (GG), (an), and (PP)).

This can be seen in Table 8.

The first thing to note here is the big difference in the behaviour of the variables (-ing) and (GG) and the behaviour of the variables (an) and (PP). We can see that the latter two behave more like the phonological variables. This is quite understandable for the morphophonological variable (an). Thus we see that the variable (PP) is the variable with the exceptional behaviour which is further proof that Lavandera's (1978) caution concerning non-phonological variables cannot be ignored.

However, overall we see that all twenty-four informants are more likely to use NS variants of the grammatical variables in casual speech than are the three most NS speakers (the most NS cell) in all five contextual styles. This suggests that speakers have a much greater tendency to produce the NS variants of grammatical variables in the less formal style. They produce the S forms of the grammatical variables when they are more conscious of their speech. What we may be seeing here is the "quantum jump" in NS usage of grammatical variables associated with class in the larger urban centres is associated with style rather than class on Long Island which as I claimed earlier has no real class structure.

Table 8 also shows that for the phonological variables there is not much difference between the NS usage of the twenty-four informants in casual speech and the NS usage of the three speakers in the most NS cell. The fact that there is a wider discrepancy in Table 8 for the grammatical variables than for the phonological variables is quite understandable in light of Paddock's (1981:621) claim that the structure of a language (the grammar) is more resistant to change than any other level of language. The relatively low occurrences of the NS variants of the grammatical variables for the most NS cell compared to the high occurrence in the casual speech proves that speakers can only produce the S variant (i.e., change the structure of their dialect) when they are really conscious of their speech.

As pointed out above, the greatest influence caused by social variation overall was to set the older males, as a group, off from the other cells in the sample. There was a 19.6 percent difference in the NS usage of the older males (the most NS group) and all other groups combined. On the other hand, the greatest discrepancy in NS usage caused by shifting contextual style was between casual speech, the most NS style, and all other styles combined. In fact, there was a 31.2 percent difference in the NS usage found between casual speech and all other styles combined. Thus there is little doubt that the influences of stylistic variation are much greater

than the influences of social variation.

Another point worth considering is the interaction of stylistic variation and social variation. When we consider this, we find out that different social groups have different stylistic ranges. The group with the narrowest stylistic range is the older speakers. They have a stylistic range of 21.4 percent (see Table 7). On the other hand, the group with the widest stylistic range is the younger speakers with a range of 31.6 percent (see Table 7). This is further proof to support my contention that there is a trend toward bidialectalism emerging on Long Island.

It is very interesting to note that this extra 10.2 percent is on the upper end or the more formal end of the stylistic range. This very neatly parallels Trudgill's (1974:56) reinterpretation of Basil Bernstein's findings. He guesses that working class children (the more NS group) may have "a narrower range of stylistic options open to them" than do middle class children (the more S group). In this study we see that the older speakers (the more NS group) have a narrower range of stylistic options than do the younger speakers (the more S group) (see Table 7). Again we see that the influences that class structure has on language usage in those centres where there is a clearly defined class structure is associated with other social variables such as style and age on Long Island, which is lacking a clearly defined class structure.

And finally, this study also established that the linguistic variability on Long Island is conditioned by linguistic factors as well as social and stylistic factors. It appears that the influences of social and stylistic variation operate within the framework laid down by the language itself, i.e., the language conditions variability. By this I mean that certain linguistic factors often either increase or decrease variability. This means that to state the influences of social and stylistic variation explicitly one must give the frequency of NS occurrences of the linguistic variables in all the linguistic environments in which the variables can occur. And in determining the linguistic environments in which variability can occur one must not forget that different types of linguistic conditioning exist, such as phonological, grammatical, and historical.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A more detailed synchronic and, to some extent, diachronic description is given in Colbourne (1982).

[2]A description of the questionnaire used to elicit these styles is found in Colbourne (1982:24).

[3]The reader is referred to Chapter 4 of Colbourne (1982) for a complete description of the linguistic conditioning of the variables in this study.

[4]Except for the variable (L) which exhibited little social variation because it was the least stigmatized of all the linguistic variables, the other linguistic variables divided into two groups. First of all were those variables that were not highly stigmatized. This group includes (E), (θ), and (ð). These variables all have NS frequency distributions in the upper half of the frequency range, i.e., from very high to the fifty percent level at the middle of the frequency range. In all cases most speakers lie somewhere between these two extremes causing a gradual decline from the highest NS frequency rate to the lowest. The second group includes the variables that had NS frequency distributions in the lower half of the frequency range, i.e., from the middle of the frequency range to the extreme low end. This group includes the variables of (I), (ei), (Or), (-ing), and (GG). And again there was a gradual decline from the highest NS frequency rate to the lowest (sometimes the NS variants had disappeared altogether from the speech of the most standardized groups). Again most speakers lay somewhere between these two extremes.

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VARIABLE	SAMPLE DATA	NS REALIZATION	S REALIZATION
1. (E)	pin; pen	[pIn]	[pɛn]
2. (I)	pin	[pin]	[pIn]
3. (ei)	made; maid	[meəd]; [meId]	[meId]
4. (Or)	storm	[starm]	[stɔrm]
5. (θ)	thigh	[təI]	[θaI]
6. (ð)	thy	[dəI]	[ðaI]
7. (L)	fall	[fɑv]	[faɬ]
8. (PP)	done	"I done it"	"I did it"
9. (GG)	him; 'in	[ɬn]	[ɬm]
10. (an)	an/a	[ə'hæpv]	[ənæpɬ]
11. (-ing)	working	[wərkIn]	[wərkIŋ]

TABLE 1: The linguistic variables chosen for the study

	0% % of NS 100%	
-EOM	———————————	66.5 - 866/1303
+EOM	———————————	58.6 - 765/1305
+EYM	———————————	46.6 - 726/1557
-EYM	———————————	46.6 - 613/1316
-EYF	———————————	44.0 - 628/1426
-EOF	———————————	43.9 - 646/1472
+EOF	———————————	41.2 - 606/1472
+EYF	———————————	35.7 - 520/1455
	Overall	47.5 - 5,370/11,306

TABLE 2: Summary of usage on all eleven linguistic variables

Linguistic variable	M (% of NS usage)		F
(E)	69.7	>	60.0
(I)	37.6	>	27.4
(ei)	37.8	>	19.1
(Or)	17.3	>	2.8
(θ)	75.4	>	46.9
(ð)	77.9	>	66.7
(L)	94.3	>	91.6
(PP)	57.3	>	20.6
(GG)	30.6	>	8.7
(an)	51.1	>	29.3
(-ing)	30.4	>	22.0
Mean	52.7	>	35.9
Diff.	16.8		

TABLE 3: Sex differences and linguistic variation

Linguistic variable	O (% of NS usage)		Y
(E)	63.8	<	65.8*
(I)	40.2	>	24.2
(ei)	37.8	>	18.1
(Or)	16.5	>	4.0
(θ)	70.1	>	50.7
(ð)	76.5	>	68.1
(L)	93.8	>	92.1
(PP)	43.9	>	29.9
(GG)	23.6	>	16.8
(an)	41.3	>	36.8
(-ing)	28.4	>	23.5
Mean	48.7		39.1
Diff.	9.6		

TABLE 4: Age differences and linguistic variation

Linguistic variable	-E (% of NS usage)		+E
(E)	66.4	>	63.3
(I)	37.6	>	27.7
(ei)	32.9	>	24.1
(Or)	11.1	>	8.3
(θ)	60.4	>	59.1
(ð)	73.0	>	70.9
(L)	93.6	>	92.3
(PP)	48.8	>	24.6
(GG)	20.4	>	19.6
(an)	44.9	>	33.3
(-ing)	28.6	>	23.9
Mean	47.1	>	40.7
Diff.		6.4	

TABLE 5: Education Differences and linguistic variation

Linguistic Variables	Five Contextual Styles				
	Minimal Pairs	Word Lists	Structural Elicitation	Reading Passage	Casual Speech
(E)	61.0%	58.9%	58.0%	65.8%	73.5%
(I)	21.0	26.4	60.0	31.5	46.2
(ei)	7.8	9.9	25.5	21.9	55.8
(Or)	3.3	5.6	9.7	3.8	35.1
(θ)	41.0	45.5	57.1	74.2	86.8
(ð)	22.4	37.2	41.3	80.6	96.4
(L)	97.0	94.3	90.6	90.5	92.9
(PP)				17.0	88.4
(GG)				4.8	49.2
(an)				34.4	69.2
(-ing)	1.2	1.8	4.7	14.1	64.7
Mean	31.8	35.0	37.5	46.6	68.9

TABLE 6: Linguistic variation caused by contextual style

Social Variables	Minimal Pairs	Word List	Struc. Elict.	Read. Pass.	Casual Speech	Range
M	33.6%	40.8%	43.0%	45.7%	62.6%	29.0%
F	30.0	31.9	36.5	37.3	53.9	23.9
Sex Diff.	3.6	8.9	6.5	8.4	8.7	5.1
O	37.2	42.0	43.8	46.6	58.6	21.4
Y	26.4	30.8	35.7	36.3	58.0	31.6
Age Diff.	10.8	11.2	8.1	10.3	0.6	-10.2*
-E	30.5	34.1	41.1	44.3	61.3	30.8
+E	33.2	37.4	38.4	38.6	55.2	22.0
Ed. Diff.	-2.7*	-3.3*	2.7	5.7	6.1	8.8

TABLE 7: Interaction of the "true social variables" and style

Linguistic Variables	% of NS usage	
	Casual speech of all 24 informants	All speech of the most NS cell, i.e., of 3 informants
(ð)	96.4	85.2
(L)	92.9	98.6
(ɵ)	86.8	90.1
(E)	73.5	72.8
(ei)	55.8	61.4
(I)	46.2	45.8
(Or)	35.1	45.9
(-ing)	64.7	39.1
(GG)	88.4	44.4
(an)	69.2	63.6
(PP)	88.4	83.3

TABLE 8: The influence of stylistic and social variables on the linguistic variables

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR INDEFINITE ONE

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ABSTRACT

The analysis of the indefinite pronoun one in the example one should look out for oneself poses certain problems. There is a similarity with I and we, as well as with anyone, but there are also important differences. On the basis of examples taken mainly from George Eliot and from Mrs. Gaskell, the paper examines the patterns of solidarity between speaker and addressee which allow the use of one, and also the patterns of group identity which are created when one is used. This element of creating a group identity is found to be the most important distinguishing factor in a description of indefinite one.

To open this paper I would propose the riddle: which pronoun always refers to the speaker, but always takes the verb in the third person? The pronoun one, in its middle position between the personal and subjective I and the seemingly impersonal and objective anyone poses certain problems of analysis, some of which I propose to explore here.

A relative newcomer to the language, its earliest date in the OED is 1477. It supersedes the medieval man, mon, (as the OED notes under man, indefinite pronoun) but does not correspond to it closely. For example the frequent uses of mon could not be translated by one. The OED cites c. 1000 Ags. Gosp. Matt XIV 11: "And man brohte þa his heafod on anum disc." This, in the AV reads "And his head was brought in a charger, and given to the damsel."

When one arrives, it comes with its own system of grammatical structures and semantic connotations.

Following Partee and Wolfe (Stockwell 1968, p. 251) I see the following possible analysis for one in their example (241)

(1) One should look out for oneself.

One	
±I	+Hum
±II	±Pl
±III	±Def

This analysis resembles the one given for we. In the absence of context such analysis is supported by the OED for inclusion of +I, and by speakers'

intuition for the remaining positions. But once seen in a context, whether literary or in current speech, this analysis will seem incomplete, and other factors will have to be considered.

In Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford the first use of one occurs in Chapter 1 (Penguin, p. 42).

(2) 'Elegant economy!' How naturally one falls back into the phraseology of Cranford!

Here one refers to the narrator, as yet unidentified as to name, age, and circumstances. It excludes II and III (II would presumably be the reader -- and the reader is emphatically excluded; III does not enter into consideration). It is +Hum, this goes without saying, and is +Def only in the sense that it clearly refers to the speaker herself.

The exclusion of the reader is notably marked in the same chapter by such rhetorical questions as

(3) Have you any red umbrellas in London? (p. 40)
(4) Do you ever see cows dressed in grey flannel in London? (p.43)

Thus the fashionable reader is firmly set apart from the unfashionable Cranfordian. But, if the present analysis applies correctly to one in (2) then how does it differ from analysis of I? There must be a distinguishing factor, for (2) is decidedly not interchangeable with

(5) *How naturally I fall back into the phraseology of Cranford.

Which would have introduced an element of self deprecation, an element absent in (2). The distinguishing factor between (2) and (5) is that (2) allows the action to be natural, and likely to apply to the speaker herself and others in similar conditions and situations.

The distinction between components for one and I may lie in the addition and Group Membership, a species of identification with a group, real or imaginary, which preserves the individual identity of the speaker, but also identifies her with a group of like-minded persons.

Identity with a group brings to mind the classic distinction of Power and Solidarity proposed by Brown and Gilman (Sebeok 1960). While their discussion applies to Tu/Vous distinction in languages which have that distinction (notably French, German, Italian), it may be worth considering whether a similar analysis may not also apply to the use of one in English. In their paper Brown and Gilman concentrate on these points (p. 243) (with references, naturally, to pronouns of address):

a. Semantics: the covariation between the pronoun used and the relationship between speaker and addressee.

1. a general description of the semantic evolution of pronouns of address.
2. semantic differences existing today among the pronouns of French, German and Italian.
3. proposing a connection between social structure, group ideology, and the semantics of the pronoun.

b. Expressive Style: the covariation between the pronoun used and characteristics of the person speaking.

1. Showing that a man's consistent pronoun style gives away his class status and his political views.
2. Describing the ways in which a man may vary his pronoun style from time to time so as to express transient moods and attitudes. Proposing, finally, that the major expressive meanings are derived from the major semantic rules.

While one is not a pronoun of address, it is nevertheless subject to some of the distinctions suggested by Brown and Gilman. Its use depends a good deal on the relationship between speaker and addressee on one hand, and it reveals much about the attitudes of the speaker. With caution, it is possible to draw some parallels with the Brown-Gilman proposal, though the description cannot have the fine symmetric pattern which obtains with regard to T/V analysis.

Patterns of solidarity between speaker and addressee

To a great extent one is used in conditions of solidarity between speaker and addressee. Thus in (2) above there is equality of social status and education (though not of circumstances) between Cranford's narrator and the reader.

Two of the seventeen occurrences of one in George Eliot's Middlemarch (first two books, 258 pages, Penguin) take place in conversation between the two sisters, Dorothea and Celia.

(6) 'Of course people need not always be talking well. Only one tells the quality of their minds when they try to talk well.' (Dorothea to Celia, Penguin, p. 58).

(7) 'How very beautiful these gems are!' ... 'It is strange how deeply colours seem to penetrate one, like scent.' ... (Dorothea to Celia, p. 35).

Another one occurs in a conversation between Mary Garth and Rosamond Vincy, whose present condition is unequal, but whose close bond and

common education has just been emphasized by the author.

(8) If one is not to get into a rage sometimes, what is the good of being friends? (Mary to Rosamond, p. 143).

(6) (7) and (8) occur between young women equal in age and background.

In (9) and (10) we see a young woman speaking to a young man:

(9) And then all this immense expense of art, that seems somehow to lie outside and make it no better for the world, pains one. (Dorothea to Will, p. 251).
(10) I am seeing so much all at once, and not understanding half of it. That always makes one feel stupid. (Dorothea to Will, p. 238).

This is Dorothea speaking to Will Ladislaw. They, too, are equal in age and background, and are begining to share a bond of sympathy which they do not yet fully understand.

For one more example of woman to man, we take the imperious Mrs. Cadwallader speaking to the much younger Sir James Chettam:

(11) What can one do with a husband who attends so little to the decencies? I hide it as well as I can by abusing everyone myself (Mrs. Cadwallader to Sir James, p. 82).

There are three uses by man to woman: Will to Dorothea, in the same sequence of spirited confersations as in (9) and (10). Here Will is speaking about the sensibilities required for becoming a poet:

(12) One may have that condition by fits only (Will to Dorothea, p. 256).

Lydgate to Rosamond on his first visit to the Vincy household:

(13) But I have noticed that one always believes one's own town to be more stupid than any other. I have made up my mind to take Middlemarch as it comes ... (p. 192).

And Mr. Brooke to Dorothea about marrying Sir James:

(14) "That is it, you see. One never knows. I should have thought Chettam was just the sort of man a woman would like now (p. 63).

In (12) and (13) the man is equal to the woman in age and status, to the extent that permits possibility of romance. In (14) Mr. Brooke is much older -- he is Dorothea's uncle and legal guardian.

The use of one between men occurs twice:

(15) In the country, people have less pretension of knowledge, and are less of companions, but for that reason they affect one's amour-propre less: one makes less bad blood, and one can follow one's own course more quietly (Lydgate to Farebrother, p. 204).
(16) Yes; -- with our present medical rules and education, one must be satisfied now and then to meet with a fair practitioner (Mr. Bulstrode to Lydgate, p. 153).

In these two instances there is equality between the men: in (15) Lydgate speaks frankly to Mr. Farebrother whose integrity and intelligence he values to the point of wishing himself Farebrother's friend, and in (16) Mr. Bulstrode speaks from his usual vantage point of assumed superiority.

Brown and Gilman suggest that talking to oneself is an instance of the highest solidarity. Thus Lydgate to himself; reflecting on the relative virtues of Mr. Farebrother:

(17) 'What is his religious doctrine to me, if he carries some good notions along with it? One must use such brains as are to be found.' (Lydgate to himself, p. 192).

Similar to this, but removed from Lydgate's direct speech, is one instance of Lydgate's thoughts as reported by author-narrator.

(18) One would know much better what to do if men's characters were more consistent and especially if one's friends were invariably fit for the function they desired to undertake! (Lydgate to himself, as reported by the author, p. 209).
(19) No man, one sees, can understand and estimate the entire structure or its parts -- what are its frailties and what its repairs, without knowing the nature of the materials (Author speaking for Lydgate, p. 177).

Finally, we have two occurences of one in the author's direct address to the reader:

(20) One must be poor to know the luxury of giving (p. 199).
(21) For my own part I have some fellow-feeling with Dr. Sprague: one's self satisfaction is an untaxed kind of property which it is very unpleasant to find depreciated (p. 186).

These two instances are rather unsimilar. (20) is an expression of sincere sympathy with the modest acts of charity of the poor elderly Miss Noble (the unmarried, dependent, sister of old Mrs. Farebrother); (21) is more clearly an expression of the male persona George Eliot

took on for the writing of her novels. This male persona has only some fellow-feeling with Dr. Sprague, who has just received an unflattering description.

As for solidarity between author-narrator and reader, they are on terms of equality, but (21) differs from (2) of Mrs. Gaskell's in that George Eliot must create a persona far removed from her own personality, while Mrs. Gaskell creates the more readily identifiable Mary Smith.

To sum up, one can occur in conversation between equals, such as sisters (6) and (7); female friends (8), can be used by young woman to young man (9) (10), older woman to younger man (11) young man to young woman (12) (13) older man to his niece (14) man to man in friendship (15) in business (16) a man to himself (17) and author to public (2) (20) (21). In all of these there is either an established equality as between author and reader, where the equality is both assumed and created by the very act of choosing certain stylistic forms over others. In any event one is not used by younger person to older, thus Dorothea, who uses it more than others, uses it to her younger sister, but does not use it to her uncle or to Mr. Casaubon. Celia, the younger sister, does not use it to Dorothea.

Patterns of Group Identity

The element of Group Identity was mentioned in connection with (2). If Group Identity can be identified as a positive element, then it may be seen as the distinctive component distinguishing the analysis of I and one.

Group Identity is much less clear than relationship between speaking partners. As pointed above this identity is not always an objective fact. It may be actually created, or merely wished for, during the act of speaking.

In (6) Dorothea identifies with a group of like minded young people, perhaps especially clever young women, who would be as critical of Sir James as she is now. Such group does not exist, but in saying one rather than I, Dorothea creates the suggestion that such a group might exist. In the verbal play between her and Celia, it is important for her to stress the general impersonal element, while Celia keeps bringing her back to the case at hand.

Since (7) is a matter of esthetic susceptibility, not of haughty opinion, the case for group identity is less clear, except that Dorothea, apparently does not wish to be alone in her strong feelings and evokes a group of 'others' who would share her feelings.

In both (6) and (7) the Group Identity excludes the person spoken to, as Celia does not partake of Dorothea's opinions, or feelings.

(9) and (10) show Dorothea expressing diffidence and self-doubt; a far cry from her superiority as expressed to Celia. Her listener, Will, is excluded from her feelings. The 'Group' now created consists of 'others' similarly lacking in artistic discrimination, though well endowed with other sensibilities.

The 'Group' surrounding Dorothea's use of one seems to me to be female, Mrs. Cadwallader's is necessarily female (11), whereas Mary Garth's Group in (8) may be of either sex and is wider in scope, in accordance with the topic of being friends.

In (12) Will identifies himself with men who have a poetic bent.

Further, in the speech of the several men, the Group Identity has various implications. Mr. Brooke (14) identifies himself with the group of elderly men who cannot hope to understand the vagaries of the female mind. In such identification there is comfort, as Mr. Brooke need not think that he is alone in his perplexed state.

In (16) Mr. Bulstrode identifies himself both with the actual elder townspeople, and with the ideal group of people of his mind and persuasion.

(13) is anomalous in that Lydgate does not belong to a wider group of people who deprecate their own towns, in fact, he is about to make a statement to the contrary. The deprecating statement was made by Rosamond, not by him. Does he say one in a transfer from himself to Rosamond, in order to create a Group for her, so that she would not be alone in her foolish statement?

In Lydgate's free and friendly communication with the Vicar (15) there is not so much a Group Identity as an objectivization -- a desire to rid himself of his self in his estimation of his future prospect in the community. The 'Group' if any, is only an extension of himself.

Again, in his soliloquy (17) Lydgate casts himself in an objective mold -- one, that is he, Lydgate, or anyone in like situation must make the best of what is found, and the author-narrator does it for him in (18).

In that direct address of author-narrator to reader, we can see again that it is not the addressed party who makes the 'Group'. In (2) the reader was excluded from the feelings and experiences of the Cranfordians. In (20) the reader, presumably not poor, is also excluded. As the author-narrator is also not poor, this excludes the

speaker, in a sense. Therefore (20) is closer to a true impersonal. On the other hand, the author, reader, and others, are potentially members of the group, if they could become poor.

In (19) the parenthetic one sees reminds the readers of the consciousness of the author-narrator. The implied 'Group' is perhaps that of all serious thinkers.

The most intricate use of one occurs in (21) where the author-narrator creates the masculine persona, evokes a solidarity-group with all other adult educated males who value their own self-satisfaction, among them notably Dr. Sprague, and maintains an ironic stance. The transition from 'I have some fellow feeling', to 'one's self-satisfaction' illustrates well the process of objectivization and group-identity I have outlined above.

In the light of the above examples, the analysis of one may now be given as:

one

±I	±Hum
±II	±Pl
±III (Group Identity)	±Def

This analysis would be meaningful if we bear in mind that it frequently reads -II and +pl apples to III, where III pl. includes the 'Group' with which one is to be identified.

It is also worth noting that in the 258 pages of Books 1 and 2 of Middlemarch one is used only sixteen times, or once in sixteen pages. It sparse use is all the more noticeable, as the novel was originally (in 1871) subtitled A Study of Provincial Life and is truly devoted to an analysis of society in such a way that many chapters are replete with statements and reflections about people as they represent various age-sex-and-status groups, as they represent Middlemarch society, and even humanity in general. In the more reflective analytical chapters (as opposed to the narrative or dramatic ones) George Eliot uses a vast repertory of devices for general statements such as the passive-impersonal constructions, a man, men, as representing male adults, a woman, women, representing female adults, they as representing portions of Middlemarch society, and transfers like 'the subject of chaplaincy came up at Mr. Vincey's table' (p. 185) or 'In general appointments are apt to be made too much a question of personal liking' (p. 185), or 'This was one of the difficulties of moving in good Middlemarch society: it was dangerous to insist on knowledge as a qualification for a salaried office.' With the need for general statements, the light use of one suggests that it was

either sparingly used in the nineteenth century, or that its light use was a stylistic preference of the author herself.

In Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford (218 pages) (1850-1863) one occurs seven times, or once every 31 pages, that is, it is used even more lightly than in Middlemarch. As the title testifies, Cranford is also a study of a town's society. In all comments and analysis similar variety of devices is used as in Middlemarch.

Light as is the use of one in these two novels, it is possible to see the patterns of solidarity and group identity governing this use.

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SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS IN LATE ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBEAN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

The general criteria determining the choice of thou or you as the mode of direct address in polite sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usage are adequately appreciated. However, in this period of transition from bimodal to monomodal usage, a certain amount of flexibility, ambiguity, and uncertainty as to the social and emotional implication of the choice of one or the other is apparent. Illustrations are drawn from a number of Elizabethan and Jacobean writers, with particular emphasis on Shakespeare.

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The symmetry of second person pronouns in English was modified by the introduction of the deferential plural form for singular address in the course of the thirteenth century. The source was undoubtedly French usage emanating from an Anglo-Norman court. So, for a while, English gained the option of addressing a single individual as thou or you, depending on various social, psychological or emotional criteria.

In standard English, the bimodal system for singular address was levelled under the polite you form in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The effective loss in English, but not in other European languages, of "this useless distinction" (Jespersen 1938: 223) is often ascribed to the greater fluidity of English society and the greater vitality of the democratic process in England. Partridge's remark that "the levelling of you is one of language's tributes to democracy" (Partridge 1969: 28) echoes Jespersen's eulogising of English as having "attained the only manner of address worthy of a nation that respects the elementary rights of each individual" (Jespersen 1938: 223-4).

Whatever the reason for its subsequent disappearance, the two-term pronominal system for singular address was still operational in English around 1600, though it is evident that a general preference for you was emerging amongst speakers and writers. Barron Brainerd's computer-assisted statistical study of pronoun incidence in Shakespeare's plays reveals a decline in the incidence of thou and a corresponding increase in the incidence of you over the course of Shakespeare's writing career, reflecting a general linguistic drift from thou to you (Brainerd 1979). This evidence points in the same direction as the fact that Ben Jonson uses thou "more sparingly" than Shakespeare (Partridge 1969: 25). Jonson's comedies are more realistic in action and more vernacular in expression than Shakespeare's, probably exemplifying more advanced linguistic usage in a less artifical context.

Broadly speaking, the topography of the bimodal system around 1600 is as follows. You is the deferential form used by social, situational, or familial subordinates to superiors. It is also the "neutral, unemotional form of address between social equals" with any claim to social standing (Barber 1976: 208).

Thou is the term expressing intimacy and affection or anger and contempt. It may be the form of address between equals with no pretensions to social standing. It is likely to be used preferentially by social misfits or outcasts -- Clowns, Fools, Rustics, Boors, Cynics, Satirists, Savages -- Caliban in The Tempest, Joan in 1 Henry VI, Feste in Twelfth Night, Apemantus in Timon of Athens, Malevole in Marston's The Malcontent, and so on.

Under most conditions, you is the polite, conversational, unmarked term, while thou is the marked term expressing familiarity, positive or negative emotions, or social inequality. Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis illustrates the polarity consistently. The infatuated goddess addresses Adonis as thou while she seduces him; the virginal young Adonis responds primly with you.

Thou has functions that are sometimes mistaken by commentators. The "rhetorical" rather than the conversational pronoun (Abbott 1877: 157), it is almost invariably the term for invocation. The invocation may be to oneself, to an abstraction, to an inanimate object, to a supernatural entity, to a dead person, to an absent living person of whatever social standing. A rare exception to this rule is provided by the garrulous Parolles of All's Well That Ends Well, who apostrophises his tongue as you, "treating it with considerable courtesy" (Byrne 1936: 93). Evidently, this is a deliberate comic aberration.

Several commentators confuse this invocational thou with the familiar or the contemptuous thou. Charles Williams observes that Olivia in Twelfth Night directly addresses the disguised Viola as you, but expresses "the warmth and strength" of her feelings by addressing her as thou in her absence (Williams 1953: 127). Similarly, Jonson's Sejanus is referred to as wisely addressing the Emperor Tiberius as you in his presence but expressing contempt in his absence by selection of thou as the mode of address (Brown & Gilman 1960: 275). These observations overlook the fact that you is not normally available as the invocational pronoun.

Presumably by extension of the custom of addressing the deity in prayer as thou, the singular pronoun is available -- usually in rather formal circumstances -- as a reverential form of address to a distant superior: a king, a revered father, an unattainable mistress. There is thus an elevated thou of ceremony and poetry, as well as the vernacular thou of intimacy or contempt. Ben Jonson oscillates between the polite you and the reverential thou in poems addressed to King Charles in the 1620s. "An Epigram: To K. Charles for a 100 Pounds He Sent Me in My Sickness, 1629" and "To My Lord the King, on the Christening His Second Son, James" use thou, while you is the preferred form in "An Epigram: To Our Great and Good K. Charles on His Anniversary Day, 1629" and "The Humble Petition of Poor Ben Jonson to . . . King Charles". It is this elevated thou that is the preferred second person form in Elizabethan sonnet sequences, though Spenser's Amoretti consistently uses the courtly you, and Shakespeare inverts the normal assumptions by using the familiar rather than the reverential thou in the sonnets to the Dark Mistress (Jones 1981).

However, within the framework of this polarised system, there are a number of areas of overlap or ambiguity, areas in which thou or you may be appropriate depending on various social or emotional factors. Between spouses thou or you may be the preferred form, or a mixture of the two. Similarly with discourse between adult siblings, or address of parents to adult progeny, depending on social status and degree of general intimacy or transient affection. There is also some variation in the degree of intimacy to which servants and companions are admitted, reflected in the use of the familiar or distant pronons of address. Kings and Princes, as might be expected, have wider latitude than ordinary mortals in their choice of pronoun as the mode of address to subjects, depending on rank, and on the royal mood. In Thomas Heywood's 1 Edward IV (1600), King Edward makes nice social distinctions by addressing the Mayor, Alderman and Recorder of

London with you, while addressing the goldsmith, Matthew Shore, as thou (although later in the play Shore also receives you).

At the other end of the social scale, pronominal jockeying seems to have been fairly common. In the Induction to Marston's The Malcontent (1604), William Sly in the role of gentleman play-goer addresses the Blackfriars' Tire-man as thou in his first speech, but shifts to the more casual and conversational you once the social positions have been established. Conversely, in Antonio and Mellida (1602) Catzo and Dildo, two pages, commence by addressing each other as you before shifting after a dozen lines or so to the familiar thou (2.1). Two of Marlowe's dramatic servants, Spencer and Baldock, also range between you and thou in their dialogue (Edward II, 2.1).

Much of this will be familar not only to readers of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, but to those conversant with other European languages that maintain two-term (or three-term) systems for singular address. The major difference between English and other European languages featuring a bimodal system is the very considerable degree of localised expressive and attitudinal variability that is possible in English of 1600: "the pronoun selected by a given speaker could in many circumstances vary from one moment to the next, even where that speaker is all the time addressing one and the same person" (McIntosh 1963: 68). The commonest cases are friends, lovers, members of a family, kings to subjects, masters to servants, shifting between thou and you in expression of fluctuating degrees of emotional or social distance.

In 1 Henry VI, Salisbury warmly greets the heroic Talbot with thou before reverting to you for the discussion of military affairs (1.4). The courtier-friends in Love's Labour's Lost slip readily between the polite you and the amicable thou. In 1 Henry IV (3.1), the King uses thou in reproaching and in reconciling himself with Prince Hal, shifting at the end of the scene to you when issuing business-like directions about the conduct of the war in the presence of other auditors. In a lengthy speech in 3 Henry VI (1.3.70-108), Queen Margaret taunts the captured Duke of York about his soaring ambition and has him parodically crowned with a paper crown, addressing him, as her scorn and indignation mount, first as you, then as thou, then as he, followed by a return to you as she regains control of herself. The whole of Timon of Athens shows the protagonist's progression from a courteous and affectionate you-thou pronominal framework to the churlish, undifferentiating, anti-social thou of the cynic, satirist and social outcast.

Examples of servants being reproached by their masters' temporarily substituting the distant you for the normal thou of trusting discourse are too numerous to be contemplated. However, an intriguing variation on this pattern is provided by The Tempest. Initally Ariel addresses Prospero (and everyone else) as thou. This is the normal mode for spirits, who give and receive thou (Byrne 1936) -- the Ghost in Julius Caesar, the Spirit raised in 2 Henry VI, the Ghosts of Richard III, Macbeth's Witches (except that they address Hecate respectfully with you), the Ghost in Hamlet (except that Hamlet filially addresses him as you in the Closet Scene -- a nice distinction). But in the course of Act IV of The Tempest, Ariel starts using you consistently to Prospero, as if recognising the master-servant relationship, or as if Shakespeare were beginning to conceive of him in more human and socialised terms by the end of the play.

With the exception of the contemptuous use of the singular pronoun, such attitudinal expressiveness in choice of pronoun is rare in other European languages. Thou once extended to an acquaintance "is almost never taken back for the reason that it would mean the complete withdrawal of esteem" (Brown & Gilman 1960: 276). Apart from deliberate insult, therefore, it is not possible to signal through the pronoun choice occasional or situational variations in distance or esteem in most European languages. Brown and Gilman cite only two rather specialised counter-examples. French mountain climbers are reported to shift from vous to tu above a certain critical height (Brown & Gilman 1960:261). Presumably they revert to vous as they return to less vertiginous locations. The second example is that of prostitute and client in Germany of 1940, who reportedly exchanged du during preliminaries, dalliance and consummation, reverting to Sie when the "libidinal tie . . . had been dissolved" (Brown & Gilman 1960:276).

In English of 1600 and thereabouts there is -- at least in the literature -- a great deal of purposive shifting between the two pronouns of address in order to express transient attitudes and emotions.

> To the casual reader of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama it often seems that thou and you are used haphazardly . . . Closer examination, however, shows that most of such switches are motivated: there is a change of tone or attitude in the speaker. (Barber 1976:210)

There are innumerable examples to support the validity of this generalisation in the vast majority of cases.

However, commentators who have been sensitive to pronominal shifting have sometimes become oversensitised to the phenomenon, justifying its subtle purposiveness wherever it appears, and failing to remark cases where choice of pronoun may be marginal.

There is no question but that overall distributions of you and thou, as between different sets of circumstances, or as between different speakers may be expressively significant. For example, the proportion of thou forms to you forms for singular reference in King Lear - roughly 1:1 - is much higher than in Twelfth Night roughly 1:2 - or Much Ado About Nothing - roughly 2:5 (Williams 1953: Mulholland 1967). This feature of pronominal distribution correlates with the fact that King Lear is more heavily marked emotionally, more heavily rhetorical in its language, and more formal in its action than the other two plays cited.

Within a single play, Angus McIntosh demonstrates that the distribution of thou and you modes of address between Celia and Rosalind (As You Like It) is an index to their personalities, their attitudes to one another, and the fluctuating degree of intimacy in their relationship (McIntosh 1963).

These generalities may be taken as proven. What is much more difficult to demonstrate is that each particular shift has a specific function beyond its cumulative effect, as most of the commentators would claim.

> In almost all cases where thou and you appear at first sight indiscriminately used, further considerations show some change of thought, or some influence of euphony sufficient to account for the change of pronoun. (Abbott 1877: 158)

Here is a remarkably treacherous area, since in marginal cases it may be very difficult for the investigator to avoid subjectivity or to resist the lure of post facto argumentation. For example, Angus McIntosh speculates about a passage in As You Like It in which Celia does not use any thou or you forms:

> I suspect . . . that if Celia had had occasion to use any second person pronouns . . . they would have been plurals, to reinforce the impression of her exasperation (McIntosh 1963: 78).

If latter day commentators can avoid the pitfalls of post facto argument, it may emerge that there are many situations

where the choice of pronoun is marginal and only incremental in force, so that it may have implications for broader texturing of the utterance but may have little localised effect.

Thomas Nashe's Lenten Stuff (1599) is prefaced by a dedicatory letter addressed, in a familiar chaffing style, to the writer Humphrey King. The letter shifts between you and thou. The mixture of forms may well represent the nature of the relationship between the two writers; or the variation between the more conversational and the more rhetorical pronoun may be stylistically expressive. But one would be hard put to justify particular shifts between you and thou in this letter.

> Give me good words I beseech thee, though thou givest me nothing else, and thy words shall stand for thy deeds; which I will take as well in worth, as if they were the deeds and evidences of all the land thou hast. Here I bring you a red herring; if you will find to drink it, there an end, no other detriments will I put you to . . .

In Robert Greene's Disputation Between a He Cony-Catcher and a She Cony-Catcher (1592), the two rogues discourse mainly with you, with occasional excursions into the more familiar thou. If the shifts are locally expressive, it is difficult to recapture their precise shading. The occasional thou may conceivably represent good-humoured familiarity within the more colloquial you format. If so, the precise placing of the occasional thou forms may be a matter of indifference.

Certainly in the tavern scene in 2 Henry IV the chaos of pronominal forms is a reflection of the social and sexual disorder of Eastcheap. Doll Tearsheet berates Pistol with both you and thou ("thou abominable damn'd cheater . . . you slave"). She wheadles Falstaff with both pronouns alternating in rapid succession: "Ah, you sweet little rogue, you! Alas, poor ape, how thou sweat'st! Come let me wipe thy face. Come on, you whoreson chops. Ah, rogue! i'faith, I love thee." (2.4). It would be difficult to justify each shift, though the resultant blend is clearly significant.

In Antonio and Mellida (3.2. 185-222) Feliche shifts extensively between you and thou in addressing Antonio, who is his social superior, but toward whom he feels considerable affection. In the same play, the son of the Duke of Florence, Galeatzo, swings extravagantly between you and thou in wooing Mellida (5.2). The phenomenon is explicable, but principally in terms of general attitudinal effect rather than of particular purpose.

The you - thou variations in Shakespeare's sonnets to the Fair Youth are also best viewed as being globally significant of the equivocal relationship between Poet and Patron rather than being locally expressive in a more particular sense (Jones 1981).

But there are also instances where there seems to be little if any reason to justify the mixture of pronouns used. In Marlowe's Edward II Gaveston uses thou and you to a poor man seeking service with him:

> Let me see, thou wouldst do well to wait
> At my trencher, and tell me lies at dinner time,
> And as I like your discoursing, I'll have you (1.1.29-31)

Mortimer also mixes you and thou in addressing the King:

> This sword of mine that should offend your foes,
> Shall sleep within the scabbard at thy need. (1.1. 86-7)

In Antonio and Mellida (3.2), two courtiers, Castilio and Feliche, converse for some 80 lines. They use thou to one another consistently, except for one speech of 5 lines in which Castilio shifts, for no discernible reason, to you, before reverting to thou.

Many more instances might be cited of mixed pronominal use which is not readily interpretable as being attitudinally purposive, or in which the effect is global rather than local. Cases of this kind have often been overlooked or too readily explained away by commentators. While the bimodal system was still operational in 1600 and thereabouts, there appear to have been more areas where the choice of pronoun was indifferent than has been recognised. This indifference may be an integral part of a variable system. On the other hand, it may be symptomatic of the impending disintegration of the system and its levelling under a single pronominal form of direct address.

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THE NEWFOUNDLAND DICTIONARY AND DARE

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First envisioned in 1889 when the American Dialect Society was founded, the Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE) should begin publication, with Volume 1, in 1983. It has been in the editorial stage since 1965. It might be instructive to compare this magisterial exemplar of contemporary lexicography with the Dictionary of Newfoundland English (DNE), which is now published by the University of Toronto Press in mid-November, 1982.

Although G.M. Story wrote in 1956 of "A Newfoundland Dialect Dictionary: A Survey of the Problems," the word dialect has been silently eliminated in the past two decades, and the Dictionary now presents a study of the vocabulary of the "country," as it was formerly called in popular parlance, that is, of this Province physically so clearly separated from the rest of Canada. (The recent dictionaries of Jamaica [1967; 1980] and of the Bahamas [1982] likewise treat demarcated geographical areas.) Similarly, though sponsored by the American Dialect Society, DARE, in its title, has shifted its emphasis from sorts of spoken language regarded as "dialect," perhaps loosely defined as used especially in rural areas, to regionalisms--words and meanings with broader or narrower geographical distribution in the United States.

This, I suggest, is the key to the major distinction between DNE, which stresses the time dimension in one physically defined area of settlement, and the much more complex DARE, which will present evidence of geographical distribution in various of the fifty states, along with other dimensions of variation, like age, sex and level of education. Conspicuous in DARE are small maps showing recorded incidence of a word, but the maps have been redrawn in a schematic fashion to show not simply relative location of state boundaries, but total population in each state. It is symbolic that the single map in the Newfoundland Dictionary, designed by Michael Staveley of the Department of Geography, displays the island and coastal Labrador in normal cartographical scale, positioned contiguous to the North Atlantic and especially to the near-by inshore fishing grounds and the several fishing banks to the south and the east.

There are a number of reasons why the editors of the Newfoundland Dictionary decided not to attempt to indicate any fine-scale geographical distribution of the words defined and exemplified, even the modern terms of the last thirty or forty years. For one thing, the words and contexts collected in our reasonably extensive corpus were never sifted and reworked into a dialect questionnaire which could be administered in a random or a selected sample of the towns and settlements of the island and Labrador. The check-lists and questionnaires that we did devise were in some way specialized or devoted to items reported only once, and the student respondents and others frequently supplied additional senses and contexts to add to our files. (See the list on pp. lxiv-lxv.) In addition, we could analyze and edit our identified and collected items in our offices, but in the available time we could not mount a valid interviewing program involving faculty members and student field-workers in the requisite number of communities. The relatively modest financial support provided by The Canada Council and Memorial University was diverted to essential working materials and clerical support, not to expensive interviewing in the field. Perhaps a more crucial point is that DARE maps can display a two-dimensional scattering of the occurrences of a term or of a phrase like fall out 'to faint, lose consciousness,' especially in the American South; however, the narrow band of the "population concentration" shaded along the coastline of the DNE map of Newfoundland (p. xvi) raises the methodological problem of plotting directly or with arbitrary symbols differing informant responses--or variant pronunciations, like marsh, ma'sh, mash, mesh, mish, meesh--or alternative synonyms, like damper dog and toutin, 'fried bread dough.'

As the DARE research program went in the direction of studying many regionally distinctive terms known and used in the last three or four generations--the earliest date in the appended sample page happens to be 1805--and adapted techniques from dialect geography in its field interviewing in 1002 communities in the entire country, so the dictionary that has evolved in Newfoundland exhibits both historical longevity of some terms in the lexicon and, if possible, very recent authenticated citations. For example, the Dictionary of Newfoundland English records the following early uses of terms:

dry fish	1577
island of ice	1545
killick	1760
penguin	?1536 and 1578
punt	1770

squid 1578
stage 'for drying cod' 1589
ursena, perhaps the origin of ose egg 'the sea urchin' 1620.

At the other end of the time-scale, the editors quite early decided that recent technology in this province and the terms that it is spawning should not have a place in the Dictionary. These words are not distinctively regional. (Neither does DARE include generally known, standard words of the United States.) That is, we believed that the major comprehensive dictionaries in England, the United States and Canada will authoritatively cover such international words and derivative combinations as stern-trawler, side-trawler, oil-rig, fish-plant, Japanese squid-jigger, gill-net, monofilament net, etc.

All the same, the DNE has laid a suitably solid foundation--ballast, sense 2, might be the appropriate term--for future study of regional English here. The next generation can grapple with the knotty problems of the dialect geography of Newfoundland. All the raw data in our files concerning locations where words have been reported, together with recent lexical additions, corrections and annotations received from commentators, will be permanently preserved to assist in solving these problems.

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APPENDIX

fall out v phr

1 To quarrel, disagree. *Somewhat old-fash* (though the n *falling out* is current in all age groups).

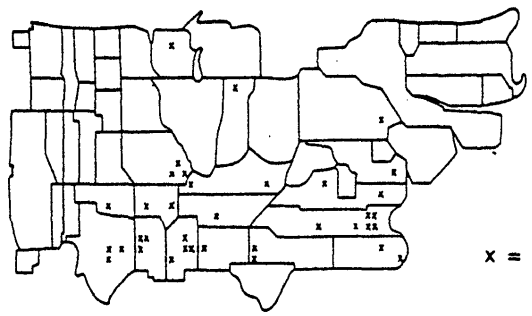
1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. AA13, *When two people. . . stop "going steady," you might say, "I guess they _____."*) 26 Infs, Fell out; (Qu. KK11,. . . *When we asked him to do that, he _____."*) Inf **MP69**, Fell out. **1967** *DARE* Tape **LA12**, My doctor is my nephew. . . We fall out once in a while. [Of 28 Infs, 24 are old, 4 middle-aged, 0 young.]

