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Proceedings
of the
Fifth Annual Meeting
of the
ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

University of Prince Edward Island
Charlottetown, P.E.I.
November 27-28, 1981

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Actes
de la
Cinquième Réunion Annuelle
de
L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES

Université de l'Ile-du-Prince-Edouard
Charlottetown, I.-P.-E.
le 27-28 novembre 1981

Edited by / Rédaction

T. K. Pratt

Acknowledgement

This volume and the conference behind it were made possible through the generous assistance of the R.H.W. Foundation and the University of Prince Edward Island.

En remerciement de votre aide

Cette publication et la conférence qui l'a précédée ont été rendues possible grâce à la Fondation R.H.W. et l'Université de l'Ile-du-Prince-Edouard.

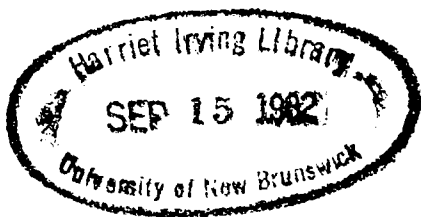


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In addition to the papers printed here, the following were also presented at the Fifth Annual Meeting of APLA/ALPA.

Outre les communications imprimées dans cette publication, les communications suivantes furent aussi présentées à la Cinquième Réunion de l'ALPA/APLA.

John A. Barnstead. Titles and Texts: A Problem in the Theory of Signs

Ruth King. L Deletion in Newfoundland French

The Conference also featured a workshop in phonetic transcription, led by Murray Kinloch, and a panel discussion on "Teaching Linguistics at the Introductory Level," chaired by Terry Pratt with discussants Sandra Clarke, Murray Kinloch, and George Patterson.

Ont aussi eu lieu lors de la conférence, un atelier portant sur la transcription phonétique, dirigé par Murray Kinloch, et une réunion-débat portant sur "Teaching Linguistics at the Introductory Level" dirigée par Terry Pratt avec la participation de Sandra Clarke, Murray Kinloch, et George Patterson.

LANGUAGE AND THE UNIVERSITY: LUXURY OR NECESSITY
Notes for a Speech by Max Yalden, Commission of Official Languages
Charlottetown, P.E.I.
November 27, 1981

INTRODUCTION

Good evening ladies and gentlemen. I would like to begin by thanking you for having asked me to be part of your fifth annual conference. In inviting me to speak to you tonight the organizer of this year's meeting Dr. Pratt, told me that your executive hoped to mark your fifth anniversary with a mild celebration. It is only fair to warn you that I suspect I am being offered as part of that celebration. Whether I will be mild enough is another matter.

All facetiousness aside, I think recent developments have given those of us interested in languages and education some things to celebrate. Not least is the fact that a short time ago our first ministers came very close to a unanimous commitment that would enshrine the right to an education in their own language for the children of both English and French speaking Canadians across the country.

If the reservations of the Quebec Government kept that agreement from being unanimous, this can only underline for us the critical importance which that Government - and indeed all French-speaking Canadians - attach to a genuinely reciprocal treatment of both official language communities; a treatment which must take into account the very different historical, geographical and cultural status and development of the two languages on this continent.

I would go further and suggest that we can only approach our main topic this evening, the place of our two official languages in post-secondary education, from the perspective of the vital cultural role that language and education have always held for French-speaking minority groups across Canada, and increasingly for the English-speaking minority in Quebec.

MINORITY LANGUAGE EDUCATION - MEASURE OF SURVIVAL

Many of you here tonight are linguists. I take that to mean that you are interested, in the broadest sense, both in how people shape languages and how languages shape and express the cultural world view

of the peoples who speak them. It is fair to say that the way of life, the very identity of French-speaking communities outside Quebec have been shaped by the bitter struggles of successive generations to keep their French heritage alive and to achieve the right to have their children educated in their mother tongue.

Nor should we find this surprising. Education, as the provincial first ministers unanimously acknowledged in 1978, is the base upon which language and culture rest. What is surprising and of little credit to us all, is that an official acknowledgement of that kind has been so late in coming, and is still so far from an effective realization.

Education in their own language has been and will remain the single most important guarantee of the survival and development of our two official-language communities across the country. Survival, that is to say, for Francophones, not as exiles in Quebec, but as Franco-Albertans or Acadians, living in French in their native area of Canada. The English-speaking minority in Quebec too has become increasingly conscious of the crucial importance of having their own schools as they have seen some of their traditional rights to full educational services in English curtailed by a decade of provincial legislation.

For French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec the almost universal lack, until very recently, of any guarantees of French language education have taken a grim toll. They have been on their own - out in the cold - and the continuing existence of these communities can be measured by the extent to which they have found the will and courage to fight for and gain some French-language classes, schools or services for their children. Where they have been refused even the minimum opportunities for education in French, they have seen - and are still seeing - their children lose their language and their culture. And with it we all lose not only part of our irreplaceable linguistic heritage but a good deal of the glue of mutual respect that holds a country together.