2 To burst out laughing; be tickled by something funny. (Abbr for **fall out of one's cradle** or var.) **Formerly chiefly Sth;** *now also used by Blacks in the Nth.*

1946 (1972) Mezzrow *Really Blues* 332, Fall out; be tickled to death. **1965-70** *DARE* (Qu. GG30,. . . *"When he told her that, she just _____."*) Infs **CA94, IN32, LA17,23, MP21, NY935, SC969**, Fell out; **MG72, MP73, MS921**, Fell out laughing; (Qu. GG31, *To laugh very hard: "I thought I'd _____."*) Infs **LA28, VA46**, Fall out; (Qu FF21b,. . . *"The first time I heard that one I _____."*) Inf **CA94**, Fell out. [6 Infs White, 5 Black, 1 Indian.] **1971** Today Show Letters **DC** [*Black*], She was so funny I fell out.

3 To faint, lose consciousness. **Chiefly Sth, SMidl.** See Map below.

1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. BB14,. . . *"Just as she came to the door she _____."*) 32 Infs, Fell out; **MR9, SC10,27**, Fall out; **WI30**, In Arkansas, they "fall out;" (Qu. BB15,. . . *Unconscious from a hard blow*) Inf **MD9**, To fall out—heard Negroes saying this. **1968** *DARE* FW Addit **Baltimore MD**, "To fall out"—common among Blacks.



DARE (Qu. BB14, *To suddenly become unconscious and fall:. . .*)

fall out of (one's, the) (cradle, crib, high chair) v phr In var forms: see quot 1965-70 and *DS FF21b.*

Usu in past tense: to laugh uncontrollably. (A mildly sarcastic response to an old joke which is no longer funny.) See also **fall out, kick the slats out of the cradle.**

Entries from DARE, "a dictionary of regional variations," used with permission of F. G. Cassidy, Director-Editor.

fall n *OED* ~ sb[1] 2 for *fall of the year; DAE* ~ 3 b; cp SPRING[2]: *spring of the year.*

1 Phr *fall of the year*: autumn, esp the fishing season between the end of the spring and summer fishery and Christmas.

[1776 (1792) CARTWRIGHT ii, 177 I sent five hands in a skiff. . .to look for the nets, which we lost there last fall.] [1794] 1968 THOMAS 171 Numbers of Fishermen, at the Fall of the year (the 25th of October) on their terms of serving being expired are paid the residue of their wages. [1822] 1928 CORMACK 106 The fishery may be commenced here six weeks or a month earlier than at any other part of the coast, and continued in the fall of the year until Christmas. T 45/6–64 'Twas in the fall 'o the year, she left to go to St John's in an open boat. . .and they got—breeze come on, they got drove off. T 43/4–64 They got no boats, only flats or a canoe—kayak they call it. That's what they run the rivers with and go back up the country in the fall o' the year. 1971 CASEY 233 When the evening would begin to get long, or sometimes now a stormy day in the fall of the year when they wouldn't be able to get out in boat and the weather would be too bad for spreading fish. . . 1975 LEYTON 21 We used to keep sheep and three or four cows. We'd sell one of them right late in the fall of the year, try to get a pair of boots for all hands.

2 Attrib, comb **fall baiting**: a quantity of bait-fish used in the autumn cod-fishery. See BAITING.

fall fish: cod-fish, large and fat, caught in the autumn with hook-and-line (1966 FARIS 236).

1842 BONNYCASTLE ii, 189 A quintal of fall fish, or best cod £0/12/6. 1850 [FEILD] 87 Nor the 'fall-fish' with autumn's showers await. . .

fall fishery: the cod-fishery prosecuted between the end of the spring and summer fishery and Christmas.

1916 LENCH 15 We have. . .the Fall fishery which [lasts for seven or eight weeks and is] not over till close near Christmas. 1933 *Nfld Royal Commission Report* 99 The fishery in the fall is not conducted by means of traps (since the fish do not run quite so close to shore, and in any case the weather is too stormy for traps) but by motor-boats using bultows, long lines with hooks set at intervals in the sea-flow. This fishery produces the best fish, since in the fall the fish have recovered from the effects of the spawning season and have been fattened by their summer diet. Their texture is firm and thick and their livers are rich in oil. T 141/69–65[2] We fishermen always looked at the fishery as two seasons: there's the caplin scull season and the fall's fishery. If

Entries from DNE, "a historical dictionary of a region."

Age as a Factor in Language Attitude Differences

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a study of the effect of age upon attitudes to standard and non-standard dialect speakers. Respondents drawn from three age levels (10-year-olds, 16-year-olds, adults), in two contrasting non-standard dialect speaking communities in Newfoundland, listened to tape recordings of speakers of four dialects. A modified matched-guise technique was employed. The respondents assessed each speaker on rating scales related to personality traits and to other value judgments. Computer analysis of the data indicated that respondent age was a differentiating factor in speech stereotypes.

Introduction

Language attitude research has shown that children as well as adults react with stereotyped biases to different speech types. It has been shown that even very young children, as young as three years old (Rosenthal 1973), not only perceive speech differences but also attach stereotyped views to such differences. Children's speech stereotypes may be similar to the typical speech biases of adults in their communities. Investigators such as Giles (Giles and Powesland 1975) and Lambert (Lambert and Klineberg 1967), who have carried out language attitude investigations with young people at several different age levels, generally have shown that children develop gradually through their growing-up years toward the language biases typically held by adults in their communities. An overview of the literature that deals with children supports the view that a major acceleration in this development takes place in the early teen years and that, by the later years of adolescence, young people for the most part share the stereotypes of the adults in their social community.

It is interesting to note in the results of several studies that children around the age of ten do not quite fit into this developmental pattern which otherwise, from the evidence at hand, might be construed as logical and orderly. Research in several different communities (e.g., Anisfeld and Lambert 1964; Giles 1970; S. Lambert 1973; El-Dash and Tucker 1975) has provided

results in which it may be observed that children around ten years old show noticeably different speech biases when compared with other--usually older--groups.[1]

Method

This paper reports on part of an investigation that was conducted in Bay Roberts and Carbonear, Newfoundland (Hampson 1982). The purpose was to investigate the attitudes of Newfoundland teachers and school children with respect to four of the distinctive dialects common in the Conception Bay North region. The 100 subjects represented three age groups: 10-year-olds in Grade Five, 16-year-olds in Grade Eleven[2] and adult teachers. The student respondents were drawn from each of two local dialect communities ("Bay Roberts r-less" and "Conception Bay North r-full"). All the teachers were from communities within the larger Conception Bay North region.

The study employed Lambert's matched-guise technique (Lambert et al. 1960) in its modified version (see Carranza and Ryan 1975; Clarke 1980). The subjects listened to taped speakers of two standard dialects: Mainland Canadian (MC)[3] and the St. John's Anglo-Irish dialect typically spoken by older educated people from that city (SJ). They also listened to speakers of two local non-standard dialects: "Bay Roberts r-less" (-r), which is the distinctive speech of many residents of the Town of Bay Roberts and the nearby Port-de-Grave peninsula and "Conception Bay North r-full" (+r), the usual non-standard speech type found in most of the larger Conception Bay North region.[4] Two speakers represented each dialect type on tape. Responses were collected by means of 5-point rating scales which were labelled with adjectives chosen to evoke status values, solidarity values, pejorative judgments and judgments as to the suitability of each speech type for certain formal and informal speech situations.[5] All aspects of the method were pretested extensively to ensure that it was suitable for even the youngest respondents. A computerized analysis of variance was made of subjects' responses.

Results and Discussion

The results provided interesting information to help answer the question of whether respondents from the three different age groups held similar or different stereotypes with respect to speakers of the four dialects presented. The presentation and discussion of results falls most conveniently into two sections: first, a consideration of the different kinds of age-related

results in relation to different kinds of rating scales, and, second, a treatment of age-related rating trends.

Results in Relation to Kinds of Rating Scales

The significant dialect type main effects show that the overall sample possessed clearly different stereotypes with respect to speakers of each of the four dialects (Table 1). On the status-related evaluations, the respondents' speech biases emerged as a hierarchy of dialect preference, the order of which was MC, SJ, +r, -r. Standard dialects clearly were favoured over non-standard. The results from domain scales paralled the results from status scales, as standard speech types were judged, as expected, to be more suitable for formal situations and non-standard more suitable for the informal situation woods. The results from the pejorative scale stuckup showed the same pattern, with higher status dialects always receiving higher negative evaluations.[6]

The dialect type main effects on solidarity scales, however, presented a different picture. Although speakers of MC, the Newfoundland-external standard dialect, were favoured with highly positive judgements, even to the point of receiving highest ratings on the scales likeable and nice, the other standard dialect, SJ, was favoured least in terms of solidarity values. The Bay Roberts -r speakers were favoured over Conception Bay North +r, and the -r speakers received the highest of all these ratings for friendly. Even though MC was the dialect type rated highest on these scales, the less obvious differences among ratings of the dialect types on these scales in comparison to the prestige-related judgments, and the relatively positive judgments evoked by speakers of all dialects indicate that the respondent sample as a whole held tolerant views of all the dialects in relation to solidarity values.

Now, the overall sample results having been presented, a description of the differences in the rating patterns of the groups within the sample is called for (Tables 2 and 3). Significant dialect type x group interactions appeared from the ratings on ten of the twelve scales employed. On status scale evaluations, all groups followed along the same general lines in their judgments (hence Table 2 shows no group main effects for status scales). Both groups of 16-year-olds for the most part shared the teachers' biases toward upgrading standard and downgrading non-standard speakers on status-related evaluations, as did the 10-year-olds. The difference in the 10-year-olds' evaluations was that they made noticeably less obvious discriminations

between standard and non-standard dialects. A similar pattern emerged from the domain scales.

The solidarity scales revealed much more intriguing age-related results. On these, the adult teachers clearly indicated such biases as might have been expected. That is, they favoured local non-standard speakers over standard, thereby showing an apparent attitudinal affinity with local dialects as a source of pride and identity. Their particular favouring of -r speakers indicates that this distinctively non-standard local speech type evoked the strongest feelings of dialect solidarity. With regard to results from the adolescent age group, the ratings by the 16-year-olds from Carbonear--which is the +r-speaking community represented--showed that they share the adults' biases.

A quite different pattern of rating scale behaviour appeared in the results from the Bay Roberts 16-year-olds and the 10-year-olds from both communities. These groups made less distinction among the different dialects than did the other groups but nevertheless they consistently favoured MC over speakers of their own and the other regional non-standard dialect. In short, on these solidarity-related evaluations we have, on the one hand, the Carbonear adolescents and the adult teachers making judgments that indicate strong feelings of solidarity with local dialects, but the Bay Roberts adolescents and the 10-year-olds from both communities making minimal differentiation among the dialects but favouring MC.

It is possible that the positive evaluations of MC by the youngest group may be due to the increased contact that Newfoundland has had with the mainland in recent years and, in particular, to exposure to Mainland media. The lack of similarity between the two 16-year-old groups' views, however, cannot be explained by an age difference. It is suggested that the difference in attitudes may in some way be related to the amount of non-standardness of the respondents' own speech or may be due to the size or remoteness of their communities and related factors (Clarke 1980; 1981).

Trends over Age

From an overview of the age-related results, an obvious trend appears whereby the 10-year-olds noticeably rated like each other, yet at the same time rated differently from the older student and teacher groups. Although respondent age was not computer-tested as an independent variable to confirm this pattern, it is apparent from the results at hand that in many

instances the 10-year-olds chose not to award highly positive, or highly negative,[7] ratings. Their ratings have, in effect, an overall "flatter profile". Thus the 10-year-olds appear not to have differentiated among the dialects to the same degree as did the adolescent respondents and the teachers. This observation is corroborated by results in some studies (Giles and Powesland 1975; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Lambert, Giles and Albert 1975; Edwards 1977) but contradicted by others (S. Lambert 1973; Giles 1972). This pattern could possibly be explained by a lack of social maturity, in that the 10-year-olds perhaps were not able to produce biased judgments to the same degree as did most of the older groups.

The children's pattern of rating behaviour in another way contrasts with results from some other studies, where it has been shown that 10-year-olds may award unrealistically positive judgments (Giles and Powesland 1975; Lambert and Klineberg 1967; El-Dash and Tucker 1975). The results from Bay Roberts and Carbonear do not show the 10-year-olds to have unusually positive views; in fact, on the pejorative scales, in some cases, they were more willing than other groups to rate speakers unfavourably.

It is interesting that, on the three solidarity scales and stuckup, the Bay Roberts 16-year-olds also produced a flatter profile of judgment ratings, like the 10-year-old respondents. In other studies, it has been found that generally it is the youngest respondents who have rated the least typically in comparison with older groups' views (e.g., Rosenthal 1973; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Clarke 1980).

Conclusion

Two general conclusions may be drawn:

1. It is evident that the four different dialects under evaluation did evoke different attitudes from the respondents, in relation to the different kinds of rating scales.

2. Age emerged as an important factor in respondents' language attitude differences. On status, pejorative and domain-related evaluations, all age groups generally shared the same stereotypes. Further, all groups made judgments which imply that they look to Toronto and other mainland centres for their models of prestige speech. With regard to age, it is clearly evident that, with increased age and education, young people develop more and more toward sharing at least the prestige-related speech

stereotypes of the adults in their communities. It does appear likely that the pattern of less polarized ratings from the youngest respondents substantiates the theory that language biases are acquired as part of a general sociolinguistic development process that comes about with increasing age and maturity. The biased judgments collected with status and domain-related scales attest to this. Nevertheless, such a continuum of development can in no wise be deduced as clearly in the solidarity-related results. The age factor alone does not explain the differences in respondents' solidarity-related speech biases. The community background of respondents appears to enter as an operative factor in this area.

It is possible that the differences in the 10-year-olds' ratings indicate that they lacked the social maturity to recognize values that older groups did. A more appropriate explanation of the situation, however, may be found in the text by Lambert and Klineberg. They suggest (1967:225) that children at this age tend to view "foreign people" as especially attractive. This explanation would apply to the children's highly positive ratings of MC.

Alternately, the differences in children's attitudes revealed by this study may be evidence of a genuine change in the linguistic attitudes of the population. Such an explanation has been offered by other researchers in other communities (Giles 1970; Lambert, Giles and Picard 1975; Clarke 1980). This explanation may be valid in the current context, for it is evident that, even on the solidarity scales, the rating patterns of the two groups of 10-year-olds were very much alike.

To follow up a suggestion by El-Dash and Tucker (1975:44, 49), it must be considered that differences in the language attitudes of the youngest respondents may be attributed to a lack of understanding of how to use the rating measures. But the significant differences in judgments collected, the correspondences in the children's ratings and their similarities with the Bay Roberts' 16-year-olds' ratings refute this idea and support the opinion that the different results from 10-year-olds are much more likely due to differences in attitude than to an inability to respond to the method.

FOOTNOTES

[1]There has not been a great deal of language attitude research implemented with young adolescent and pre-adolescent subjects.

[2]The median age for Grade Five subjects was 10 years, 6 months and for Grade Eleven students was 16 years, 9 months.

[3]Paddock (1981:616) calls this dialect "General Canadian English".

[4]For further information on these dialects see Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968), Paddock (1966; 1977; 1981), Clarke (1980; 1981) and Hampson (1982).

[5]The rating scales used were the status-related scales smart, wealthy, successful; solidarity-related scales friendly, likeable, nice; pejorative scales stuckup, mean; "domain" scales church, school, woods, home.

[6]The pejorative scales had in themselves the effect of making a negative-positive switch in the usual scale directionality.

[7]An exception: the group main effects show 10-year-olds were more willing to mark strongly negative judgments on a pejorative scale.

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	DIALECT TYPE				
SCALE	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
SMART	2.54 (3)	2.43 (4)	3.74 (2)	4.10 (1)	138.83***
WEALTHY	2.23 (3)	2.19 (4)	3.16 (2)	3.66 (1)	108.39***
SUCCESSFUL	2.57 (3)	2.53 (4)	3.62 (2)	3.90 (1)	101.13***
FRIENDLY	3.76 (3)	3.91 (1)	3.53 (4)	3.88 (2)	9.64***
LIKEABLE	3.54 (3)	3.64 (2)	3.44 (4)	3.72 (1)	2.98*
NICE	3.64 (3)	3.70 (2)	3.55 (4)	3.88 (1)	5.20**
STUCKUP	2.11 (3)	2.01 (4)	2.32 (1)	2.21 (2)	3.08*
CHURCH	2.02 (3)	1.99 (4)	3.06 (2)	3.57 (1)	80.08***
SCHOOL	2.13 (3)	2.10 (4)	3.35 (2)	3.97 (1)	124.67***
WOODS	3.89 (1)	3.75 (2)	3.01 (3)	2.61 (4)	54.79***

*p.<.05; **p.<.01; ***p.<.001
df=3/270 in all cases
figures in brackets indicate ranking of means

TABLE 1. Dialect Type Main Effects: means and F-ration for each dialect type over the entire 100-subject sample. It is to be noted that the higher the mean, the more respondents indicated that the speaker possessed that trait.

	GROUP					
SCALE:	Gr.V+r	Gr.V-r	Gr.XI+r	Gr.XI-r	Teachers	F ratio
FRIENDLY	3.52	4.06	3.64	3.91	3.68	2.85*
LIKEABLE	3.23	3.81	3.52	3.74	3.61	2.47*
NICE	3.44	3.99	3.51	3.81	3.71	3.15*
STUCKUP	2.42	2.39	2.03	1.80	2.16	2.56*
CHURCH	2.80	2.10	2.58	2.91	2.89	3.46*

*p<.05
df=12/270 in all cases

TABLE 2. Group Main Effects. The values show the differences in the ratings from different groups of respondents, irrespective of the dialect type under evaluation.

SCALE: SMART	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.78	2.53	3.40	3.78	6.93***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	3.30	3.03	3.43	3.85	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.95	2.18	3.65	4.13	
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.33	2.08	4.33	4.50	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	2.35	2.33	3.88	4.25	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	

SCALE: FRIENDLY					
	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
	3.60	3.53	3.33	3.73	2.78**
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	
	4.08	4.08	4.00	4.10	
	(2,3)	(2,3)	(4)	(1)	
	3.70	3.98	3.30	3.60	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	
	3.70	3.85	3.85	4.28	
	(4)	(2,3)	(2,3)	(1)	
	3.73	4.13	3.15	3.70	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	

SCALE: WEALTHY	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.65	2.38	2.50	3.55	7.26***
	(2)	(4)	(3)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	2.73	2.55	3.03	3.20	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.90	1.90	3.03	3.70	
	(3,4)	(3,4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.13	2.05	3.65	4.03	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	1.73	2.08	3.58	3.83	
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	

SCALE: LIKEABLE					
	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
	3.08	2.90	3.35	3.56	3.44***
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
	3.70	3.78	3.78	4.03	
	(4)	(2,3)	(2,3)	(1)	
	3.63	3.83	3.15	3.48	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	
	3.70	3.50	3.75	4.03	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
	3.60	4.18	3.18	3.50	
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	

SCALE: SUCCESSFUL	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.75	2.60	3.25	3.88	3.56**
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.V-r	3.00	2.63	3.33	3.43	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI+r	2.50	2.25	3.45	3.85	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.65	2.63	4.03	4.30	
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
Teachers	2.40	2.53	4.03	4.05	
	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	

SCALE: NICE					
	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
	3.28	3.20	3.50	3.78	1.84*
	(3)	(4)	(2)	(1)	
	4.00	3.80	3.95	4.23	
	(2)	(4)	(3)	(1)	
	3.55	3.75	3.10	3.65	
	(3)	(1)	(4)	(2)	
	3.73	3.80	3.73	4.00	
	(3,4)	(2)	(3,4)	(1)	
	3.65	3.93	3.50	3.75	
	(3)	(1)	(4)	(2)	

SCALE: STUCKUP	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.62	2.65	2.15	2.25	4.42***
	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	
Gr.V-r	2.40	2.50	2.33	2.33	
	(2)	(1)	(3,4)	(3,4)	
Gr.XI+r	1.85	1.63	2.40	2.25	
	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	
Gr.XI-r	2.00	1.63	1.95	1.65	
	(1)	(4)	(2)	(3)	
Teachers	1.65	1.65	2.75	2.58	
	(3,4)	(3,4)	(1)	(2)	

SCALE: CHURCH	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.58 (3)	2.30 (4)	2.95 (2)	3.38 (1)	4.28***
Gr.V-r	1.73 (4)	1.98 (3)	2.23 (2)	2.48 (1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.60 (4)	1.83 (3)	2.95 (2)	3.93 (1)	
Gr.XI-r	2.05 (3.4)	2.05 (3.4)	3.50 (2)	4.05 (1)	
Teachers	2.13 (3)	1.78 (4)	3.65 (2)	4.03 (1)	

SCALE: SCHOOL	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	2.53 (4)	2.73 (3)	2.75 (2)	3.50 (1)	11.62***
Gr.V-r	3.03 (3)	2.58 (4)	3.15 (2)	3.28 (1)	
Gr.XI+r	1.50 (4)	2.00 (3)	3.05 (2)	4.13 (1)	
Gr.XI-r	1.88 (3)	1.60 (4)	4.10 (2)	4.58 (1)	
Teachers	1.70 (3)	1.58 (4)	3.70 (2)	4.35 (1)	

SCALE: WOODS	DIALECT TYPE				
GROUP	+r	-r	SJ	MC	F ratio
Gr.V+r	3.43 (2)	3.28 (3)	3.55 (1)	2.88 (4)	7.02***
Gr.V-r	3.30 (2)	3.38 (1)	3.05 (4)	3.20 (3)	
Gr.XI+r	4.38 (1)	3.88 (2)	2.75 (3)	2.15 (4)	
Gr.XI-r	4.43 (1)	4.20 (2)	2.73 (3)	2.33 (4)	
Teachers	3.90 (2)	4.00 (1)	2.98 (3)	2.50 (4)	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
df=12/270 in all cases
figures in brackets indicate ranking of means

TABLE 3. Dialect Type X Group Interactions. The values indicate where respondent group was a determining factor in the different ratings of the four dialect types under evaluation.

A Perception of the Speech of a Newfoundland Speech Community

Bernard O'Dwyer, Memorial University

Hypothesis

Speakers of a language variety define their own speech community: (1) by their perception of the language variety that they speak; (2) by their positive attitudes toward the use of that variety; (3) by the way in which they and others use that variety.

Introduction

This paper is an excerpt taken from a much larger study on attitudes to language variety in a Newfoundland speech community. The responses to the six questions that we are about to consider belong to a larger group of twenty questions subtitled 'respondents attitudes to their own language variety'. This larger section of twenty questions focuses on item (1) in my hypothesis: speakers of a language variety define their own speech community by their perception of the language variety that they speak.

Because, in view of the overall study, we are being rather microscopic here, it is necessary to allow certain distinctions to exist. These distinctions have been made in the greater study and are of importance to us here. Respondents have acknowledged the existence of, at least, three varieties of their language code: (1) that variety which is spoken by the public in general; (2) a 'more acceptable' variety; and (3) a variety understood to be 'educated Newfoundland English'. It is with the latter two that we are concerned here.[1]

Respondents

The data for this study have been elicited from 135 respondents, chosen through multi-stage random sampling techniques to represent three geographical areas and two educational levels. Here I will consider only the geographical areas.

Data Area

The three geographical areas are: St. John's, an urban center;

Bay Bulls, a non-commuter rural community; and Pouch Cove, a commuter rural community. In turn, each of these reflects a different dialectal area: the St. John's dialect; the North Shoreline dialect is represented by Pouch Cove; the Southern Shoreline dialect is represented by Bay Bulls. For descriptions of these dialects see: Seary, Story and Kirwin: The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland: An Ethno-linguistic Study. (1968).

Attitude Scales

To measure attitudes in this study, I have used a seven point differential scale reflecting three characteristics: equality of units, unidimensionality, and a point of neutrality. Also, attitudes are considered to be either negative or positive. A response to a neutral position is not considered an attitude.

An example of the differential scale used in this study is:

definitely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all
	+			±			-	

Data

Q33. Do you speak this 'more acceptable' variety of English?

	St. John's	Bay Bulls	Pouch Cove	Collectively
+	66.6%	82.7%	57.1%	68.8%
±	21.4	4.3	25.0	16.9
-	12.0	8.6	17.9	12.9
ϕ^2		4.3		1.4
ratio	5.6	9.6	3.2	5.3

[3]

1) In each of the communities, the majority of respondents replied that they spoke the 'more acceptable' variety of English, that is, that the variety of English that they spoke was better than that spoken by the public in general.

2) Differences in the ratings among the three communities were not significant, not even at the .100 level.[4]

Q40. Do you speak this 'educated Newfoundland English'?

	St. John's	Bay Bulls	Pouch Cove	Collectively
+	52.4%	69.5%	46.4%	56.1%
±	16.7	21.7	21.4	19.9
-	23.8	4.4	25.1	17.8
Ø	7.1	4.4	7.1	6.2
ratio	2.2	15.8	1.8	3.2

1) Again, the majority of respondents from all three communities stated that they spoke 'educated Newfoundland English'.

2) There were some significant differences among the communities:

Test Q40.

Communities:	X^2	p-values
St. John's vs Bay Bulls	4.500	.05
St. John's vs Pouch Cove	0.098	
Bay Bulls vs Pouch Cove	4.597	.05

3) Differences were significant at the .05 level between St. John's and Bay Bulls respondents; also between, Pouch Cove and Bay Bulls respondents. This means that Bay Bulls respondents were significantly more positive about speaking 'educated Newfoundland English' than were respondents from either of the other two communities.

4) This shows a contrast between respondents from the non-commuter community and respondents from the urban and commuter communities.

If we contrast the responses of all three communities individually and collectively to both Q33, the 'more acceptable' variety, and Q40, 'educated Newfoundland English', we can see how each group of respondents has reacted to each variety. This was done by testing the significance of the above differences. Chi-square was computed showing the following results:

Test Q33 vs Q40.

Communities:	X^2	p-values
St. John's	4.674	.05
Bay Bulls	1.018	
Pouch Cove	0.620	
Collectively	2.384	

1) Although Bay Bulls respondents were most positive in their attitudes toward both varieties, there was no significant difference between how they rated each. This could mean that these respondents saw both varieties as essentially one and the same.

2) Pouch Cove respondents were the least positive in their attitudes toward both varieties. Similarly, there was no significant difference in their ratings between the two.

3) In an earlier part of this study, Pouch Cove respondents did acknowledge a significant difference between both varieties, whereas Bay Bulls respondents did not.

4) St. John's respondents, however, did note a significant difference in their ratings between the two varieties.

Q34. If so (that is, if you do speak the 'more acceptable' variety), how well do you speak this variety of English?

	St. John's	Bay Bulls	Pouch Cove	Collectively
+	64.3%	73.8%	57.1%	65.1%
±	15.5	8.7	17.8	14.0
-	16.7	13.1	21.5	17.1
Ø	3.6	4.4	3.6	3.8
ratio	3.9	5.6	2.7	3.8

1) The degree of positiveness for Q34 was similar to that expressed for Q33, where those who claimed to speak the 'more acceptable' variety of English also claimed to speak it well. Pearson's correlation analysis showed a coefficient of 0.848, meaning that in 72% of the cases those respondents who claimed to speak the 'more acceptable' variety did so well.

2) There were no significant differences among the communities in this question.

Q45. If you do not speak 'educated Newfoundland English', how would you classify the variety of English that you do speak?

i) the same English as spoken by other people in my community, acceptable Newfoundland English
ii) English which is different from that spoken by other people in the community where I live
iii) not educated English, but still acceptable
iv) other (specify)

	St. John's	Bay Bulls	Pouch Cove
i) same	48.8%	34.8%	71.4%
ii) different	3.6	5.8	17.9
iii) not educated	15.5	13.0	
iv) other	1.2		3.6
v) no answer	31.0	46.4	7.1

1) A significant number of respondents did not answer this question. This was especially the case for Bay Bulls respondents.

Two of the above categories in this question were of particular importance to my hypothesis: the first category, (1) the same English as is spoken by other people in my community; and (3) not educated speech, but still acceptable. The first deals with our concept of the speech community which is defined by speakers who share a single language variety within a synchronic and socio-historical perspective. The second category returns the focus to Q33 and Q44 where we might have expected a speaker of 'educated Newfoundland English' to claim that he spoke the 'more acceptable' variety of that language; whereas, we might not have expected the reverse of this.

2) Collectively, the majority of respondents identified with the same variety of English as was spoken by others within their communities.

3) Differences were computed and, again, some cases proved to be significant.

Test Q45.

Communities:	X^2	p-values
St. John's vs Bay Bulls	1.669	
St. John's vs Pouch Cove	4.417	.050
Bay Bulls vs Pouch Cove	5.112	.025

4) Pouch Cove respondents differed significantly from respondents in the other communities in identifying with other speakers from their own community.

Q46. Your spoken English is similar to the variety spoken by:

i) your doctor
ii) your bank manager
iii) your local policeman
iv) your local laborer
v) other (specify)

In this question, I attempted to identify the respondents' language variety with different social class occupations. In most speech communities the different varieties are equated with occupational or socially stratified groups, e.g., doctors, because they are educated, are expected to speak a more prestigious variety of the language than that spoken by the general public. Based upon this assumption, I asked my respondents to rate their speech variety in accordance with representatives of an occupational scale. This scale is based on the Blishen (1958) and other social scales.[5] Here I have further categorized these scales into three social levels: upper, middle and lower class occupations.

	St. John's	Bay Bulls	Pouch Cove	Collectively
UCO	12.5%	8.2%	6.4%	9.0%
MCO	44.0	16.6	25.2	28.6
LCO	37.5	57.8	50.5	48.6
Ø	6.0	17.4	17.9	13.8

1) The majority of St. John's respondents have identified with middle and upper class occupations.

2) Respondents from the rural communities have for the most part identified with lower class occupations.

3) Differences among the three groups were computed with the following results:

Test Q46.

Communities:	UCO	MCO	p-v[6]	LCO	p-v
St. John's vs Bay Bulls	0.473	8.616	.005	4.016	.050
St. John's vs Pouch Cove	1.081	3.916	.050	1.733	
Bay Bulls vs Pouch Cove	0.050	0.473		0.130	

4) St. John's and Bay Bulls respondents were significantly different from one another for MCO and LCO. St. John's respondents identified themselves more with people in MCO, while respondents from Bay Bulls identified themselves more with people in LCO.

5) St. John's and Pouch Cove respondents were significantly different from one another for MCO, where St. John's respondents showed greater identity.

Q47. How do you rate the English that you write?

	St. John's	Bay Bulls	Pouch Cove
i) educated	61.9%	47.8%	39.2%
ii) acceptable	34.5	47.8	50.0
iii) not acceptable			3.6
iv) very poor	1.2		3.6
v) other (specify)	2.4		
vi) no answer		4.4	3.6

1) Respondents from all three communities expressed positive attitudes about their written language. By positive, I mean that it was rated either as 'educated', or as 'acceptable'.

2) Of the three communities, St. John's respondents were significantly more positive about their written language than were the respondents from Pouch Cove. The former perceived their language to be 'educated'; whereas, the latter perceived their language to be 'acceptable'.

Test Q47.

Communities:	X^2	p-values
St. John's vs Bay Bulls	2.108	
St. John's vs Pouch Cove	5.754	.025
Bay Bulls vs Pouch Cove	0.370	

If we contrast the responses to Q40, the spoken language, with those to Q47, the written language, we can note some interesting perceptions:

Test Q40 vs Q47.

Communities:	X^2	p-values
St. John's	0.783	
Bay Bulls	10.141	.005
Pouch Cove	3.116	.100
Collectively	12.651	.001

1) St. John's respondents did not differ significantly in their responses to the written language over that to the spoken language.

2) Bay Bulls respondents, however, differed significantly and perceived themselves to speak 'educated Newfoundland English', but only to write 'acceptable English'.

3) Pouch Cove respondents also differed in their perception of how they spoke and wrote. The difference, however, was signif-

icant only at the .100 level and although it was above the accepted .05 for this study, it is a significance which might have value in other studies.

4) Collectively, respondents demonstrated a very significant difference in how they perceived their spoken and written language. For spoken, it was 'educated Newfoundland English'; for written, it was 'acceptable English'.

5) Concluding this last question, our rural respondents showed themselves to be more positive about their spoken language than they were about their written language. St. John's respondents have shown themselves to be equally positive about both.

In brief summary to this group of questions, we can make the following observations regarding our hypothesis - speakers of a language variety define their own speech community (1) by their perception of the language variety that they speak; (2) by their positive attitudes toward the use of that variety; (3) by the way in which they and others use that variety. It is with item (1) only that we have been concerned with here.

St. John's

St. John's respondents have generally expressed positive attitudes toward their language variety in both its spoken and written forms. The majority of respondents have perceived their speech to be 'educated Newfoundland English'. 14.2% more respondents have perceived it to be, if not 'educated', then at least 'more acceptable' than that spoken by the public in general. This difference was computed as $X^2 = 4.674$ which means that the ratings of the two varieties, 'more acceptable' and 'educated', are significantly different at the .05 level. Also, 9.5% more respondents perceived their written language to be 'more educated' than their spoken language. However, this difference was not a significant one.

Slightly less than half of the St. John's respondents identified their speech variety with that spoken in their community. This could suggest that with the mixture of dialect remnants and varieties spoken within this urban community, it is becoming increasingly more difficult for the native speaker to identify himself with other native speakers. In identifying his speech with that of other people within his community, the St. John's respondent identified with those speakers belonging more to MCO and after that to those belonging to LCO.

Bay Bulls

Bay Bulls respondents were very positive in their attitudes toward their spoken language and very significantly less positive about their written language. 13.2% of the respondents thought that their speech was 'more acceptable' than it was 'educated Newfoundland English'. However, this difference did not prove to be significant. Since these respondents have not seen a significant difference in their ratings of the two varieties, it is possible that they may be perceiving both varieties to be approximately the same, that is, the 'more acceptable' variety is 'educated Newfoundland English'.

Only a third of the respondents identified with speakers within their own geographical community. This I found to be both surprising and difficult to explain, especially for a rural community which showed internal cohesion in other statements. When identifying with individual speakers for social class occupation, the majority of respondents identified with speakers in MCO or UCO.

Pouch Cove

Pouch Cove respondents were also positive in their attitudes toward their spoken and written language, however, they were the least positive. There was a difference in their ratings of spoken with the written language, but the significance was at the .100 level. 10.7% more respondents thought that their variety was the 'more acceptable' than 'educated Newfoundland English'. Similar to the Bay Bulls respondents, this difference proved to be significant.

A very high percentage of respondents identified their English with that spoken in their community. This is very consistent with the internal cohesion expressed by these respondents in other questions. In identifying with other speakers, Pouch Cove respondents identified mainly with LCO, but 25% of the respondents also identified with MCO.

Comparing communities

In comparing the three communities by showing where the differences proved to be meaningful, I have chosen to use the following table:

Summary Table 1.

Communities:	Q33	Q40	Q34	Q45	Q46 UCO	Q46 MCO	Q46 LCO	Q47
St. John's vs Bay Bulls	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
St. John's vs Pouch Cove	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
Bay Bulls vs Pouch Cove	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-

The minus signs in the above table mean that the differences are not significant; whereas, the plus signs mean that they are. As we can see at a glance, there are far more insignificant differences than there are meaningful ones. If we take each question in turn, we can analyze these further:

Q33. When asked if they spoke a 'more acceptable' variety of English than that spoken by the public in general, respondents expressed rather positive attitudes to their spoken language. These responses, by individual community, have not proven to be significant. This might suggest that although respondents replied similarly, that is, positively, their differences were not meaningful enough to note an urban/rural contrast, nor a commuter/non-commuter contrast.

Q40. When asked if they spoke 'educated Newfoundland English', the urban and non-commuter respondents, from St. John's and Bay Bulls respectively, were significantly more positive than the commuter respondents from Pouch Cove. It is possible that rural respondents who have frequent contact with speakers of the 'regional standard'[7] are made to feel somewhat linguistically insecure because their language variety might differ from that 'regional standard'.

Q34. When respondents were asked how well they spoke the 'more acceptable' variety, they replied positively showing no differences that proved significant.

Q45. Again, Pouch Cove respondents differed significantly from the other respondents when they identified their speech with that spoken in their community.

Q46. Although there are three parts to this question, basically St. John's respondents differed from the rural respondents by identifying their speech with that spoken by people in MCO.

Q47. St. John's respondents saw their written language to be significantly more 'educated' than did the respondents from Pouch Cove.

The above table points out that there are more differences between the urban, St. John's, respondents and the rural, Bay Bulls and Pouch Cove, respondents than there are between the latter two. Also respondents from the non-commuter community expressed more positive attitudes toward their language variety than did the respondents from the commuter community. Therefore, it would appear that the greater the contact that rural respondents have with speakers of the 'regional standard' the less positive they remain about their own variety of English.

FOOTNOTES

[1]In the greater study, a number of questions have been asked to establish and to distinguish the different varieties of language referred to here. Following are summaries for two of the leading questions:

Q28. For the 'more acceptable' variety of English, 84.1% of all respondents have stated that such a variety did exist for them. This represented 7.9 positive responses for each negative response.

Q35. For 'educated Newfoundland English', 60.1% of all respondents have stated that such a variety did exist for them. This represented 2.3 positive responses for each negative response.

The differences in responses between these two questions were computed for significance:

Test Q28 vs Q35.

Communities:	X^2	p-values
St. John's	13.691	.001
Bay Bulls	0.005	
Pouch Cove	7.114	.010
Collectively	0.502	

[2]Ø, this symbol has been used throughout the study to indicate 'no answer' responses.

[3]The statistical procedures used in this paper were taken from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (1970) and its updates. The procedures were of two types: frequencies and chi-square tests. The latter had been further adjusted for M comparisions, where M is the difference between any two porportions at any one time. The computed results from these tests were distributed at a p-value = .05.

The last statistic presented on each of the frequency tables states the ratio of positive to negative responses. In Q33, for example, the ratio for St. John's respondents reads 5.6 positive responses for each negative response. This procedure has been followed for ratio presentations.

[4]The significance of the p-value, although set at .05 for this and most other studies, can have significance as high as .100. However, this is usually considered to be the extreme.

[5]The class scale used in this study is based on the Blishen (1958) scale. Each class represents a number of occupations ranked and grouped according to combined scores for income, years of schooling, and by sex in the Canadian Census (1951). For example, medical doctors have been ranked as class 1, at the top of the seven class Blishen scale.

This scale has been adjusted for time and classification by two other scales: 'Occupational Breakdown of the St. John's Market Area' (Census, 1971) and 'General Wage Rates per Occupation in the St. John's Market Area (Census, 1976).

[6]p-v means p-value.

[7]The use of 'regional standard' in this study is based on Story's (1958) use of the phrase. Those features which are found in the language of all Newfoundlanders, 'regardless of geographic location, or social and economic class' can be best referred to as 'Newfoundland regional'. These features are more common in urban speech and so the term 'standard' might be reserved for urban speech.

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The Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English Presents

Sheep Storm

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ABSTRACT

Most of the data for the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English - a modest addition to the growing stock of regional compendiums across the continent - are now in. At the APLA conference, the author affixed to an assigned wall of Memorial University different pieces of this data pertaining to one word. The information available on the word sheep storm gave some idea of what the dictionary's files contain in general. The displayed cards and charts on the wall, of different sizes and colours, were the total paper: questionnaires, statistics from fieldwork, evidence from other dictionaries, citations from P.E.I. writings, comments from informants, and comments from independent observers. This display has been reduced herein to a more or less standard presentation. However, the above background is necessary if the reader is to excuse the paper's format and tone.

With the assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the author is preparing a Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English. Among its roughly 650 entries will be sheep storm.

The existence of this compound was not known in 1979 when the "Pilot Project" was in progress. In this postal survey of senior citizens scattered haphazardly across the province, sheep storm would have come in here:

Item	Have you heard this phrase on P.E.I.	Do you use it?	Comment, if any
oyster mud			
pet day			

Item	Have you heard this phrase on P.E.I.	Do you use it?	Comment, if any
rappe pie			
robin storm			
_____			
shirtsleeves work			
short-taken			
silver frost			
slob ice			

However, one of the seventy-two informants for the Pilot Project wrote a comment on this page: "Sheep storm - a storm of cold wind and rain after the sheep are shorn." At once a card was begun for this new item, recording as the months passed other independent attestations, as well as informal solicitations by the author. Typical entries on this card are:

> Same as poor man's fertilizer. / Farm Centre official has heard this expression, as has Department of Fisheries man, who says fishermen prefer it to other alternatives. / Cold wind and heavy rain "in the first part of June." / Comes only in June. Called sheep storm because you're not supposed to shear sheep before it comes. About June 10th. Lasts about three days. / Agricultural Research Station, April 21, 1981, says snow storm on this day - a real blizzard - is a sheep storm. / Author's carpenter agrees this April 21 storm is a sheep storm. / Two meanings?

Meanwhile the word was checked in other dictionaries. So far it has been found in none. It is certainly a dialect word, possibly even that rare item, an Islandism. The standard "dictionary sheet" used in this work is not reproduced here, but it requires a research assistant to check, at the beginning, the Gage Canadian Dictionary, Webster's New World Dictionary, Funk and Wagnall's Standard College Dictionary, and the Concise Oxford Dictionary. These first four dictionaries establish whether the word has any claim at all to dialect status; if found in two of them without qualification it is rejected. The assistant then moves on to the Dictionary of Canadianisms, Webster's Third New International Dictionary, the Oxford English Dictionary and Supplement, the English Dialect Dictionary, the Dictionary of American English, the Dictionary of Americanisms, the Scottish National Dictionary, the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, the Middle English Dictionary, the Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English, Irish and Gaelic dictionaries, and sometimes others (for example, the Dictionary of Jamaican English, or the Dictionary of American Slang). The Dictionary

of Newfoundland English has recently been added to this list (it does not have sheep storm); still to come are the Dictionary of American Regional English, the revised Gage, and others.

Whatever the information in these new dictionaries, it has certainly been established that sheep storm is an excellent candidate for this dictionary. Accordingly it was put into a fieldwork survey conducted in 1980-81. The relevant portion of the survey questionnaire reads:

176. smelt storm
177. sheep storm
178. robin snow
179. poor man's fertilizer

Sometimes we get an unexpected snowfall of storm in the late spring.

Can any of these be used for a rain storm in June?

The survey sample of 112 Islanders was carefully designed, and it yielded some statistics meant to be reasonably hard. Some on sheep storm are:

Used 48% Heard 28% Never heard 24%

User percentages in subcategories:

Rural 56%
Urban 39%

Female 45%
Male 52%

Over 60	50-59	40-49	30-39	Under 30
71%	44%	41%	11%	8%

	Female	Male
Rural	53%	58%
Urban	36%	42%

	Over 60	Under 60
Rural	77%	36%
Urban	64%	15%

	Over 60	Under 60
Female	72%	21%
Male	70%	33%

Egmont	Summerside	Malpeque	Charlottetown	Cardigan
67%	60%	49%	22%	49%

English	French	Irish	Scottish
46%	13%	52%	52%

There are also figures pertaining to social status or class, which are not reproduced here.

The informants' comments in this survey were also noted by fieldworkers, though not taped. A small selection of those on sheep storm (177) follows:

> Comes in May. It means heavy rain, not snow. / Usually first week of June. / A cold rain storm in June or July. Get it nearly every year. / Around first week in June when sheep are sheared and a lot will die. / Comes in spring. / Comes around 1st of June when sheep are shorn so they have to put them in the barn so they won't freeze. / Snow in May. / In March when lambs are coming.

In its minority meaning (a late snowfall) sheep storm obviously shares

the field with other alternatives, some of them not dialectal at all. Thus a further 195 Islanders, selected by a random procedure from the voter's list of 1979, encountered the word in a multiple-choice survey (1980-82), also administered by fieldworkers. The relevant question was: (88) Do you have a name for a late spring snowfall?

1. spring storm
2. spring blizzard
3. sheep storm
4. robin snow
5. line storm
6. poor man's fertilizer
7. poor man's manure
8. smelt storm
9. other
10. NA

Statistics from this survey are not yet available, but it will be interesting to see how sheep storm fares when pitted directly against some rivals. Informants' further comments on this questionnaire are available, however, and give further information, including other locutions. A selection of these commments for question (88) is:

> farmer's fertilizer / St. Patrick's Day storm / sheep storm is rain and sleet, not snow / May snow / shower of shit / May storm

Meanwhile, sheep storm became one of the words that volunteer readers were to watch for as they combed through Island writings. Their findings to date are as follows:

> Wed. 11 June. Still wet and windy. They say this is the sheep storm. (1941) / I remember Grandpa talking about the June 'sheep storm' as those raw, miserable days that came after the shearing, when the sheep were naked and defenceless. (1981) / If a storm came after the shearing it was called a "sheep storm." (1981) / Sometimes there is a surprise snowstorm as late as May; the local people call them "sheep storms" because the farmers must quickly bring in their freshly sheared sheep and newborn lambs before they freeze. (1982)

It will be noted that both meanings - 'June rain' and 'late snowstorm' are supported by these citations. There will thus be two definitions for sheep storm in the Dictionary, with two sets of supporting documentation.

One other source of documentation has yielded nothing on this word so far. It is a set of tapes from the archives of the Charlottetown C.B.C. radio station, featuring senior citizens talking about former times. These extensive tapes were made as part of a documentary series on Island heritage, and are currently being monitored for dialect words.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this baring of the files on one word from the research will reveal how the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English is being put together. The work will hardly crowd the OED off the shelves, and even in the area of dialect the province can only look impoverished beside the rich lexicographical ore recently mined in its sister island of Newfoundland. Yet the data is there for a small and interesting compendium.

The Acadian French Vowel System in the Lobster-fishing Terminology on Lamèque Island

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ABSTRACT

The present paper is an extension of the study of lobster-fishing terminology on Miscou Island to Lamèque Island. The Acadian French terminology compiled on Miscou Island served as the base questionnaire in the interviews of the ninety-six fishermen living in the thirteen fishing communities of Lamèque Island. The major difference with Miscou Island is that the only language spoken in the fishing communities on Lamèque is French. One purpose of the research was to determine to what extent the fishing terminology on Lamèque Island reflects a French phonology. Analysis of the data showed not only that the French vowel system is intact, but that there are allophones, some stemming from English, others specifically Acadian. The allophones vary among the thirteen communities. This paper describes the allophones of the vowel system. Also, the variations of the vowels ɑ-ɛ in the term taquet, are plotted on a phonetic map of the fishing communities.

Introduction

Miscou and Lamèque Islands, situated on the outermost tip of north-east New Brunswick, are separated by Miscou Harbour and form the lobster-fishing zone No. 66. Until the 1950s, English fish companies were to be found on both islands. Since it is the companies which introduced the lobster trap, the fishermen of both islands received the same basic English lobster-fishing terminology.

The major difference between Miscou and Lamèque Islands today is one of population. On Miscou Island, English and French inhabitants have preserved separate linguistic as well as cultural identities since the nineteenth century. A previous paper, Linguistic Coalescence — Lobster-fishing Terminology — Convergence vs Divergence, showed how the lobster-fishing terminology of the Acadian French fishermen on Miscou Island has undergone lexical, semantic, phonetic and morphologic adaptations from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present. The difference in population between the two islands is that the English inhabitants of Lamèque

Island have become assimilated into the Acadian French language and culture so that presently, no English is spoken on the Island.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this paper is twofold. One, to give a synchronic description of the Acadian French vowel system found in the lobster-fishing terminology on Lamèque Island; and two, to plot the variations of the vowels a-ɛ in the term taquet on a phonetic map of the fishing communities.

Methods

The present study falls under areal linguistics in that Lamèque Island is composed of fifteen separate communities, nine of which border the Bay of Chaleurs, and six the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The island is divided into two by having separate coastlines. The boundaries for each community are outlined on the map in Appendix A.

Thirteen of the communities have lobster fishing as their main source of income. The criteria in selecting the fishermen in these communities were as follows:

1. All fishermen should be captains and owners of their own boats and fishing gear.
2. Only fishermen who had not left their own community to work in cities or elsewhere should be interviewed.

Appendix B shows the total number of lobster fishermen on Lamèque Island as well as the number and per cent of the fishermen interviewed in each community according to the above criteria. The interviewing lasted three months; all interviews were taped except four.

The questionnaire used consisted of the 68 Acadian French lobster-fishing terms compiled on Miscou Island. A parallel inventory of sounds of the vocalic system in the terminology used by the fishermen on the Bay of Chaleurs and the Gulf of St. Lawrence was compiled.

Analysis of the vocalic system revealed phonic similarity between borrowed English terms such as bait pin, and Acadian French terms such as sous maître. The English monophthong, IPA symbol, [e] in bait converges in pronunciation with the Acadian diphthong [ej] in maître. The allophone [ɪ] in blin is the English diphthong [aɪ],

while [ˋɪ] is the Acadian allophone in bride. Thus arose the problem of phonetic transcription. In the present study, alternating French and English IPA symbols was not a solution. One possibility was to substitute English IPA symbols by using the phonetic symbols in Webster's dictionary. However, tapes also revealed sounds which had neither English nor standard French correspondences. The final solution, therefore, was to delve for symbols with which to represent the vocalic system, into a variety of sources such as French and English IPA symbols, Webster's dictionary, and Vincent Lucci's Phonologie de l'Acadien, as well as symbols of my own adaptation.

Inventory of the vocalic system

The following is an inventory of the vocalic system found in the terminology in the communities on both coasts with one exception, the nasal [ɛ̃] which was found only in the terminology on the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

I Oral Vowels	II Nasals	III Diphthongs
[i] capitaine	[ã] grand bord	[aʲ] gailler
[ˋɪ] lisse	[õ] tangon	[eʲ] sous maître
[e] pesée	[ɛ̃] homards	
[ɛ] bales	les moyens	
[ɛ̄] fer		
[ə] pelin		
[a] lattes		
[ɑ] cable		
[o] baux		
[ɔ] spor		
[ʉ] sous maître		
[ˋʉ] loose bales		
[ɤ] penture		
[ø] achteux		
[œ] haleur		

IV Combinations

1) semi vowel + vowel

/wɛ/ — [bwɛt]
/wa/ — [bwadenɛt]
/ɥi/ — [kɥir]
/ɥi|/ — [ɥi|]
/jɛ/ - [asjɛt]

2) semi vowel + diphthong

/wej/ — [bwej]

V English Vowels — Diphthongs

vowels

/ʌ/ — [hal-ʌp]
/ā/ — [bāt pin]
/ô/ — [waʂbôrd]

diphthongs

/ī/ — [blīn]
/ou/ — [pour ər blɔk]

Allophonic variants

The allophones for each of the following phonemes are to be found in the terminology of the fishermen in the communities on both coastlines.

/i/ [i] [ˋi] [ī]
/ɛ/ [ɛ] [ɛ̄] [a] [ej]
/a/ [a] [ɑ] [ɔ] [aj]
/ɑ/ [ɑ] [ɔ]
/u/ [u] [ū] [ʌ]
/ô/ [ô] [ɔ] [ou]
/ə/ [ə] [ej]

Description of allophonic variants

/i/ [i] [ɪ] [ɪ̄]

The realization of tense [i] and lax [ɪ] is conditioned when [i] is used in free stressed position; [ɪ] occurs in stressed position when the phoneme /i/ is checked by the consonant /t/.

pti [pti] ptit [ptɪt]
ptsi [ptsi] ptsit [ptsɪt]

[t] and the palatalized [ts] are in free variation.

The contrast [i] [ɪ] is invariable in the following terms:

cuire [kɥir] huile [ɥɪl]
capitaine [kapitɛn] lisse [lɪs]

/ɛ/ [ɛ] [ɛ̄] [a] [eʲ]

[ɛ̄] long, occurs when stressed and checked by the phoneme /r/, and when in the data it is preceded by the fricatives /v,ʁ/:

pelins de travers — [travɛ̄r]
fer — [ʁɛ̄r]

[ɛ] and [a] occur in free variation:

cercle — [sɛrk] ~ [sark]

The diphthong [eʲ] is a variant of the standard French phoneme /ɛ/.

Standard French	Acadian
maître [mɛtr]	sous maître [meʲtr]
aide [ɛd]	aide [eʲd]

/a/ [a] [ɑ] [ɔ] [aʲ]

Free variation occurs in the following:

haleur [haloer] ~ [hɔloer]
taquet [takɛ] ~ [tɔkɛ]
carreau [karo] ~ [kɔro]

The monosyllabic aille in caille de cable and gailler les nets, is diphthongized as [aʲ].

/ʊ/ [ʊ] [ʊ] [ʌ]

The allophone [ʊ] in the terms loose bales and snood is lax. It is an Acadian adaptation of the English phoneme /ʊ/.

The phoneme /ʊ/ occurs in the speech of the fishermen other than in the terminology:

— à l'autre bout [bʊt] i y'a le spor —

/ə/ [ə] [eʲ]

Free variation occurs between [ə] and [eʲ]; [pəlɪn] is an Acadian adaptation of the English term paling, whereas [peʲlɪn] is

the borrowing as pronounced by the English lobster fishermen on Miscou Island.

Vowels before /r/.

/a/ [a] [ɔ]

The phoneme /a/ in carreau is realized as either [a] or [ɔ]. The phoneme /r/ is in intervocalic position between two stressed vowels [a] ~ [ɔ] and [o] - [karo] ~ [kɔro] . In this position, /r/ is pronounced as the French "apical roulé" [r].

/ô/ [ô] [ɔ]

The phoneme /ô/ in washboard is an English borrowing. The allophone [ɔ] occurs when the final consonant /d/ is devoiced [wɑʃbɔR]. The phoneme /r/ preceded by a stressed vowel and followed by a voiceless consonant is realized as a French dorsal [R].

The occurrence of the dorsal [R] in: amarre, spor, grand bord, sark, indicates that the dorsal [R] occurs when the phoneme /r/ is preceded by the stressed vowels [a] [a] [ɔ] and is followed by either:

1) a devoiced or unvoiced consonant
2) an unstressed vowel, or when
3) the phoneme /r/ is itself in final position:

V-C (devoiced) — washboard — grand bord [wɑʃbɔR] - [gRɑ̃ bɔR]
V-C (unvoiced) — sark [saRK]
V-V (unstressed) — amarre [amaR] ~ [amɔR]
V-# (r final position) — spor [spɔR]

When the phoneme /r/ is both preceded and followed by a stressed vowel as in amarrer, it is pronounced as a French apical [r] [amɔre] ~ [amare] .

Variations of a-ɛ in the term taquet

The term taquet, used to denote the piece of wood which keeps a lobster trap shut, is originally a French nautical term used in sailing vessels to indicate the wood or metal to which the cords of sails are fastened. On Lamèque Island, the variations of the vowels a-ɛ in the term offer the widest diversity of variation, both according to age level and fishing community.

An analysis of the fishermen both on the Bay of Chaleurs and the Gulf of St. Lawrence was made according to age level and fishing community to find out which of the two was a determining factor in the pronunciation of the variants in the term taquet. The conclusions were drawn from the data in the tables shown in the following appendices:

- Appendix C shows the number and per cent of fishermen in each community according to age level on Lamèque Island.

- Appendix D shows both for the Bay of Chaleurs and the Gulf of St. Lawrence:
    1) the number of fishermen at each age level using a variant of the term taquet;
    2) the total number and per cent of each variant used on each coast;
    3) the per cent of fishermen on both coasts at each age level using the pronunciation [takɛ].

- Appendix E shows in each fishing community on Lamèque Island:
    1) the distribution of all the possible variations of the term taquet;
    2) the per cent of usage of the standard French pronunciation [takɛ].

Comments

The brief description of the vocalic system of the fishermen on Lamèque Island is limited to the vowels which appear in the terms of their trade, lobster fishing. The questionnaire used in the interviewing was prepared with the intention of determining the lexical variations in the terminology. The lexical inventory showed that there was a difference in the terms used by the communities bordering the Bay of Chaleurs, and those bordering the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It also showed, that what had at its origin been an English terminology, has become modified in its use by the Acadian fishermen so that presently, the terminology is embedded in a French vocal system.

Analysis of the recorded speech of the fishermen revealed not only that the French oral vowels are intact, but that diphthongs are also present. Five monosyllabic groups with the combinations semi vowel + vowel, found in the terminology, need to be further researched before being classified as diphthongs.

The word moyen was not recorded in the data acquired on the Bay of Chaleurs. This does not mean that the nasal ɛ̃ does not exist in this area. Another type of questionnaire might show that it does.

Analysis of the data showed that one process of the fishermen's adaptations to pronouncing an English vowel has been to render it lax. For example, [lʊs] instead of [lus].

The fishermen have modified standard French vowels in two ways:

1) by making them longer — fer [fɛ̃ːr]
2) by forming diphthongs — maître [mejtr]

In the fishing terminology, realization of a French apical / r / or a French dorsal [ʀ], preceded by either of the stressed vowels [a], [ɑ] or [ɔ], is conditioned. An English [r], noted in the pronunciation of the term crosspiece by some fishermen, was not analyzed.

The following variations are subjective in that they are expressions of individual choice:

[i] ~ [ɪ]	—	[pti] ~ [ptɪt]
[ɛ] ~ [a]	—	[sɛrk] ~ [saʀk]
[a] ~ [ɑ] ~ [ɔ]	—	[chaloer] ~ [chaloer] ~ [chɔloer]
[ə] ~ [e]	—	[pəlɪn] ~ [pejɪn]
[ô] ~ [ɔ]	—	[waʃbôrd] ~ [waʃbɔʀ]

The data shown in each of the following appendices leads us to conclude that:

- Appendix A shows that, each fishing community has distinctive geographic boundaries;
- Appendix B shows that, by selecting 60% of the lobster fishermen in each community, 96 fishermen in all were interviewed;
- Appendix C shows that, 44,79% of all the fishermen interviewed fall into the age level of 30-39, and that there is only 1,04% in the age level less than 20;
- Appendix D shows that, for all the variants of the term taquet, age is not an important factor in determining pronunciation — the appendix also shows that taquet is the most commonly used term on the island, 45,16% for the Bay of Chaleurs, and 46,15% for the Gulf of St. Lawrence;
- Appendix E shows the per cent of distribution of the pronunciation [takɛ] according to each community. This seems to indicate that community rather than age level is the more important factor in determining the pronunciation of the term among the fishermen.

Conclusion

With the passing of time, the lobster fishermen of Lamèque Island have recast the original English lobster-fishing terminology into a French mould so that the terminology reflects one variety of Acadian speech. It is a speech permeated with standard French,

Acadian and English sounds. The allophonic variations are for the most part expressions of individual choice. These are to be found more according to geographic distribution than age level.

For the linguist wanting to undertake an analysis of Acadian speech on Miscou or Lamèque Island, the problem of phonetic transcription is yet to be solved. This is due to the fact that the present status of Acadian speech on the islands has within its phonetic structure, phonemes belonging to more than one linguistic code.

Note: I wish to thank the Centre universitaire de Shippagan for the grant which made the research for this paper possible. Thanks to Professor Caroline Lanteigne whose help was an invaluable asset to my work. My thanks extend also to the field workers, the fishermen of Lamèque Island, and my colleagues Diane Saucier and Mme Boudreau-Nelson. Last, but not least to our secretary Louise Robichaud.

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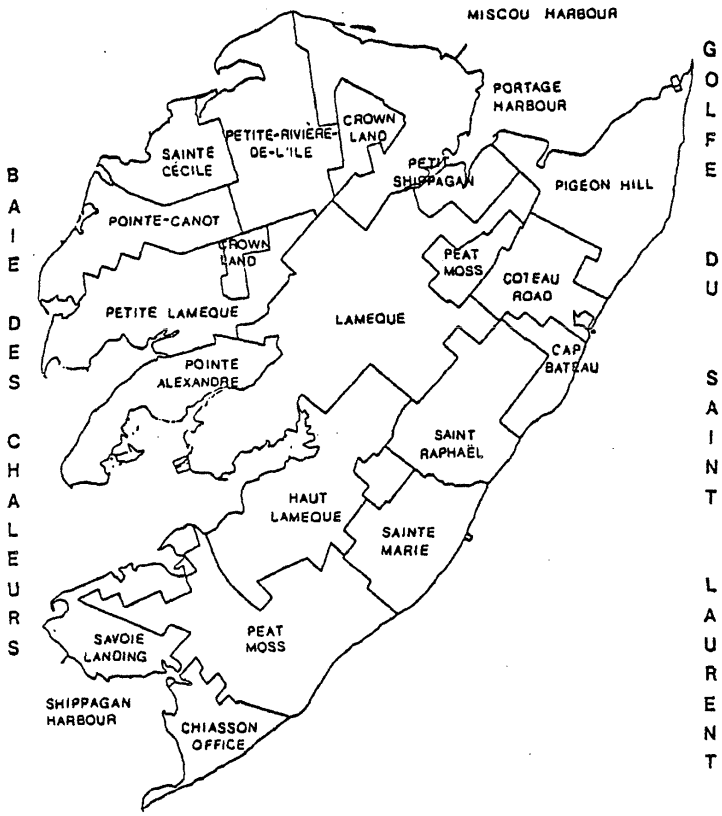
APPENDIX A - ILE DE LAMEQUE



APPENDIX B - POPULATION OF LOBSTER FISHERMEN INTERVIEWED

	No. of Fishermen		No. Interviewed	% Interviewed
I. BAY OF CHALEUR				
1 Petit Shippagan	9		6	66.67
2 Petite-Rivière-de-l'Île	16		10	62.50
3 Ste-Cécile	10		6	60.00
4 Pointe Canot	1		1	100.00
5 Petite Lameque	4		3	75.00
6 Pointe-Alexandre	3		2	66.67
7 Lameque	5		3	60.00
II. GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE				
1 Chiasson Office	20		12	60.00
2 Ste-Marie-Sur-Mer	14		9	64.29
3 St-Raphaël-Sur-Mer	13		8	61.54
4 Cap-Bateau	13		8	61.54
5 Coteau Road	2		2	100.00
6 Pigeon Hill	44		26	59.09
Total	154		96	63.33

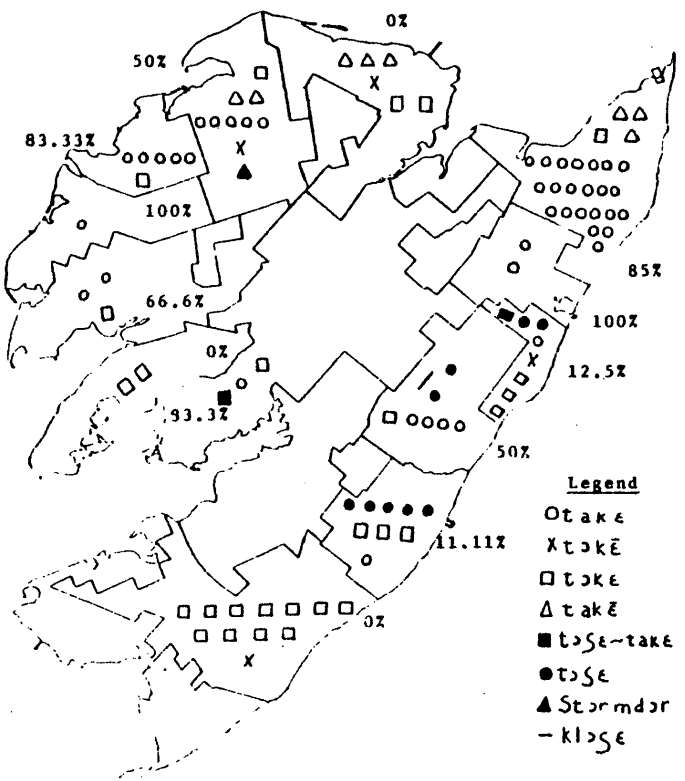
APPENDIX C - LOBSTER FISHERMEN OF LAMEQUE ISLAND ACCORDING TO AGE LEVEL

LAMEQUE ISLAND	BAY OF CHALEURS															GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE																
AGE LEVEL	Petit Shippagan		Petite Rivière de l'Île		Sainte Cécile		Pointe Canot		Petite Lamèque		Pointe Alexandre		Lamèque			Chiasson Office		Sainte Marie		Saint Raphaël		Cap Bateau		Coteau Road		Pigeon Hill			Total no. for Island	% for Island
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total No.		
0 - 20																1	8.33											1	1	1.04
20 - 29							1	100							1			1	11.11			1	12.50			6	23.08	8	9	9.38
30 - 39	3	50	4	40	3	50			1	33.33			2	66.67	13	6	50	5	55.56	2	25	2	25.00	2	100	13	50	30	43	44.79
40 - 49	1	16.67	3	30	1	16.67			1	33.33	1	50			7	5	41.67	1	11.11	3	37.50	3	37.5			4	15.38	16	23	23.96
50 - 59	2	13.33	2	20	1	16.67					1	50	1	33.33	7			2	22.22			1	12.50			3	11.54	6	13	13.54
60+			1	10	1	16.67			1	33.33					3					3	37.50	1	12.50					4	7	7.29
TOTAL	6	100	10	100	6	100	1	100	3	100	2	100	3	100	31	12	100	9	100	8	100	8	100	2	100	26	100	65	96	100

APPENDIX D - VARIATIONS OF a-ɛ IN THE TERM TAQUET BY AGE LEVEL

AGE LEVEL / TERMS	takɛ	tɔkɛ̄	tɔkɛ	takɛ̄	takɛ ʃ tɔsɛ	tɔsɛ	stɔrm dɔr	klɔsɛ	% using take	Total No. Fishermen According to Age Level
A	**BAY OF CHALEURS**									
0-20									0	—
20-29	1								100	1
30-39	7	1	3	2					53.8	13
40-49	1	1	3	1			1		14.28	7
50-59	2		2	2	1				28.57	7
60+	3								100	3
Total No.	14	2	8	5	1	0	1	0		31
%	45.16	6.45	25.81	16.13	3.22	0	3.22	0		
B	**GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE**									
0-20			1						0	1
20-29	6		1			1			75	8
30-39	12		10	2	1	5			40	30
40-49	5	2	4	1		3		1	31.25	16
50-59	4		2						66.66	6
60-	3		1						75	4
Total No.	30	2	19	3	1	9	0	1		65
%	46.15	3.08	29.23	4.61	1.54	13.85	0	1.54		

APPENDIX E - DISTRIBUTION OF THE VARIANTS IN THE TERM TAQUET AND PER CENT OF USAGE OF THE STANDARD PRONUNCIATION [takɛ]



Se in French: Lexical and Transformational Approaches

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to show that distortions are introduced into a generative grammar of French if se is analysed as a purely lexical or as a purely transformational phenomenon.

Neither Kayne's (1975) derivation of se from a postverbal source nor Grimshaw's (1980) non-transformational lexical analysis can account for the full range of facts.

Kayne's solution requires postulating implausible sources for se, while Grimshaw's implies unwarranted extensions to the domain of strict subcategorization rules as well as unworkable rules of semantic interpretation.

Both rule types appear to be required in describing the syntax of the reflexive clitic pronoun.

Introduction

Since Chomsky's proposal that an adequate grammar required an abstract level of deep structure as the output of the base rules and as input to the transformational component, concern has been expressed about the excessive power of transformations. At the level of deep structure, an expression is represented so that requirements of subcategorization and other restrictions can easily be met; a syntactically related expression can be explained through the use of a transformation linking deep and surface levels. Because a single deep structure expression can be syntactically related to many different surface expressions, and because of the need to capture all such relatedness through the use of transformations, it soon became apparent that the transformational component was unlimited in its power. Since a device with the power to create any sort of structure is a device with no explanatory power, attempts have been made to limit the power of transformations, as well as to shift the burden of explanation to other components of the grammar.

Work done in the spirit of Chomsky's (1973) 'Conditions on Transformations' has constrained the transformational component in many ways, while research which has followed up on suggestions made in his (1970) 'Remarks on Nominalization' has concentrated principally on exploiting the resources of the lexicon. Transformations have been reduced in number and power, while the lexicon has been enriched through the development of rules which relate lexical entities.

The advantages of a lexical treatment of cases of syntactic relatedness appear to be impressive. Lexical rules reduce the number of steps between underlying and surface structure (Anderson 1977:364). The notion of transformational rule governance can be dispensed with if unsystematic exceptions are dealt with in the lexicon, which is the repository of idiosyncracies in generative grammar (Hoekstra, Hulst and Moortgat 1980:224). And finally, lexical rules promise to be psychologically more real than transformations. In her paper 'A Realistic Transformational Grammar', Bresnan (1978) considers that the extreme rapidity of language comprehension requires linguists to construct grammars which "minimize the information that requires grammatical processing and maximize the information that permits referential interpretation", since "it is easier for us to look something up than to compute it." (Bresnan 1978:14) In other words, the more information which can be assigned to the lexicon, instead of to the transformational component, the more psychologically real the grammar.

Such are the apparent virtues of lexical rules that many phenomena once treated transformationally are now being treated lexically by many linguists. For example, Richard Kayne's (1975) proposal that the syntax of the "reflexive" pronoun se in French can be accounted for by means of a cyclic transformation of Se-Placement has been recently challenged. Jane Grimshaw's (1980) paper 'On the Lexical Representation of Romance Reflexive Clitics' makes the counter-claim that the appearance of se is attributable to a lexical operation.

A 'Mixed" Approach

Both linguists assume that the whole range of facts concerning se can be adequately dealt with in one type of treatment or in the other; neither considers a mixed approach to the problem. The counter-claim I should like to make here is that both lexical and transformational solutions to the problems of the syntax of se are necessary in order to account for the behaviour of se. This may be an unpalatable claim for those who believe

that an apparently tightly circumscribed syntactic phenomenon--the behaviour of the reflexive pronoun in French--should be treated by one component of the grammar only, but it is a claim which I believe is in line with the syntactic facts.

A purely transformational treatment of se requires the postulation of otherwise unjustifiable structures simply in order to make the rules work. An entirely lexical approach necessitates dubious extensions of the notion of strict subcategorization and unworkable rules of semantic interpretation. But both rule types leave sets of unexplained facts, each easily handled by the other rule type. The conclusion appears then to be inevitable: both rule types are at work in the derivation of the reflexive pronoun.

The syntax of se therefore provides a striking example of an area of competition and balance between components of the grammar, and underscores Chomsky's (1970:194) observation that the proper division of labour between lexical and transformational components ought to be determined in an empirical, and not in an a priori, theoretical way.

Why an Entirely Transformational Approach is Inadequate

Kayne's (1975) Se-Placement transformation (1) requires that every instance of se in French be derived from a post-verbal pronoun marked with a feature indicating coreference with the subject noun phrase.

(1) Se-Placement (Kayne 1975:375)

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} X & NP_i & V & Y & Pro_i & Z \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{cccccccccc} 1 & 2 & 5_{+R} & + & 3 & 4 & 6 \end{array}$$

Such a post-verbal source for se is quite plausible for the class of verbs which appear in both reflexive and non-reflexive form, such as (se) laver, and (s') offrir: these verbs freely allow direct and indirect object noun phrases, which may be pronominal, as in (2).

(2) a. Marie a lavé l'auto.
Marie l'a lavée.
b. Paul a offert des fleurs à sa femme.
Paul lui a offert des fleurs.

The lack of an explicitly reflexive pronoun after the verb is accounted for by the obligatory operation of Se-Placement: the

sentences in (3) result from the application of the transformation to the underlying structures in (4).

(3) a. Marie s'est lavée.
b. Paul s'est offert des fleurs.

(4) a. *Marie$_i$ a lavé Pro$_i$
b. *Paul a offert des fleurs Pro$_i$

The logic of Kayne's approach demands a similar derivation of all instances of se. But there is a sub-class of "inherently reflexive" verbs which have no non-reflexive counterpart, examples of which are found in (5).

(5)

se désister de	to stand down, withdraw	*désister
s'absentir de	to refrain, abstain	*abstenir
se repentir de	to repent	*repentir
s'évanouir	to faint	*évanouir
se dédire	to recant	*dédire
se souvenir de	to remember	*souvenir

In a transformational account, a post-verbal source for these inherent se must be supposed, despite the fact that the verbs on the right never appear with any sort of object, whether emphatic reflexive or non-reflexive, as (6) indicates.

(6) a. *Elle ne souvient que d'elle-même.
*"She only remembers herself"
b. *Elle souvient Jean de son idée.
*"?She reminds John of her idea."
c. *Ce n'est pas de sa négligence qu'il repentit son ami.
*"?It's not his negligence that he is repenting his friend for."

Despite the ungrammaticality of these sentences, a source exactly parallel to (6)b is necessary to make the rule of Se-Placement work to derive (7)b from (7)a.

(7) a. *Elle$_i$ souvient Pro$_i$ de son idée.
b. Elle se souvient de son idée.
"She remembers her idea."

If (7)a is to be considered a possible deep structure, it is necessary to give a reason why strong form pronouns in -même and non-reflexive objects must not appear with these verbs. In other words, the transformational approach has to explain why no object

other than the underlying coreferential pronoun, which never surfaces in postverbal position, may occur with verbs like souvenir and évanouir, and why no indirect object other than se may occur with imaginer or arroger.

Kayne's explanation is that, at a point in the derivation after the application of Se-Placement, but before the operation of Clitic-Placement, a constraint comes into force on just those inherently reflexive verbs, which has the effect of preventing any direct object NP from appearing with them--and of preventing indirect object NPs from co-occurring with verbs like s'imaginer and s'arroger.

Support for this constraint comes from consideration of the semantic interpretation of verbs which can take both reflexive pronouns and non-reflexive direct object noun phrases. Kayne claims that when the direct object is non-reflexive, the verb receives a "literal" interpretation, as if something is being done to someone else or to something else. When the object is reflexive, however, the interpretation is different, and the literal reading is lost to a more natural one, describing a movement by the subject. Thus in (8), the direct objects of jeter have been physically picked up by the subject and tossed out the window, but (9) is odd, since the 'literal' meaning of jeter is the only one available in the presence of the postverbal direct object elle-même.

(8) a. Elle n'a jeté par la fenêtre que son frère.
"She threw only her brother out the window."
b. Elle a jeté le jouet par la fenêtre.
"She threw the toy out the window."

(9) ?Elle n'a jeté par la fenêtre qu' elle-même.
"She threw only herself out the window.

In (10), however, the natural interpretation is available, and we understand the actions of the subject as different from physically picking herself up and throwing herself.

(10) Elle s'est jetée par la fenêtre.
"She threw herself out the window."

The difference then between ordinary reflexives like se jeter and inherent reflexives like s'évanouir and s'imaginer is that only the natural reading is permitted for inherent reflexives, and that no literal interpretation is available. In other words, the lack of two types of interpretation for inherently reflexive verbs is considered to be evidence for the constraint prohibiting any postverbal object with these verbs other than a pronoun coreferential

with the subject.

Kayne claims further support for the literal/natural distinction from verbs whose meaning changes when they co-occur with a reflexive clitic. The verb plaindre, for example, means 'feel sorry for', but se plaindre means 'complain', as the examples in (11) indicate.

(11) a. Elle plaint son mari.
"She feels sorry for her husband."
b. Elle se plaint de son mari.
"She complains about her husband."

Kayne says that the 'literal' meaning of 'feel sorry for' disappears when there is no direct object noun phrase present in the sentence. (Se is not considered an NP, but a clitic.) The 'natural' reading of the verb is therefore 'to complain', and the presence of a direct object noun phrase forces a change from a natural to a literal interpretation.

I would suggest that the position Kayne adopts here is untenable. The natural/literal distinction is the foundation supporting his constraint excluding postverbal NPs (other than the Pro_i which ends up as se) from inherently reflexive verbs. It turns out to be a very shaky foundation indeed.

It is not at all obvious, for example, in what sense 'to feel sorry for' is a literal version of 'to complain'. The verb 'complain' may imply feeling sorry for oneself, but much more is implied. For many verbs having both a non-reflexive and a reflexive version, the semantic relationship between them is not at all transparent, and hardly attributable to a literal/natural distinction. The verbs in (12) are just a few of the many such pairs whose meaning is only tenuously linked.

(12)	a.	mourir	se mourir
		"to die"	"to be on the point of dying"
	b.	passer	se passer
		"to pass"	"to happen"
	c.	expliquer	s'expliquer
		"to explain"	"to fight"
	d.	battre	se battre
		"to defeat"	"to fight"
	e.	tromper	se tromper
		"to cheat"	"to be wrong"
	f.	rendre	se rendre
		"to give back"	"to go (to)"
	g.	connaître	se connaître
		"to know"	"to be an expert in"

From these few examples, it is obvious that a very flexible notion of 'literal' and 'natural' is going to be necessary to account for the unsystematic meaning differences between the members of these pairs.

Another difficulty with the literal/natural distinction is that it implies that if no object noun phrase is present, the semantic reading will be the 'natural' one. But the 'literal' reading does not necessarily disappear in the absence of an object. Consider the sentences (13)-(17), where both meanings are possible despite the lack of an object noun phrase.

(13) a. Je me suis expliqué avec cet idiot de Pierre.
"I had it out with that idiot Pierre."
b. Je me suis mal expliqué.
"I explained/expressed myself poorly."

(14) a. Je me connais en méchanique.
"I'm an expert mechanic."
b. Je me connais très bien.
"I know myself very well."

(15) a. Elle se plaint de son sort.
"She complains about her fate."
b. Elle se plaint à cause de son sort.
"She feels sorry for herself because of her fate."

(16) a. Elles se sont rendues à Paris.
"They went to Paris."
b. Elles se sont rendues à la police.
"They gave themselves up to the police."

(17) a. Je me suis trompé de chapeau.
"I took the wrong hat."
b. Je me suis trompé.
"I cheated myself."

I believe we can safely conclude that there is no evidence for the literal/natural distinction, and therefore no evidence for the constraint limiting the number of postverbal objects allowed with inherently reflexive verbs to exactly one: a pronoun coreferential with the subject. It seems much more sensible to suppose that these verbs, at least, are entered directly in the lexicon complete with the intrinsic reflexive pronoun already affixed in preverbal position.

Why a Completely Lexical Approach Cannot Work

If one class of reflexive verbs requires a lexical treatment, it is attractive to consider extending this treatment to all reflexives. This is the position advocated by Grimshaw, who develops a set of lexical rules to account for reflexive pronouns which appear attached to verbs which also allow non-reflexive objects, such as (se) voir. Using formal devices which relate logical argument structure with the syntactic frames associated with verbs, Grimshaw shows that the relationship between the sentences in (18) can be handled within the lexicon, without appealing to the psychologically suspect device of transformations.

(18) a. Pierre a vu Paul dans la glace.
"Pierre saw Paul in the mirror."
b. Pierre s'est vu dans la glace.
"Pierre saw himself in the mirror."

She demonstrates, for example, that the lexical representation of voir can contain information about both argument structure and grammatical function, as in (19), with the grammatical SUBJECT assigned to the first argument and OBJECT assigned to the second argument of this two-place verb.

(19) Voir ((SUBJECT) (OBJECT))

As the result of a lexical rule of Reflexivization, the second argument is assigned a null grammatical function, and the lexical entry changes to (20)

(20) $\text{Voir}_{\text{reflexive}}$ ((SUBJECT) ($\emptyset$))

Se is considered to be simply the marker indicating that Reflexivization has taken place, and no appeal to an abstract deep structure subsequently deformed by a transformation has to be made.

But before espousing such an attractive alternative account of reflexives, it is instructive to consider some of the properties of lexical rules in general to determine if such rules can in fact deal with all instances of se. Certain criteria have been proposed which allow us to know whether a syntactic phenomenon can be treated lexically or not. One of these guidelines is that the elements to be related must be "local": lexical rules can have access only to information which for independent reasons of sub-categorization and (perhaps) selectional restrictions must be included in lexical entries anyway (Wasow 1977:330). In practice, this means that only other constituents in the same clause can be

mentioned in a lexical rule affecting a verb. A lexical rule of reflexivization therefore can relate se only to a direct or indirect object noun phrase of the verb to which it is cliticized. In other words, no lexical rule of reflexivization could account for a se which corresponded to an object of a verb other than the very verb to which it is attached.

Another guideline for determining the appropriateness of a lexical solution to a syntactic problem follows as a logical consequence of the organization of a generative grammar. Lexical rules relate items in the lexicon; transformations operate on phrase markers into which lexical items have been inserted. Hence, if a transformation feeds a rule, that rule cannot be lexical; if a rule feeds a lexical rule, that feeding rule cannot be transformational (Wasow 1977:330). If we find therefore that se can be cliticised to a verb only on condition that a transformation has applied in the sentence, then the association of se and the verb must have been effected by means of a transformation.

The 'local' nature of lexical rules implies that certain sentences containing se cannot be derived lexically. The rule outlined in (19)-(20) has the effect of relating the se of a reflexive verb to the object of the non-reflexive version of the same verb. Thus such a rule relates the two sentences in (21), and fails to account for (22) which is in fact the reflexive counterpart of (21)a.

(21) a. Pierre$_i$ estime qu' il$_i$ est intelligent
"Pierre considers that he is intelligent."
b. Pierre s'estime.
"Pierre thinks highly of himself."

(22) Pierre s'estime intelligent
"Pierre considers himself intelligent."

The constituent filling the object role of the lexical rule of Reflexivization is the whole clause qu' il est intelligent, yet se corresponds only to an element within that clause. Lexical rules can have access to constituents satisfying their own subcategorization frames, but not to the internal make-up of those constituents, and so no constituent internal to such a phrase can be affected by a lexical rule. The information required for relating (21)a and (22) is just not available "locally", and can only be made explicit in a phrase marker. And of course, phrase markers, produced as the output of base rules, which include lexical rules, are related by transformation.

In other constructions too, se appears to be cliticised to a verb of which it is not a complement. The most obvious example is the causative faire construction, in which se may appear along with faire although it corresponds to the subject, object or inalienable complement of the verb embedded under faire, as in (23)-(25).

(23) Jean se fait passer pour un idiot.
"John makes himself pass for a fool."

(24) Jean se fera connaître à Marie.
"John will make Maire know him."

(25) Jean s'est fait laver les mains par l'infirmière.
"John had his hands washed by the nurse."

Although the source for sentences such as these is considered by many linguists to be a two-sentence deep structure, a committed lexicalist might nevertheless insist that these faire-constructions are generated directly as one-sentence structures by the base rules.

But this approach requires an otherwise unwarranted extension of subcategorization rules so that the contextual restrictions of one verb could appear to be respected by the other (see Hendrick 1978). In addition, special rules of semantic interpretation would be necessary, so that, for example, the grammatical object of one verb could be interpreted as the agent of the other verb (see J. Y. Morin 1978). No such ad hoc accommodations are necessary if the transformational approach is adopted, because a bisentential analysis of causatives, as in (26), allows grammatical and thematic functions to be assigned at the level of deep structure.

(26) (Deep structure for 24)

*Jean$_i$ fera ($_S$Marie connaître Pro$_i$)

Subsequent deformation of the complex two-sentence base structure into a simplex surface structure by means of transformational rules allows for the correct semantic interpretation of displaced noun phrases. We conclude therefore that the se which accompanies faire in causative constructions is not base-generated but rather transformationally derived by the rule of Se-Placement.

Conclusion

It appears that the reflexive pronoun in French defies attempts

to deal with it in a syntactically unified way. Some se, those attached to 'inherently' reflexive verbs, must be listed in the lexicon. Other se, those affixed to verbs of which they are not complements, must be derived by means of a transformation. The question of the more appropriate treatment of those instances of se not dealt with here, such as 'true' reflexives, reciprocals and middle se in single clause structures, remains an open and an empirical issue.

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Speech Stereotypes in French Newfoundland: An Investigation of Language Attitudes on the Port-au-Port Peninsula

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on an investigation of French Newfoundlanders' attitudes towards local French and its perceived role in everyday life. A modified version of Lambert's "matched guise" technique was employed with four subject groups, who rated taped speakers on a variety of personality traits. Four dialect types were presented for evaluation: European French, Quebec French, Port-au-Port French and Standard Canadian English. Subjects also responded to a number of direct questions relating to the value of the local French dialect. The results reveal a downgrading of local French by comparison to external French dialects - whether European or Québécois - and in particular by comparison to Canadian English.[1]

Introduction

The French-speaking area of Newfoundland has always been a highly restricted one. It consists essentially of the Port-au-Port peninsula on Newfoundland's west coast, plus part of the neighbouring Bay St. George region. The Port-au-Port peninsula was early colonized by French settlers from Normandy and Brittany, some of whom appear to have been bilingual in French and Breton. Between 1713 and 1904 the French enjoyed exclusive fishing rights to this area, known as the "French Shore", and from the early 19th century the peninsula appears to have been subject to illegal settlement by deserters from French fishing boats (Biays 1952). From 1844, a number of Acadian settlers from Cape Breton Island settled in the region of the present town of Stephenville on Bay St. George (Wonders 1951); some of these settlers later moved westward to the Port-au-Port peninsula. Indeed, present-day Newfoundland French can best be described as a variety of Acadian (King, in progress). Thus Newfoundland French displays - albeit variably - the characteristically Acadian phonological features of palatalization of k and g before front vowels, realization of standard French [š] and [ž] as velar or glottal fricatives, and, to a very small degree, realization of standard French [ɔ]/[o] as [u]. And, like most varieties of Canadian French,

Newfoundland French possesses the phonological features of laxing of high vowels in closed syllables, lengthening and/or diphthongization of mid front and mid back vowels before r and certain other consonants, retention of the [a]/[ɑ] vocalic opposition, and pronunciation of the orthographic -oi- as [we] rather than [wa] as in standard French.

After 1904, the Port-au-Port/Bay St. George region was also settled by the English, although few English settlers infiltrated the French communities of Stephenville, L'Anse-a-Canards (Black Duck Brook)/Maisons d'Hiver (Winter Houses), La Grand'Terre (Mainland), and Cap St.-Georges. (For the location of these communities, see the map that appears as Figure 1). A major upheaval took place, however, at the beginning of World War II, when the United States Air Force established an airbase at Harmon Field, just outside Stephenville. This led to the arrival of a large number of English-speaking Newfoundlanders in the Stephenville area, and the rapid assimilation of the French population as a result of exclusively English media and schooling, and extensive intermarriage with the English. Today, indeed, the town of Stephenville appears to possess no native-born residents below the age of 50 who are genuinely competent in French. [2]

Since the end of the 19th century, i.e., the period of English settlement in the Port-au-Port region, the dialect of French spoken in the area has enjoyed very little overt prestige, presumably because of its association with speakers low in socio-economic status. For with the exception of fishing and farming, all employment opportunities have required a knowledge of English. Virtually all persons in positions of authority, such as local doctors and priests, have spoken English exclusively. Further, all schooling in the region was until very recently administered in English by unilingual English teachers, and French speakers were never provided the opportunity to become literate in their mother tongue - unless, that is, they remained in school long enough to have French taught them as a second language by a native speaker of English, who typically had been exposed only to "standard" European French and had at best a meagre knowledge of this language. Many French parents encouraged the use of English even in the home, fearing that only with a thorough knowledge of English would their children be capable of social and economic advancement.

The late 1960s, however, saw an increased emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism on the part of the federal government. In 1971, the Port-au-Port, Bay St. George area was officially declared a bilingual federal district. This has resulted in many observable changes for the French speakers of the region. The CBC now provides French language radio and television services to the Port-au-Port area. Francophone associations have sprung up in Black Duck Brook/ Mainland, Cape St. George and even Stephenville. More importantly, a

French immersion program has been implemented in Cape St. George, even though the other communities have not selected this option. An inherent conflict exists, however, between the dialect of French regularly spoken in the area and that which is taught in the schools; French students in the immersion program have been exposed not only to metropolitan or European French and Quebecois, but even to the imperfect (but supposedly "standard") French of English-speaking teachers. Further, trained teachers from the native French-speaking population would not have had their variety of French reinforced during their university studies. It would no doubt therefore be safe to say that, given the general absence of local varieties of French from formal or institutionalized settings, these varieties do not enjoy high prestige in the eyes of inhabitants of the area.

Attitudes to local French and its perceived role in everyday life may of course be obtained by direct questioning of Port-au-Port area speakers of French descent. But attitudes which are directly elicited in this manner are notoriously suspect. Opinions on Canadian and European French speakers obtained from Quebec French subjects, for example, suggest a rather poor correlation between directly-elicited attitudes and those obtained by a modified version of the "matched-guise" approach pioneered by Wallace Lambert and colleagues some twenty-odd years ago (e.g. Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960). In this latter approach, subjects are asked to rate taped speakers on a variety of personality traits,and are unaware that they are revealing the generalized stereotypes they possess with respect to speakers of the dialect or language they are evaluating.

Research conducted in Quebec using a matched-guise or modified matched-guise technique has revealed that Quebec French subjects rate speakers generally higher in their European French rather than their Canadian French guises. Thus D'Anglejan and Tucker (1973:24) conclude of their particular sample that "... Quebec style speech does not yet appear to serve as a symbol of national identity differentiating French Canadians from other North Americans and also from European French". A similar downgrading of Quebec French has been noted by, among others, Lambert (1967) and S. Lambert (1973). Likewise, a tendency to downgrade French Canadian by comparison to English Canadian speakers has emerged from research conducted by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960), Preston (1963), and Lambert (1967). Thus, as revealed by the matched-guise approach, an overall negative stereotype would still appear to be attached to local varieties of French by Quebecois subjects, in spite of the overt manifestations of Quebec national pride and identity that have been evident in that province for the past twenty years or more.

If recent language attitude research in Quebec has yielded a picture of general downgrading of Canadian French by its speakers, persons of French descent on Newfoundland's Port-au-Port peninsula

might be expected to display even less dialect loyalty to local non-standard varieties of French, given the history of English linguistic and socio-economic domination in the area. Nevertheless, similar research into stereotypes associated with speakers of non-standard dialects of Newfoundland English (e.g. Clarke 1982) has revealed, for certain Newfoundlanders at least, that while such non-standard speakers may not enjoy high ratings on measures of socio-economic status or prestige (i.e., on such measurement scales as intelligent or high-paying job), they nevertheless may be evaluated very positively when it comes to such "solidarity-related" personality characteristics as kind or friendly.

The aim of the present study was to discover those stereotypes associated with Newfoundland French by local French speakers, as well as the stereotypes they hold with respect to speakers of other, more "standard" forms of French, and, in addition, to speakers of Canadian English. In keeping with the investigation into English Newfoundland dialect attitudes just mentioned, the study was designed to reveal whether there did indeed exist, as expected, a general downgrading of Newfoundland French, whether this downgrading assumed an overt as well as a covert form, and whether it extended to affective measures of personality in addition to measures of socio-economic standing.

Method

Selection of Taped Stimuli

As a result of their exposure to CBC French radio and television, as well as contact with French-speaking outsiders who have come to the peninsula to teach in the French immersion programs, present-day French Newfoundlanders may be expected to be familiar with two varieties of French other than those spoken locally: Quebec French and European or Metropolitan French. Both of these Newfoundland-external forms of French were therefore incorporated into the present study, along with, of course, samples of Port-au-Port French. So that the relative status of French and English could also be assessed, it was decided to include samples of standard Canadian English. As the standard English of Corner Brook, the major Newfoundland urban area with which French Newfoundlanders would have contact, closely resembles phonologically the standard English of Mainland Canada, "Mainland Canadian English" was selected for test purposes.

Following a "modified matched guise" or "verbal guise" approach, the four dialect types to be evaluated were each represented by several different speakers - in this case, two males and two females.[3] In view of the lack of literacy of some of the Newfoundland French speakers recorded, as well as the possible inappropriateness of certain dialect types to certain speech topics (see for example

Agheyisi and Fishman 1970), spontaneous speech samples were used rather than the more traditional reading passage. The content of the discourse was carefully controlled, however, to remove any possibility of evaluational bias: thus all speakers were restricted to a neutral description of a common set of everyday household objects (e.g. thread, needles, plastic glasses, cups) which had been specifically selected to include a number of the most important phonological variables characteristic of the dialects under study.

In spite of every effort to control for extraneous variables, however, a modified matched guise approach may always be subject to the possibility that evaluations may be influenced by differences in personality or vocal qualities among the speakers selected, rather than exclusively by differences in dialect type. For this reason, the current study incorporates one matched guise speaker, in the form of a totally bilingual Canadian English/European French male, the only taped speaker to be judged genuinely bilingual or bidialectal.

For each of the four speakers selected to represent the four dialect types under investigation, a final speech segment of approximately 30 seconds was constructed. The 16 speech segments were then arranged in random order on the test tape.

Subjects

Four subject groups were used in the present study: two adult groups, and two final-year or Grade 11 [4] high-school student groups. Two different generations were thereby represented in the sample - the adults ranging in age from thirty to the mid-fifties, the students from fifteen to seventeen. Subjects were selected from two different French community groupings on the Port-au-Port peninsula: on the one hand the more French-oriented community of Cape St. George, with its French immersion program and French services, and on the other the more English-oriented communities of Black Duck Brook and Mainland. The socio-economic background of all subjects was relatively homogeneous, the heads of households throughout the area being typically employed on a seasonal basis as fishermen. All subjects of the sample had French as their mother tongue. While however the adults were fully competent in French, the French production skills of the students were well below their comprehension skills.

While the initial sample consisted of almost 60 subjects, only 40 were chosen for the final sample (see Table 1). [5] Where possible, 5 males and 5 females were selected per group, although owing to sampling difficulties 80 percent of the Cape St. George adult group consisted of female subjects.

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire - written entirely in English because of the lack of literacy in French of most of the subject sample - consisted of two sections. The first of these involved the rating of each of the sixteen taped segments in terms of ten personality and three occupational suitability scales; subjects were asked as well to estimate which of four areas (France, Quebec, the Port-au-Port peninsula, elsewhere in Newfoundland) the speaker came from, in order to assess the extent to which French Newfoundlanders were genuinely familiar with the various dialects being evaluated. In the second section of the questionnaire, subjects' opinions were directly solicited on a number of dialect-related issues (e.g. the value and future of Newfoundland French, the type of French to be taught in local schools). Subjects were also asked a number of questions on their personal background, as well as their use of French in a variety of social situations. Results of the direct section of the questionnaire will be presented here only in so far as they relate to results obtained from the modified matched-guise section.

Ratings of the sixteen taped samples were effected by means of Likert-like seven-point evaluation scales constructed as follows:

INTELLIGENT

Extremely ——:——:——:——:——:——:—— Not at all

On the basis of research conducted elsewhere in Newfoundland (e.g. Clarke 1982), the study incorporated four status-assessment scales (CONFIDENT, INTELLIGENT, AMBITIOUS, HIGH-PAYING JOB) and four scales that were solidarity-related (FRIENDLY, KIND, LIKEABLE, HONEST). In addition, since studies on English dialects of the island had revealed that Newfoundlanders seemed significantly more unwilling to make negative rather than positive personality judgments, two pejorative scales (LAZY, STUCK-UP) were included. These two scales had the further effect of reversing scale polarity, so that no additional polarity switches were necessitated. Three occupational scales were also chosen (HIGH-SCHOOL FRENCH - OR ENGLISH - TEACHER, (RADIO) NEWSREADER, WAITER), the first two of these not only since they represent relatively high-status positions, but also because they would normally be viewed as demanding a fairly standard speech type. All thirteen of these scales had undergone pretesting with French Newfoundlanders in order to ensure that they did not contain any ambiguities or difficulties of comprehension. Scales were arranged in two different orders, to produce two different rating pages, which were then randomly incorporated into the test booklet.

The questions relating to the value of local French dialects in the second section of the questionnaire were likewise answered in a seven-point scale format ranging from "extremely" to "not at all".

The wording of these questions was also pretested .

Administration

The questionnaire was administered by the second author on the Port-au-Port peninsula during the fall of 1981. A Newfoundland French assistant aided with questionnaire presentation, which was made partially in English and partially in Newfoundland French in order to reduce as much as possible any bias resulting from the use of an English testing instrument. Subjects completed both sections of the questionnaire in a single session ranging from 45 to 90 minutes in length. Before rating the sixteen taped dialect segments, subjects were told that they would be evaluating the personality of a number of persons by voice alone, just as they might if they heard these people for the first time over the telephone. Detailed instructions were presented as to the rating procedure, and subjects were given two practice voices to ensure that they had mastered the evaluation scales. In the ensuing direct question section, it was emphasized that what was being sought were subjects' own opinions, and not views which they might consider to be appropriate or correct. In order to facilitate the elicitation of individuals' genuine opinions, subject anonymity was assured.

Methods of Data Analysis

Analysis of the indirect or taped section of the questionnaire was carried out by means of a repeated measures analysis of variance program of BMDP (Bio-Medical Computer Programs). A separate 4 x 4 Anova (Subject Group x the repeated measures variable Dialect Type) was performed on each of the thirteen individual rating scales. Prior to this analysis, a single mean per subject was calculated over the four individual representatives of each dialect type.

In order to compare directly the two guises of the single matched guise speaker of the study, a series of T-tests was performed between the mean ratings of these two guises per individual scale, using the T-test program of SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

Each of the seven-point scalar responses of the direct section of the questionnaire was analyzed by the Anova program of SPSS, Subject Group constituting the only independent variable.

Results

The first three subsections following present results on the "indirect" section of the questionnaire, in which stereotypes were obtained through personality evaluations of taped stimuli. These are followed by a discussion of certain of the results emerging from the direct section of the questionnaire.

Recognition of the Dialect Type of the Taped Samples

Table 2 presents, for the overall sample of 40 subjects, the percentage of correct recognition of the regional origins of the four taped samples representing each of the three French dialect types used in the study. As can be seen, while the correct identification of speakers of Newfoundland French was high, the European and Quebec French voices were typically recognized as such by less than fifty percent of the subject sample. European French speakers were more often estimated to come from Quebec than from France, a result which would suggest that French Newfoundlanders tend to associate a European French phonological system as well as a genuinely Quebec one with Quebec French. Indeed, perhaps because of their "non-standard"-sounding phonology, all four Quebec speakers were perceived to come from Newfoundland by between 23 and 50 percent of the sample.

Overall Sample Results

Results over the entire sample on the status, solidarity, pejorative and occupational suitability scales are presented in Table 3. As can be seen, while highly significant main effects for Dialect Type were found on all of the status-assessment scales, as well as on the two higher-status job types of the occupational-suitability scales, no such results emerged on any of the solidarity-assessment scales. Ranking of dialects is totally consistent on all four of the status scales, as well as on the two occupational scales : the speakers of standard Canadian English are rated ahead of speakers of European French, who in turn are followed by Quebec French speakers, with Newfoundland French dialect speakers in last position. The largest mean rating difference tends to occur between the Quebec and Newfoundland French taped samples, which would suggest a significant downgrading of the local variety of French in terms of the prestige or competence of its speakers. Downgrading of Quebec French speakers is also noticeable - although of course not to the extent of the Newfoundland French downgrading - particularly on the scale high-paying job, as well as on the two occupational scales.

Solidarity-scale evaluations, while producing no significant rating differences among the four dialect types of the taped samples, are nevertheless of interest. Ratings on the four solidarity scales tend not to be consistent, with the Newfoundland French taped samples enjoying two first-place rankings, Quebec French one , and Canadian English one. In other words, Newfoundland French subjects would not appear to display any particular ethnic loyalty to speakers of their own dialect type, even though they do not downgrade it as they do on the status-measurement scales. The solidarity scale results suggest that speakers of Newfoundland French pattern in a fashion similar to

speakers of Quebec French, as reported, for example, in d'Anglejan and Tucker (1973). They are also similar to certain of the rural non-standard speakers of Newfoundland dialects of English described in Clarke (1981), who displayed even more favourable evaluations of external standard speakers than do the Newfoundland French speakers of the present study.

Significant main effects for dialect type emerged on only one of the two pejorative scales, namely the scale stuck-up. Here, the two dialects of speakers judged highest on the status scales were most negatively viewed (i.e. were awarded the highest means), while Newfoundland French speakers were rated as displaying this characteristic to the least degree. A similar pattern did not emerge on the scale lazy. Means on both pejorative scales, however, were considerably lower than status-scale means, a fact which would suggest that French Newfoundlanders, like English Newfoundlanders in similar studies (Clarke 1981, 1982), are reluctant to express strongly negative dialect stereotypes.

As indicated above, a series of T-tests was also conducted, for each evaluation scale, between the means of the two different guises (European French, Canadian English) assumed by the single genuine matched-guise speaker in the study. The difference in means was significant, however, for only one of the thirteen rating scales - namely the scale ambitious, where the mean for the English guise (5.05) was significantly higher than for the European French guise ($\bar{x}$ = 4.30) (T-value = 2.32, two-tailed probability < .05). In the absence of other significant results, it is nevertheless interesting to note that in nine of the remaining twelve instances the English guise was rated higher than the European French guise: this occurred for all the status and occupational scales, solidarity scales other than friendly and kind, and the pejorative scale stuck-up (but not, however, lazy). In other words, the results obtained from the T-tests parallel those for analysis of variance on individual subject means obtained over all four representatives of each dialect type, on which it had emerged that Canadian English speakers obtained slightly higher status scale ratings than did European French speakers, both dialect types being downgraded on the solidarity measures.

Differences in Group Ratings

Few significant results emerged involving the variable Group. Indeed, not a single significant Group/Dialect Type interaction was found; only three significant Group main effects emerged, namely on the status scale high-paying job, as well as the relatively high-status occupational scales of high-school teacher and newsreader. Table 4 provides Group means and F-ratios for these three instances. As may be seen from this table, Cape St. George adults gave significantly lower overall ratings than did most of the other

groups, particularly students and adults from Black Duck Brook/Mainland. Further, while this adult CSG pattern of behaviour does not prove significant on any of the remaining ten rating scales, it is nevertheless the case in every instance that CSG adults give lower overall ratings than do the other three groups.

In view of the very small number of significant results involving the variable Group,it must be concluded that differences in age and community background among Newfoundlanders of French descent on the Port-au-Port peninsula do not appear to play a very large role in the formation of dialect stereotypes. In other words, French Newfoundlanders seem to share the covert belief that speakers of local dialects of French are neither high in socio-economic status, nor display to any particular degree more admirable personality characteristics than do either speakers of English or speakers of other, more standard French dialects.

Results on the Direct Section of the Questionnaire

While the direct section of the questionnaire examined subjects' opinions on a variety of dialect-related issues, the present article will restrict itself to those which may further elucidate certain of the results discussed above.

Based on their personal experience (e.g. personal contact, radio, television), subjects were asked to rate conceptually, in terms of both friendliness and estimated occupational pay level, speakers of three dialects of French (European, Quebec, Newfoundland), and two dialects of English (Mainland Canadian, Newfoundland). Ratings were effected in terms of the same seven-point scales used in the earlier section of the study. Overall sample means on the high-paying job scale were 5.49 for Quebec French speakers, 5.39 for European French speakers, 4.65 for English Mainlanders, 3.92 for French Newfoundlanders, and 3.89 for English Newfoundlanders from the Port-au-Port region.[6] On the solidarity scale friendly, French Newfoundlanders received the highest mean (6.43), with English Newfoundlanders in second position ($\bar{x}$ = 6.00). These two groups were followed by European French speakers ($\bar{x}$ = 5.32), English Mainlanders ($\bar{x}$ = 5.11), and Quebec French speakers ($\bar{x}$ = 5.11).

It is clear that attitudes elicited by the direct section of the questionnaire appear fairly different from those stereotypes which emerged from the indirect section. For the expected upgrading of English speakers on the status-measuring high-paying job scale does not occur. Further, results on the solidarity measure friendy suggest an upgrading of local speech forms that did not emerge from the indirect solidarity measures. To test whether or not the two types of measures did indeed reveal significantly different attitudes, a series of Pearson correlations was run between each set of means.

Results of these correlations are presented in Table 5 . As this table demonstrates, a genuinely significant result emerged in only one case, namely for European French speakers on the high-paying job scale. In other words, in most cases no significant correlation exists between attitudes obtained through direct questioning versus those emerging from a verbal guise methodology. Like Lambert et al (1960), we may conclude that the attitudes elicited via a verbal guise technique reveal genuine stereotypic responses that would remain concealed by more direct questioning procedures.

An SPSS Anova with one independent variable (Group) was run on the two direct rating scales under discussion, in order to determine whether in this more overt and conscious mode of attitude elicitation there might emerge significant Group differences wich were not found on the verbal or indirect section. Results for these tests are presented in Table 6 . Only three of the scales (European French friendly, Newfoundland English friendly, Newfoundland English high-paying job) yield significant Group main effects, apparently the result of the much higher mean ratings awarded by the Cape St. George adult group. Indeed, even on those scales which produced non-significant group differences, Cape St. George adults awarded the highest ratings, except, interestingly enough, in the case of their evaluations of French speakers from Quebec.[7] This rating pattern is striking when contrasted with the pattern of the Cape St. George adult group observed in the verbal section of the study, in which this group gave lower overall ratings than did other groups. Why the adult Cape St. George sample should exhibit more positive evaluations on the direct than on the indirect measures of attitude elicitation is unclear.

Conclusion

The investigation of dialect stereotypes held by speakers of Newfoundland French has revealed, as expected, a downgrading of the local dialect of French by comparison to external French dialects -whether European or Quebecois - and in particular by comparison to standard Canadian English. This downgrading is much more apparent on prestige- or status-related measures than on solidarity scales. Like their English Newfoundland counterparts, speakers of Newfoundland French are more reluctant to make negative personality assessments than they are positive ones. In addition, the attitudes they display on more overt measures of elicitation (direct questioning) do not correlate with the stereotypes obtained by the modified matched-guise technique used in the study.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This study was made possible by a Vice President's Research Grant from Memorial University. We would like to thank Mrs. Mary Felix for her help on the Port-au-Port peninsula, as well as the Port-au-Port Roman Catholic School Board, the principal and teachers of Notre Dame du Cap and Our Lady of Lourdes, and les Terre-Neuviens Francais of Cap St.-Georges and La Grand'Terre for the use of their community centers. Thanks go also to all participants in the study.

[2] According to 1981 Statistics Canada census figures, the town of Stephenville had a total population of 8,876. The largest French-speaking community of the Port-au-Port peninsula, Cape St. George, had a population of 1,470. Figures for the two other communities of French descent and surrounding enumeration areas were 357 for the Black Duck Brook area and 816 for Mainland and surrounding area.

[3] Evaluational differences relating to the sex of the taped dialect segments, as well as the sex of subjects, is outside the scope of the present article. It should also be noted that speakers were chosen so as to eliminate as far as possible any voice or speech abnormalities (e.g. nasality, hoarseness, abnormal pitch or speech rate); further, speech segments were carefully edited to remove excessive pauses or hesitations.

[4] As the sample quotas for students with French-speaking home backgrounds could not be met in the available Grade 11 classes, several Grade 10 students were incorporated into the sample.

[5] This selection was made in order to obtain equal cell sizes for purposes of statistical analysis.

[6] The unexpectedly high ratings for Quebec French speakers on the high-paying job scale relate perhaps to the fact that the highest-status French-speakers to whom French Newfoundlanders have been exposed are indeed Québécois, in the form of federal government bureaucrats involved with the implementation of various projects in the Port-au-Port bilingual district. In addition, the question was phrased specifically to refer to Ottawa (i.e., "How high-paying a job would you expect the following types of speakers to hold in Ottawa?")

[7] The comparatively lower evaluations awarded Quebec French speakers by the adult Cape St. George group may perhaps be explained by the greater familiarity of residents of this community with speakers from Quebec.

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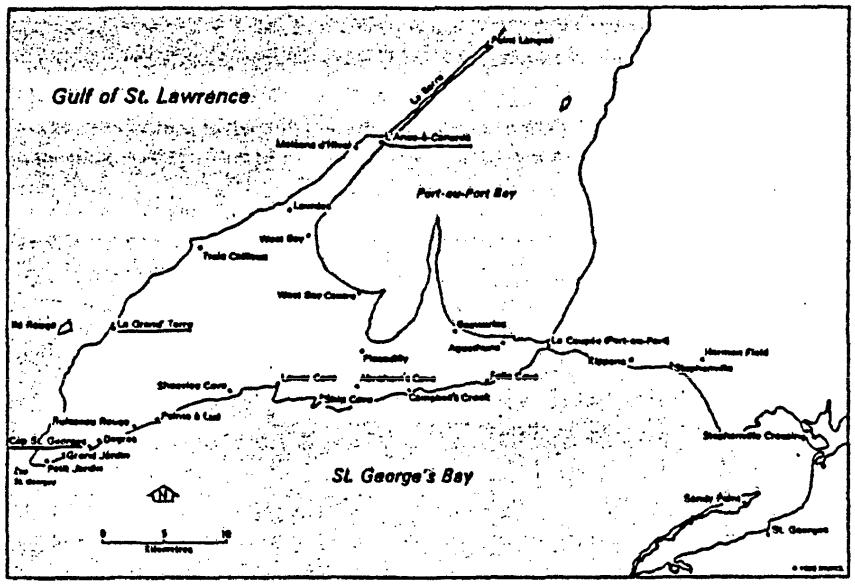

Figure 1. The Port-au-Port Peninsula

Community	Group	
	Adult	High School
Black Duck Brook/ Mainland	10	10
Cape St. George	10	10

Table 1. The Newfoundland French Sample

DIALECT TYPE	Speaker				Overall
	Male 1	Male 2	Female 1	Female 2	
European/ Macropolitan French	43.6%	48.7%	30.0%	52.5%	43.7%
Quebec French	30.0%	37.5%	56.4%	40.0%	41.0%
Newfoundland French	72.5%	74.4%	62.5%	77.5%	71.7%

Table 2. Percentage of Correct Regional Background Identification, Overall Sample

Scale	DIALECT TYPE				F-Ratio
	Metropolitan French	Quebec French	Newfoundland French	Canadian English	
STATUS					
1. Confident	5.12(2)	4.80(3)	4.57(4)	5.41(1)	9.16**
2. Intelligent	5.00(2)	4.85(3)	4.29(4)	5.28(1)	14.28**
3. Ambitious	4.59(2)	4.36(3)	3.92(4)	4.87(1)	10.33**
4. High-Paying Job	4.29(2)	3.71(3)	2.95(4)	4.67(1)	27.15**
SOLIDARITY					
5. Friendly	5.20(2)	5.18(3)	5.25(1)	5.02(4)	1.11
6. Kind	4.92(3)	5.04(2)	5.13(1)	4.89(4)	1.48
7. Likeable	4.82(3)	4.92(1)	4.91(2)	4.89(3)	0.19
8. Honest	5.18(2)	5.13(3)	5.12(4)	5.39(1)	2.20
PEJORATIVE					
9. Lazy	2.59(1)	2.33(4)	2.50(2)	2.34(3)	1.78
10. Stuck-up	2.50(2)	2.48(3)	2.13(4)	2.63(1)	2.76*
OCCUPATIONAL SUITABILITY					
11. High-School French/English Teacher	4.54(2)	3.79(3)	2.96(4)	4.82(1)	23.52**
12. Newsreader	4.18(2)	3.67(3)	3.00(4)	4.87(1)	24.38**
13. Waiter	3.59(3)	3.66(2)	3.37(4)	3.94(1)	1.98

Table 3. Overall Sample Means on Evaluational Scales (** = $p < .001$, * = $p < .05$; df = 3/108 in all cases; rankings of each dialect type are given in brackets)

HIGH-PAYING JOB:

DIALECT TYPE	GROUPS				F-RATIO
	STUDENTS		ADULTS		
	Cape St. George (1)	Black Duck Brook/Mainland (2)	Cape St. George (3)	Black Duck Brook/Mainland (4)	
1. Metropolitan French	3.63	4.65	3.73	5.16	1.07 (df = 9/108, p = .39)
2. Quebec French	3.88	3.95	2.77	4.24	
3. Newfoundland French	2.63	3.38	2.29	3.49	
4. Canadian English	4.92	4.82	3.89	5.06	
GROUP →	3.77	4.20	3.17	4.49	(F = 3.76, df = 3/36, p < .05)

NEWSREADER:

DIALECT TYPE	GROUPS				F-RATIO
	STUDENTS		ADULTS		
	Cape St. George (1)	Black Duck Brook/Mainland (2)	Cape St. George (3)	Black Duck Brook/Mainland (4)	
1. Metropolitan French	3.50	4.84	3.39	4.98	1.01 (df = 9/108)
2. Quebec French	3.63	4.24	3.09	3.73	
3. Newfoundland French	2.41	3.38	2.58	3.61	
4. Canadian English	4.88	5.49	3.86	5.26	
GROUP →	3.61	4.49	3.23	4.40	(F = 3.56, df = 3/36, p < .05)

HIGH-SCHOOL TEACHER

DIALECT TYPE	GROUPS				F-RATIO
	STUDENTS		ADULTS		
	Cape St. George (1)	Black Duck Brook/Mainland (2)	Cape St. George (3)	Black Duck Brook/Mainland (4)	
1. Metropolitan French	3.87	5.47	4.11	4.70	1.32 (df = 9/108, p = .23)
2. Quebec French	4.04	4.44	2.87	3.81	
3. Newfoundland French	2.50	3.70	2.32	3.33	
4. Canadian English	5.19	4.97	3.89	5.22	
GROUP →	3.90	4.65	3.30	4.27	(F = 3.51, df = 3/36, p < .05)

Table 4. Group Means and F-ratios for the Status Scale High-Paying Job, and for the Occupational Scales Newsreader and High-School Teacher

Dialect Type		Mean	Standard Deviation	Correlation Coefficient
FRIENDLY				
European French	-D	5.32	1.51	.026
	-I	5.18	.96	
Quebec French	-D	5.05	1.80	.222+
	-I	5.15	.90	
Newfoundland French	-D	6.45	.92	.150
	-I	5.22	.99	
Mainland Canadian English	-D	5.11	1.66	.056
	-I	4.99	1.17	
HIGH-PAYING JOB				
European French	-D	5.39	1.26	.361*
	-I	4.26	1.19	
Quebec French	-D	5.50	1.27	.205
	-I	3.69	1.28	
Newfoundland French	-D	3.92	1.88	.053
	-I	2.92	1.46	
Mainland Canadian English	-D	4.55	2.01	.209
	-I	4.64	1.24	

Table 5. Results on Pearson Correlation Tests Between Evaluations by Direct and Indirect Measures (D = direct attitudinal evaluation; I = indirect or verbal guise evaluation. * = $p < .05$, + = $p < .10$)

DIALECT TYPE	GROUP					F-Ratio
	Overall	STUDENTS		ADULTS		
		Cape St. George	Black Duck Brook/Mainland	Cape St. George	Black Duck Brook/Mainland	
FRIENDLY						
European French	5.32	5.00	4.33	6.11	5.80	3.02*
Quebec French	5.05	4.90	5.11	5.00	5.20	0.05
Newfoundland French	6.43	6.10	6.25	6.89	6.50	1.30
Newfoundland English	6.00	5.40	5.63	7.00	6.00	3.94*
Mainland Canadian English	5.11	4.80	4.88	6.11	4.70	1.52
HIGH-PAYING JOB						
European French	5.39	5.00	5.75	5.00	6.20	2.27
Quebec French	5.49	4.70	4.38	5.33	4.20	0.58
Newfoundland French	3.92	5.00	5.14	5.56	5.60	0.45
Newfoundland English	3.89	3.50	3.89	4.78	3.60	0.88
Mainland Canadian English	4.65	3.50	3.11	5.56	3.50	3.64*

Table 6. Group Means and F-Ratios on Direct Questionnaire
(* = $p < .05$)

CONSTRUCTIONS TRANSITIVES ET PASSIVES APPAREMMENT ABERRANTES EN USAGE DANS LE FRANCAIS D'ACADIE

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RÉSUMÉ

La construction du complément d'objet d'un verbe peut varier dans le cours de l'histoire de la langue. Dans le français des Acadiens nous observons des constructions bien différentes de celles qui sont imposées par le "bon usage" du français commun contemporain. Bon nombre de ces écarts se retrouvent dans le français préclassique et même chez Molière. Tels sont, par exemple, entre autres: bénéficier quelqu'un, enjoindre quelqu'un, permettre quelqu'un de, répondre quelqu'un, reprocher quelqu'un, ressembler quelqu'un, survivre quelqu'un. D'autres verbes encore construits transitivement ici, ont quelque peu varié soit dans leur acception, soit dans la construction de leur complément secondaire, comme enquêter quelque chose, interdire quelqu'un de, ordonner quelqu'un de. Pour d'autres verbes, la construction transitive semble devoir trouver son origine dans l'influence de l'anglais: adresser quelqu'un, opposer quelque chose, protester quelque chose. La construction transitive permet l'utilisation fréquente de la voix passive, fût-elle irrégulière (être demandé de), qui offre de grands avantages de simplicité, d'expressivité et d'économie.

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Dans La Pensée et la Langue (1922: 319), Ferdinand Brunot fait observer que la construction du complément d'objet d'un verbe n'est pas fixée de façon invariable, qu'en fait on relève dès le moyen âge des variations, et que les différences de construction ne reflètent pas nécessairement des différences de sens. A la lumière de ces remarques, considérant de nombreux écarts entre le français commun et le français d'Acadie dans la construction du complément d'objet, nous pouvons nous demander si, sur ce point, le français d'Acadie reflète un moment de l'histoire de la langue

ou si ces variations ne sont qu'une invention de lui, voire le résultat d'une contamination par un autre idiome, enfin quelle peut être éventuellement leur utilité.

I. Transitivité archaïque

Précisons tout d'abord un point de vocabulaire: avec Brunot (op.cit.: 308), je réserve le nom de transitif aux verbes de forme active qui prennent un object direct.

Dans le français des Acadiens, nous constatons assez souvent l'emploi transitif de verbes qui sont aujourd'hui considérés comme intransitifs dans le français commun, mais qui avaient été employés transitivement dans le passé. Tels sont notamment: bénéficier quelqu'un, contribuer quelque chose, défendre quelqu'un de, divorcer quelqu'un, douter quelque chose, enjoindre quelqu'un, menacer quelque chose, nuire quelqu'un, parler quelque chose, permettre quelqu'un, répondre quelqu'un, reprocher quelqu'un, ressembler quelqu'un, succéder quelqu'un, survivre quelqu'un.

Remarquons que le français commun n'a gardé de l'ancienne construction que peu de chose, des expressions figées comme "une femme divorcée", "une lettre répondue". En revanche, ici, comme je l'ai dit, l'ancienne construction coexiste vigoureusement avec la nouvelle. Voyons quelques cas précis.

BÉNÉFICIER QUELQU'UN/BÉNÉFICIER À QUELQU'UN:

> "Monsieur l'orateur, je demande au gouvernement d'inclure le projet d'un développement des chutes de la gorge de Grand-Sault ainsi que celui de l'aéroport régional du Nord-Ouest dans les ententes auxiliaires pour bénéficier une région négligée de la province. (Evérard Daigle, L'Evangéline, 17 mars 1975.)"

C'est la construction qui était en usage au XIVe siècle:

"Bénéficier autre, est super excellence; et estre bénéficié d'autre, c'est estre excédé. (Oresme, Eth., 123, in Littré, art. bénéficier.)"

ENJOINDRE QUELQU'UN DE/ENJOINDRE À QUELQU'UN DE

"Il (M. Trudeau) a ensuite expliqué qu'il a lui-même écrit aux diverses agences gouvernementales, tel le CN, pour les enjoindre de respecter la loi sur les langues officielles. (L'Evangéline, 22 novembre 1973.)"

Ronsard use du même tour:

"Il se frappoit de regret la poitrine
Se souvenant que la nymphe marine
L'avoit enjoint dès le jour enterrer
Son cher amy... (Franciade, III, III, 99, in Huguet, art. enjoindre)."

PERMETTRE QUELQU'UN DE/PERMETTRE À QUELQU'UN DE:

"Nous avons la chance, si nous le désirons de voir à ce que nos enfants reçoivent une éducation qui les permettra d'être vraiment bilingues. (Jules Chiasson, cité par Réjean Aucoin, in Le Courrier, 22 octobre 1980.)"

Au XVIe siècle, le poète bordelais Pierre de Brach ne s'exprime pas autrement:

"En toute liberté je le permets d'aller
Du costé qu'il voudra dessoubs mes vers voler.
(Poèmes, 1, 111, Elégie 1, in Huguet, art. permettre)."

REPONDRE QUELQU'UN/REPONDRE À QUELQU'UN:

"La dame ayant appelé à la prison municipale de Moncton, le constable Pettigrew a reconnu la personne qui a répondu le téléphone à cet endroit, comme étant M. Russell Kay. (Denis D'Amour, L'Evangéline, 24 mars 1975.)"

Au XVIe siècle aussi, le verbe répondre était transitif:

> "Voy cest escript et treshumble requeste... et ne la metz dessoubs clef ou dans coffre jusques à tant que l'ayes respondue. (M. d'Amboise, Babilon, 55, in Huguet, art. respondre.)"

REPROCHER QUELQU'UN/REPROCHER À QUELQU'UN:

> "Comment peut-on reprocher M. Martin Légère de détenir trop de pouvoir? (René LeBlanc, L'Evangéline, 19 février 1979)."

On trouve de même chez Rabelais:

> "En quoy faisoit Tenot contre le droict par lequel est es enfans défendu reprocher leurs propres pères. (Rabelais, III, 4)."

RESSEMBLER QUELQU'UN/RESSEMBLER À QUELQU'UN:

> "Il arrive que des clients bien vêtus ressemblant des hommes d'affaires ne laissent pas de pourboire du tout, ou du moins peu. (Une serveuse de restaurant, citée par Paul-Arthur Landry, L'Evangéline, 17 décembre 1974.)"

La construction ressembler quelqu'un est aujourd'hui jugée "populaire" et condamnée. Pourtant Bossuet en usait encore:

> "Cette majesté infinie (de Dieu), toute resserrée en elle-même, cachée dans ses propres lumières, séparée de toutes choses par sa proche étendue, qui ne ressemble pas les grandeurs humaines où il y a toujours quelque faible (...) (3e sermon, Annonc. 2, in Littré, art. ressembler.)

SURVIVRE QUELQU'UN/SURVIVRE À QUELQU'UN:

> "Sans doute plusieurs parmi ces réfugiés ne survécurent pas l'hiver, et on dut les enterrer sur l'île. (Mgr. Nil Thériault, Le Courrier, 11 mars 1981.)"

Le même tour apparaît déjà chez Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473-1525):

> "Sa soeur et femme la déesse Isis le survescut de trois cens ans. (Les Illustrations

de la Gaule et singularités de Troye, I, 8, in Huguet, art. survivre.)"

II. Transitivité archaïque, mais accompagnée de variations secondaires

Certains verbes aujourd'hui intransitifs en français commun se sont construits transitivement dans le passé et se construisent encore transitivement dans le français d'Acadie, mais en présentant quelque différence de sens ou de construction du second complément. Tels sont, entre autres, enquêter quelque chose, interdire quelqu'un de, ordonner quelqu'un de.

ENQUÊTER QUELQUE CHOSE/ENQUÊTER SUR QUELQUE CHOSE:

"Même plus, ne devrait-il pas avoir les pouvoirs d'enquêter les relations entre le gouvernement provincial et ses fournisseurs? (Claude Bourque, L'Evangéline, 1er mars 1974.)"

Bescherelles et Littré ne connaissent que s'enquêter. Mais Robert, à côté de l'emploi moderne enquêter sur une affaire, note un vieil emploi transitif: enquester quelqu'un, au sens de "questionner", "interroger", qui s'est maintenu jusqu'au cours du XVIe siècle, et dont Littré, dans son historique, donne un exemple:

"Enquesté du nombre des soldats, il respondit... (D'Aubigné, Histoire, III, 317, art. s'enquester.)"

Remarquons bien que, si dans les deux cas observés, le verbe enquêter est construit transitivement, en revanche il est pris dans deux acceptions quelque peu différentes: la personne enquestée ne fait pas nécessairement l'objet de l'enquête.

INTERDIRE QUELQU'UN DE/INTERDIRE À QUELQU'UN DE:

"Cette injonction avait pour but d'interdire M. Barr d'exposer publiquement un camion... (Fernand Daigle, L'Evangéline, 8 octobre 1975.)"

Au XVIe siècle et à l'époque classique encore, on trouve une construction apparemment voisine:

"Les dieux de ce haut rang te voulaient
interdire,
Puisqu'ils m'ont élevé le premier à l'empire.
(Racine, Théb., IV, 3, in Littré, art.
interdire.)"

La similitude de construction est plus apparente que réelle: si dans les deux cas le verbe interdire est transitif, le complément secondaire introduit par de est dans le premier cas un infinitif et dans le second cas un substantif.

ORDONNER QUELQU'UN DE/ORDONNER À QUELQU'UN DE:

"Le juge Murphy a alors ordonné le shériff
James Wolfe d'enquêter sur ces allégations,
puis de présenter un rapport à la cour.
(Nelson Landry, L'Evangéline, 17 novembre 1978.)"

Le tour préclassique est lui aussi transitif. Mais le sens du verbe n'est pas exactement le même. Il signifie plutôt "assigner un emploi à quelqu'un. Et le complément secondaire est introduit par "pour" et non pas "de":

"Autre mal ne leurs feist Gargantua, sinon
qu'il les ordonna pour tirer les presses à
son imprimerie. (Rabelais, I, 51, in Huguet,
art. ordonner.)"

III. Transitivité injustifiée historiquement

S'écartant davantage encore du français commun et de la tradition, le français d'Acadie présente quelques cas de transitivité historiquement aberrants, par exemple dans les constructions adresser quelqu'un, opposer quelque chose, protester quelque chose.

ADRESSER QUELQU'UN/S'ADRESSER À QUELQU'UN:

"En adressant les membres du jury avant
l'ajournement, le juge Claudius Léger leur
a rappelé qu'ils ne devaient pas lire les
journaux ni écouter aucun bulletin de nouvelles,
soit à la radio ou à la télévision. (H.V.,
L'Evangéline, 28 février 1975.)"

Cette construction apparaît comme un calque de l'anglais "To address s.o., (ii) adresser la parole à quelqu'un (Harrap's, art. address.)"

OPPOSER QUELQUE CHOSE/S'OPPOSER A QUELQUE CHOSE:

> "Dans le passé, nous n'avons pas opposé ces cadeaux parce que nous ne manquions pas d'argent pour nos écoles. (George A. Samson, Le Courrier, 24 mars 1982.)"

Ici encore l'anglais présente une explication: "To oppose s.o.'s plans, se mettre, se jeter à la traverse des projets de quelqu'un." (Harrap's, art. oppose.)"

PROTESTER QUELQUE CHOSE/PROTESTER CONTRE QUELQUE CHOSE:

> "De plus, les étudiants protestent énergiquement le fait que ces étudiants aient été arrêtés sans accusation. (France Daigle, L'Evangéline, 1er mai 1974.)"

Cette fois-ci c'est l'anglo-américain qui a influencé le français des Acadiens: "protest. I. v.tr. (c) U.S. Protester contre, réclamer contre quelque chose. (Harrap's, art. protest.)"

IV. Le passif

La construction transitive permet régulièrement l'emploi de la voix passive avec la simple transposition de l'objet en sujet. Or l'emploi de la voix passive présente quelques avantages certains..

Bien souvent, il permet de maintenir l'attention fixée sur le mot qui l'avait suscitée:

> "Une de celles qui ont assisté à la réunion a rapporté qu'elle a été interdite par le maire de poser des questions concernant le congédiement de leur greffier. (Guy Léger, L'Evangéline, 12 août 1975.)"

La construction en français commun eût été:

> "Une de celles qui ont assisté à la réunion

> a rapporté que le maire lui avait interdit de poser des questions concernant le congédiement de leur greffier."

Mais, alors, l'attention se serait déplacée de la victime sur le maire. La nuance n'est pas négligeable.

L'emploi de la voix passive, surtout au mode participe, allège considérablement la phrase:

> "(...) les grévistes ont reçu une aide financière de la Fédération du travail, donc de l'argent contribué par des locaux syndicaux de toute la province. (Paul-Arthur Landry, L'Evangéline, 2 mai 1975.)"

En français commun, "l'argent contribué par des locaux syndicaux" serait devenu "l'argent versé à titre de contribution par des sections syndicales".

Parmi les allégements possibles, la suppression d'un que est certainement recherchée:

> "(...) les deux accusés ont participé à une bagarre avec deux autres individus après avoir été refusés l'accès à une danse étudiante. (Nelson Landry, L'Evangéline, 14 février 1979.)"

D'évidence, "après avoir été refusés" est plus léger que: "après qu'on leur eut refusé", et plus clair que: "après s'être vu refuser".

La voix passive peut éviter l'emploi d'un impersonnel abstrait ou d'un "on" fuyant et inexact:

> "La police de Moncton a été demandée de surveiller assez étroitement les camions qui empruntent la rue West Lane. (N.L. L'Evangéline, 13 décembre 1974.)"

"Il a été demandé à la police de Moncton de surveiller" rejetterait la police dans l'ombre. "On a demandé à la police de Moncton de surveiller..." non seulement rejetterait la police dans l'ombre, mais encore détournerait notre attention de cette police, nous incitant à nous demander qui se cache derrière ce

discret "on".

Cet emploi fort irrégulier du verbe demander à la voix passive avec pour sujet l'ancien complément II (indirect) est assurément calqué sur l'anglais. Mais il faut reconnaître que, bien loin de nuire à la clarté de l'expression, il lui donne, à peu de frais, de la force en concentrant notre attention sur le mot important.

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Ainsi, les nombreuses constructions transitives apparemment aberrantes que nous observons dans le français des Acadiens peuvent être interprétées moins comme des objets de curiosité que comme le noyau d'un système fort économique qui, se développant par analogie et sous l'influence de l'anglais, tend à simplifier la construction des verbes sur le modèle transitif et à faciliter, à la voix passive, très utilisée, la transposition en sujets des compléments I (directs) et II (indirects). C'est là certainement une des usances les plus intéressantes du français des Maritimes.

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L'EXPRESSION DE LA SIMILITUDE DANS LES PARLERS FRANCO-ACADIENS

ETUDE DE L'EMPLOI DE QUELQUES ADVERBES

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On sait bien qu'en français les adverbes - à l'exception de tout - sont des mots invariables qui modifient un verbe, un adjectif ou un autre adverbe. Tel est du moins ce qu'enseigne la grammaire traditionnelle[1] qui se fonde sur l'étymologie latine du mot, adverbium, c'est-à-dire "auprès du verbe". Mais l'histoire de la langue nous apprend que les adverbes forment une espèce de mots dont l'existence reconnue est relativement récente. En effet, ils partagent presque le même sort que les prépositions avec lesquelles ils ont été souvent confondus jusqu'au XVII^{e} siècle inclusivement. Pour utile qu'elle soit, une distinction entre ces deux catégories est abusive, car celles-ci se caractérisent par leur ouverture: elles permettent aux mots de changer d'appartenance selon le procédé de la transposition, notion établie par Pierre Guiraud (1965:56-61; 1970:69-75). Ainsi, les adverbes entrent dans la formation de locutions verbales, conjonctives et prépositives, et sont même utilisés, sous une forme inchangée, comme conjonctions et comme prépositions. En revanche, des transfuges d'autres catégories entrent dans la formation de locutions adverbiales ou sont utilisés tels quels comme adverbes: c'est le cas essentiellement des adjectifs adverbialisés.

Il est donc nécessaire, pour déterminer l'appartenance d'un mot à la catégorie des adverbes d'en observer la fonction. Wagner et Pinchon (1962:373) ont recours à ce critère dans leur définition:

> Les adverbes sont des mots invariables, comme les conjonctions et les prépositions. Ils diffèrent néanmoins de ces deux espèces de mots parce qu'ils peuvent assumer une fonction dans la phrase.

Les adverbes assument donc une fonction grammaticale précise selon les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec les autres mots de la proposition ou de la phrase. En revanche, les autres invariables avec lesquels ils sont souvent confondus, sont, pour réutiliser une notion établie par Damourette et Pinchon (1928-

1950), des struments, c'est-à-dire des mots dépourvus de fonctions précises, dont le rôle est d'expliciter le rapport syntaxique de deux termes qui ont, pour leur part, une fonction.

Il convient, en outre, de noter que c'est le sens qui préside à la typologie des adverbes. Ainsi, Grevisse (1969 b: 813-814) distingue sept classes: les adverbes de manière, de quantité ou d'intensité, de temps, de lieu, d'affirmation, de négation, de doute. Il prend le soin toutefois de préciser qu'elles ne sont pas fixes. De plus, il ne considère pas à part les adverbes interrogatifs qui, selon lui, ne sont que des adverbes appartenant aux classes citées, qui sont utilisés dans des phrases interrogatives (à l'exception de la locution est-ce que). D'autres grammairiens, tel Gaston Cayrou (1965:222), rangent, sous la rubrique des adverbes d'opinion, ceux qui expriment l'affirmation, la négation et l'interrogation. D'autres encore placent dans un groupe particulier les adverbes de comparaison.

Il nous semble opportun de regrouper dans une classe spéciale les adverbes servant à exprimer la similitude dans les parlers franco-acadiens. En effet, on remarque en Acadie des emplois caractéristiques d'adverbes ayant cette valeur: aussi, également, itou, mêmement. Les exemples que nous utilisons dans cette étude proviennent de la littérature acadienne, des média d'information régionaux, du fichier lexicologique du Centre d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton et d'échantillons écrits fournis par des informateurs locaux. C'est pourquoi, les faits que nous étudions ressortissent à l'usance et à la parlure[2]: on peut observer que certains scripteurs s'expriment dans un français plus ou moins codifié auquel s'ajoutent un certain nombre de caractéristiques propres à la région dans laquelle ils vivent, tandis que d'autres font usage de formes qu'on peut rapprocher de certains usages anciens dont elles sont une survivance dialectale ou d'emplois que l'on remarque dans des régions voisines géographiquement et linguistiquement. Dans ce cas, il est nécessaire d'opposer à l'emploi de ces adverbes en Acadie leur utilisation ou certaines manières d'exprimer la similitude en franco-québécois, dans la langue préclassique et en français populaire.

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Le mot aussi peut être rangé dans deux catégories grammaticales selon qu'il est adverbe exprimant principalement la similitude, l'addition et l'égalité, ou conjonction introduisant alors une subordonnée consécutive ou concessive. L'étymologie

latine de ce terme, aliud sic, c'est-à-dire "une autre fois", permet de montrer comment le mot a pu, à partir de l'idée même d'une réitération d'un procès, exprimer la similitude et l'addition: dans le premier cas, aussi a le sens de "pareillement, de même" et établit une relation entre deux êtres ou choses semblables; dans le second, il signifie "en outre, de plus" et permet d'ajouter un nouvel élément à un énoncé. Vu leur proximité, ces deux nuances se recouvrent parfois, ou sont, dans certains cas, difficiles à distinguer: il faut alors recourir au contexte pour déterminer le sens du mot. Quant à l'expression de l'égalité, aussi est utilisé avec la conjonction que dans la formation du comparatif de l'adjectif ou de l'adverbe.

L'adverbe aussi est souvent utilisé en Acadie pour marquer la similitude, comme l'atteste l'exemple suivant: "Aussi il y a les pommes qui contiennent de la vitamine C" (E.R., Pointe-Sapin, N.-B.). On peut remarquer qu'aussi sert parfois à exprimer la simultanéité de plusieurs actions: "Les femmes hookent des tapis, aussi elles coudent des chandails" (C.C., Allardville, N.-B.). On note la place particulière qu'occupe l'adverbe en tête de phrase. Or, cet emploi n'est pas spécifiquement acadien, car on en retrouve plusieurs exemples dans des journaux québécois: "Grande vente avant-saison Pour jeunes femmes et demoiselles Deux collections printemps-été '74 (...) Robe chemisier 4 boutons avant (...) Aussi en vente 32 robes ORIGINAL..." (Annonce parue dans le Devoir, 3 janvier 1974); "Aussi les fils électriques couverts d'eau et les commutateurs non protégés ou si mal situés que certains opérateurs devraient descendre parfois trois étages pour stopper un convoyeur en cas d'urgence" (Gilbert Francoeur, dans le Devoir, 4 avril 1974). Il y a lieu de mentionner qu'on ne retrouve aucun emploi de ce genre ni en français préclassique, ni en français commun, ni en français populaire. Aussi employé en tête de phrase est généralement une conjonction qui signifie "c'est pourquoi": "Aussi, placé au commencement de la phrase, s'est spécialisé de nos jours dans l'emploi conséquentiel" (G. Le Bidois et R. Le Bidois, 1971:t.2, 24). Pour exprimer avec aussi la similitude en français commun, on place l'adverbe après le verbe ou après le pronom:

> L'aveugle reprit
> - Nous n'avons toujours pas de nouvelles de Venture?
> - Aucune, et cela m'inquiète.
> - Moi aussi, écrivit l'aveugle (Ponson du Terrail, 1859, cité par le Trésor de la langue française, 1971:t.3, art. aussi, 952).

Le personnage aurait pu dire: "Cela m'inquiète aussi". On serait tenté de voir dans ce trait syntaxique typique un déplacement de fonction. L'usager acadien ou québécois fait

d'un adverbe qui modifie un verbe ou un pronom personnel à forme tonique, le verbe étant sous-entendu, un adverbe qui n'a plus de fonction précise: il modifie toute une proposition ou une phrase; c'est pourquoi, il est isolé au moyen d'une virgule. On peut y voir aussi l'effet d'une transposition de catégories grammaticales en cours et rapprocher ce fait de la formation des conjonctions de coordination pourtant, cependant, toutefois, néanmoins, qui étaient à l'origine des adverbes: on assisterait alors à un changement d'adverbe en conjonction.

Un autre trait syntaxique intéressant est l'utilisation acadienne d'aussi avec une négation: "Pat est toujours le président de la Commission scolaire d'Argyle et lui aussi n'a pas changé" (Joe Acadien, dans le Petit Courrier, 17 juin 1976); "Pour ce qui est des statistiques qui disent que ce sont les hommes mariés et frustrés qui, dans le plus grand nombre de cas violent les jeunes filles, c'est pas vrai ça aussi" (lettre à l'opinion du lecteur, l'Evangéline, 10 mars 1981). Cet usage n'est pas propre à l'Acadie et on en retrouve plusieurs exemples dans des journaux québécois: "(...) Aujourd'hui, les étudiants ne savent plus parler et écrire leur langue et le grand responsable en est l'enseignant, qui lui aussi, ne sait pas sa langue et ne peut par le fait même bien l'enseigner" (M. Leclerc, dans le Devoir, 9 avril 1975); "Par exemple, les malades dans les hôpitaux: dans une logique libérale leur droit individuel n'a pas de poids, particulièrement au moment des grands affrontements, puis dans une logique socialiste, leurs droits collectifs aussi n'ont pas de poids" (Jacques Grand'Maison, cité par Marie Laurier, dans le Devoir, 24 avril 1982). Il y a lieu de préciser que cet emploi de l'adverbe aussi dans une proposition négative est conforme à l'ancien usage, en moyen français et en français classique: "S'il n'estait disent-ilz, en nostre eslection de faire le bien ou le mal: il ne serait point aussi de nous en abstenir" (Calvin, cité par E. Huguet, 1925-1967: art. aussi, 408); "Mme de Valentinois qui craignait une femme qu'il avait déjà aimée, et dont la beauté et l'esprit pouvaient diminuer sa faveur, s'unit au connétable, qui ne souhaitait pas aussi que le roi épousât une soeur de MM. de Guise" (Mme de La Fayette:48). Actuellement, en français commun, on tend à remplacer aussi par non plus dans une proposition négative, ce dont Littré fait même une règle (1957: art. aussi, 728):

> Aussi se met dans le sens affirmatif: je le veux aussi. Dans le sens négatif, on dit: non plus. Vous ne le voulez pas, ni moi non plus. Tel est l'usage d'à présent; mais les meilleurs auteurs du XVII^{e} siècle ont employé aussi avec la négation.

Si des linguistes comme Joseph Hanse (1949: art. aussi, 109) ou G.O. d'Harvé (cité par P. Dupré, 1972) érigent ce principe presque en règle, un grammairien, Maurice Grevisse (1969 b:826), relève des différences d'ordre stylistique: selon lui, non plus, indique que "la pensée s'arrête sur le fait négatif", tandis qu'aussi permet à la pensée de "s'arrêter sur l'identité de situation, c'est-à-dire sur un fait positif". Pour sa part, P. Dupré (1972: art. aussi, 204) fait le point sur la question et formule une règle d'utilisation:

> En somme, aujourd'hui aussi peut s'employer au sens de non plus dans une proposition elliptique ou avant un verbe, mais il ne peut s'employer dans cette valeur après un verbe négatif... L'usage ne reste libre qu'avec ne...que.

Ainsi, on remarque, dans les parlers franco-acadiens et même québécois, deux particularités d'emploi de l'adverbe aussi pour exprimer la similitude: d'une part, on le détache en tête de phrase où il devient une quasi-conjonction, d'autre part, il s'emploie, conformément à l'usage ancien, en proposition négative, dans des cas où l'on exige de nos jours, en français commun, la locution non plus.

EGALEMENT

L'utilisation de l'adverbe également pour exprimer la similitude est assez récente en français: Grevisse (1969 b:814) remarque que "c'est depuis le XIV^{e} siècle que également a pris, par extension, le sens de aussi". A l'origine, comme le montre Littré (1957: art. également, 502), cet adverbe signifie "d'une manière égale, semblablement. Il les a traités également. Il les a également punis". L'extension de sens s'explique par un glissement de l'égalité vers la similitude et l'addition.

Or, il est intéressant de noter que cet adverbe est utilisé en Acadie avec ces nouvelles nuances: "(...) Il a invité notamment le ministre des Pêches du Canada, M. Roméo LeBlanc, à s'impliquer dans le dossier. Egalement, il a réitéré une proposition faite à l'automne dernier (...)" (J.C., l'Evangéline, 14 avril 1980); "Le député de Kent au fédéral, M. Roméo LeBlanc ne s'est pas rendu à l'invitation également" (William Thériault, l'Evangéline, 28 avril 1980); "Egalement, l'orange est un fruit" (E.R., Pointe-Sapin, N.-B.).

On peut observer, dans les exemples cités, que cet adverbe s'emploie de la même manière qu'aussi: non seulement il est utilisé en tête de phrase, mais encore il s'emploie dans une proposition négative, après le verbe, avec le sens de non plus. Il est loisible de se demander si ces scripteurs acadiens ne suivent pas une tendance du français qui se fait, précédant en quelque sorte le bon usage contemporain. Car si Hatzfeld et Darmesteter, d'une part, et Paul Robert, d'autre part, considèrent cet emploi d'également comme familier, il reste qu'on trouve cet adverbe chez de grands écrivains comme Balzac, Flaubert, Gide, Siegfried et Giraudoux (cités par P. Robert, 1966: art. également, 401). Pour sa part, P. Dupré (1972: art. également, 785) ne le condamne pas, bien qu'il prenne soin de formuler une remarque au sujet de sa place dans la phrase: "(...) On évitera de le mettre en tête d'une phrase avec cette valeur: on le placera (...) après le verbe".

L'adverbe aussi, dont l'utilisation est assez fréquente tant dans la langue parlée que dans la langue écrite, aurait-il "contaminé" les autres adverbes servant à exprimer la similitude dans les parlers franco-acadiens en leur imposant sa syntaxe particulière? Telle est la question que l'on peut se poser au sujet de l'utilisation d'également en Acadie. Elle nous conduit à formuler une autre interrogation: y a-t-il des adverbes qui auraient échappé à cette influence?

ITOU

Un adverbe populaire, voire dialectal, en France, sert aussi à exprimer la similitude en Acadie, itou, quelquefois orthographié étou[3]: "Depi que j'ai commencé à vous écrire toute mes soeurs et cousines voulons écrire seux itou" (Marichette, 2 mai 1895); "J'lavons pris étou pour le grand Ouince de la ville d'en ba de Chéticamp" (Marichette, 28 mars 1895); "Plusieurs commencions déjà à se demander tout haut si l'automne allait être meilleur, parce que si lés patates brûlions dans les champs, lés quelques carottes,. choux et navots allions y passer itou" (R. Brun, 1974:12); "Si vous pouviez itou vous faire une raison et tâcher d'oublier votre charrette de temps en temps" (A. Maillet, 1979:27).

Cet adverbe n'est pas propre à l'Acadie, car il se retrouve dans les parlers québécois et franco-canadiens, dans les dialectes régionaux de France et en français populaire. P. Dupré (1972: art. itou, 1382) note que "le parler canadien a bien conservé ce terme avec le sens qu'il a en France". Ce mot, selon Paul Robert (1966: art. itou, 833) remonte au XVII^{e} siècle et

proviendrait d'une altération populaire du moyen français et tout, signifiant "aussi", avec influence possible de l'ancien français itel, c'est-à-dire "pareillement", et étant, "autant". Littré (1957: art. itou, 1181) condamne sévèrement son utilisation: "Itou est une expression de la campagne, qui ne peut être admise que dans le langage le plus familier, et même tout à fait populaire". Pascal Poirier (1977: art. itou, 280), pour sa part, prend sa défense et cherche à le réhabiliter. Il mentionne que Marivaux avait donné la raison de son bannissement du dictionnaire de l'Académie: "il n'est pas d'assez bonne famille". Certes, plusieurs glossaires régionaux français le citent, tels le Glossaire du Centre de la France de H.F. Jaubert (1970:376), le Glossaire angevin de Charles Ménière (1979:406), l'Essai sur le patois poitevin ou Petit Glossaire de H. Beauchet-Filleau (1970:147), qui lui donnent tous le sens d'aussi. Quelque mépris qu'on ait pu avoir pour cet adverbe, de grands écrivains ne l'ont pas dédaigné. Molière l'utilise dans Don Juan: "Le gros Thomas aime à batifoler, et moi je batifole itou". Stendhal (cité par P. Robert, 1966: art. itou, 833) le place dans la bouche d'un soldat:

- Je n'en puis plus, dit un des soldats.
- Et moi itou, dit un autre.

On le rencontre, de nos jours, chez Raymond Queneau (voir Oulipo, 1972:98): "il but du vin itou, du rhum, du whisky, du coco, puis il dormit sur un roc". Un auteur de romans à très gros tirages, San Antonio (1957 a:85; 1957 b:114), y a même fréquemment recours: "Je m'assieds au bord du lit et je lui roule un patin à la soudard! Sa surprise est telle, - la mienne itou d'ailleurs -, qu'elle ne songe pas à se rebiffer"; "Il a été impliqué itou dans des règlements de comptes, mais jamais encore dans ce que nous appelons une vraie affaire criminelle".

Il convient de noter que, sur le plan syntaxique, on ne remarque pas de différences dans l'emploi de l'adverbe itou entre les parlers franco-acadiens et les parlers régionaux ou populaires français: quand il modifie un verbe, il se place immédiatement après lui, ou bien il modifie un pronom tonique, le verbe étant sous-entendu. En somme, les parlers acadiens appliquent à cet adverbe les normes qui régissent l'emploi d'aussi en français commun. Une particularité doit cependant être mentionnée: ni dans les parlers acadiens ni en français populaire ou dialectal, l'adverbe itou n'est utilisé dans une proposition négative ou avec une négation exprimée.

MEMEMENT

L'adverbe mêmement est assez souvent utilisé en Acadie pour exprimer la similitude, comme l'attestent les phrases suivantes: "- La voix, a venait tu à tous les soirs. - Ben, mêmement dans le jours" (Centre d'études acadiennes U. de M., Folkl., coll. Dan. Ars., Ms No 41, 1974:2); "- (...) Y en a une que j'avais dit qu'a va aouère des twins; une petite fille, pis un petit gars mêmement, ça c'était dure..." (Centre d'études acadiennes U. de M., Folkl., coll. Emé. R., Bob. 10, Trans. 10, 1978:4); "Mêmement les banques ont des problèmes" (C.G., Grande-Digue, N.-B.); "Mêmement des gens qui étaient de grands libéraux ont voté conservateurs hier soir" (P.L., Memramcook, N.-B.). Il s'agit d'un adverbe actuellement désuet en français commun et dont Pascal Poirier (1977: art. mêmement, 73) a cherché à préserver l'existence:

> MEMEMENT. Même, mais avec un sens plus énergique: - Il veut l'avoir; il l'a mêmement demandé avec menace; - Il le croit; il en est mêmement sûr et certain. L'Académie a recueilli le mot, en faisant observer qu'il est vieux. Il est en pleine jeunesse ici".

Du reste, on peut opposer à ces emplois acadiens l'ancien usage français. Déjà, Pierre Richelet (1968:28), dans son Dictionnaire françois, déclare ce terme éteint: "Ce mot ne se dit presque plus, et en sa place on se sert de même". Littré (1957: art. mêmement, 73) précise que ce mot vieillit: "Il s'est dit dans le sens de même, de surtout". Et il donne plusieurs exemples pris chez de vieux auteurs: "Ce est la convenance que vostre fils a nous, et si l'a nous asseurée par chartres et par serement, et par le roi Phelipon d'Alemaigne meesmement, qui vostre fille a" (XIII^{e} siècle, Villehardouin); "Tous chevaliers doivent aider à leur loyal pouvoir toutes dames et pucelles dechassées et déconfortées, à leur besoin, mesmement quand ils en sont requis" (XV^{e} siècle, Froissart). Jaubert (1970:433) fournit des précisions intéressantes sur l'utilisation de cet adverbe:

> L'adverbe même ainsi allongé se place au commencement d'une phrase ou d'un membre de phrase, comme pour lui donner plus de poids: "Mêmement je lui ai conseillé, etc.".

Il ajoute que le sens de mêmement est bien celui de même et il donne plusieurs citations, notamment celles-ci: "Et mêmement

comme gens de bon vouloir que vous êtes" (Bonaventure des Périers); "Elle ne m'écoute point: elle a mêmement la mine de ne vouloir point m'entendre" (G. Sand). Il ne faudrait pas oublier non plus de préciser qu'un grand poète contemporain, Paul Valéry (cité par P. Robert, 1966: art. même, 350) y a eu recours:

> Le romantisme ainsi regardé fut donc ce à quoi le naturalisme riposta, et ce contre quoi s'assembla le Parnasse; et il fut mêmement ce qui détermina l'attitude particulière de Baudelaire.

On retrouve, enfin, cette utilisation dans les oeuvres de San-Antonio: "Le courant électrique, il passe tout le long du fil qui le véhicule, non? Mêmement, l'amour passe tout le long du corps qui l'abrite" (1967:294).

Ainsi, les parlers acadiens continuent à utiliser un trait de la vieille langue française, l'adverbe mêmement. On peut se demander si l'emploi d'un adverbe renforcé par l'adjonction du suffixe adverbial -ment, couramment utilisé, ne permet pas à l'usager de reconnaître l'appartenance à cette catégorie très riche qui comprend, outre les adverbes de manière en nombre indéfini, les formes suivantes typiques de la région: également, quasiment, presquement, possiblement. Cet emploi correspond à une tendance qui caractérise bien les parlers franco-acadiens, celle de former un système homogène. De plus, l'emploi de mêmement favorise la distinction entre la forme de l'adverbe et celles de l'adjectif et du pronom indéfini, autrement fort semblables, même. D'ailleurs, au Grand siècle, Vaugelas recommandait, afin qu'on les distinguât clairement, qu'un s dit adverbial fût ajouté à même[4].

Resserrons en quelques mots nos observations sur l'expression de la similitude dans les parlers franco-acadiens. On remarque plusieurs tendances. D'une part, on note l'utilisation d'adverbes qui tendent à prendre l'aspect de quasi-conjonctions grâce à un changement de fonctions et à un détachement en tête de phrase, tel est le cas d'aussi et d'également. D'autre part, certaines formes anciennes, actuellement dialectales ou populaires en France, ont survécu inchangées en Acadie où elles trouvent une seconde jeunesse, par exemple itou et mêmement. Une telle étude permet de constater une fois de plus que les parlers franco-acadiens tendent à constituer un système original assez cohérent et assez simplifié à l'intérieur de la francophonie.

1 Dans son Précis de grammaire française, Maurice Grevisse (1969 a:212) donne la définition suivante: "L'adverbe est un mot invariable que l'on joint à un verbe, à un adjectif ou à un autre adverbe, pour en modifier le sens".

2 Dans un article sur l'expression de la concession dans les parlers franco-acadiens (voir la bibliographie), nous avons étudié les notions d'usance et de parlure formulées pour J. Damourette et E. Pichon (1928-1950: t.1, 45).

3 Cette étude de l'emploi de l'adverbe itou dans les parlers franco-acadiens prolonge des recherches antérieures (P. Gérin et P.M. Gérin, 1979:100-101; 1982:148-149).

4 Cette règle établie par Vaugelas peut apparaître curieuse: "Quand il est proche d'un substantif singulier ie voudrois mettre mesme avec s, et quand il est proche d'un substantif pluriel, ie voudrois mettre mesme sans s, et pour empêcher que mesme adverbe ne soit pris pour mesme, pronom" (1968:23-24). Il y a lieu de préciser que, sur ce plan, Vaugelas est fidèle à la tradition: si le s final de certains adverbes (plus, moins, pis, certes) s'explique par l'étymologie latine de ces mots, l'ancien et le moyen français ont, dans une grande mesure, généralisé son utilisation en l'appliquant à un nombre important de termes (adverbes, mais aussi prépositions et conjonctions, avec lesquelles ils étaient souvent confondus) qui, étymologiquement, n'auraient pas dû l'avoir: avecques, doncques, encores, guères, jusques, mêmes, presques, etc. Mentionnons que le français moderne a gardé, avec cette graphie abusive, les formes tandis, sans, volontiers (étymologie: tamdiu+s, sine+s, voluntarie+s).

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Observations sur le comportement thématique et désinentiel des verbes dans deux parlers acadiens néo-écossais

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RESUME

Pour ce qui est de la morphologie verbale, les parlers acadiens des Provinces Maritimes diffèrent sensiblement non seulement du français standard mais également les uns des autres. Cette étude, basée sur une analyse de deux corpus linguistiques recueillis récemment, examine le comportement thématique et désinentiel de plusieurs verbes dans deux parlers acadiens néo-écossais, ceux de la Baie Sainte-Marie et de Pubnico. Des deux systèmes verbaux, c'est surtout celui de Pubnico, avec un nombre important de variantes, qui semble être plutôt instable et en voie de mutation. Et pour les thèmes et pour les désinences, les deux systèmes se montrent très économiques par rapport aux formes correspondantes du français standard.

A. Introduction

Nombre de chercheurs ont déjà démontré très clairement que les divers parlers acadiens des Provinces Maritimes diffèrent nettement, tant sur les plans phonétique et lexical que sur le plan morphosyntaxique, du français dit standard. Par contre, peu de chercheurs se sont penchés sur la question tout aussi intéressante: quelles différences peut-il y avoir entre les parlers acadiens? Je me propose, dans cette étude de morphologie verbale, d'examiner le comportement formel de huit verbes dans deux parlers néo-écossais voisins, en l'occurrence ceux de Pubnico et de la Baie Sainte-Marie. Mon but sera de rappeler que, s'il est peut-être légitime de parler d'un seul dialecte acadien, il ne faudrait pas perdre de vue le fait que les parlers qui composeraient ce dialecte unique diffèrent sensiblement les uns des autres. Nous verrons, cependant, et ceci n'a rien de très surprenant, que les différences morphologiques entre les parlers de Pubnico et de la Baie Sainte-Marie sont bien moins nombreuses que celles qui existent entre ces deux parlers et le français standard.

J'appuierai mes remarques sur une étude des formes verbales dégagées de deux corpus linguistiques distincts. Pour ce qui est

de la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie, j'ai receuilli moi-même le corpus en 1975 et 1976. Huit informateurs, quatre hommes et quatre femmes ayant entre 32 et 89 ans, ont fourni les témoignages. Pour pallier aux carences de ce corpus de discours libre d'environ 16,000 mots graphiques, j'ai dû avoir recours à une enquête supplémentaire qui permettait de remplir le très grand nombre de "trous" dans les tableaux de morphologie verbale que je voulais compléter. Cette enquête a également eu lieu en 1976.

C'est grâce aux soins du Dr. Moshé Starets, directeur du Centre de Recherches sur l'Enseignement du Français (CREF) de l'Université Sainte-Anne, que le deuxième corpus a pu être enregistré à Pubnico-Ouest. Une fois de plus, et pour les même raisons, le recueil d'un premier corpus de discours libre a été suivi par une enquête supplémentaire. Le corpus de discours libre se constitue des témoignages de six enfants ayant entre six et onze ans (environ 12,000 mots graphiques en tout) tandis qu' une quinzaine d'enfants ont fourni les formes verbales recueillies lors de l'enquête supplémentaire.[1] L'on aura remarqué que les deux corpus et les deux enquêtes supplémentaire nous fournissent des données pour deux régions et trois générations. Cette étude comparative de morphologie verbale aura donc un aspect temporel aussi bien que spatial.

Dans cette étude, j'appellerai <u>thème</u> la racine (ou le radical) qui reste quand on ôte d'un verbe sa (ou ses) <u>désinence(s)</u>; une désinence, qui suit toujours le thème, apporte des renseignements d'ordre temporel, modal ou personnel. C'est donc le thème qui fournit les renseignements lexicaux proprement dits. Dans le syntagme verbal [ariv-r-a], [ariv-] serait le thème, [-r-] la désinence du futur et [-a] la désinence de la troisième personne du singulier. Cependant, il n'est pas toujours possible, pour certaines formes de verbes dits "irréguliers", de séparer le syntagme verbal en thème et désinence. Je parlerai plutôt d'<u>amalgame</u> pour une forme comme [sqi] ("je <u>suis</u>").

Avant de passer à l'étude des formes verbales qui seront mises en regard, il faudrait préciser que, en dépit du fait que le passé simple et l'imparfait du subjonctif sont des temps bien vivants dans le parler acadien de la Baie Sainte-Marie, j'en ferai abstraction ici, car ces temps ont pratiquement disparu à la fois du français standard et du parler de Pubnico.[2]

B. Les Thèmes

1. arriver

Le lexème arriver n'a qu'un seul thème [ariv-] à la Baie Sainte-Marie, à Pubnico et en français standard. Aucun écart n'est évidemment à signaler pour ces verbes qui ont presque toujours un infinitif en [-e]; ils sont d'ailleurs très fréquents dans les deux corpus et les emprunts de l'anglais s'intègrent toujours à ce modèle (needer [nid-e], watcher [watʃ-e], etc.).

2. finir

Finir a les deux thèmes [fini] et [finis] dans les trois systèmes verbaux que nous opposons. La distribution des deux thèmes est identique en français standard et dans le parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie. Mais à Pubnico, il y a hésitation entre l'emploi du thème "léger" [fini-] et le thème "lourd" [finis-] devant les formes en [-r-] du futur et du conditionnel. J'ai relevé également "i'finira" [fini-ra] et "i'finisra" [finis-ra]. J'ai aussi relevé à Pubnico les deux thèmes à l'état nu pour les trois personnes du singulier du subjonctif--l'on dit tantôt "faut que je finis" [fini-] tantôt "faut que je finisse" [finis]. A la Baie Sainte-Marie et en français standard, on ne rencontre que le thème "lourd" [finis] au subjonctif.

3. vendre

Le verbe vendre est bithématique dans les deux parlers acadiens à l'étude ainsi qu'en français standard. En français, on ne relève le thème "léger" [vã] qu'aux trois personnes du singulier de l'indicatif présent; le thème "lourd" [vãd-] se rencontre ailleurs. Tel est aussi le cas dans le parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie. Une fois de plus, on peut entendre à Pubnico le thème "léger" [vã] aux trois personnes du singulier du subjonctif ("faut que tu vends" [vã] ou "faut que tu vendes" [vãd]). Ce qui plus est, à Pubnico et à la Baie Sainte-Marie, à la suite de la réduction consonantique [-dr] en [-d] en fin de syllabe, l'infinitif des verbes du type vendre est à désinence "zéro" ("i' va vendre" [vãd]).[3]

4. mourir

Mourir a quatre thèmes en français standard--[mœr], [mur-], [muri-] et [mɔr]. Seulement deux de ces thèmes, [mur-] et [muri-], sont présents dans le système verbal de Pubnico et de la Baie

Sainte-Marie. [mur-], qui est thème nu aux trois personnes du singulier de l'indicatif présent et du subjonctif dans les deux parlers (cf. [mœr] "je meurs" en français standard), se retrouve partout sauf devant la désinence [-r] de l'infinitif mourir [muri-r] et au participe passé où nous avons mouri [muri] (par exemple, "mon mari a mouri à soixante et seize"). Il faut cependant noter que l'on peut entendre, tant à Pubnico qu'à la Baie Sainte-Marie, un emploi adjectival de [mɔr]. L'informatrice de la Baie Sainte-Marie qui racontait que son mari "a mouri à soixante et seize" a dit tout de suite après, en poussant un soupir, "Oui, il est mort [mɔr] asteur."

5. aller

L'on sait que le lexème aller a six thèmes en français standard--[vɛ], [va], [võ], [al-], [aj] et [i-]. Il peut y en avoir seulement quatre, même trois, voire deux en acadien! Tout d'abord, on dit "je vas" [vɑ] à Pubnico et à la Baie Sainte-Marie--l'amalgame [vɛ] ("je vais") n'est jamais utilisé. Ensuite, les formes du subjonctif avec [aj] ("il faut que j'aille [aj] à la banque") ne se recontrent pas dans les deux parlers. Un informateur a dit, par exemple, avec le thème [al], "faut que j'alle tirer (= traire) la vache". A la Baie Sainte-Marie, l'on dit tantôt [võ], tantôt [al-õ] pour la troisième personne du pluriel de l'indicatif présent. Dans le corpus de Pubnico, j'ai relevé neuf occurrences de [al-õ] (par exemple, "Après la danse, il' allont [al-õ] à Yarmouth") contre seulement quatre occurrences de la forme standard vont [võ]. Notons que, [õ] étant la désinence normale de la première et de la troisième personne du pluriel en acadien (j'y reviendrai), rien n'empêche de considérer [v-] comme thème et [-õ] comme désinence. On pourrait évidemment postuler qu'il s'agit d'un amalgame formel de thème et de désinence, et c'est cette analyse qui s'impose pour le français standard. Enfin, tandis qu'à la Baie Sainte-Marie on rencontre seulement le thème standard [i-] devant les désinences du futur et du conditionnel, à Pubnico j'ai relevé plusieurs occurrences de [al-] ("j'allerai [al-re] à l'église demain"). Quoique [i-] s'emploie aussi comme variante, il est possible de conjuger le verbe aller à Pubnico avec les deux seuls thèmes [vɑ] et [al-]! Ajoutons que le participe passé allé [al-e] est fort peu usité--plusieurs informateurs m'ont dit catégoriquement qu'on dit "j'ai été" et jamais "j'ai allé" (et encore moins "je suis allé"!) en acadien.

6. vouloir

Une fois de plus, les parlers acadiens se révèlent, sur le

plan du nombre de thèmes, plus économiques que le français standard. Vouloir a six thèmes en français--[vø] ("je veux"), [vœl] ("ils veulent"), [vul-] ("nous voulons"), [vœj] ("bien que je veuille le faire"), [vud-] ("je voudrais") et [vulwa-] ("vouloir, c'est pouvoir"). Le deuxième, [vœl] et le quatrième, [vœj] ne sont pas présents dans le système acadien. J'ai relevé, pour la troisième personne du pluriel, [vul-õ] (par exemple, "i' voulont venir") à Pubnico et à la Baie Sainte-Marie. Si je ne relève pas non plus la forme [vœj] pour le subjonctif, les francophones des deux régions acadiennes semblement ne pas employer le même thème pour les trois personnes du singulier. Selon mes données, à la Baie Sainte-Marie on dirait plutôt, avec le thème nu [vul], "je crois point qu'i' voule [vul] chanter"; à Pubnico, par contre, on utiliserait le même thème [vø][4] pour les trois personnes du singulier de l'indicatif présent et du subjonctif. Enfin, et l'on ne s'en étonnera plus, tandis qu'à la Baie Sainte-Marie j'ai relevé partout le thème standard [vud-] devant la désinence [-r-] du futur et du conditionnel, j'ai dénombré douze occurrences à Pubnico du thème [vul-] pour ces deux temps (par exemple, "i' voulra [vulra] point le fare"). Il s'agirait évidemment de l'économie d'un autre thème par rapport au français standard. Cependant, j'ai aussi relevé 25 occurrences du thème [vud-]--le thème "normal" [vud-] serait donc à peu près deux fois plus fréquent à Pubnico.

7. faire

Le verbe faire, qui, tout comme les verbes aller et vouloir, a six thèmes en français standard--[fɛ] ("je fais), [fɛt] ("vous faites"), [fõ] ("ils font"), [f(ə)z-] ("nous faisons"), [fas] ("il faut qu'il fasse") et [f(ə)-] ("je ferai")--n'en aurait que quatre ou cinq à la Baie Sainte-Marie et, selon le même jeu des variantes, trois ou quatre à Pubnico. Les thèmes [fɛt] et [fas] sont absents des deux systèmes verbaux acadiens à l'étude. On dit "vous faisez" (réalisé [fɛz-e] ou [fəz-e]) plutôt que "vous faites" dans les deux régions. J'ai remarqué pour le lexème faire, toujours dans les deux régions, un certain flottement entre les réalisations [ɛ] et [ə] suivies de [z] en syllabe ouverte. Robert Ryan (1982), dans sa description de la morphologie verbale de la Baie Sainte-Marie, a signalé le même phénomène. Dans mes corpus, c'est nettement la variante avec [ɛ] qui l'emporte sur la variante avec schwa. Par exemple, à Pubnico, contre une seule occurrence de "i' faisont" [fz-õ] avec chute du schwa, j'ai relevé douze occurrences de "i' faisont" [fɛz̃-o]. [fas] est l'autre thème du français standard que l'on ne rencontre pas en acadien; le thème [fɛz] le remplace dans les deux régions de mon enquête. L'on dit, par exemple, "faut que tu faises [fɛz] ça".

La distribution du thème [fɛ] est la même en acadien et en français standard. Cependant, sous l'accent, ce thème se réalise souvent [æ] ou même [a] dans les deux régions ("Quoi ce tu fais [fæ]?"). L'environnement phonétique conditionne également la réalisation de l'infinitif. L'on sait que [ɛ] + [r] en syllabe fermée devient souvent [ar] en acadien. J'ai relevé constamment la réalisation [fa-r] ("faut le fare") dans mes corpus. Pour ce qui est des différences entre Pubnico et la Baie Sainte-Marie, il s'agit à nouveau de variantes qu'on peut rencontrer dans une région et non pas dans l'autre. Il y en a deux. A la Baie Sainte-Marie, on retrouve tantôt la forme [f-õ] tantôt la forme [fɛz-õ / fəz-õ] à laquelle j'ai déjà fait allusion pour la troisième personne du pluriel de l'indicatif présent. Il semblerait que l'on se serve fort peu de [f-õ] à Pubnico; je n'en ai relevé aucune occurrence. Par contre, tout comme pour les lexèmes finir, aller et vouloir, on retrouve deux variantes pour toutes les formes du futur et du conditionnel à Pubnico--on dit "tu feras" [f(ə)-ra] comme en français standard et à la Baie Sainte-Marie ou, avec le thème [fɛz], "tu faisras" [fɛz-ra]. Je n'ai pas rencontré d'occurrences du thème [fɛz] pour les formes du futur et du conditionnel à la Baie Sainte-Marie.

8. être

La plupart des thèmes du lexème être sont, en français standard et en acadien, des amalgames. On retrouve en acadien [e] pour la deuxième et la troisième personne du singulier et [ɛt] pour la deuxième personne du pluriel. La forme de la première personne du singulier est l'amalgame [ʃy], forme qui proviendrait de la fusion du pronom sujet [ʒə] et d'un thème spécial [sy][5] (cf. "je suis" [sɥi] ou l'amalgame "je suis" [ʃɥi] en français standard). On n'entend la forme [sõ] qu'à la troisième personne du pluriel de l'indicatif présent en français; on le retrouve aussi à la première personne du pluriel à Pubnico et à la Baie Sainte-Marie ("A présent, je sons [s-õ] icitte"). La forme [sɔm] ("nous sommes") n'apparaît donc pas en acadien. Comme en français standard, le thème [et-] est utilisé devant toutes les formes de l'imparfait. En plus, c'est cette réalisation [et] que l'on relève pour l'infinitif en acadien ("j'allons ét(re) [et] là"). On peut rapprocher cet infinitif sans [-r] à l'infinitif "vend(re)" [vãd]. A la Baie Sainte-Marie, le thème du subjonctif est [sɛj] ("faut que tu seyes là à six heures"); à Pubnico, j'ai relevé tantôt [sɛj] (six occurrences) tantôt [saj] (neuf occurrences). Je n'ai relevé, ni à la Baie Sainte-Marie ni à Pubnico, aucune occurrence de la forme standard [swa]. Enfin, comme en français, c'est le thème [s(ə)-] qui sert à former le futur et le conditionnel à la Baie Sainte-Marie. Chose fort curieuse, on rencontre à

Pubnico ce même thème [s(ə)-] ou une variante [f(ə)-]--j'ai relevé "i' sera [s-ra] malade" et "si ta mère n'avait point dormi pour deux jours, a' [=elle] ferait [f-rɛ] malade". J'ai pu dénombrer 11 occurrences de la variante [f(ə)-] contre seulement quatre occurrences de la forme standard [s(ə)-]. Pour le moment, j'ignore la provenance du thème [f(ə)-]. L'on est tenté d'y voir une forme créée par analogie, puisqu'on dit bien "je fus" [fy] au passé simple, mais je n'ai pas relevé d'occurrences du passé simple a Pubnico!

(Voir le Tableau 1)

L'on peut voir résumé dans le Tableau 1 le système thématique des huit lexèmes que j'ai mis en regard tout au long de cette étude. Il me semble possible de parler d'une assez belle économie en acadien, car, selon le nombre de variantes utilisées, j'ai dénombré entre 22 et 26 thèmes pour les huit verbes dans les deux régions, contre 35 en français standard. L'économie se situe donc entre 25.7% et 37.2%. Les verbes dits "réguliers" présentent peu de différences; c'est le phénomène de la régularisation par analogie de beaucoup de formes "irrégulières" en français qui est tout à fait frappant en acadien. On aura aussi remarqué que j'ai relevé nettement plus de variantes libres à Pubnico; il ne faudrait sans doute pas perdre de vue le fait qu'il s'agit d'un corpus d'enfants. Je suis néanmoins persuadé que, par rapport à la Baie Sainte-Marie, le système de morphologie verbale de Pubnico est moins stable et plus en mutation. Nous allons constater la même tendance à la multipication des variantes à Pubnico en examinant brièvement l'emploi des désinences verbales dans les deux parlers.

C. Les Désinences

Sans doute la caractéristique la plus marquante et la plus constante du système désinentiel, tant à Pubnico qu'à la Baie Sainte-Marie, est-elle l'emploi généralisé de la désinence [-õ] pour la troisième personne du pluriel, et ceci à tous les temps. Cela constitue évidemment un écart par rapport au français standard, car on ne retrouve [-õ] à la troisième personne du pluriel que pour les formes du futur ("ils viendront [vjɛ̃d-rõ] demain"). Voici quelques exemples tirés des deux corpus:

1. à l'indicatif présent — "I' parlont [parl-õ] point much français à Yarmouth." (BSM)
2. au subjonctif — "Faut qu'i' chantiont [ʃãt-jõ] asteur." (P)

3.	à l'imparfait	"I' quittiont [kit-jõ] de Montreal et il' alliont [al-jõ] jusqu'à Newfoundland." (P)
4.	au futur	"C'est de quoi (=quelque chose) que nos jeunes 'oiront [wa-rõ] (=verront) jamais." (BSM)
5.	au conditionnel	"I' vendererionț [vãdə-rərjõ] la car s'i' pouviont." (BSM)

Le dernier exemple m'amène à un deuxième écart, le seul autre écart intéressant les désinences que j'ai relevé dans mon corpus de la Baie Sainte-Marie.[6] On s'attendrait à une désinence [-rjõ] pour la troisième personne du pluriel du conditionnel en acadien, et d'ailleurs, c'est une variante que j'ai rencontrée. Mais souvent, on retrouve un [-(ə)rə-] "de trop" dans les désinences, et ceci pour toutes les trois personnes du pluriel. Les exemples que je citerai sont tirés de l'enquête supplémentaire.

"je (nous) finirerions" [fini-rərjõ]
"je pourrerions" [pu-rərjõ]
"vous ireriez" [i-rərje]
"i' fereriont" [fə-rərjõ]
"i' vindereriont" ("ils viendraient") [vɛ̃d-ərərjõ]

Je dois me contenter ici de signaler ce phénomène intéressant--c'est un écart qui mérite à lui seul une étude bien plus approfondie. Il faudrait ajouter que je n'ai pas relevé de telles formes à Pubnico.

D'ailleurs, le système de morphologie verbale de Pubnico présente quelques autres différences, sur le plan des désinences, quand on le compare au système de la Baie Sainte-Marie. J'en citerai trois. Tout d'abord, les désinences du subjonctif sont souvent syncrétiques, et ceci pour toutes les personnes du pluriel, avec celles de l'indicatif présent. En témoignent les exemples suivants.

"faut que je courons" [kur-õ]
"faut que vous vendez" [vãd-e]
"avant qu'i' finissont" [finis-õ]
"faut qu'i' sortont" [sɔrt-õ]

Cependant, j'ai également relevé les désinences "normales" [-jõ] et [-je]--par exemple, "faut que je mettions" [mɛt-jõ], "faut que vous saviez" [sav-je], etc. (On aura remarqué que, si la désinence [-je] est normale dans le dernier exemple, le thème [sav-] ne l'est pas, car on dit "sachiez" [saʃ-je] en français standard!) En tout, j'ai dénombré légèrement plus d'occurrences

avec yod (189) que sans yod (185). A la Baie Sainte-Marie, on ne trouve que les formes "normales" avec yod.

Deuxièmement, pour ce qui est des formes du futur à Pubnico, c'est la désinence de la première personne du singulier qui peut présenter un écart à Pubnico. En français standard et à la Baie Sainte-Marie, il faut la désinence [-re], "je chanterai" [ʃɑ̃t-re]. Contre 47 occurrences de la désinence standard [-re], j'ai relevé 45 occurrences de la désinence [-ra] à la première personne.

Exemples: "je coudra" [kud-ra]
"je disra" [diz-ra]
"j'écrivra" [ekriv-ra]

(Notons au passage l'emploi des thèmes "lourds" [diz-] et [ekriv-]. On se souviendra de "finisra", "faisra", etc.) L'analogie avec la désinence [-ra] de la deuxième et la troisième personne du singulier ("tu arriveras" [ariv-ra], "il arrivera" [ariv-ra] explique sans doute cet écart. D'ailleurs, le futur est, en français standard, le seul temps où les trois personnes du singulier ne sont pas identiques sur le plan formel.

Enfin, les formes du conditionnel dans le parler de Pubnico pourraient très bien faire à elles seules l'objet d'une enquête spéciale.[7] Mon corpus m'a livré trois désinences différentes pour chacune des trois personnes du singulier ([-re], [-rɛ] et [-ra] et cinq désinences différentes pour les trois personnes du pluriel (par exemple, pour la quatrième personne, [-rõ], [-rjõ], [-rijõ], [-jõ] et [-õ]. Je me bornerai ici à indiquer le trait le plus frappant qui semble caractériser le jeu des désinences au conditionnel. Dans mon corpus, presque 80% des occurrences du conditionnel sont syncrétiques avec les formes de la même personne du futur. Nous avons déjà noté la même tendance au syncrétisme avec les formes de l'indicatif présent et du subjonctif.

D. Conclusion

J'espère avoir pu démontrer dans cette étude que, s'il y a de nombreuses différences entre les systèmes de morphologie verbale dans les parlers acadiens de la Baie Sainte-Marie et de Pubnico, les deux systèmes se ressemblent néanmoins à un très haut degré quand on les compare avec le système correspondant du français standard. La tendance à la simplification thématique et désinentielle par analogie est sans doute la caractéristique la plus notable de la morphologie verbale des deux parlers; cette tendance, me semble-t-il, est nettement plus accentuée à Pubnico.[8] De même, le nombre de variantes libres est également bien plus

élève dans le parler de Pubnico, et en général le système morphologique paraît y être à la fois plus complexe et moins stable qu'à la Baie Sainte-Marie. Pour ce qui est des variantes, une bonne étude sociolinguistique reste à faire. Si je n'ai pas essayé, en ce qui concerne les écarts, de faire la part entre formes archaiques et formes créées par analogie, je voudrais tout de même insister sur le fait qu'aucun écart morphologique ne pourrait être attribué à l'influence de l'anglais. En dernier lieu, il serait peut-être légitime de se demander, vu les données fournies par les corpus, jusqu'à quel point un système de morphologie verbale peut devenir plus "économique" sans perdre en cohérence et en efficacité.

[1]Le lecteur trouvera des renseignements plus complets sur la morphologie verbale de Pubnico dans Gesner (1982a).

[2]En ce qui concerne les formes et l'emploi du passé simple à la Baie Sainte-Marie, on pourrait consulter Gesner (1979b:123-130).

[3]Un infinitif à désinence "zéro" [vãd] peut s'entendre en français familier. Voir par exemple D. François (1974:668).

[4]En position finale, ce thème se réalise presque toujours [vøj] à Pubnico.

[5]Voir Ryan (1982:282).

[6]Je continue à faire abstraction des formes du passé simple et de l'imparfait du subjonctif. Voir à ce sujet Gesner (1979a: 58-60).

[7]Pour avoir des renseignements plus détaillés, on peut consulter Gesner (1982:17-19).

[8]Plusieurs auteurs ont déjà signalé les nombreuses ressemblances entre le "français avancé" décrit par Henri Frei dans La Grammaire des fautes, et les parlers acadiens. Je ne peux, compte tenu des nombreuses formes analogiques relevées au cours de cette étude, que refaire la même observation ici.

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Tableau 1

Les Thèmes

Lexème	Baie Ste. Marie	Tot.	Pubnico	Tot.	Français standard	Tot.
1. arriver	[ariv]	1	[ariv]	1	[ariv]	1
2. finir	[fini] [finis]	2	[fini] [finis]	2	[fini] [finis]	2
3. vendre	[vɑ̃] [vɑ̃d]	2	[vɑ̃] [vɑ̃d]	2	[vɑ̃] [vɑ̃d]	2
4. mourir	[mur] [muri-]	2	[mur] [muri-]	2	*[mœr] [mur-] [muri-] *[mɔr]	4
5.. aller	[vɑ] [al-] [i-] ([v-])	3-4	[vɑ] [al-] ([i-]) ([v-])	2-4	*[vɛ] [va] [võ] [al-] *[aj] [i-]	6
6. vouloir	[vø] [vul] [vud-] [vulwa-]	4	[vø] [vul-] [vulwa-] ([vud-])	3-4	[vø] *[vœl] [vul-] *[vœj] [vud-] [vulwa-]	6
7. faire	[fɛ] [fɛz] [f(ə)z / fɛz] [f(ə)-]	4	[fɛ] [fɛz] [f(ə)z / fɛz] ([f(ə)-])	3-4	[fɛ] *[fɛt] [fõ] [f(ə)z-] *[fas] [f(ə)-]	6
8. être	[ʃy] [e] [ɛt] [sɛj] [et-] [s(ə)-]	6	[ʃy] [e] [ɛt] [s-] [et-] [sɛj / saj] [s(ə)- / f(ə)-]	7	*[sɥi] [e] *[sɔm] [ɛt] [so] *[swa] [et-] [s(ə)-]	8
		24-25		22-26		35

* forme qui n'est pas présente dans le système acadien

[X / Y] variantes libres

Proposed Acadian Content for French Language Courses

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The present paper presents, and provides a rationale for, the results of an attempt to produce materials which can be used to furnish an appropriate Acadian-oriented content for intermediate-level French language courses, through an adaptation of the "actes de parole" section of Un Niveau Seuil. The paper is intended to generate interest in the application of linguistic studies of Acadian French to courses taught in the region, with one goal being a workshop on the subject at the next APLA/ALPA meeting.

Before I start, I should like to say that I stand before you expecting, indeed actively seeking, criticism - preferably constructive - of what I shall say. The APLA/ALPA does not need me to tell it about the functional/notional or communicative approach to language. It was, I believe, at the meeting at Sainte-Anne, the year before I joined, that a paper was delivered to the APLA/ALPA on the subject to which references appear in the literature quite frequently. So I shall say only, as a kind of reminder, that this approach views language as a vehicle for communication rather than as a pure subject of study whose finality is itself. It came into being as a reaction against a number of things, the most important of which were the inadequacies of behaviourist and transformationalist theories, and of most of structuralist linguistics, none of which paid enough attention to non-grammatical context, and all of which tended to confine their attention to units no longer than the sentence. Discoveries in psychology, linguistic philosophy--e.g. the concept of the speech act or performative utterance, developed by Searle after Austin--and anthropology--particularly in the field of non-verbal communication--came together at a time when a desperate need for approaches to teaching language which actually worked in practice rather than in theory began to be felt in Europe and Canada; in the first case at the Council of Europe, and in the second as a result of the Official Languages Act of 1968.

Without any intention of making an apologia pro vita mea, I would like to say how all this came to my attention. Like most of those teaching second languages in post-secondary educational institutions on this continent, my graduate training was entirely in literature, but the realities of life meant that much of my

teaching was in lower-level language courses, because that was where the students were. I tried the traditional approach that I had grown up with, and found that it was unsuitable for the kind of students I was faced with and the kind of needs they had. The audio-lingual method came along; it seemed a bit weird, but since I had no theoretical training in language-teaching I thought I had better give it the old college try. When I found that it was not accomplishing anything useful, I went to the theory and found that it had no relationship at all to what actually happened in practice. With the sudden upsurge in student enrollments of the late sixties, we tried programmed learning as a solution to the numbers problem, and because it was evidently trendy--being mainly machine-based--only to find that, while it did provide the opportunity for the weaker students to keep up by doing extra work, in general students would not learn a language on a machine. At the heart of the problem was the fact that we were dealing with "faux débutants" on whose heads all the wonderful theories shattered.

In New Brunswick the problem of "What French to teach" is posed more urgently than most other places. Our students want to be able to communicate with their fellow New Brunswickers, and they want jobs where this will be a requirement. Very few of them show any interest in the eternal middle-class American student who flies off to Orly--a Charles-de-Gualle--and is transported to Neuilly or the 16ème arrondissement to be escorted around the tourist traps by a fatuous French student of the opposite sex. This pair of middle-class frauds do all the things that adults would like to think that students should do, and none of the things real students actually do. (One day I want to write a text about students who never go near a single museum but spend all their time drinking, shop-lifting--indulging in unilateral price-reductions as Liberation calls it--and fornicating).

The few texts with some Canadian content did not work, for a variety of reasons, though they were certainly less harmful than the American texts. It was clear that our students' background in literature in their own language was such that giving them even simple literary texts to read or study in French was far more likely to turn them against literature for ever than to encourage them to read on their own. Learning language through literature is fine for people who wish to learn literary language, but our students did not really appreciate that there was any difference between literary language and that of everyday life; they only realised that what they were getting was of no use or interest to them. (I must say, however, that since making rather pathetic but nevertheless since efforts to move to a more

functional approach during the last two years I have found that at least the mature students are showing an increased interest in literature. Last year a small class chose to read Anouilh's Antigone, and this year we are in the middle of En attendant Godot. Neither of these texts is among those of which extracts commonly appear in textbooks, and neither are they usually on first-year courses.)

By 1977 I had become convinced that my good students actually knew less useful French at the end of a year in my classes than they did at the beginning, and in desperation I went to Paris to try to find someone who could tell me how to teach French in New Brunswick.

When I told my little tale about the state of French in New Brunswick, and the socio-politico-economico-psychological factors that surrounded our attempts to teach French, I was told that the problems were insoluble. This was partly because nobody in Paris had any real understanding of what I meant, either at Paris III, which specializes in the teaching of the teaching of French as a second language, or at CREDIF at Saint-Cloud. The only exception was a former colleague from UNB Fredericton who was then at the BELC, and who explained that since the theoretical bases of all the teaching methodologies had been destroyed without any acceptable replacement having been found, "tout le monde bricole dans son coin". The only bright spot was the Threshold Level concept being developed by the Council of Europe, the French version of which, Un Niveau Seuil, had just appeared.

On my return we invited a consultant from the Public Service Commission Language Teaching Bureau to talk to us, actually on a slightly different subject. This was very useful though the message we got was not what we had hoped: basically, "you are on your own, you are the only people who can find the answers to the particular situation you are in because you are the only people who understand it". Then an examination of Un Niveau Seuil showed that the problems of adapting this approach so that it could be used for New Brunswick university students were apparently unsurmountable; they still seem so today. For a start, how can you do the needs analysis required as a basis before the programme is developed, when the subjects do not have the slightest idea of what job they may be doing after graduating, let alone what language skills that job will require? So we do not have a data base from which to try to create curricula and programmes to teach what would need to be taught.

Within the New Brunswick or Maritime, or Atlantic Provinces context there was, however, at least one thing which could be usefully accomplished. There is a section of Un Niveau Seuil which gives a selection of "énoncés" which correspond to a variety of speech acts which an individual may want to perform. These are neither comprehensive nor scientific, having been made up essentially by a group of linguists who had once been teachers sitting around a table and writing down what they thought. Even if the authors had not been bound by restraints of time and money it is not clear how a scientific study could be carried out, since the whole thrust of the approach is that each individual constructs his own language through a free choice of the various énoncés available to him to perform any particular speech act. Phonological and morphological variations may indeed be systematic, but here there is not, and by definition cannot be, any standard or norm according to which deviation may be judged. For example, while we all know that "Veux-tu aller au film ce soir?" is more direct than "Voudrais-tu aller au film ce soir?", the selection of one of these rather than the other (or some other énoncé altogether) is a choice of the individual making the invitation, and will depend on the kind of individual he is and such things as the kind of relationship he has, or thinks he has, or would like to have, with the invitee, whether there are other people around and who, or even whether it is raining or sunny. It would be impossible even to list all the variables, let alone to analyse them and test them separately. A statistical analysis of the number of times each phrase was used would tell us little of value, and would in fact be likely to confuse us.

Some factors can be allowed for. For example, to open a communication with someone you might say "Excusez-moi" if you were in a public place, or "Allo?" if you were speaking on the telephone, or "Cher collegue" if you were writing a letter, but it would obviously be inappropriate to say "Cher Monsieur" on the telephone. Appropriate use depends on the channel being used. It also depends very much on the status of the speakers, and the power relationship between them. Choice of linguistic forms is, in fact, a major means of indicating what the speaker believes the power relationship to be or what he wishes it to be. On a simpler basis you do not invite your boss to dinner with the same words as you call your children to eat. A third parameter is the reference of the speech act; important events are not announced in the same way as trivial ones, and statements often have meanings other than those which could be found in a semantic analysis of the statements. For example, "It is going to rain" will frequently mean something like "You would be well advised to take a raincoat"; and "When are you going to stop

slamming that door?" is not a question, despite its form, but a warning that if you do not stop slamming that door something unpleasant is likely to happen to you.

However, here too the variables are so numerous and inconsistent, changing even within an individual's speech patterns of saying the same thing to the same person on the same day, that no scientific analysis seems possible, and no teachable code can be established.

Even within these uncertainties, some things are, however, clear. The most evident to me was that the francophone Canadians I knew did not use the énoncés given in Un Niveau Seuil to perform the speech acts concerned, or at least not always, and that they commonly used others. Here was one area where New Brunswick students could be helped significantly in their efforts to communicate with their fellow, but francophone, New Brunswickers. The functional, communicative approach represented by Un Niveau Seuil gets away from the silly stilted dialogues found in too many texts and the even sillier idea that there is only one response a student needs to know to any given language situation. But it does not fit our students for the language situations they are most likely to meet, which involve Acadians.

It seemed, and seems, to me a bad idea for several reasons to try to teach our students to speak as Acadians speak amongst themselves. I could not, for one thing, and it would be presumptuous to try; the Acadians, their language and their culture have survived because they are a tightly-knit community to which entry is not granted lightly. It is highly unlikely that anglophone students would absorb typical Acadian language patterns (whatever that unscientific term might mean) without prolonged residence among Acadians, and even if they could I believe that they would not be well received by Acadians. A flood of Acadian-speaking Anglais would probably be a greater threat to Acadian language and culture than uni-lingual Anglais. The use of the so-called "standard" or "international" French by Anglophones speaking to Acadians commonly creates a barrier, caused at least in part by the generally defensive attitude of Acadians to their language--itself the result of 100 years of put-downs by anglophones who are only semi-literate in their own language. Many people here will have had the experience of addressing Acadians in perfect "international" French and getting a reply in English. It is not hard to guess at the reasons for such a response. There is a problem, then, in knowing what to teach our students to say to their fellow-citizens

who speak French. I stick with "standard" French because there is no realistic alternative, because this will enable the student to communicate with people wherever French is spoken and we do not really have time to teach them too many regional variants, and because, "si j'ai bien compris", since the foundation of the Université de Moncton this is the kind of French increasingly used by Acadian teachers and hence by their students and I wish there were some reliable measure to tell me whether or not this is true, - one that had been used over time and is being repeated. I may be wrong here: the "Programme d'etudes, 7e a 12e annee" published by the curriculum and development branch of the New Brunswick Department of Education in 1978 states (p.25): "L'école doit viser à normaliser le langage des élèves tout en respectant les caractéristiques régionales qui ne dévient pas de la norme sur le plan des structures acceptées par la majorité des francophones du monde, et qui ne s'en éloignent pas trop sur le plan du vocabulaire et de la phonétique", but when I wrote them last year to ask for some explanation of what this means, or is intended to mean, I never even received an acknowledgement. The Acadian teachers I know spend a great deal of time and serious effort trying to normalise their and their students French around Grevisse and le Petit Robert, but I am not sure that this leads to "standard" French (partly because I do not know what Standard spoken French is).

The final reason for sticking to "standard" French--which in my case, as I suspect, in the case of most other teachers of French, anglophone or francophone, is the French I use when I am careful, "ma langue soutenue"--is that this is essentially a formal mode of communication: this "constipated French" as I have heard it called, or "castrated French" which might be even more appropriate, is a language which is as far as possible non-emotive or impersonal--or rather its enormous potential for the expression of an individual's emotions is left largely unexplored in our courses. In my opinion it is better not to try to teach our students to use the parameters of emotive expression until they are further on in their French studies than most go. They will have to rely on environmental clues, non-verbal means of communication, and formal cliches until they have absorbed enough of the particular emotive environment they are in to be able to experiment.

It is clear, however, that simply arming our students with our version of "standard" French is inadequate, because they could not understand much of what they would be likely to hear. Here I return to Un Niveau Seuil, and the realization that the énoncés it contains do not adequately represent what is heard when Acadians speak. After unsuccessfully trying to

get colleagues at other institutions to do an Acadian version of the "actes de parole" section, I decided there was no alternative to my doing the job myself.

I got three Acadian teachers, - two from the local French Immersion programme and one from the French school, - interested in the project, and with the help of a research grant from my university research fund, it got under way. The procedure was simple, and no more scientific than the original document; we met once a week after they had finished teaching for the day, and simply went through a few pages of the section of Un Niveau Seuil, crossing out or changing énoncés which seemed to them inappropriate in the Acadian context, and adding ones that were used by Acadians but did not appear in the original. The choice of informants was made by chance and in desperation, but as time went on I came to believe it was very fortunate. As Acadians in stridently loyalist Saint John they were aware of their being part of a linguistic minority, but the linguistic minority is large enough to support a significant level of cultural activity in its language. As teachers, my informants were careful about language and understood its importance, but their studies had not led them so far that they had lost their spontaneity in their mother tongue. They were quite young--late 20s--and so had not had time to become bored or blasé, or fixated on "teacherspeak", and they could remember the language used in their home areas when they were growing up as students, and when they returned to their original homes which they did fairly frequently; and finally they were from widely separated parts of Acadia, from south-western Nova Scotia to Northern New Brunswick.

I learned a great deal from the process, as did my informants. For example, when we came to the sub-section of expressions of "affectivité" for "mépris" I was told that neither the word nor the idea is common in Acadian. The nearest expression would be "hair". For "dédain" I was told that "dédaigner" is used by Acadians only to indicate that something looks unappetizing or disgusting, e.g. "Il dédaigne cette nourriture", and not to express what is expressed in "standard" French by "dédain". The nearest expression that was suggested was "zire" as in: "On a zire de ça". Under "amour" I was told that "adorer" is not used among Acadians as the cliche it is in France, and is in fact rarely used because "en principe il ne faut adorer que Dieu". "Sympathique" has as its primary meaning something like English "sympathetic", while its use to convey something like English "nice" as in "C'est un type sympa" would be unusual, and in that particular case pretentious. "Lâche" has a meaning close to "paresseux", and to render the French "C'est un lâche", you have

to resort to something such as "Y est peureux". Acadians, I was told, are not given to using prefixes to give words contrary meanings: e.g. the opposite of "Je vous approuve" would be "Je ne vous approuve pas" rather than "Je vous desapprouve"; on the other hand the use of a negative, usually "pas", joined to a word with negative connotations to produce an énoncé with positive connotations is frequent. "Pas pire" is perhaps the best known example; "Y est pas peureux", instead of "Il est courageux" is another. Acadians are not "audacieux" or "téméraire", "ils ont du front" or "de la face". Some "ont du front tout le tour de la tête". Under "orgueil" I was told that "C'est un vantard" would not be in general use, but "Il se vante" would, as would the amusing "Il vente dehors" where the play on the wind recalls the English "blow-hard". "Venir" means that the person arrived and left again, "arriver" that he arrived and stayed. According to my informants, Acadians would use "Si" for "Oui" in response to a question such as "Paul n'est pas venu?" only to mock a "Français de France", which gives a second meaning to the saying "Avec des si, si, si, on va à Paris". An Acadian would not normally say "Je regrette Paul" or "Je regrette mon pays", but rather "Je m'ennuie de Paul", "Je m'ennuie de mon pays." "Truc" and "machin" are not used, "chose" and "machine" are.

I could go on. But the time has come for me to hear from you. The results of our efforts are in a first draft form. The purpose is to provide my students with some idea of the kind of things they would be likely to hear if they were in the company of their Acadian fellow Canadians, so that they would have an idea what was the speech act being performed. A short chapter on tendencies in Acadian phonology, yet to be written, is intended to enable students to know in what ways the pronunciation of the énoncés they hear differs from the "standard" they have been taught to listen for.

A major gap in coverage is the lack of any treatment of intonation, for the same reasons as this is missing in Un Niveau Seuil: it is too complex to deal with, too subject to individual variation, and almost impossible to deal with briefly but adequately on paper.

Nevertheless, students introduced to the results of this research should, with luck, spend less time and effort listening for words and structures which are rarely or never used by Acadians than they would if they had nothing to go on but the French they found in textbooks. It should help them to understand what is being said, even if they can only respond in their "standard" French. It is not a text, nor a basis for a text, but it could be

used as a source for materials which could be used in classroom simulations, for example. I think it would be a good idea if such material were available to all anglophone teachers of French in the Atlantic provinces, particularly at the school level.

Now the questions: is the basic idea useful?

Is the research itself of any validity or usefulness in its present form?

Is the sample of informants too small?

Is the modus operandi, which is largely impressionistic, invalid because it is not scientific?

Could something more scientific be carried out, given real life constraints of time and money, and if so, how?

Would the publication of such a work serve a useful purpose?

If so, how should I get it published? (A publisher's rep. told me with a sniff that she did not think her (nominally Canadian) company could go to the expense of producing a book for three people in the Maritimes. Even after I assured her I would buy five copies myself for Christmas presents she did not seem convinced.) I have been singularly unsuccessful in hawking the general idea to the New Brunswick Department of Education, though that may be my fault. There seemed to be a total lack of understanding of what was being attempted and why.

In more general terms, should the APLA/ALPA, which contains a great deal of linguistic expertise, concern itself with these matters?

I have heard a lot of very interesting work on the generation of materials which could be used or are designed for increasing Acadian content in French courses. Much of it is being done unilaterally and without coordination. Would anyone be interested in setting up or taking part in, or going to, a workshop on this subject at next year's meeting?

Aspects of "tsi" and of Certain Other Intransitivizing Postbases in Labrador Inuttut

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ABSTRACT

One of the Eastern Canadian dialects of Inuktitut, Labrador Inuttut is currently spoken primarily in five settlements of the Labrador coast. This paper discusses aspects of certain intransitivizing postbases in Labrador Inuttut, as well as aspects of their co-occurrence patterns with some verbal bases.

The intransitivizing postbases considered are restricted in their distribution, in that they can only be affixed to certain types of verbal bases. The verbal bases presented were initially selected from a dictionary produced by Inuit (Labrador Inuit Uqausingit). Further data were elicited from native speakers.

These bases are grouped into four major categories based on morphological properties. This classification provides information with respect to possible affixation of intransitive and/or transitive inflectional suffixes respectively to the bases, and with respect to the co-occurrence of the intransitivizing postbases with the bases. Morphological categories show a tendency to coincide with major semantic categories of verbal bases.

This paper on Labrador Inuttut (LI)--which belongs to the Eastern Canadian group of the Inuktitut language--considers an aspect of LI that is closely related to ergativity and transitivity. It deals with a specific set of derivational postbases: the 'intransitivizers' (or antipassive markers).

The morphological interaction of the intransitivizers with verbal bases and a corresponding categorization of the latter will be discussed.[1]

1. Ergative-type Case Marking in LI

Inuktitut (including LI) can be described as an ergative language. The following example from LI illustrates ergative-type

case marking on nouns and inflectional marking on verbal forms.

1) Angutik taku-vuk
man abs sg see 3p sg ind
'The man sees.'[2]

2) Anguti-up qimmik taku-vauk
man erg sg dog abs sg see 3p sg-3p sg[3]
'The man sees the dog.'

In 1), angutik exhibits the unmarked absolutive case; the inflectional suffix -vuk on the verbal base taku-[4] 'see' shows pronominal reference to the one argument in the absolutive case, angutik, i.e. it is an intransitive (intr.) inflectional suffix. In 2), qimmik, translating into the object of the English gloss, exemplifies the same case marking as angutik in 1). Anguti-up is the marked form in 2) and exhibits ergative case marking. The inflectional marking on the verbal form in 2) differs from the one in 1) in that it shows pronominal reference to two arguments, i.e. is a transitive (tr.) inflectional suffix. The notion of 'I see dog' is expressed in 3) and 4):

3) qimmi-mik taku-vunga
dog mod sg see 1p sg ind
'I see a dog'

4) qimmik taku-vaga
dog abs sg see 1p sg-3p sg ind
'I see the dog'

In 4), analogous to 2), qimmik exhibits absolutive case marking, and a transitive inflectional suffix is affixed to the verbal base. In 3), where an intransitive inflectional suffix is adjoined to the verbal base, qimmimik has modalis case marking. Traditionally (see Kleinschmidt 1851:85, Bourquin 1891) the difference between sentences like 3) and 4) has been explained by a distinction in definiteness. While 3) is indefinite with reference to 'dog', 4) is definite. Other distinctions (Kalmár 1979, 1979a) have been suggested, for instance a distinction between new and given information (referring to "dog" in 3) and 4) respectively).

2. Aspects of Intransitivizers

In LI the number of derivational postbases (DPs) which may occur between the base and the inflectional suffix (IS) is (theoretically) unlimited. The intransitivizers (INTRVRs) constitute a particular set of derivational postbases. Morphologically, they restrict the morphological marking of derived forms--in that only intransitive ISs can be adjoined. Other DPs may have this morphological function as well; the INTRVRS, however, are distinguished from those, in that traditionally no independent semantic function was attributed to them (Kleinschmidt 1851).

In LI the INTRVRs include 'tsi', 'si', 'i', 'ji', '(n)ni(k)', '(t)&i'.[5] The examples given in the following focus mainly on 'tsi' (or 'si').

INTRVRs cannot be added to all verbal bases and even for bases which allow the affixation of INTRVRS directly on the base, it is not possible to choose any of the INTRVRs at random or arbitrarily. Each verb takes one (or more) specific INTRVRs. For the Labrador dialect the distribution on verbal forms of the different INTRVRs in the set was traditionally explained as depending in part on historically four different phonological classes of verbal bases (Kleinschmidt 1851, Bourquin 1891). Nevertheless reference to the lexicon seemed necessary. For contemporary LI phonological reasons can provide even less grounds for an explanation, since for verbal bases a surface neutralization of the historically different phonological classes to forms ending in -k has largely occurred (see Smith 1979, Beaudoin-Lietz 1982). The question as to what governs the distribution of the individual members of the set of INTRVRs on verbal bases in contemporary LI remains to be answered.

3. Inflectional Marking on Verbal Bases and Co-occurrence Patterns with INTRVRs

The set of INTRVRs as a whole clearly exhibits co-occurrence patterns with categories of verbal bases. The verbal base categories were established on morphological grounds, depending on the possible IS marking on the base. These categories appear to correspond to semantic categories of verbal forms.

As mentioned earlier, INTRVRS cannot be adjoined to all verbal bases. Four verbal categories emerge:

Verbal Category	BASE		
	+ intr. IS	+ tr. IS	+ INTRVR + intr. IS
A)	+[6]	-	-
B)	+	+	-
C)	-	+	+
D)	+	+	+

Category A): This category describes bases to which intransitive ISs can be adjoined. Neither transitive ISs nor INTRVRs (followed by intransitive ISs) can be directly adjoined to the bases. These forms cannot be passivized. Example:

Base + intr. IS	siaqqivuk	'he slipped (on ice)'
*Base + tr. IS	*siaqqivaga	
*Base + INTRVR + intr. IS	*siaqqisivuk	

Transitive ISs can occur with verbal forms of A). However, a derivational postbase which restricts the IS to a transitive one on the derived form intervenes between the base and the IS, for example, the causative DP -ti or -tti:

tittivuk	'It got boiled'
*tittivaga	
tittitivaga	'I let (made) it boil'

Stative verbs and verbs indicating external agency fall in this class, for example

minnguik- 'to rest', sinik- 'to sleep', kivik- 'to sink', qummuak- 'to lift (of fog)', tittik- 'to boil', tupik- 'to choke' .....

Some verbs of this category may appear to be similar in meaning to verbs of some other category, for instance, there are several verbs indicating 'to choke', e.g. tupik-, qimik-. Closer investigation reveals that tupik- belongs to A) and is used in the context of choking on food, while qimik-, belonging to category D), is used in the sense of 'to choke, to strangle'.

Category B): Verbal bases of B) differ from A) in that either intransitive ISs or transitive ISs can be directly adjoined to the base. However, INTRVRs cannot be adjoined directly to the base. These verbs can be passivized. Included in this category are verbs of information processing (verbs of perception), verbs of vocal expression and verbs of motion with goal orientation. These verbs correspond to "nominative" (Woodbury 1975) or "agent-binding stems" (Woodbury 1977). They "relate S_i's and S_t's" (Woodbury 1975 n.p., see also Bergsland 1956). Example:

Base + intr. IS	takuvuk	'he sees'
Base + tr. IS	takuvauk	'he sees it'
*Base + INTRVR + IS	takutsivuk	

Further examples, including verbs of perception: naalak- 'to listen', tusak- 'to hear', qimiqquk- 'to inspect'; verbs of motion with goal orientation: pikiuk- 'to find eggs at', pisuk- 'to walk (a distance)', puitjuk- 'to swim (a distance)', tikik- 'to arrive (at)'; other (goal oriented?) verbs: imik- 'to drink', nigik- 'to eat', mitsuk- 'to sew', tillik- 'to steal' .....

The next two categories distinguish themselves from A) and B) in that INTRVRs can be affixed to the verbal bases.

Category C): This category differs from all other categories considered with respect to the affixation of intransitive ISs. Adding an intransitive IS directly to a verbal base appears to be unacceptable for verbs described in C). Transitive ISs or INTRVTs (followed by intransitive ISs) can be added to the bases. Passivization is possible. This category includes, among others, performative verbs.

*Base + intr. IS	*iivuk	
Base + tr. IS	iivaga	'I swallowed it'
Base + INTRVR + intr. IS	iisivuk	'he swallows it (something)'
*Base + INTRVR + tr. IS	*iisivaga	

Further examples, with tsi: igik- 'to throw away', salluqik- 'to tell a lie'; with ji: pikquk- 'to tell someone to do something', 'to command'; with t&i: tilik- 'to command' .....

Category D): This last category to be considered includes verbs which morphologically can take either intransitive ISs or transitive ISs. Derived forms with an INTRVR directly adjoined to the base can also occur. Differences in meaning for the three forms can be established in most cases. Between the form with the transitive IS and form with the intransitive IS directly on

the base, often a causative relation exists whereby the form with the intransitive IS refers to the result of the action expressed in the transitive sentence.

matuvuk	'it is closed'
matuvaga	'I close it'

Most verbs of this category correspond to "object-binding stems" (Woodbury 1977) or "absolutive stems" (Woodbury 1975) which "relate Si's and O_t's" (Woodbury 1975, n.p.; see also Bergsland 1956).

Verbal forms with intransitive ISs directly attached to the base may correspond for some verbs to a reflexive English gloss, or to an active one. Kilivuk has been glossed as 'he cuts himself'; compare kilivaga 'I cut (someone)', and kilitsivuk 'he cut someone'. Qukivuk can be glossed as 'he shoots with a gun' or also as 'it exploded' (Jeddore 1976:118). Qukivaga means 'I shoot it with a gun', and qukinnivuk with the INTRVR 'he shoots something with a gun'. What reading has to be chosen for the Base + intr. IS form (i.e., an agentive, a reflexive or a non-agentive one) appears to depend on the contextual usage of the verb and is not predictable by rule, by just looking at the form in isolation. Sometimes two interpretations may be possible. These forms have been considered instances of "middle voice" in the sense in which Lyons (Lyons 1968) views this notion as

> "intermediate between the primary opposition of active and passive signifying either an action, like the active or a state like the passive, according to the circumstances or the inherent meaning of the verb in question." (Lyons 1968:373)

Neither the derived intransitive forms involving INTRVRs of this category, nor the corresponding forms of C) show any occurrences of "middle voice". They do not, for instance, allow a reflexive reading. It is the object which is de-emphasized or non-specific (Fortescue 1982).

Verbs of D) include verbs where the action of the agent results in a change of the state of the patient, among them verbs of "hitting and breaking".

Base	intr. IS		matuvuk	'it is closed'
Base	tr. IS		matuvaga	'I close it'
Base	INTRVR	intr. IS	matutsivuk	'he closes something'
*Base	INTRVR	tr. IS	*matutsivaga	

Further examples with -tsi: itik- 'to go into', siqumik- 'to break', kilik- 'to cut', nuuk- 'to move away' .....

Further examples with -tsi and -i-: kilak- 'to make a hole', sujuk- 'to spoil', nakak- 'to break' .....

4. Conclusion

A classification of verbal bases with respect to morphological properties results in four major categories. These morphologically based categories correspond to different semantic categories. Category A includes stative verbs and verbs of external agency; category B verbs of information processing (verbs of perception), verbs of vocal expression, and verbs of motion with goal orientation. Category C includes performative verbs, while category D includes, among others, verbs of "hitting and breaking".

FOOTNOTES

[1]The results presented in this study are based on a master's thesis on LI, in which more than 150 verbal bases were elicited from native speakers and analysed.

[2]Since there is no gender distinction specified for 3rd person, takuvuk could be glossed as 'he' or 'she' or 'it'... in most cases 'he' has been used. For takuvuk the English gloss could also have been 'he saw', since the distinction between present and past tense is not indicated.

[3]The morphological analysis of the transitive inflectional suffix, when given, refers to what translates into subject and object of the English gloss. The part left of the hyphen refers to the subject, and the part right of the hyphen, to the object. This is not necessarily the order of reference in the LI forms, where it may be the other way around, and where a high degree of fusion between these elements occurs.

[4]Morpheme boundaries are indicated for presentation only, they are not theoretically motivated.

[5]Concerning the forms of the INTRVRs it has to be noted that in LI "Schneider's Law" applies. While three-consonant clusters do not occur, two-consonant clusters can occur, but cannot occur successively, only being separated by a short vowel (V) or vowel cluster (VV). In cases where the combination of morphemes would result in two-consonant clusters appearing in a sequence just separated by a single vowel (V) or a vowel cluster (VV) (i.e. ...CCV(V)CC), Schneider's Law applies. The first consonant of that cluster is deleted when preceded by a vowel which itself is preceded by a consonant cluster.

$$CCV(V)C_1C_2 \rightarrow CCV(V)C_2$$

For examples and further discussion see Smith 1977:6.

[6]"+" indicates possible forms.

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THE GAELDOM OF TIR-NÚA - THE NEWFOUND LAND: SCOTS GAELIC IN WESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND

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Land-hungry immigrants mostly from the Inverness County area of Nova Scotia brought the Gaelic language with them into south-western Newfoundland from a period around the year 1840 onward. We have the folk memory only to depend on for this statement but it is approximately true. When Dr. William Epps Cormack made his pioneer journey across the island of Newfoundland in 1822 he made no subsequent mention of the presence of a Highland population upon the western coast when he reached it. Cormack was a Scotsman himself and he would certainly have recognized and made reference to the settlement of a Gaelic-speaking community in the Codroy Valley district, which he was among the first to explore, had anything such existed at that period. All that he actually did was to make a somewhat enigmatic comment to the effect that:

> "it may be that on the west coast of Newfoundland there is neither Scotchman, Irishman, nor rat to be met with; nor, it is said, had any member of these European families taken up an abode west of Fortune Bay"[1]

However this statement should be interpreted we can hardly be blamed if we understand it as signifying that he encountered very little settlement in this part of Newfoundland apart from that of the almost inevitable Westcountry fishermen. All that is known for certain is that, after the middle of the nineteenth century, a Gaelic-speaking population had spread itself along the entire length of the Codroy Valley, and especially on the south bank of the Grand Codroy River as well as in the present Little River area, and even further on up the coast as far as St. George's Bay and a limited part of the Port au Port Peninsula itself.

The people were distinct from the majority of settlers in Newfoundland in that they were essentially agricultural and they were originally drawn to an overwhelming extent from a limited area of the remoter western Highlands of Scotland which traditionally was Roman Catholic. In 1865 the solitary Roman Catholic clergyman stationed in western Newfoundland, Father Alexis Belanger, forwarded a petition signed by a body of his own Gaelic-speaking parishioners to Bishop Colin Francis MacKinnon at Antigonish, in eastern Nova Scotia, asking for the services of a Gaelic-speaking priest particularly in order to hear confessions.

Father Belanger was himself bilingual in French and in English but was understandably somewhat at a loss when it came to providing spiritual ministrations for a numerous body of devout believers who not only understood no French but understood little or no English either. Probably he had not previously realized, before coming to western Newfoundland, that such beings even existed. Bishop MacKinnon, himself Gaelic-speaking, did not ignore the request and between 1866 and 1867 a series of brief visits of Gaelic-speaking clergymen from eastern Nova Scotia to south-western Newfoundland was in fact arranged.

In 1868 Father Belanger died suddenly at Sandy Point and at the instance of the Roman Catholic ordinary for Newfoundland, Bishop Mullock, at St. John's MacKinnon persuaded an Irish priest named Thomas Sears, then pastor of Port Mulgrave on the Gut of Canso, to go to western Newfoundland temporarily to fill his place. The choice of Sears for this role makes sense only if it was dictated from the point of view of his own ability to exercise pastoral functions in Gaelic. He remained in Newfoundland until his death in 1885 having made an enormous contribution to the development of the area for which he was responsible in the meantime. Thomas Sears had been born in Ireland, on the Dingle Peninsula of County Kerry, in 1824 and had come to Nova Scotia with his parents at the age of eight.

Part of the Dingle Peninsula is still Gaelic-speaking even today and at that period it would have been entirely so. Father Sears sometimes spelt his family name, in writing, as "SAYERS" which is most probably a clue to the fashion in which he himself was accustomed to pronounce it. There is a classic document of Irish Gaelic literature, first published about fifty years ago, which consists of the autobiography of a peasant woman named Peggy Sayers and is usually known under the conventional title of "PEIG". Peggy Sayers was herself born on the Dingle Peninsula and since the name is not really a local one, being in fact of Ulster Protestant origins, it is likely that she was related to the same family as that from which Thomas Sears traced his descent. This would certainly strengthen the likelihood of his being a native speaker of Munster Gaelic.

Parallel cases of Irish priests having charge of Highland-Gaelic congregations at a period when these would have been unlikely to have access to any alternative language are not unknown. In 1820 a certain Father William Dollard, born in County Waterford, was pastor of the Scots-Gaelic parish of East Bay in Cape Breton Island. One of his own successors, Father Michael MacKenzie, wrote concerning him in the Parish Records at some date after 1891, the year in which MacKenzie himself took over the charge, that:

> "his knowledge of the Irish language enabled him to converse with and hear confessions of the Scotch people in their own language"[2]

This is certainly not to question the fact that important divergences had appeared in colloquial usage, as regards the respective Scots and Irish versions of what had once been the same language, by the eighteenth, and most certainly by the nineteenth, century. However a common written language had in practice been used in both countries for a considerably longer period.

There are striking differences in social patterning as regards the respective Irish and Scots utilization of Gaelic in eastern Canada. For one thing objective contrasts are visible as to the manner in which each cultural group entered the new country. In the course of a discussion of emigration from the port of Waterford to Newfoundland between 1776 and 1778 Arthur Young noted with respect to Irish people emigrating that they:

> "come from most parts of Ireland, from Cord, Kerry, etc."[3]

He meant that the process of migration was not in this case a group phenomenon but that the men concerned came purely as individuals and constituted what Price called in another but similar case a "well-distributed scatter" drawing upon the nation as a whole rather than upon discrete localities within it. Irish emigration was directed towards the Newfoundland fishery and no recognizable group-movement from one local area at home to a new local area - what Lochore styles the "modified peasant community" - abroad was necessarily involved. Nor did the character of the phenomenon alter significantly after permanent Irish settlement both in Newfoundland and upon the Canadian mainland became a reality. In the course of a study of the social feature known as 'chain-migration' Mannion states that:

> "extensive enquiry failed to uncover any such pattern of migration in the Irish parts of rural eastern Canada. It is indeed unlikely that there exists in eastern Canada three distinct rural settlements where the majority of immigrants came from a common county in Ireland"[4]

The case of Gaelic Scotland presents a marked contrast to that of Ireland. Shortly after mass emigration from the Highlands to eastern Canada had started Dr. Johnson noticed its basic character and wrote:

> "whole neighbourhoods formed parties for removal; so that departure from their native country is no longer exile. He that goes thus accompanied, carries with him all that makes life pleasant. He sits down in a better climate, surrounded by his kindred and his friends; they carry with them their language, their opinions, their popular songs, and hereditary merriment: they change nothing but the place of their abode; and of that change they perceive the benefit"[5]

There are well-known examples from Nova Scotia of the operation of this type of group-settlement there, especially in Cape Breton Island. As for western Newfoundland it is known that of six neighbouring households on the south bank of the Codroy River no less than three had emigrated from within a limited area of less than fifteen miles radius in the Morar-Moidart district of the West Highlands of Scotland.

The Australian demographer C. A. Price has defined the process of chain-migration as:

> "the migration which occurs when persons of a particular place or ideology settle somewhere else and initiate a process whereby increasing numbers of persons from that particular place or of that particular ideology travel direct to the new settlement"[6]

He then proceeds to build upon this initial concept in order to emphasize the cultural implications of this process and the tensions with the "host society" which are inevitably associated with it:

> "it is plain that chain migration tends to strengthen in the group settlement the customs which prevail in the particular ideology or locality...from which the migrants come"[7]

Price perceives language as being the most vital element among these "customs" and goes on to point out that a struggle will eventually ensue between the newly-established subculture and its host-society on the issue of control over the local education system:

> "immigrant receiving countries, though they may seldom have tried to control territorial consolidation or marriage within the group, have all realized the important relationship which exists between group settlement and the education system"[8]

This situation tends to have the outcome in practice of the exertion of a heavy degree of pressure upon the minority language which may appear to doom it to eventual extinction whether in the Codroy Valley, Cape Breton Island, or Highland Scotland itself. Awareness of this basic situation may go some distance towards explaining the pessimistic evaluation of Gaelic characteristic of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy in general throughout the New World and of such important figures as Father Thomas Sears, after whom the parish and hamlet of Searston in the lower Codroy Valley is named, in more particular degree. In reaction to it one can only point out that Scots Gaelic has existed for centuries in a fairly staple relationship with other linguistic cultures, and in particular with that of English, and that there appears to be no inherent reason why it should not continue to do so in the future. Nor indeed why this relationship should not

reproduce itself in Canada with general benefit to the national culture as a whole. A British sociologist has commented in this immediate connection that:

> "the idea of a Gaelic nationality or even ethnicity separate from a sense of involvement in Scottish nationality and society is ridiculous"[9]

In western Newfoundland the Gaelic-speaking population has been required by circumstances to share living space, from the very beginning, with other and predominantly English-speaking elements with whom they also shared a common religious ideology and institutions. In Nova Scotia where, until the end of the nineteenth century, Gaelic constituted what was virtually the majority culture this was very much less the case. In English-speaking Newfoundland where the Gaelic element was in itself dominated by its 'own' English-speaking elite in the form of the clergy it was very much the case. Thomas Sears himself noticed that though the Highland people were in a majority they did not in reality have the entire region to themselves. He remarked that:

> "the inhabitants of the Codroy Valley are principally of Highland Scotch origin with a sprinkling of Acadians and a few Irish"[10]

A folklorist who worked in the Valley during the 1970s had what was fundamentally the same comment to make with regard to the pattern of ethnic relationships:

> "the culture of the Scottish Gaels is only part of what makes up the complete picture of the Codroy Valley, and there is inevitably much overlapping across ethnic backgrounds. Nevertheless, there is still much that has always been peculiar to the Scottish Gaels"[11]

In fact the English language has been dominant culturally from the origins of settlement. Sears does not make mention of English settlers in this area yet they were without doubt the first to inhabit the banks of the Codroy River and their influence has been paramount in many important fields ever since. An English-speaking family named Gale, originally fisherfolk, were probably there before the end of the eighteenth century and theirs is therefore the oldest name in the locality and it is still one of the commonest. Quite apart from sheer majority pressure the factor of spatial distribution and its close correspondence to what might be called 'ethnic clustering' is relevant in this special context. The folklorist Margaret Bennett noted this phenomenon, with its possible relationship to cultural configurations in the Valley as a whole, in these terms:

> "The Irish people settled mainly on the north bank of the Grand Codroy River, in the place which is now known as O'Regan's, while the English, Scottish, and French settlers also seem to have settled in ethnic groups, each one choosing an area that would not interfere with the Micmacs who had already settled on Indian Hill"[12]

The English-speaking north bank of the Codroy River has a limited extent only of agricultural land unlike the more level and more fertile south bank which the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders had come to share with a smaller minority of Acadian French. As the "English" settlers, for the local Irish were by this time entirely English-speaking, were traditionally fishermen they had every reason to relate closely to the urban centre of Port aux Basques some twenty miles away and upon the other flank of the area allotted to the more traditionalist cultures which confronted them upon the other side of the river. Possessed of the initial advantage of having been first to arrive the fishermen were also possessed of a language which did undoubtedly render rationalized values and relationships easier to communicate and to 'handle'. The long-term results of this were to subject the agriculturally-based Gaelic majority to increasing economic, additional to strong cultural, pressures. They were in fact both dominated and hemmed in.

Incapsulated within an 'English' Newfoundland, with its fishery-based economy and its significant merchant elite seated at St. John's, the Gaelic world of the Codroy Valley survived throughout the early twentieth century purely as a 'folk' culture and one built largely upon the occupancy and the farming of land. As such it constituted a peasantry in the classical sense of the term, a status which they shared with their Acadian neighbours with whom, also, they were obliged to share the "traditionalist" status and role within the regional social structure. Not even upon that level did the Highlanders possess such a monopoly as could have endowed their ancient culture with a degree of uniqueness. Dr. Johnson's not-unsympathetic pronouncement upon their situation immediately prior to the emigration that:

> "of what they had before the late conquest of their country there remains only their language and their poverty"

was hardly true any longer. They had prospered upon the fertile soil of western Newfoundland, soil which they now possessed as their own, but their highly-prized language was increasingly under pressure. The once literate Gaelic language had retreated into 'folk' status at least as far as they were concerned and was eventually employed purely within primary-group relationships and confined to their own locality, a position which it still occupies to a much reduced extent at the present day.

It is still not uncommon to encounter statements upon the part of casual visitors to the area very similar to Harold Horwood's: "Gaelic is no longer spoken at all"[13] and in the strict sense this is almost certainly untrue. An assessment of the survival prospects, and therefore of the relative cultural importance, of the language would probably require the introduction into the argument of some such type of multi-lingual 'model' as that employed by Denison in the course of his field research on the north-Italian linguistic "island" of Sauris. This isolated Appennine valley has for centuries constituted a small detached area in which a German dialect is spoken in the midst of a wide surrounding area speaking Friulian, which is in effect the regional language, and standard Italian, which is the national or official language of the society as a whole. Denison tells us that in Sauris the children of school age do not appear to use German at all but speak Italian. Their parents, while they continue to use German among themselves, consistently speak Italian to their children in the home. The reason generally given for doing so is that they have been urged to do so by the local schoolteacher in order: "to ease the path of their children at school; a few have mentioned the general usefulness of Italian as compared with the other languages - especially the German dialect". The spectacle of parents pressing their children to learn the "official" language so as 'not to hold them back' in the future will be depressingly familiar to almost any student of the status of minority languages.

The question is whether the folk-German of Sauris will not then totally "die out" when this present generation of school children grows to maturity. Ardener, one of Denison's critics, points out that this cannot be assumed by any means. He comments that: "it is also possible that the young, who speak more Italian, will not retain this tendency when their social prospects are firmly assured". Ardener attempts to enlarge upon this point:

> "to take an example: it has been said through most of our lives that congregations in Soviet churches consist of persons over the age of fifty, and thus that organized religion is 'dying out'. It is clear, however, that the fifty-year-olds of today were adolescents in the thirties. The congregations seem to have acquired a pattern of recruitment by age. The possibility of such a structure over time means that the opposition youth/age may outlive the present occupants of the 'age-slots' concerned"[14]

The point is hardly very clearly made but what Ardener means of course is that the phenomenon which he is indicating cannot be regarded as a genuine example of social change attributable to the Communist seizure of power in Russia which, after all, occurred as long ago as 1917. As he remarks, "the fifty-year-olds of today were adolescents in the thirties", and hence could not possibly be taken as representing an element of cultural

survival from the Czarist regime of pre-revolutionary Russia. What his example does attempt to display is the possibility of succession expressed in terms of the "opposition" youth/age and it is this which he wishes us to think of in relationship to Denison's Sauris and its language-survival problem. Will not the son or other male heir, who in the course of time, takes over the family farm in Sauris revert to speaking German eventually and probably as soon as this comes about? Especially if he marries a local woman as, under the circumstances, he would virtually be obliged to do and keeping in mind what Denison has noted with respect to folk-German being employed predominantly by the women and invariably in a domestic context?

It is worth noting that the formal title given by MacInnes to his study of the language/culture of Mabou, an area of Cape Breton Island where Gaelic is still spoken, and of its relationship to the rest of Canadian society is: what shall be said of those who remain behind? It is simply the case of the son in each family who "remains behind" or who later returns to the local area and marries there, who in MacInnes' phrase was "given the farm", which must be considered in this connection. Where and when it is the case that a young man (i) inherits the family holding, (ii) marries a local woman who is an inheritor of the traditional culture, where in short there is a local role for him to fill, the survival prospects of their language should at least be those implicitedly imposed by Ardener's 'model'. This should be the case wherever the relationship between the local community and the external society is expressed in terms of a language 'opposition' whether in Sauris or in western Newfoundland.

MacInnes warns us against accepting at their face value the statements either made directly by local people or derived from them that in such cases a traditional language is "no longer spoken". In a Nova Scotia context he is aware that pronouncements of this type frequently represent nothing more than a gambit upon the part of 'those who remain behind' to ward off interference from the outside world on the part, in turn, of the impertinent, the inquisitive and the romantic. In the case explicitly cited by MacInnes where a local respondent assures the inquirer: "no, I don't have any Gaelic myself",[15] the bystander, MacInnes, himself knows perfectly well that this is untrue. The person in question does speak Gaelic and probably quite fluently at that. A further statement of this type also quoted by the same observer, "yes, very little Gaelic spoken today", is even more probably just a 'ploy' resorted to in order to avoid what may be perceived by the respondent as a possible "stigmatized relationship" or as a deliberate attempt at what MacInnes sums up as: "situation management as a means to subverting agents of modernization"[16]

According to Denison pronouncements of the kind made by Horwood with respect to Gaelic in the Codroy Valley have also been made over the case of German in Sauris with a degree of repetition and over such an absurdly

long period as to verge on the comic. As early as 1849 a German-speaking visitor to Sauris gave the local dialect no chances of even survival in those particular circumstances: "here too", he said, "the German tongue will soon be extinct". By the year 1897 Saurian German was not simply dying but in fact already dead: "today", decided the observer in this case, "there is no longer any sign of German language and culture in this formerly German area". Denison himself tells us, despite these evidently premature obituary notices, what the true situation is:

> "the German dialect is still very much alive and spoken in Sauris, but is is easy to see how *** (the commentator of 1897) was misled. It is still possible for a visitor to spend a whole day there during the summer and never hear a single word of German spoken"[17]

It could be maintained, in any case, that with respect to such a language as Gaelic mere 'folk' status represents in reality an anomalous situation. In 1952 a Swedish-American sociologist, Sjoberg, in an attempt to distinguish between what he styled "feudal" (or rather estate societies) and what, in contrast, he styled "folk" (really, in this case, primitive societies) argued that the former are invariably marked by the possession on their part of a literate elite whose function it is to 'handle' the responsibility for ideological dominance of the peasant majority:

> "the survival of the elite, particularly within governmental and educational and/or religious institutions, is greatly enhanced by the prevailing language patterns. The speech of the upper class markedly differs from that of the folk. But more important is the nature of the written language - the medium by which officialdom conducts its affairs. It may be a completely different one from that spoken by the masses - for example, Latin in medieval Europe - or, as in the case of the Chinese and Japanese scripts, most difficult to master. In any event, knowledge of the literary language requires much leisure - the prerogative of the elite"[18]

He maintains that it is only by way of the intermediacy of the elite that the masses of society-members, in such a situation, can effectively be approached let alone acculturated. The existing social power-structure must, at all costs, be taken into consideration if an envisaged process of modernization is to meet with any prospects of ultimate success. In the event of the destruction, or the collapse, of the appropriate elite the alternative, he thinks, will almost certainly be a widespread degree of social disintegration and 'anomie' throughout that particular society and culture. It is a fact that Gaelic has historically presented the characteristics of just such a type of culture/society as Sjoberg would identify with his 'feudal' pattern. It is the oldest surviving literate language

in western Europe, apart from the classical languages, having attained this status during the immediately post-Roman period and it succeeded in perpetuating this rigidly literary character, in Scotland, until the eighteenth century. The destruction of the Gaelic cultural elite, the File class, through the pressures brought to bear by a hostile and 'modernizing' state was however eventually followed by its virtual reappearance almost a generation later in a somewhat different form with the spread of a new Celtic literacy based upon the use of a Gaelic translation of the Bible.

This cultural development effectively restored to Gaelic both the lost status of literacy and, equally significant, the concomitant possession of a lierate elite of its own and it has had a remarkable influence in promoting the continued validity of the language both in Scotland itself and in Nova Scotia. In this process the lesser Gaidhealtachd of western Newfoundland has not, since the time of its migration across the Cabot Strait, been in a position to share as the community has been dominated in its new environment by an English-speaking clergy of Irish origins which largely rejected Gaelic as representing an "unnecessary" barrier to their people's educational progress. Even such an important figure as Thomas Sears, himself of Gaelic-speaking origins, was complacent with regard to this general attitude perhaps because it was one shared by an element among the laity themselves. It was inevitably also shared by the Department of Education in Newfoundland when in the course of time it was found possible to introduce a school-system into the half-forgotten hinterland of its own west coast.

No attempt whatever was made to prepare and train the teachers with a view to the unfamiliar cultural background against which they would in practice have to teach, perhaps none was really possible under the circumstances of the day. The elderly farmer whom his own community recognized as perhaps the last powerful exponent of Gaelic culture in the Codroy Valley later recalled concerning the painful beginnings of his own school-education:

> "I was nine years old and I couldn't understand a word of English then, couldn't understand a word of English. I'd know 'yes' and 'no' - that was all"[19]

As far as the survival-prospects of Gaelic in western Newfoundland are concerned the long-term implications of Sjoberg's 'feudal' model are hardly promising. The lack of a literate elite in this particular case has already shown its predicted results in a general and large-scale recession of the spoken language, not to speak of a considerable degree of socio-cultural disintegration in the local rural society as a whole. Yet factors in the situation which seem to point an indication in a totally opposite direction are not in this case lacking either. The most essential

of these would be the unquestioned fact of the remarkable cultural vitality of Scottish Gaelic both in Scotland itself and, to a degree, in Atlantic Canada also. The Gaelic-speaking folklorist Margaret Bennett has discussed the prevalence in the Codroy Valley of what she identifies as "macaronic" or mixed language-usage and the implications of her observations on this point are worth reflecting upon:

> "the word 'macaronic' is being used in its broadest possible sense. It refers to the use of words from the mother tongue of either the speaker or his parents, and might serve one or more purposes - namely, these words can be used to fill in gaps where English equivalents are not known to the speaker, to add colour to description where English equivalents do not exist, to add emphasis, irony, or simply to do justice to a point which the speaker wishes to make"[20]

The approach which she is basically suggesting here is probably best illustrated, once again, by Denison's material relating to work derived from Sauris. It will be recalled that no less than three languages are important in this frame of reference of which German is the folk language, Friulian is the regional language, and standard Italian is the official language taught in the schools and employed by the bureaucracy. What engages Denison's attention, essentially, is the social ranking of the respective languages in relationship to one another occupying as they do, at one and the same time, a common area and society. In practice, he tells us: "Italian correlates with the H (for 'high') end of the scale of situational categories and the German dialect with the L (for 'low') end, Friulian occupying the middle ground". He then continues:

> "German is not normally treated as being available in a Romance macro-text (Friulian is of course like Italian a Romance tongue) except for personal names and local place-names.....otherwise it is felt to be so highly inappropriate as to be ludicrous"[21]

He makes a further reference to this same point: "segmental intrusions (i.e., into either Friulian or Italian) from German are very rare, and are greeted with extreme ridicule". An example is then provided, after this general pattern, of local macaronic language in the course of which an adult informant recalls an incident occurring many years before: "the 'mistake' produced by the child was retailed to me.... as something he once heard a playmate say when the informant was a child. He still found it very funny". In the utterance as given here the "comic" feature entirely consists of two discrete, and short, German words which have been allowed to intrude into an otherwise completely Italian sentence. The principle involved here could possibly be summed up in the following terms:

> where the intrusion of minor elements of the Low Status Language (L) into major structures of the High Status Language (H) occurs, the resulting total pattern will be treated within the cultural community as being "comic". The converse of this, the intrusion of minor elements of the High Status Language into major structures of the Low Status Language, will not be regarded as "comic" but as being quite acceptable

This line of argument could easily be carried a step further, as follows:

> where, therefore, the intrusion of minor elements of <u>one</u> language into major structures of <u>another</u> language is found to be treated within the cultural group as being "comic" the <u>first</u> language is to be taken in definition as being a Low Status Language (L) while the <u>second</u> language is to be taken in definition as being a High Status Language (H) in relation to it; where this is NOT the case the mutual relationship of the respective languages will tend to be reversed

The practical application of this modest 'law' within the field of language-relationships involving the social ranking of Gaelic, with special reference to English, with respect to the cultural area of the Codroy Valley can be seen to produce startling results. Bennett has spelt out for our benefit what the mutual attitudes of the people who actually use, or did use, these languages in the course of their daily lives really mean in general terms:

> "neither in the Hebrides nor in the Codroy Valley does the Gael have a consistent consideration for the non-Gaelic speaker. He will use his mother tongue when it so pleases him, and will often deny a translation to those in his company who do not understand. It must be particularly infuriating to an English speaker to hear, midst English conversation, a comment which, from the reactions of the other Gaelic speakers present, must carry more weight or have more humour than any previous comment in English"[22]

She then proceeds to focus attention particularly on the factor of the <u>comic</u> as this could be identified in the local context:

> "the Gaelic speaker will, in his predominantly English-speaking environment, tell many a joke in English and just as he comes to the climax, he enunciates a 'punch-line' in Gaelic. He seems to delight in the mixed

> reactions from his audience, the great mirth from those who understand, the blank expressions, confusion, or even annoyance from those who don't. The reason he gives for doing this is always: 'it wouldn't be the same in English', and in most cases this is perfectly true; the humour would be lost in translation. However, there is also the unspoken reason that he delights in getting 'one over' on his English speaking neighbours"[23]

Despite the practice of relating "many a joke" in the English language it should be emphasized that the actual point of the jest is expressible in Gaelic, not in English, terminology. It is the simple fact of the 'grotesque' intrusion of English-language elements, however extensive, into a Gaelic context that provides the fundamental element making up whatever it is that is considered to be 'comic'. Similarly in Sauris, as Denison is aware, the joke involved is essentially an Italian joke, so to speak. The jumbling together of incongruous linguistic elements which is involved is "funny" only as perceived from the standpoint of Italian society, or rather, from that of the Italian level within the local society of Sauris.

It has been noted that the older inhabitants of the Codroy Valley Gaidhealtachd clearly "regarded English as the inferior language"[24] which is basically the point being emphasized here. The contrast in this respect with the Irish Gaelic that was at one time widely spoken throughout eastern Newfoundland is very marked. A visitor from Ireland who had a reading knowledge of Irish Gaelic at once remarked, in 1966, upon the common prevalence of macaronic usages in street-speech in St. John's which he himself described in the following terms:

> "at the end of a bus-ride one fine morning in mid-September, I composed this sentence in Newfoundlandese: 'the poor angishore is always glauvaunin' about the gamogues of that gommil of a wife of his'. Anyone who knows Gaelic reasonably well would take that sentence as a particularly rigged piece of macaronics; unless he also knew that four of the words are in the dialect of Newfoundland"[25]

It is incontestable that this passage, a specimen of macaronic prose involving the intrusion into an English sentence of discrete Irish-Gaelic terms, would usually present itself to the eye and ear of any person familiar with urban Newfoundland life and values as more or less 'comic'. Yet is is thus only in terms of the local cultural configuration and the ranking conventionally accorded to rural, as compared to urban, speech in those particular circumstances.

There seems to be no reason to doubt folklorist Margaret Bennett's claim that her personal role as a type of one-woman elite after Sjoberg's

pattern played a vital part, as far as the Codroy Valley of the early 1970's was concerned, in checking the process of cultural disentegration especially upon account of the fact that she not only spoke Gaelic but was conspicuously literate in the language. She herself attempts an estimate of this factor as far as its impact on the members of the leading Gaelic-speaking family in the district was an important element in the situation. These people moved, she insists:

> "from an initial feeling that <u>everything</u> was lost to a recognition of their individual responsibility for taking part in preserving the remnant of their culture....***, who joined in with his father's choruses, has now taken over with entire songs....***, who formerly could never be persuaded to take his pipes out of their case if he thought someone was listening, will now play at weddings, dances, and other gatherings; the family's musicians and dancers who, up until very recently have never played outside of the Valley, were persuaded to enter an annual competition for Newfoundland folk performers"[26]

She continues to point out that the Gaelic term "ceilidh" has ever included within its available range of meanings both those of a private visit and of a public <u>performance</u>, usually in the form of a musical entertainment and that the function itself is now coming to be accepted almost entirely in the latter sense. An aspect of the transformation which overcame Canadian minority cultures during the 1960's, owing a great deal to the Report of the federal government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1969, has involved a metamorphosis of the original concept of the 'ceilidh'. The term has now clearly assumed a more generalized connotation: "meaning a concert to the Scottish, a dance to the Irish, or occasionally elements of both". It may be symptomatic of the altering role of Gaelic in Atlantic Canada that its public face, the 'ceilidh', has therefore ceased to be a primary-group phenomenon and has become a public affair potentially open even to the mass media and therefore to the whole wide world. The comment made by Beaton is to the effect that, in Cape Breton Island, in this regard:

> "in many cases the traditional connotation of words has changed. For example 'ceilidh' can now mean a musical function at the (parish) hall which is <u>formally</u> organized.....the clergy, in presenting the stage performance, changes the setting from <u>house</u> to <u>hall</u>, creating differences which give the culture a new face"[27]

At the cost of some vulgarization, then, the distinctive Celtic language-culture of eastern Nova Scotia and western Newfoundland is all the less likely perhaps to totally cease to be relevant or to disappear without a trace. Such a course of events could well leave a very large gap indeed in a rural way of life which it has at once sheltered and expressed for countless generations.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Cormack, William Epps, 1822 (second edition, 1928), p. 103

[2]MOSGLADH (Journal of the Scottish Catholic Society of Canada), Vol. 3, January 1931: Rev. Michael MacKenzie, "The Parish of East Bay"

[3]Young, Arthur, "A Tour in Ireland", 1925 edition, p. 137

[4]Mannion, John J., 1976, p. 31, n. 23

[5]Johnson, Samuel, "Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland," 1971 edition, Vol. 9, p. 95

[6]Price, Charles A., 1959, p. 279

[7]Ibid, p. 280

[8]Ibid, p. 284

[9]MacKinnon, Kenneth M., 1976, p. 2

[10]Sears, Monsignor Thomas, 1877, p. 28

[11]Bennett, Margaret, 1975, pp. 78-79

[12]Ibid, p. 72

[13]Horwood, Harold, 1969, p. 20

[14]Ardener, Edwin ed., 1971, Introductory Essay, p. 1

[15]MacInnes, Daniel W., 1973, p. 105

[16]Ibid, p. 115

[17]Denison, Norman, 1971, p. 166

[18]Sjoberg, Gideon, 1952, p. 236

[19]Bennett, Margaret, 1975, p. 87

[20]Ibid, 1972, p. 25

[21]Denison, Norman, 1968, p. 585

[22]Bennett, Margaret, 1972, p. 27

[23]Ibid, p. 28

[24]Ibid, 1975, p. 106

[25]Jordan, John, 1967, p. 23

[26]Bennett, Margaret, 1975, p. 313

[27]Beaton, Betty, 1977, pp. 8-9

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MOSGLADH. Mosgladh (i.e., 'The Awakening') was a periodical published during the 1920s and early 1930s by the Scottish Catholic Society of Canada in Nova Scotia both in Gaelic and in English. Fairly complete sets of Mosgladh exist both in the Angus L. MacDonald Library, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S., and in the Archives of the Beaton Institute, Cape Breton College, Sydney, N.S.

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WORD, MORPHEME, AND SYLLABLE IN VIETNAMESE

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ABSTRACT

Vietnamese has traditionally been considered an isolating language. However, the existence of word-formational elements of less than syllable length and the presence of complex, multi-syllable words suggest that this characterization needs to be refined.

The Vietnamese language has been considered by scholars to be an isolating language, but such a characterization is not fully accurate. In this paper we shall examine the relationship of syllable, morpheme, and word in Vietnamese. There are grounds for supposing that this problem can be solved analogously for the other languages of Indochina (Noss 1964: 28-81).

We shall examine concrete material in order to verify the proposition that every syllable in Vietnamese consists of only one significant unit and consequently does not possess an internal structure. This will help clarify the general question of the relationship between syllable, morpheme and word in Vietnamese.

In synthetic languages the syllable, morpheme and word are differentiated as a rule as units on the various levels of phonology, morphology, and syntax, both by their structure and by their functional properties. The syllable is not a minimal unit of the phonological level. Moreover, insofar as it is possible to isolate the syllable without making reference to meaning (in contrast to the phoneme, morpheme, and word), it is appropriate to examine the syllable as a phonetic unit.

Grammatical analysis of a language is possible only on the basis of clear differentiation of autonomous word-classes or parts of speech; this in turn can be accomplished with clear differentiation of word, morpheme, and syllable (Le van Ly 1948: 134-46; Martini 1950; Emeneau 1951; Honey 1956: 534-544; Thompson 1963: 39-52; Nguyen kim Than 1963a:59-115, 1964: 26-50; Solncev, Lekomcev, Mxitarjan,

Glebova 1960: 30-43; Barinova 1964; Lekomcev 1964: 101-126; Stankevich 1964: 4-8). The equation of syllable, morpheme, and word in Vietnamese is the consequence of (1) the coincidence of these three units for a sufficiently large percentage of Vietnamese words, (2) the use of root morphemes as auxiliary elements, (3) the isolation of meaning-bearing and auxiliary elements in writing, codified by both character and Roman modes of script, and (4) the fluidity and indefiniteness of Vietnamese terms serving to define linguistic levels: thus 'tiếng' means 'noise, sound, word, language', 'chữ' refers to units of the written language and means 'letter, character, word', 'âm' serves to designate both sound and syllable (Thompson 1963: 43), etc.

There remains the question of to what degree it is possible to isolate a non-root morpheme serving to form words and to express certain grammatical categories. In Vietnamese there are alternations having meaning-distinguishing function which are quite widespread. Przyluski 1924: 394-397, Emeneau 1951, Thompson 1963 and Barinova 1964 are devoted to various questions concerning alternation of consonants, vowels, tones, and their combinations.

Let us examine a series of Vietnamese constructions. First a few reduplicative forms (Barinova 1964):[1]

nguy nga	= to be grandiose	nguy	= to be tall
mặn mà	= to be cordial	mặn	= cordial, good
nết na	= to be well-behaved	nết	= morals, good manners
rầy rà	= to be disturbed	rầy	= to worry, to trouble
khoe khoang	= to brag	khoe	= to (be) praised
nở nang	= to bloom wildly	nở	= to bloom

The second elements of each of these constructions are devoid of independent meaning and cannot be used by themselves; their phonemic structure is subject to limitations (the initial consonant phoneme is identical to the initial phoneme of the first element, /a/ serves as the syllable formant; moreover, these second elements end either with this vowel phoneme or with the nasal consonant /ŋ/.) There are two tones: level if the first element has a tone from the group of high tones (level, falling rising, rising), but slow falling (huyền) if the first element has a tone from the group of low tones (slow falling, sharp falling rising, and sharp falling). Since the bisyllabic structures are related to the monosyllabic ones, but change their meaning under the influence of the second, reduplicative element, this latter can be viewed as a derivational morpheme.

The problem of syllable-initial consonants is an interesting and little-investigated question of Vietnamese morphology. A few examples:

chết = to die	giết = to kill
chìm = to drown (intr.)	dìm = to drown (tr.)
thấm = to get wet (intr.)	ngâm = to get wet (tr.)

In the above group of pairs we see the opposition transitive versus intransitive, which is realized by means of alternation of initial consonants, namely the alternations /c/ - /z/, /t̂/ - /ɟ/. These initial consonants must also be considered derivational elements.

The following examples show the functional significance of tone:

cây = tree	cấy = to transplant, plant
qua = to cross, pass	qúa = to surpass
tươi = fresh, be fresh	tưới = to water
trung = centre, middle	trúng = to hit the target
ngôi = throne	ngồi = to sit
lúc = to inundate	lụt = a flood
mướn = to hire	mượn = to occupy, to lend
vẽ = to draw	vẻ = view
mũi = nose	mùi = odor

The following examples are taken from the southern dialect of Vietnamese:

ông = man	ổng = the aforesaid man
bà = married woman	bả = the aforesaid married woman
chị = girl	chỉ = the aforesaid girl
anh = young man	ảnh = the aforesaid young man
cô = girl, aunt	cổ = the aforesaid girl
trong = inside	trỏng = inside the aforementioned object
ngoài = outside	ngoải = outside the aforementioned object
bên = next to	bển = next to the aforementioned object
trên = above	trển = above the aforementioned object

In the above examples an alternation of tones may be observed: level, slow falling and sharp falling with low rising tone. As a result of each alternation a meaning arises, indicating a person or place which is more distant or about which discourse has already occurred.

Along with the alternation of initial consonants with meaning-distinguishing function, in Vietnamese morphology one may observe alternation of vowels, which also leads to distinguishing meaning (Thompson 1963)[2]:

đâu = everywhere	đây = here	đấy = there
nào = any, every	này = this	nọ = that
bao = to any extent	bấy = to this extent	bấy = to that extent
sao = however	vầy = so	vậy = thus

In the first three examples one may note the preservation of initial consonants and the alternation of vowels and semivowels accompanied by change in tone. In the last example there is partial alternation of the initial consonant along with alternation of the vowel and semivowel and change of tone. However, the fact remains indisputable that there is a semantic proximity between the members of each group of examples. Moreover, these groups could be arranged into a table of correlated adverbs and demonstrative pronouns. The examples in the first column have the meaning of universality; those of the second column indicate immediate proximity, while those in the third column, opposed to those in the second, point to relatively greater distancing.

Of interest also is one of the regularities in the alternation of vowels in reduplicative models, when vowels alternate in agreement with their degree of height, but are differentiated according to whether they are front or back (Emeneau 1951: 40, 193). Thus the following alternations are possible:

i u	u ~ i	(u i)	cũ = old	cũ kỹ = ancient
e o	o ~ e	(ô ê)	ngô = dull	ngô nghê = stupid
ɛ ɔ	ɔ ~ ɛ	(o e)	nhỏ = small	nhỏ nhẻ = quiet

All the examples adduced above comprise sufficient evidence in favour of the conclusion that within a defined, even if quite limited, group of Vietnamese words, it is legitimate to isolate derivational elements consisting of a consonant, vowel, semivowel, tone, or various combinations thereof. This presence in Vietnamese of derivational mor-

phemes smaller than the syllable cannot, however, be taken as sufficient grounds for opposing it to the Chinese group of languages. If one examines the other languages of Indochina in synchronic cross-section, one can discover numerous examples of derivational elements smaller than the syllable (Przyluski 1924: 366-397; Maspéro 1952a:525-634). Thus in Noss 1964: 28-31 a special chapter is devoted to the examination of a large series of alternations distinguishing meaning in Thai. The fact that in contemporary Chinese such meaning-distinguishing alternations are rarer must be carefully investigated. A series of researchers studying the history of Chinese has agreed that Chinese has undergone a very complex evolution from the point of view of its phonological and grammatical systems. Karlgren 1952: 51-66 and Maspéro 1952b, for example, have shown that ancient Chinese was characterized by the following features:

(1) Alternation of voiceless and voiced onsets, along with the alternation of other consonants in the syllable;
(2) alternation of vowels and semivowels;
(3) alternation of tones;
(4) a well-developed system of affixes.

In ancient Chinese, verbs were formed from nouns by means of alternations; transitive verbs were formed from intransitives, causatives from transitives, etc. Thus the opposition of transitive forms to intransitive via phonological alternations is not a specific trait of the Austronesian languages. Gradually Chinese lost the majority of these traits in the course of its evolution from a complex to a simple language. Similar complex derivative forms existed in the ancient languages of Indochina. Thus one may suppose that a similar tendency towards simplification of phonological and grammatical systems was characteristic for the languages of the Far East. The difference lay in the fact that in the given period the realization of this tendency in Chinese proceeded at a much greater rate. The tendency towards simplification in Chinese is especially noteworthy on the phonological level; the number of vowel phonemes dropped sharply, final consonants were lost with the exception of sonants; prefixes disappeared. In contemporary Chinese (Peking dialect) consonant clusters are absent for all practical purposes, whereas in the languages of Indochina, especially in Cambodian, one may observe phenomena directly opposite to those noted for Chinese. Various phonological alternations are characteristic of Chinese dialects to the present day.

Thus we have been able to see that in Vietnamese there are morphemes differentiating meaning which are structurally smaller than the syllable and comprise only part of the word. The three concepts of syllable, morpheme, and word which were earlier equated in Vietnamese by a whole series of linguists must be differentiated as units belonging to different levels of the language. Thus, the syllable is a unit of

the phonological level, which can be described by the formula

((I) - (II)) - III - (IV)

In this formula of the Vietnamese syllable the first position is occupied by an initial consonant, the second by a non-syllabic semivowel, the third by a syllabic vowel or nucleus of the syllable and the fourth by a final semivowel, sonant, or implosive stop. The brackets indicate that the elements contained within them have a facultative function. The morpheme in Vietnamese does not necessarily coincide with the syllable in its phonemic structure; most importantly, the morpheme corresponds not only with the plane of expression as the syllable devoid of meaning, but also with the plane of content, in so far as it possesses not only a phonemic structure, but a meaning as well. Although a large proportion of the morphemes in Vietnamese can be used as free morphemes, in other words, may serve as words, nevertheless a certain percentage of them are not encountered in free usage.

M. B. Emeneau in his investigations of Vietnamese grammar uses the identification of syllable, morpheme, and word as a purely working hypothesis, and emphasizes that even in his limited material (2025 words) the ratio of free to bound elements is 5/1 (Emeneau 1951: 3).

It is useful to divide the morphemes of Vietnamese into two large classes: root and non-root. Root morphemes in the plane of expression coincide with the syllable and have an independent lexical meaning; they can act as free morphological units or enter into the composition of a complex word. Non-root morphemes may either coincide with the syllable, or, as indicated above, consist of non-syllable-forming elements. The majority of non-root morphemes which in the plane of expression consist of a syllable are very closely tied to the corresponding root morphemes. However, acting in an auxiliary function, they lose their specific lexical meaning or preserve it only partially. One can hypothesize that in the process of the evolution of the Vietnamese language there arose a need to differentiate various grammatical categories, which then obtained expression in language with the help of root morphemes, that, to use the words of F. Martini, "were emptied" in the plane of lexical meaning and began to function as purely grammatical elements (Martini 1952). But having lost the lexical meaning of the free root morpheme, they did not always fully lose the ability to be used as free elements, for example:

Anh đã đọc quyển sách này chưa? - Đã.
'Have you read this book yet or not? - Yet (I've already read it)'

Tôi có thể đọc quyển sách này được.
'I can read this book'

Tôi được hai quyển sách như thế.
'I have received/possess two such books'

Among non-root morphemes serving an auxiliary function, elements are found which do not establish a connection with any root-signifying morpheme (for example 'se' - the indicator of the future tense)[3], and they are not able to act as free elements. Consequently it will not be a mistake to consider that certain auxiliary morphemes in the Vietnamese grammatical system are characterized by their intermediate state between free root and bound non-root morpheme. Differentiation of non-root morphemes into derivational and flectional is also possible. Thus, for example, the auxiliary morphemes of the nominal and verbal groups can be viewed as flectional morphemes. Investigators have also isolated various means of affixation, with the help of which various verbal and nominal forms are made (Solncev et al. 1960: 51-55; Nguyen kim Than 1963b:63-70).

Turning our attention now to the unit of the syntactic level, the word, we can see quite clearly that it does not necessarily coincide with the syllable, just as it is not necessary to equate it with the morpheme. The concept of the word for Vietnamese is essential as soon as we undertake syntactic analysis, and the monosyllabicity of a large quantity of words is an undeniable fact of the language. Despite this, there is a large number of polysyllables, which may be bisyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrasyllabic, or include an even larger number of syllables. The components of the polysyllables (Solncev et al. 1960: 30-35; Nguyen kim Than 1963a: 62-106) can be either root morphemes or root morphemes in combination with non-root morphemes, which have been deprived fully or partially of their lexical meaning. In the makeup of a bisyllabic word one may find two root morphemes, each of which could be found in independent usage:

bàn cãi = to discuss	bàn = to discuss	cãi = to object, question
người ở = servant	người = man	ở = to live, be located at

As a rule, both elements in this case are of Vietnamese origin. Moreover, there are bisyllabic words where one of the elements may be used independently but the other may not. Usually the bound element is of Chinese origin:

bàn luận = to discuss bàn = to discuss luận = to discuss (Chinese)

There are also many bisyllabic words, neither component of which is found in independent usage. These bound components in the majority of cases have been borrowed from Chinese:

lãnh đạo = to direct

tương giao = to intersect

Finally, one finds bisyllabic words which have been borrowed from other languages:

mui soa = handkerchief (French)
va li = suitcase (French)

Among trisyllabic words there are formations both of native Vietnamese and of foreign origin:

hợp tác xã = cooperative (Chinese 'unite-create-society')

bo rơ mua = bromide compound

a la hán = arkhat (Sanskrit)

sạch sành sanh = very clean (Vietnamese)

The same may be said of words with a greater number of syllables:

vô tuyến điện thoại = telephone (Chinese negation-thread-electricity-conversation)

bối rối bời rời bới rởi = shocked (Vietnamese)

In so far as the five-syllabled words are concerned, reduplicative models are apparently absent (Thompson 1963: 51). Thus the isolation of the word as an independent unit differentiated from the morpheme is not open to doubt. However, in isolating the word as a unit of analysis, one must employ defined procedures, such as those proposed in Le van Ly 1948: 134-146: commutation, the criteria of incorporation between components of the supposed word, and other methods (Solncev et al. 1960: 40-63; Lekomcev 1964: 101-126; Nguyen kim Than 1963b: 54-66; Stankevich 1964: 4-8).

NOTES

[1] On the principles governing alternations in reduplicative models - consonants (the regular alternation of implosive stops with the corresponding nasal consonants /p/ /t/ /c/ /k/ /k°/ /m/ /n/ /ɲ/ /ŋ/ /ŋ°/), vowels, and tones (the law of harmony of high and low tones) see for details Barinova 1964: chapter 3.

[2]For further detail about the pronouns nào, này, etc., see Przyluski 1912: 9.

[3]In the opinion of N. D. Andreev, the Vietnamese 'sẽ' is connected with Cambodian 'sem', the basic meaning of which is 'later, afterwards'; see Andreev 1958: 110.

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TOWARD A PEDAGOGY OF PARAPHRASE

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ABSTRACT

Practicing paraphrase may be used in language-training courses to develop students' facility in self-expression. Paraphrasing provides for practice of known structures and vocabulary, but more importantly, it can activate structures and vocabulary which would otherwise remain in a student's passive knowledge. This paper outlines a method and potential sources for classroom presentation, illustration, and analysis of sentences and texts which stand in paraphrase relation to each other. The advantages of such an approach are that (1) it offers students concrete and correct models as a starting point for their own attempts at self-expression; (2) it combats the tendency to use literal translation and transposed syntactic structures which violate conventional usage; (3) it follows the parameters of first language learning; (4) it reveals a language's stylistic preferences; (5) it encourages the study of language models for the specific purpose of learning and assimilating patterns of expression at a higher level than phrases and elementary syntactic structures.

Paraphrase is defined by Webster's Universal Dictionary as "the rendering of the sense of a passage in other words." I am not concerned in this presentation with the adequacy of this definition or with its implications for descriptive and theoretical linguistics. For pedagogical purposes, it defines adequately a type of language practice which may be used to develop students' facility in self-expression.

My interest in paraphrase dates from an incident in an advanced oral French workshop which I was conducting two years ago. A student had just given a rehearsed report of a television interview with an African head of state, describing clearly, in detail, and with accurate French usage how skilfully the politician had replied to the interviewer's loaded questions, how he had conveyed the impression of being reasonable and moderate, in spite of his supposed radical views. Having completed her report, the student stopped abruptly, looked at me and asked in English, "How do you say 'he really knew how to handle himself?'"

I wondered at the time, and for a long time afterward, why she wanted an English to French translation of a thought which she had already expressed adequately in her own words in French without working through translation. Rather than answering the question, I pointed out that whereas translation as a study and as a written exercice often reveals important contrasts between English and French, trying to transpose a thought from English to French with its syntactic pattern intact can often hinder self-expression. This may be all the more true for intermediate or advanced students with enough mastery of French to recognize very literal translations that produce incorrect usage or an inappropriate message. I suspect this was the case for my student, who could certainly have constructed savoir+infinitive to express her idea. But what infinitive? Did she know manier as an equivalent of handle and that using it as a pronominal gives it a meaning unrelated to the thought she wished to express? If so, the point of her question may not have been to learn the translation she had asked for but a correct equivalent expression or paraphrase. Even so, she had already expressed the idea herself, presumably without recognizing its sufficiency, or else believing it was necessary to rephrase it by way of concluding statement.

I turned my student's question over to the class, asking them to write down in one sentence what the interview had shown about the African leader. I received, among others, the following answers:

(1)
(a) Il savait faire une bonne impression.
(b) Il savait répondre comme il faut.
(c) Il a donné de bonnes réponses.
(d) Il a bien répondu.
(e) Il a parlé comme un vrai chef d'état.

Within the context of the interview, these are paraphrases of each other and of the sentence for which my student had wanted a translation. Interestingly enough, the first two use as main verb savoir, which may have been suggested by her question. Yet the incorrect se manier, or any other pronominal usage is absent. The sentences illustrate the variety of expressions which are well within an average student's competence and which avoid the problem of modelling the sentence completely on "he knew how to handle himself."

Since the "handle himself" incident, I have been attempting to develop both the presentation of paraphrase as a learning tool and the use of paraphrase as an in-class activity. The presentation requires students to develop a consciousness of and sensitivity to parallel expressions

within a text (intra-textual redundancies) as well as an awareness of the shared features in parallel texts (inter-textual redundancies). The latter are generally easier to identify and provide a richer variety of examples for the early stages of presenting paraphrase. My file of newspaper clippings for on-going stories has provided much suitable material. For example, the commission investigating the alleged crimes of the shah of Iran in 1980 was designated variously in the French press as:

(2)
(a) la commission internationale d'enquête sur les crimes imputés à l'ex-chah d'Iran
(b) la commission internationale chargée d'enquêter sur les agissements de l'ex-chah d'Iran
(c) la commission qui sera chargée d'enquêter sur les crimes présumés du chah
(d) la commission d'enquête sur le régime du chah
(e) la commission dont le mandat prévoit l'examen des griefs de l'Iran contre l'ex-chah

The Canadian Embassy affair in Iran appeared first in headline form as (3a) and paraphrased in subsequent days as (3b-3g).

(3)
(a) Le Canada réussit à faire sortir six diplomates américains d'Iran.
(b) Six diplomates américains ont réussi à s'enfuir de l'Iran, grâce à la complicité du personnel de l'ambassade du Canada.
(c) Le Canada a facilité la sortie clandestine d'Iran de six membres de l'ambassade des Etats-Unis.
(d) Le Canada a aidé six diplomates de l'ambassade des Etats-Unis à Téhéran à fuir le pays grâce à de faux documents.
(e) Six diplomates américains se sont échappés d'Iran grâce à l'ambassade du Canada.
(f) ... six diplomates américains et leur évasion en douce grâce à des passeports canadiens falsifiés
(g) Six américains ont été sauvés par le coup spectaculaire réussi par l'ambassade du Canada.

Intra-textual redundancies are usually less obvious than the inter-textual type to students just beginning the study of paraphrase and are best presented initially through texts where completely parallel structures are conjoined but vocabulary varies from one to the other. (4) is from a text on biorhythmics.

(4) Le premier rythme de 23 jours affecte notre force physique, le second de 28 jours se rapporte à notre système nerveux et à notre émotivité, tandis que le troisième de 33 jours contrôle notre force intellectuelle.

An advantage accrues to the material chosen for presenting paraphrase if students are familiar with the idea or topic. This is true for current news items, such as the two already mentioned. In this respect, the inauguration of Ronald Reagan in January of 1981 provided an opportunity to teach those students whose impulse might have been to ask "how do you say inauguration?" that there are many ways to adequately express that idea leaving the inauguration ceremony implicit rather than referring to it directly. All the variants in (5) are well within most students' competence.

(5)
(a) M. Reagan s'installera à la Maison Blanche.
(b) M. Reagan remplacera M. Carter à la Maison Blanche.
(c) M. Reagan succèdera à M. Carter.
(d) M. Reagan, le successeur de M. Carter, prendra sa place à la Maison Blanche.
(e) Le président-élu prendra la place du président sortant.

Of course, le mot juste, here prêter serment, can be introduced after the presentation and/or elicitation of paraphrases has shown the students that lacking the precise term is not an insurmountable obstacle to expressing the idea.

I have exploited further the use of parallel texts and familiar stories in two half-year courses. One centers on the Bible, comparing the traditional and modern French translations, and the other is based on major news stories from the 20th century. (Everybody knows at least some details about the Titanic, but if you ask a student to tell you about it in French, she is usually sunk by sink.)

It is essential in training students in the active use of paraphrase to present many examples of parts of speech which are derived from each other and which may interchange when appropriate modifications of syntax accompany such interchange (6) - (8) illustrate such cases.

(6)
(a) En 1539 François I^{er} a déclaré le français langue officielle du pays.
(b) Par la déclaration de François I^{er}, le français est devenu en 1539 la langue officielle du pays.

(7)
(a) En alunissant, le module a soulevé de la poussière lunaire.
(b) L'alunissage du module a soulevé de la poussière lunaire.

(8)
(a) De tels désastres font vibrer à l'unisson toutes les âmes.
(b) De tels désastres unissent le monde entier.

Learning and activating the use of synonyms is, of course, a key part of paraphrase work. The students in my headlines-from-history course now know at least three verbs which may be used to describe what happened to produce the famous Halifax explosion:

(9)
(a) Un navire de secours belge et un transport de munitions sont entrés en collision.
(b) Les deux navires sont venus en collision.
(c) Les deux navires se sont choqués.

Gradually, the transition may be made from presenting models of paraphrase to eliciting paraphrases from students. This seems to work effectively by selecting as a starting point texts of 1-2 pages for students to read and requiring that they prepare questions on the factual content of the texts to ask each other. The preparation of questions in itself initiates the same type of mental manipulation of the material as paraphrasing. Requiring that questions be answered from memory, rather than by consulting the text, gives this class activity some spontaneity, and, more importantly, obliges students to resort to paraphrase. Pertinent material from the text which may be overlooked in the question and answer exchange can be introduced by the instructor in various ways in a follow-up session or review.

One useful component of instructor-directed review of text paraphrasing is a written exercice eliciting completions for a given sentence with its constituent phrases re-ordered. An example is (10a), to be paraphrased according to the sentence beginnings listed in (10b) - (10e).

(10)
(a) Depuis 1840 tous les présidents américains élus en une année qui se termine en zéro sont morts sans achever leurs mandats.
(b) Il y a déjà cent quarante ans que ...
(c) Sans exception ...
(d) Aucun président américain ...
(e) Le facteur zéro veut que ...

This type of exercice can be facilitated by beginning with a pair of paraphrase models such as (11a) and (11b), followed by sentences to be completed as in (11c) - (11k).

(11)
(a) Pharaon donne l'ordre à jeter dans le fleuve tout garçon qui naîtra.
(b) Pharaon ordonne à son peuple de jeter tout garçon nouveau-né au fleuve.
(c) Pharaon dit ...
(d) Pharaon veut qu'on ...
(e) Pharaon veut que tout garçon ...
(f) Selon le vœu de Pharaon ...
(g) Le peuple devait ...
(h) Pour obéir ...
(j) Le meurtre ...
(k) Tout garçon nouveau-né a été ...

The advantages of the paraphrase approach to self-expression are several. In the first place, it offers students concrete and correct models as a starting place for their efforts at self-expression. If these models are carefully chosen and well assimilated, they serve, along with the paraphrase exercice itself, to develop awareness of the expressive resources of language. Secondly, paraphrase counters the tendency to use literal translation and transposed syntactic structures which violate conventional usage. Third, it follows the parameters of first language learning by training students to associate lexical items along phonetic, semantic, and syntactic parameters in combination. (For a discussion see Whitaker 1969:110) Fourth, it reveals language's stylistic preferences. Style nominal, for example, as a process for subordinating the elements of a sentence is a recurring lesson in paraphrase work. Finally, it encourages the study of language models for the specific purpose of learning and assimilating patterns of expression at a higher level than phrases and elementary syntactic structures.

Virtually every language teacher has dealt with paraphrase en passant in answering the question, "could you also say ...?" Apart from occasional exercices such as active to passive transformations, however, language-learning texts

do not systematize its presentation or use. My classroom experience of the past two years has given me strong indication that the development of the pedagogy of paraphrase will produce valuable results.

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A SPEECH ACT CONCEPTION OF OBSERVATION STATEMENTS

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In this paper I trace some of the history of evolving ideas about the nature of observation statements which appear in the philosophy of science literature. Current conclusions about observation statements, while correcting previous mistakes, provide an inadequate account of the intuitive feeling that such statements do have a special status in science. I attempt to provide a sketch of a theory that might account for these intuitions.

A BRIEF HISTORY

Much philosophy of science in this century has been directed towards defending scientific knowledge from the challenge of the sceptics, epitomized in the work of René Descartes. Descartes seriously entertained the possibility that "some malignant genius exceedingly powerful and cunning had devoted all his powers in the deceiving" (1958:181) of him. Maybe, thought Descartes, all external things are illusions which this evil genius had put into his head. His conclusion was that there is no way of telling for certain what is truly existing and what is only illusion. Descartes decision in the face of this uncertainty was to suspend all judgement on such matters and to begin afresh, searching first for what was without doubt (granting that such might not exist), and then building from there. In his meditations he concluded that the first thing which he could know with certainty was that he himself existed. He was convinced of this for he thought that even raising the question of his existence presupposed that he existed. Though Descartes thought he had made some progress at this point, much remained to be done before all scientific knowledge could be shown to rest upon certain foundations.

Many philosophers of science, particularly in this century, have taken Descartes' sceptical challenge seriously. The logical empiricists, for example, took as their general task the reconstruction of scientific knowledge upon a firm foundation of observation. The following two were among the major assumptions which they made in their programs: (i) that sense-experience statements were infallible; and (ii) that statements about material objects could be translated without loss of meaning into sense-experience statements. To see clearly the import of these assumptions, the

notions of sense-experience statements and material object statements need to be understood. Of the two, the latter is easier to understand. Material object statements are ordinary types of statements which we make about things in the world: 'The plant is on the window sill', 'The electron beam deflected 15^{o}', 'The information was drawn from long-term memory', etc. Sense-experience statements are those about sense data. Sense data are elusive entities but are illustrated well by the following example of W.H.F. Barnes, a former philosophy professor of the University of Edinburgh.

> The stick which looks straight in the air looks angularly bent when in water. There are good reasons for thinking that no such change of shape takes place in the stick. Yet there <u>is</u> something straight in the one case and something bent in the other, and there is no good reason for supposing either is less or more of an existant than the other. The straight-stick appearance and the bent-stick appearance are sense-data. (1967:695)

While there might be some question of whether or not the stick actually was bent, there could not be any question, logical empiricists believed, of whether the stick <u>appeared</u> bent. This, it was thought, was certain.

The logical empiricists proceeded, then, on the basis of there being two distinct languages of science, a sense-datum language and a material object language, or an observational and a theoretical language as they are sometimes called. The sense-datum language was prior and was used to make statements known with certainty. Statements in the material object language were always translatable (reducible or reformulatable) into statements in the language of sense-data. The Cartesian problem of showing how all scientific knowledge is based upon firm foundations was thus solved, at least in principle: Theoretical statements were built up from observation statements which themselves were known with certainty. Much thinking about science subsequent to that of the logical empiricists has been in one way or another dependent upon that thinking.

During the past two decades or so the logical empiricists' programme has been vigourously challenged and according to many philosophers shown to be incorrect. Specifically, the two assumptions of empiricism mentioned previously have demonstrated deficiencies. Many, including Putnam (1962) and Achinstein (1965), have argued that all members of the purported two groups of terms, theoretical and observational, can in fact be used to serve both purposes. So-called 'observational terms' can, depending upon

the circumstances of their production be used to make theoretical statements. Similarly, statements of observations can be made using terms from the theoretical list. As a corollary to this claim that two distinct languages do not exist in science, the empiricist position that statements in one language can be translated into statements in the other lost its meaning. In addition, the empiricist assumption that statements of observation are infallible has been challenged, notably by Hanson (1958) and Feyerabend (1965). In fact, according to these men all observation is "theory-laden", at least in the sense that all observation is dependent upon interpretation using some theory, however crude or embryonic. There is no such thing as raw data or a brute fact.

The upshot of this current line of thinking is that in fact science cannot successfully be defended against the Cartesian challenge. There are no certain foundations upon which scientific knowledge rests, so it is a fruitless task to search for them. In particular, science is not based upon the certainty of sense-datum statements as the empiricists claimed. It is, rather, dependent upon material object statements which themselves are laden with theoretical perspectives and interpretations.

Accepting these conclusions disrupts some deep-seated intuitions about the priority of observations in our knowledge of the world. Are these intuitions themselves to be abandoned? Can they be maintained while granting that observation statements are not infallible, that no special observation language exists, and that all observation is in fact theory-laden? I now turn to these questions.

A STUBBORN INTUITION

Granted, there is no language unique to observation, but is not the reporting of an observation a unique act? Granted, observations do not provide certainty, but do they not have a special role for those who report them? There is a stubborn intuition that in reporting an observation which one has made one is doing something special, that one is trying to satisfy a particular intention. There is also a stubborn intuition that such reports should be strongly believed, at least by the person making them. What does the existence of these intuitions mean? Does it indicate that we are misguided in our beliefs about observations? Does it mean that in examining this intuition there might be found a special role for observation in science?

Traditionally, observation statements have been examined from the perspective of an outsider examining a finished product,

divorced from its mode of production. The focus has been on the outcome of a process. Philosophers of science for example, have examined observation statements as existants distinct from the persons who produced them. The belief was that the role of such statements in science could be determined without having any knowledge of the details of their production, of the motivations of their producers, and of the intentions they were trying to satisfy. Quine (1969:75-90) was extreme in this, having chosen to focus upon the observation sentence, the string of words uttered, as his unit of analysis, without considering at all the statement made using the sentence. However, in examining observation reports in this manner there is the risk of missing much of what their producers meant by them. Maybe, then, there is something to be gained in understanding observation statements by examining them from the perspective of the persons reporting them, with a view to uncovering the process through which the reports were made.

Speech act theory provides an explanation of meaning partly in terms of speakers' intentions, and thus provides a focus upon the producers of observation reports such as I have been contemplating. It might seem, then, that an examination of observation statements using the conceptual framework of speech act theory would provide a mechanism for explaining, and perhaps preserving, the intuitions about the uniqueness and robustness of reports of observations to which I have referred. To this end, I first turn to a brief overview of the main tenets of speech act theory and then to an application of that theory to the explication of observation statements.

SPEECH ACTS

According to speech act theory when a person utters some token of language, that person (usually) performs several acts. Consider, for example, my associate's saying to me, "Close the door". In uttering this sentence, she performed at least three acts: she uttered a particular token of an English sentence; she directed me to close the door; and she, in so directing, got me to close the door. According to speech act theory, acts of the first type, verbal acts of uttering sentence tokens, are called 'locutionary acts'. Acts of the second type, because they are not verbal acts, are called 'illocutionary acts'. The distinction here is that the directing itself was not a verbal act, even though the directing was performed using a verbal act. She could have performed the same illocutionary act by, for example, waving her arm in the manner of closing a door. The third act which my associate performed was an act of having an effect on

me, she succeeded in getting me to close the door. Acts of this third type are called 'perlocutionary'.

A guiding doctrine of speech act theory is that the context of an utterance is of prime importance in determining the speech acts which have been performed (Searle 1971:615; Austin 1975: 100). This was my reason for choosing a real example in explaining the types of speech acts which might be performed. I know much of the context of the utterance, and what I did not know is at least in principle ascertainable. This approach avoids the possibility, which would exist in a concocted example, of people having a free hand in specifying the speech acts which have been performed, depending upon how they imagined the details of the context to be. For example, one can imagine situations in which with the same utterance my associate was instead directing me to leave the door open, or to cut off debate, or to close my mouth. But I know that she performed neither of these acts because I know the context in which the utterance was made.

It is upon the illocutionary acts performed in the production of sentence tokens that speech act theorists direct most of their attention. "The illocutionary act is the minimal unit of linguistic communication" (Searle 1971:615). In the following section I will be concerned primarily with the illocutionary act performed when people utter observation sentences. It is my contention that these utterances, at least when they are uttered in sincerity, constitute the performance of a particular type of illocutionary act.

OBSERVATION STATEMENTS AS SPEECH ACTS

Searle (1979:12) discusses a category of illocutionary acts which he calls 'assertives'. According to Searle when a speaker asserts something that person sends out a specific message, namely, that he or she is committed to the truth of the proposition asserted. In this respect, reporting an observation is like asserting something: the speaker is committed to something's being the case. Additionally, however, the reporter of an observation is doing something else, namely, committing himself or herself or someone else to have witnessed the thing reported. Hence the illocutionary act performed in uttering an observation sentence is twofold: the speaker reports something to be or to have been the case; and asserts or implies that that something was witnessed by him or her or by someone else.

The following speech act analysis of observation statements will take as a starting point the above-stated, two-fold illocutionary point. The overall approach will be to try to capture in

the analysis the communicative purpose the utterance of an observation has. Focussing on the purposes of utterances marks the prime difference between speech act analyses and analyses which focus on the words and expressions used to utter observation reports. The analysis which follows is similar to the analysis of promising and of other speech acts which Searle has given (1969: 54-71), and will rely on Searle's dimensions of variation among speech acts (1979:1-8). Four conditions will be discussed which I offer as necessary conditions for the successful reporting of an observation. They are the Essential Condition, the Sincerity Condition, the Propositional Content Condition, and the Preparatory Condition.

The Essential Condition

To successfully report an observation the essential condition, satisfying the speaker's intention, must be met. Unless the speaker's intention is properly satisfied, the two-fold illocutionary act involved in reporting observations is not performed. The speaker must report how some specific thing is or was or how some specific events happened or are happening, and must report or imply that this was witnessed by someone. Several points need clarification and extension.

The witnessing which takes place in an observation might involve the direct use of human senses, in which they are the sensory apparati in the direct line of stimulation from the thing observed. However, human senses might play only an indirect role in making an observation such as in, for example, the observation of a voltage using a voltmeter. In such a situation the sensory apparatus in the direct line of stimulation of the voltage (the thing observed) is the voltmeter. Human senses receive their stimulation from the voltmeter, but the observation is being made of a voltage not of a voltmeter. This is at least typically how the situation would be described. One might also say that voltage was observed through observing a voltmeter, but still the indirect role of the human senses in such an observation would be made clear. Human senses need not be involved at all, however, in making some observations. For example, it is easy to imagine a situation in which voltage observations could be made, and recorded, without the presence of human beings. A computer could be programmed to receive and interpret stimulation from a voltmeter and to record these interpretations in natural sentences. Human senses would be used only after the fact in gathering the observation information already reported by the computer. Hence, human senses would not have been involved in making the observation. I include under the concept witnessing each of these ways

of making observations, either directly or indirectly with the human senses or without use of them at all.

Little, if any, conceptual reduction of the concept of observation is made by using the concept of witnessing to explain it. In many contexts 'witness' is a synonym of 'observe'. However, in explaining a concept conceptual reduction is not always possible or even desirable, and explication can often proceed without reduction. For example, defining words by the use of synonyms or by the use of placing words in the contexts of meaningful statements does not effect conceptual reduction, but often has the effect of getting someone to grasp the meaning of the word, which is the original purpose. Similarly, explication of the concepts of observation and of observation statements can be made using devices such as synonyms or near synonyms, and examples and non-examples.

A further issue which arises is whether meeting the essential condition entails necessarily that that which is reported to have been observed was actually observed. It does not. Satisfying the essential condition involves satisfying a speaker's intention, the intention to report an observation. However, an observation is the result of various processes, mental and physical, and these processes can go wrong in many ways. Successfully meeting the essential condition is to report accurately on the outcome of these processes, regardless of whether or not the processes have gone astray at some point. For example, a person could meet the essential conditon by reporting to have observed broken glass at the scene of an automobile accident, even though no such glass was present. People's mental processes can be led astray like this as a result of, for example, questions by interrogators asking whether there was any broken glass after the cars crashed together (Loftus 1979:77-78). To the person making such an interrogation-influenced erroneous report, there is no question of attempting to deceive or of not being sufficiently reflective. The person's memory traces, which just happen to have been created by the interrogation and not by the observation of broken glass, are indistinguishable as far as that person is concerned from memory traces created by an actual observation. The person satisfies his or her intention to report an observation, if those memory traces are accurately portrayed.

The Sincerity Condition

According to H.P. Grice (1975), people typically regulate their speech to satisfy certain maxims, including the maxim Quality: Say only what you believe to be true. Although sometimes this

maxim is deliberately broken, it ought to be satisfied by those reporting observations, if the reports are to be successful as observation reports. In most cases a person's belief in what he or she says is expressed, whether explicitly or implicitly, as part and parcel of what is said. Belief in what is reported is even expressed by someone feigning to report an observation, which is why it is so easy to deceive. Such an expression of belief is not for this reason sufficient for meeting the sincerity condition: the person must actually believe what he or she is reporting to have observed.

It was implied in the previous section that the sincerity condition can be satisfied even if what is reported is false. All that is necessary for meeting this condition is that the person believe it is true. A person can have such a belief by reporting honestly upon the contents of his or her memory, even though something went astray in the production of that memory.

Propositional Content Condition

The propositional content condition places two (perhaps obvious) restrictions on the reports of observations. Despite their possible obviousness I state them for completeness and to avoid ambiguity. The first restriction, and the more obvious one, is that observation statements must report the observation of some past or present event or the states in which some things are or were. An observation statement cannot be about the future, whereas, for example, the illocutionary act of promising must be about the future.

Secondly, reports which are not about some specific event or state of affairs cannot be reports of observations. Thus, for example, a statement such as "All matter is composed of atoms", which describes things in general, cannot be an observation statement. Statements which summarize two or more observations, such as statements of average values, cannot be observation statements.

Note that the discussion here is of necessary and not of sufficient conditions for being an observation statement. It is necessary that a statement be a specific description for it to be an observation statement, but this is not sufficient. 'The square root of 2 is an irrational number', is a specific description but it is not the report of an observation.

The Preparatory Condition

The preparatory condition consists of four subsidiary conditions which will be discussed in their turn.

The relative status of speaker and hearer. People's reports of what they have observed tend to be substantially, though not completely, immune from criticism by the receivers of those reports. The speaker was a witness, or claims to have been one, and the receiver often cannot claim such privileged access to the event or state of affairs described. For this reason, the reporter of an observation occupies a position of superiority to that of the hearer. Reports of observations can be criticized, though, under certain conditions. There are conditions under which reports of observations are known to have low believability (Norris 1979), such as under the direction of leading interrogation as described previously.

Role of speech communities. Reporting an observation is reporting the result of a process, complicated in various ways. It is a mistake to think of observation as a process involving only the uptake of emanations from bodies by the senses. As Monk (1978) has proposed, the process of observing may consist of several steps, depending upon the situation, including a preparatory step, an execution step, and interpretation and reporting steps. In some situations, as in commonplace observations, the preparation might be minimal or not exist at all, and the interpretation might be automatically performed. In other situations, such as in making complex scientific observations, each step might be consciously and labouriously performed.

The main point to consider here is that observation cannot take place without interpretation, either explicitly or implicitly made. It is true that different individuals and groups of individuals in our society have learned to place different interpretations upon different sensory stimulation. This fact divides people into (vaguely defined) communities of language users, the members of each community placing similar interpretations on certain realms of sensory stimuli. For example, when I look behind me now I receive ocular stimulation from a particular object and report my observation, "There is a telephone on the table". Most users of the English language would place the same interpretation as I on similar sensory stimulation had they received it, and would assent to my statement. However, clearly there are people who would not be able to observe what I did. Young children who have not learned what telephones are, people from societies who have never been exposed to telephones, would not be able to make the same observation. They could receive the

same sensory stimulation, but they could not place the same interpretation upon it. What you can observe depends upon what you know.

This analysis can be extended to small, specialized communities of language users, such as the community of language users in atomic physics, or the community of language users in linguistics. Within these communities, reports would be judged observation reports which would not be so judged in the broader community of language users. A linguist acquaintance of mine can observe the occurrence of fricated't's', so she tells me, but I cannot. Making such observations requires more than being exposed to the proper sort of sensory stimulation. A certain degree of training is required to be able to even attend to the right aspect of the stimulus. Furthermore, one must have the training to place the proper interpretation on the sensory inputs, which includes knowing something of the mechanism of production of the phenomenon and of the types of situations in which it might occur. In the field of linguistics there is a line of reasoning which could be produced leading up to the statement about the occurrence of a fricated't'. However, for linguists the inferential steps have proven and demonstrable reliability, and the steps are no longer taken. Thus, what is considered observable by a group is determined in part by what the members of that group are willing to take for granted. It is this fact which is, in my estimation, at the root of the notion of the theory-ladenness of observation mentioned previously.

To successfully perform the act of reporting an observation to another, then, both speaker and hearer must belong to an appropriate community of language users. Members of the appropriate community would readily affirm the speaker's report, if they received the same sensory stimulation.

Relation of reports to speakers' and hearers' interests. The special role which reports of observations play in our bodies of knowledge is the primary reason for distinguishing them from other types of statements. In the fields in which they are considered reports of observations, observation statements serve as the foundation or as part of the foundation for knowledge. This is so because they typically mark the beginning points of reasoning in these fields, and thus tend to be more reliable than inferences based upon them. This relatively high reliability marks their foundational status. Recognizing the comparative nature of the reliability is crucial to understanding what is being said here, for there is no hint that reports of observations are incorrigible or indubitable. Like all other claims

to knowledge they are subject to revision, but usually are among the last to be questioned when something appears amiss.

Force of presentation of the illocutionary point. Imagine my linguist acquaintance and me listening to a tape recording of a high school student reasoning through a test item. The linguist says, "Ah, a fricated't'". A while later I say, "There's another fricated't'". Both these utterances have an illocutionary point in common, namely, to report the occurrence of a certain event. The first, however, presents the illocutionary point with more force because it is the report of an observation while the second is the report of an inference. The truth of the first is much more assured because the training of the linguist allowed her to make an observation of the fricated't'. On my part, however, having only fifteen minutes training in the recognition of and theory of frication, much inference had to be made in the identification of the phenomenon as a fricated't'. My reasoning was based upon the assumption that the sound was the same as my linguist friend demonstrated, and upon the assumption that it was produced in the same type of way, among other assumptions. The truth of my statement depends upon the truth of these assumptions and upon the soundness of my reasoning. No such chain of reasoning was performed by the linguist, however. For her, the primary support for her statement was the phenomenon itself which she reported observing. There were fewer steps leading up to her report where she might have gone wrong, thus enabling her to deliver her illocutionary point with more force.

ASSESSING THE CONCEPT

The overall purpose of this paper is to present an account of observation statements which avoids the excessive claims of the logical empiricists, but also defends against more current theorizing about observation the intuition that reports of observation play a special role in our claims of knowledge. The problem is in discovering how the incorrigibility of observation statements can be given up and at the same time a special status for them maintained.

Clearly, in my conception reports of observations are not incorrigible. The processes of observing and of reporting observations are subject to factors which can jeopardize accuracy. Incorrect interpretations of sensory stimuli can be made, and retrieval from memory can err. Even when correct retrieval can be accomplished, things can be stored in memory as observations which were not observed at all.

Although incorrigibility is abandoned, reports of observations are nevertheless cast as resistive to change. This is so, since reports of observations are typically based upon inferences with demonstrated dependability. These inferences could often be related by the observer only with difficulty because they have been so suppressed in the thinking process. They have more or less become automatic. For this reason, reports of observations serve a foundational role in the knowledge of different areas, as the starting points in reasoning, as the basis upon which other knowledge claims are built. This, then, marks their special status. It is not a special status deriving from an incorrigible nature, but from having a high relative dependability compared with statements derived from them, and from being based upon inferences with demonstrated trustworthiness. Thus, the intuition of a special status can be maintained, but must be modified: observation statements can be corrected.

Finally, the conception I have presented incorporates an explanation of the sense in which reports of observations are theory-laden. They are theory-laden in that interpretation, however implicit, is always involved in the transition from the input of sensory stimulation to the output of observation reports. Processing of the input must always occur. Reports are not made of sense-data, but of interpreted sense-data. Such interpretations depend upon concepts with varying degrees of theoretical standing. I am not suggesting that these interpretations are made explicitly, or even that they could easily be made explicit upon demand. The omission and forgetting of inferential steps is what partly typifies observation statements. These statements lie at the foundation of fields, at the point where things are taken rather for granted. However, in principle a chain of reasoning leading from the sensory stimulation to the observation report could be supplied, consisting of steps to which members of the field in question would readily assent. Different fields have within their domain the capacity to supply such chains of reasoning linking different stimuli to different interpretations. Hence the fact exists that people with different training are able to observe different things.

SUMMARY

I have offered a concept of observation statements based upon the speech act theory of J.R. Searle. The analysis parallels in many ways Searle's analysis of the act of promising, relying on his discussion of the dimensions of variation among different speech acts. The concept includes four conditions, severely necessary for the successful reporting of an observation. Whether the conditions are jointly sufficient I am not sure, but the aim

was to provide a set of sufficient conditions. The sufficiency claim is more difficult to support, since there is always the possibility that another necessary condition might be conceived.

It is necessary, then, to satisfy the following conditions to successfully report an observation:

1. The Essential Condition: The satisfaction of the speaker's intention to report how some specific thing is or was or how some specific events happened or are happening, and the implication or statement that this was witnessed by someone;

2. The Sincerity Condition: The speaker believes that the report is true;

3. The Propositional Content Condition: The report is about some specific event or state of affairs which occurred in the past or is occurring in the present;

4. The Preparatory Condition: The following four conditions are necessary for meeting the preparatory condition:

A. Reporters of observations have a position of relative superiority to receivers of them, making the reports substantially, though not completely, immune to criticism from receivers;

B. The speaker and receiver belong to a speech community the members of which would readily affirm the speaker's report, if they received the same sensory stimulation;

C. The report serves as a foundation or starting point for reasoning in the field in which it is an observation report;

D. The illocutionary point is presented more forcefully than it would have been had it been presented as the result of an inference, for there are fewer places for the report to go wrong.

Finally, I have tried to show how my concept avoids the extreme claims of the logical empiricists in their attempts to defend scientific knowledge against the threats of Descartes' malignant genius. Observation statements are not infallible, but they do not need to be in order to play a foundational role in science. They can be foundational because they rest on inferences with demonstrable validity, inferences which become suppressed as their validity becomes unquestioned. In addition, I have argued that different things can be observational for different people, depending upon their training and the inferential steps which this training informs them can be taken for granted.

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The Failure of Distinctive Features to Explain the Sound Change [t] to [ʔ]

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ABSTRACT

The change of an alveolar stop [t] to a glottal stop [ʔ] (in words such as butter and water) is very common in Cockney and other dialects of English. The failure of proposed distinctive features to explain, predict, or accommodate this sound change reveals a definite weakness in distinctive feature theory. More specifically, it indicates that place of articulation has not been adequately described in terms of distinctive features, since neither the 1952 Jakobson-Fant-Halle features nor the 1968 revised Chomsky-Halle features "capture" the real phonetic similarities and differences between different places of articulation. I suggest that the real phonetic similarities between apical (alveolar or dental) stops and glottal stops is found only in the acoustic and auditory stages of the speech chain. The failure of the earlier (1952) features therefore stems from a demand for correlates at all stages of the speech chain, while that of the latter (1968) feature follows from a restriction to correlates at the articulatory stage only.

1. A statement of the problem

Place of articulation for both consonants and vowels is difficult to describe in terms of binary distinctive features (DFs), since it is difficult to break what is essentially a place continuum into binary divisions in any intuitively satisfying or generally convincing way. Many of the revisions in DF theory and in proposed inventories of features have therefore been aimed at solving this problem.

There seem to be three general questions which continue to recur. These are as follows:

(a) What DFs of place are shared by vowels and consonants?

(b) Should we allow place features to overlap one another or should they instead form a hierarchy of successively smaller

divisions?

(c) Should all DFs of place have convincing correlates at all stages of the speech chain, or should some be primarily articulatory while others are primarily acoustic or auditory in nature? Our answers here may affect our answer to (b) above.

On the last of these questions this paper argues that we cannot rationally account for certain observed sound changes if we restrict ourselves to features which have convincing correlates at all stages of the speech chain. In particular, this paper attempts to show that the widespread sound change of alveolar stop [t] to glottal stop [ʔ] in several dialects of English, including Cockney (Sivertsen, 1960), can be best explained in acoustic and auditory terms. What needs explanation here is why [t] changes to [ʔ] more commonly than does either [p] or [k] (see Gimson, 1965:162-6).

It would therefore seem that the revision of DFs by Chomsky and Halle (1968) was too radical in that it concentrated on articulatory correlates for all features. As Hyman (1975:48) put it, "By and large, what Chomsky and Halle attempted to do was to replace Jakobson's acoustically oriented features with articulatorily oriented features. Thus, the feature grave is discarded with almost no discussion (p. 306)." Ladefoged (1971: 91, 65, 44) argues for the retention of the feature Grave as a primarily acoustic or auditory feature needed to account for the widespread association of labials with velars in human languages. He claims that there exists both diachronic and synchronic evidence for this association. The synchronic evidence he finds in the widespread occurrence of co-articulated labio-velar phonemes in human language. The diachronic evidence he finds in sound changes such as that of dorso-velar [x] to labio-dental [f] in English words such as rough and cough.

However, further investigations may reveal that we need to account for other acoustico-auditory associations between places of articulation for consonants, and that the labio-velar association is merely one of a number of such associations. Moreover, the acoustic evidence is often not at all transparent and often requires subtle and cautious analysis. Even in the case of the labio-velar association, Ladefoged (1971:44) admits that "The reasons for this acoustic similarity are complex and cannot be given here." This complexity is no doubt partly due to the fact that we do not yet possess a theory of speech perception that adequately describes our no doubt radical transformations of acoustic stimuli (by the ear, auditory nerves, and brain), though

Searle (1982) may be approaching such a theory.

Nevertheless, there exists some acoustic evidence which is rather simple and well established. It has long been known that second formant (F2) transitions are a major (perhaps the major) cue for place of articulation in consonants (see, e.g., Delattre, Liberman, and Cooper, 1955). But labials and velars are diametrically opposed to one another in their F2 transitions in that they are always negative for labials but always positive for velars. However, labials and velars are alike in their third formant (F3) transitions in that they are negative for both these places of articulation (Lieberman, 1977:179). Perhaps, then, F3 transitions form the major acoustic cue for the often-proposed acoustico-auditory feature called Grave, Gravity or Graveness.

Another possible acoustic cue might be shared frequencies in the noise spectra of obstruent consonants. In the case of plosives these frequencies are hard to determine acoustically, and perhaps auditorily also (see Searle, 1982:406), because of the very short duration of the noise source; but researchers seem to agree that bilabial stops have the lowest frequency noise bursts, dentals or alveolars generally the highest, while velars "show strong concentrations of energy in intermediate frequency regions (1500-4000 Hz.)." (Halle, Hughes, and Radley, 1957:164). This cue would therefore make velars sound somewhat ambiguous with respect to labials and alveolars but would definitely separate the labials from the alveolars and therefore support the Grave feature by default, as it were. In the case of fricatives, the shared frequencies (bandwidths) in the noise spectra are somewhat easier to determine because the duration of the noise source is generally much longer. However, acoustic investigations have revealed an apparently bewildering range of variations in the spectra of fricatives. These variations can be "averaged out" either visually, by comparing a set of observations (as in Strevens, 1960), or instrumentally, by taking long term sections (as in Fourcin and West, 1963).

If one compares the thirteen observations of each of nine voiceless fricatives [ɸ f θ s ʃ ç x χ h] in Strevens (1960:141), it is not at all obvious that the noise spectra for velar [x] are more similar to those of labial [f] than to those of interdental [θ]. In fact, the spectra of both [f] and [θ] appear to be more like one another than either of them is like [x], for the latter sound almost invariably lacks spectral peaks between 2000 and 4000 Hz., a feature not found in either [f] or [θ].

On the face of it the above acoustic evidence tends to support Mitchell's (1979) rejection of Ladefoged's assumption that [x]

"jumped" directly to [f] in English words like rough and tough. Mitchell uses evidence from Orton's Survey of English Dialects (1962-71) and Wright's English Dialect Grammar (1905) to show that a variant with [θ] exists or existed in all dialects in which [x] changed to [f]. Mitchell therefore postulates a more gradual or "sliding" change from dorso-velar [x] through apico-dental [θ] to labio-dental [f]. One might add in support of Mitchell that the sound change from velar [x] to labial [f] is not a regular sound change in any variety of English in the way that [θ/ð] to [f/v] is a regular sound change in Cockney. We note too in this Cockney sound change that there is a shared articulatory feature (i.e., the passive articulator is the upper teeth for both [θ/ð] and [f/v] as well as a shared acoustic feature (i.e., the similar spectral shaping for [f] and [θ] noted above in Strevens, 1960). One should therefore always keep in mind the following caution by Mitchell (1979:14) whenever one is trying to explain the phonetic (rather than the sociolinguistic) reasons for any sound change: "In short, it is clear that no single explanation--articulatory, acoustic, or functional--will serve to explain the complex data with which we are confronted."

In light of the above, this paper should be regarded as a first attempt to give a partial explanation of the fact that it is alveolar [t] rather than labial [p] or velar [k] which changes more frequently to glottal [ʔ] in the many varieties of English which exhibit glottal substitutions for other stops. An explanation is needed because all proposed DFs have linked glottals more closely with velars and labials than with alveolars, as will be demonstrated below.

2. Weaknesses in proposed features

One reason that the proponents of DFs have not noted possible features shared by glottals and other places of articulation is that they have treated the glottals as a separate manner (i.e., glides) rather than as a separate place. When Chomsky and Halle (1968) revised the DFs of place they continued Jakobson's practice of classifying the glottals with the semivowels to form a class (or manner) called glides. However, Chomsky and Halle did make the concession of dividing their glides into two sub-classes (pp. 302-3 and 307 in SPE). Sub-class I contains the semivowels /w/ and /y/ and sub-class II the glottals /h/ and /ʔ/. In addition, these two sub-classes are not distinguished by means of a manner feature but rather by means of the place feature of tongue-body height. Thus the semivowels (I) are given the features +High, -Low, while the glottals (II) are -High, +Low.[1]

This concession by Chomsky and Halle (1968) corresponds to a certain "ambiguity" in the glottals, for they are segments that function differently in different languages (when they are not purely sandhi segments best assigned to the suprasegmentals). In some cases they function like semivowels; but in other cases they function like obstruents, with [ʔ] behaving like a plosive and [h] like a fricative.[2] Thus the following summary statement on glides by Chomsky and Halle (1968:354) is inadequate because it ignores those glottals which function as obstruents: "When vowels become nonsyllabic, they turn into glides: high vowels turn into the high glides [w] and [y]; nonhigh vowels into the nonhigh glides symbolized by [h]."

The above concession also suggests that even Jakobson's highly conflated and abstract features could have been used to distinguish glottal as a separate place rather than a separate class or manner. Thus, in the earlier Jakobsonian features (Jakobson, Fant, and Halle, 1952:43) the glottals could have been given a place designation by assigning them the feature +Compact (which they would share with the non-front consonants and non-high vowels). This would make much more phonetic sense for we know that the glottal fricative [h] often develops lingual allophones when adjacent to high vowels or semivowels. For example, in varieties of English which "pronounce the h" in huge one hears a palatal fricative [ç] initially in this word, similarly if "h is pronounced" in when and where one hears a labio-velar fricative [ʍ] initially in such words.

In the later Jakobsonian system the single binary DF Compact/Diffuse was divided into two semi-independent binary DFs ±Compact and ±Diffuse in order to provide for three vowel heights. At this point the feature Compact was abandoned for consonants, which were now classified as either +Diffuse (for front consonants) or -Diffuse (for non-front consonants) (Hyman, 1975:38-9). This was unfortunate, for +Compact was exactly the feature needed to "capture" the fact that glottals are easiest to produce and perceive next to low (+Compact) vowels. As we saw above, the Chomsky-Halle revision of 1968 tried to capture this fact by giving the glottals the tongue-body height feature +Low.

However, in neither the Jakobsonian nor the Chomsky-Halle feature systems is there any hint that glottals may share significant place features with alveolars. In both systems, the glottals share more features with either labials or velars than they do with alveolars.

For example, if we use the later Jakobsonian system to classify the glottals as a place of articulation we get the

following feature specifications.

	Labials p/f	Alveolars t/s	Velars k/x	Glottals ?/h
Diffuse	+	+	(-)	-
Compact	-	-	-	+
Grave	(+)	-	(+)	+
(No. of DFs shared with glottals)	1	ø	2	

The features which other places share with glottals are enclosed in parentheses in the above table. The sharing of features seen above is equivalent to predicting that of the three English stops /p t k/ the velar /k/ is most likely to become a glottal, whereas the alveolar /t/ is least likely to do so. However, the facts of variation in English show that [ʔ] is most frequently a variant of /t/.

When we specify the above four places using the Chomsky-Halle (1968) revised features we find that labials (rather than velars) share most features with glottals, as is seen in the table below.

	Labials	Alveolars	Velars	Glottals
Anterior	+	+	(-)	-
Coronal	(-)	+	(-)	-
High	(-)	(-)	+	-
Low	-	-	-	+
Back	(-)	(-)	+	-
(No. of DFs shared with glottals)	3	2	2	

We note that the Chomsky-Halle features make alveolars and velars equally like glottals, if we give equal weight to all features--the two purely consonantal features Anterior and Coronal and the three tongue-body features High, Low and Back. However, if we retain Grave as a purely acoustico-auditory feature (as Ladefoged,

1971, suggests we ought to do) velars will then share more features with glottals than will alveolars.

	Labials	Alveolars	Velars	Glottals
Grave	(+)	-	(+)	+

The features shared with glottals would then be as follows:

(a) 4 for labials (-Coronal, -High, -Back, +Grave)

(b) 3 for Velars (-Anterior, -Coronal, +Grave)

(c) 2 for Alveolars (-High, -Back)

Again we see that the feature specifications wrongly predict that alveolars are least likely to change to glottals.

3. Conclusions

This paper has claimed that alveolars share an important acoustico-auditory feature with glottals. It is important because it involves second formant (F2) transitions, which have been shown to be the strongest acoustic cue for place of articulation. As noted above, labials always have negative F2 transitions, velars always positive ones, whereas those for alveolars vary from slightly positive through level (zero transitions) to slightly negative, depending on the adjacent vowel. This puts alveolars in the same intermediate F2 transition category with the glottals, since glottals always have level (zero) F2 transitions.

However, this sharing of an intermediate F2 transition frequency should not be regarded as sufficient cause for the change of /t/ to [ʔ] in English. Other factors are undoubtedly at work. For example, Hollett (1977) has reminded me that alveolars are the most likely sounds to undergo place changes in allegro speech. And we note that the change of /t/ to [ʔ] is most often observed in dialects like Cockney, which have a high incidence of allegro tempo. Perhaps allegro speech places special demands on the blade of the tongue as an active articulator, in that it has to compensate for unusually rapid movements of the tongue-body on which it is "mounted".

Perhaps, then, we should make a connection between two hitherto unrelated sound changes in Cockney. These are the sound changes [θ/ð] to [f/v] in the fricatives and [t] to [ʔ] in the plosives. We can now view both of these changes as examples of

changes away from a laminal (or apical) articulator to a non-lingual articulator in a dialect which has a high incidence of allegro speech. But in both cases we can see that the articulatory change has been encouraged by an acoustico-auditory feature. In the case of [θ] to [f] it is the strong similarity of spectral shape in the noise component of these non-sibilant fricatives. In the case of [t] to [ʔ], I have suggested that it is a sharing of intermediate frequency F2 transitions.[3]

More generally, we must conclude that distinctive feature theory is only in its infancy. Much progress must be made before we can use distinctive features to provide plausible explanations of actual sound changes or reliable predictions of expected sound changes.

FOOTNOTES

[1]How would Chomsky and Halle distinguish the +Low semivowel [ʕ] of Arabic from the +Low glottals?

[2]We note here that the nasals show a similar duality--patterning both as sonorants and as obstruents (stops) because they share an acoustic feature with the former and an articulatory feature (complete oral closure) with the latter.

[3]We should also compare the noise bursts of [t] and [ʔ].

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Counters in Japanese, Contrasted with Their English Translations

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ABSTRACT

There are expressions in any language which refer to a certain quantity or number of certain things, ideas, human beings, etc. Expressions of this kind are studied in this paper, for instance 'five pairs of shoes', 'ten books', 'three children', 'eleven tsubos' (a Japanese measurement), 'many birds'. The author collected the Japanese phrases or sentences from Japanese newspapers as well as from oral communication with native speakers of the Japanese language.

According to the author's classification, the Japanese counters fall into three groups. These three groups are different from one another, both on account of the differences in the semantic peculiarities of the nouns to which the counters refer, and from the viewpoint of a contrastive study of the English translations. The results of this contrastive study are also presented in this paper.

In most languages of the world, including English, there are expressions such as 'three pieces of furniture', 'five pairs of shoes', 'two heads of lettuce', etc. In Japanese, similar constructions are more numerous than in well known languages, and their use is much more compulsory than, for instance, in English.

The Japanese have many more counters (sometimes they are called 'numeral classifiers') than the number of English words which function similarly, such as 'piece', 'pair', others for animals, again others when they are talking about books, long cylindrical objects, flat objects, vehicles, time, etc.

In the present paper I attempt to classify the Japanese counters, without the intention of listing them all, and I contrast the Japanese constructions with their English translations. I have taken the phrases and sentences of my corpus from Japanese newspapers as well as from oral communication with native speakers of the Japanese language.

I distinguish three groups of Japanese counters:

I. Counters which refer mostly to abstract and sometimes to concrete inanimate nouns. In this group, the English equivalents behave in a rather similar way to the Japanese counters.

II. A group which can refer only to inanimate concrete nouns. The difference between English and Japanese is greater in this group.

III. Counters which can refer to animate or inanimate concrete nouns. In this group, the difference between English and Japanese is the greatest.

Each of these groups will now be treated in more detail.

I. The counter tsubo is a very common Japanese area measurement for houses, lots, gardens, etc. It is approximately 36 square feet, that is twice as large as a tatami. (A tatami is a rice straw mat which has a standard size.) One could say, for instance, about a building that its size is

1) juu-ichi tsubo 'eleven tsubos' (about 396 square feet).

In this case, we had to adopt the Japanese word tsubo and use it in the English translation. Even though the plurality is not marked in Japanese, and it is supposed to be marked in English, the constructions juu-ichi tsubo and eleven tsubos are basically the same: one numeral plus one noun, the latter functioning as a 'counter'.

The Japanese grammatical literature calls tsubo a 'counter'. In the same way, some words which indicate time, such as pun 'minute', jikan 'hour', ji 'o'clock', nichi 'day', etc., are taken for counters in Japanese. But the question of terminology is of secondary importance. The following sentence shows the constructional similarity between the English and the Japanese expressions with hours and days:

2) Yokohama kara Hongkong made hikooki-de shi-go-jika kakarimasu ga, fune-de wa roku-shichi-nichi kakaru deshoo

'From Yokohame to Hongkong, by plane it takes four to five hours (lit. four-five hours it takes), but by ship it will take six to seven days (lit. six-seven days it will

take)'. We neglect the small difference in the word order: the Japanese verb must be placed at the end of the sentence. Otherwise, the time constructions are built very similarly in the two languages.

Further examples for time constructions:

3) gogo yo-ji ni-juu go-fun '4:25 P.M. (lit. in the afternoon, four o'clock, twenty five minutes)';

4) gozen hachi-ji 'eight A.M. (lit. before noon, eight o'clock)'.

The Japanese counter ko refers to objects which do not have a specific shape. Some of them are round, others square or even long. It can be used when counting apples, rolls, etc. If we translate such constructions into English by using the noun piece, the expressions will be again very similar in the two languages:

5) ni-ko 'two pieces';

6) nan-ko or iku-ko 'how many pieces'.

We could make a similar statement about the counter for 'times' ('once', 'twice', 'three times', etc.), which is do or kai in Japanese. E.g.:

ichi-do or ik-kai 'once'.

II. In the second group of our Japanese counters there are words for quantities, such as 'pair', 'bottle', a word for 'volume', 'bound unit', etc. The constructions with these counters consist of two basic components in both languages:

One of these is a word for 'pair', 'volume', 'bottle', etc., plus a noun which expresses some kind of material, clothing, a book, etc. This noun is inanimate in all of my expressions in this section. The order of the two components (a. quantity, b. material, book, etc.) is always different in the two languages. In Japanese, the noun for the material is placed before the numeral, and the counter follows the numeral. In English, the numeral comes first, then the equivalent of the counter, and finally comes the material, mostly with the preposition of.

Examples for the counter hon (which can be pon or bon, depending on the final consonant of the preceding word):

7) biiru ip-pon 'One bottle of beer (lit. beer, one bottle)'.

8) Banana sam-bon onegai shimasu 'Three pieces of bananas (lit. bananas, three pieces) please'.

In some sentences, it is more convenient to leave out the word pieces from the English translation. E.g.:

9) Empitsu ga nan-bon arimasu-ka? 'How many pencils are there?'

The counter hon (pon, bon) refers to long and cylindrical objects (a bottle, a banana or a pencil in our examples).

Glasses or cups are expressed by the counter hai (pai, bai), e.g.:

10) koohii ip-pai 'one cup of coffee (lit. coffee, one cup)'.

The counter soku means 'a pair of (shoes, socks, etc.)', e.g.:

11) kutsu is-soku 'one pair of shoes (lit. shoes, one pair of them)'.

The counter satsu expresses 'volume', 'bound unit (of a book copybook, etc.)'. In the case of this counter, I found the word order in two versions in Japanese:

a) numeral + satsu + no (postposition) + noun,
b) noun + numeral + satsu. E.g.:

12) a) Ni-satsu-no hon-o kaimashita 'I bought two (volumes of) books',
b) Hon-o ni-satsu kaimashita 'id.'.

In most texts the b) version is used. E.g.:

13) Shuukan-Asahi-o is-satsu kudasai '(May I have) Shuukan-Asahi (the name of a journal), one (bound unit) please'.

14) Kono jibiki-wa ni-satsu onegai shimasu 'Two of these dictionaries (lit. these dictionaries, two bound units of them) please'.

The counter bai is used in multiplication. Instead of the English 'five times two', the Japanese say something like 'of two, five times'. E.g.:

15) Juu wa ni-no go-bai desu 'Ten is five times two (lit. as far as ten is concerned, of two, five times, it is)'.

III. The third and in several respects the most peculiar group of the Japanese counters could be characterized as follows (if we contrast it with English):

These counters have a zero equivalent in the English translations. A person has five children in English, but he has five persons of children in Japanese. One can have two cars in English, and two vehicles of cars in Japanese.

In the first and second sections of the present paper, all counters refer to something inanimate. Some of them are concrete objects, others are abstract phenomena, but none of them is a human being or an animal. In the third group we have counters which refer to

a) human beings,
b) animals (some of them birds),
c) and inanimate things.

None of these counters refers to an idea or an abstract phenomenon (for instance, time).

a) The counter nin refers to human beings. It can be used with words which express 'many', 'how many' and with numerals which are higher than 'two'. (For 'one' and 'two' special numerals are used, without the counter nin). In the English translation there is no word which could be the equivalent of nin. In other words, the counter nin has a zero equivalent in English. E.g.:

16) Okosan wa nan-nin desu ka? 'How many children do you have (lit. as far as children are concerned, how many human beings of them are there)?'

17) Watashi-no kyooday go-nin desu 'I have five brothers and sisters (lit. of me, brothers and sisters, five human beings are there)'.

The counter hiki (depending on the final consonant of the preceding word it can be piki or biki) refers to animals. In the English translation, it has a zero equivalent. Of course, one could translate it by using for instance the word 'animals', but it would make the English sentence redundant. In the Japanese sentence, the counter hiki must be there if animals are counted. E.g.:

18) Inu-ga sam-biki 'Three dogs (lit. as far as dogs are concerned, three animals)'.

In the case of birds, the counter wa is used. E.g.:

19) Tori ni-wa 'Two hens (lit. hens, two birds of them)'.

In the second section of this paper, I had a reason to hesitate as to whether the counter hon (pon, bon) 'long, cylindrical piece' belongs to my second or third category of counters. The problem appears to be similar with the counter mai 'flat unit, a flat piece of something'. Both of these counters can be translated by using English separate words; alternatively, both of them can have a zero equivalent. I list mai in the third section, anyway, because, most commonly, the words flat unit would not form part of a good English translation. E.g.:

20) Waishatsu ni-mai kaimashita 'I bought two shirts (lit. shirts, two flat units of them I bought)'.

21) Shimbun ichi-mai 'One newspaper (lit. newspaper, one flat piece)'.

22) Kippu sam-mai 'Three tickets (lit. tickets, three flat pieces)'.

Only seldom, for instance if referring to paper, would the English word sheet fit the sentence, and it could be taken for the equivalent of the Japanese counter mai. E.g.:

23) Konna kami-wa ichi-mai ikura desu-ka? 'How much is one sheet of this paper (lit. of this kind of paper, one sheet, how much is it)?'

The counter tsuu refers to letters, postcards, etc. E.g.:

24) Tegami it-tsuu 'One letter (lit. letters, one unit of them)'.

Any wheeled vehicle, a car, a train, a horse wagon, etc., must be counted using the counter dai in Japanese. E.g.:

25) Jidoosha-ga go-dai 'Five cars (lit. as far as cars are concerned, five units of them)'.

26) Takushii-ga ichi-ni-dai nokotte imasu 'There are two or three taxis left (lit. taxis, two or three vehicles of them, there are so many left)'.

The counter ken is used with houses, building units. E.g.:

27) Ie-ga jik-ken 'Ten houses' (lit. as far as houses are concerned, ten units of them)'.

Finally, I would like to summarize the results of my study. I have described the Japanese counters, the way they occur in phrases or sentences, together with their English translations. According to my classification, there are three groups of Japanese counters.

In the first group, the counters refer to measurements, time, objects with no specific shape, etc. In this group there are relatively many abstract categories. Our sentences with these counters can be translated into English by using similar constructions, by using the English word piece, by words for different units of time, etc.

In the second group, I listed Japanese counters which refer to concrete objects, for instance shoes, books, drinks, etc. Words such as pair, volume, glass, etc. can be used also in the English translations, but the order of the two main components of the construction is quite different in English.

According to my classification, in the third group there are several counters which refer to human beings and animals, and some which refer to inanimate things. In the English translation, these counters have a zero equivalent. One could use 'person', 'unit', etc. in the English sentence, but this would make the English sentence redundant and even unnatural. In Japanese, the use of all these counters is the natural and normal way of expression.