In the past decade, to be sure, we have tried to recoup some of our losses. We can all point to significant gains in minority language education outside Quebec: changes in provincial legislation and

policies mean that more French speaking children have access to educational services in their own language than ever before.

But in the vast majority of cases their rights and needs still come second - and more often than not a very poor second - to those of the majority.

For some Canadians of French mother tongue the recent legislative changes, even the promise of educational rights in a renewed Canadian Constitution, are already too late. Our past actions - or lack of action - had for too long been telling them that the right to an education in one's own language while a necessity for the majority was a luxury we were not willing to offer our minorities. They have learned only too well the linguistic economics of language transfer.

I hope, and I think there is reason to hope, that many English-speaking Canadians are rethinking their attitude to the value of the French language and the French fact in Canada. In so doing, I believe that they will have to reassess their whole attitude towards the place of English and French in our society and the ways in which their own lives may be enriched in a country where two official languages can flourish side by side.

Seen in this light, our linguistic diversity is an opportunity, not a problem. But there are no opportunities without responsibilities. If the two official languages are to survive in this country then some members of the majority group will have to, and have to want to, speak their neighbours' language. Knowledge of the French language will become for many more English-speaking Canadians a necessary part of their cultural wardrobe rather than a dusty frock coat for dress occasions.

Fortunately, this is already beginning to happen.

MAJORITY INTEREST IN SECOND LANGUAGE: THE MEASURE OF MATURITY

For some years now many thousands of English speaking parents have shown an increasing determination that our education system should provide their children with something they knew they had been denied: the chance to become competent in French. Some measure of this determination and of their high expectations can be found in the fact that well over 60,000 children are enrolled in intensive French immersion

programmes which will effectively give them a fluency in that language that will be comparable to a native speaker's.

We are faced with future generations in which a great many Canadians of English speaking background will expect to pursue their interests, friendships and often careers in both of Canada's official languages. It is within our grasp to help them do so. It is within our grasp to bring to this country a measure of linguistic maturity which has long eluded us. I fear, however, that unless our universities are willing to play their part in this process, we will have missed our chance - and perhaps for good.

THE UNIVERSITIES AND SECOND LANGUAGE RESPONSIBILITIES

It takes no great prophetic insight to foresee that within a short time many thousands of English speaking students with a real competence in French will be arriving at the doors of universities across Canada expecting to find some use, some academic and non-academic fulfillment, for their hard earned skills. They will be joined by thousands more who have not had the opportunity to acquire such fluency in French but who are sensitive to career and cultural opportunities and will be looking for courses where they can improve their French skills and put them to use.

This ought to give us cause for celebration - provided the universities are willing and ready to meet the needs of these students. And I hardly think the Canadian public whose tax dollars support our post-secondary institutions would quarrel with the idea that the universities have as great a responsibility to respond to students' linguistic needs and expectations as they do to develop them in other areas.

There is no need to remind an audience like this of the leadership role that universities rightly aspire to in our society. I would like, however, to refer to some remarks made by one of your colleagues in a speech last year at the University of Waterloo. Discussing the intellectual, cultural and practical reasons for Canadians to have a working knowledge of both official languages, Professor Tom Symons concluded that:

At the level of university education these reasons are so compelling they place both the individual and the institution under an obligation to work toward this objective. Historical circumstances have created within this country a rare opportunity to study two of the world's great international languages and to benefit from the access that such study gives to the literature, thought and achievements of all those who share and have shared in these cultures in many parts of the globe. This fact presents to Canadian universities, and to their students, an intellectual and academic challenge which is paralleled in only a few other countries in the world.

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

If we agree that the universities should meet this challenge, the question remains - how? No one in fairness expects our post-secondary institutions to shoulder the whole load. In the best of all possible educational worlds, students would have the basics of their second language learning well under their belts before arriving at university.

But there is no avoiding the fact that one of the reasons that they do not is directly traceable to the decision of the universities to drop second-language requirements in the mid-sixties. An unmistakable message came through to high school students and to ministries of education: second language competence rates pretty low, if at all, in the universities' profile of an educated Canadian.

The present situation in which secondary and post-secondary levels of our education system fitfully exchange feints and jabs before retiring to their respective corners makes for poor spectator sport. Someone has got to take the initiative, and I believe it is the universities who must take the lead. Reintroducing some form of second-language entrance or exit requirement could be a first step. Youngsters with university ambitions need something to aim for which the current à la carte approach simply does not provide.

If in the final analysis, we believe that virtually all Canadians could benefit from some study of their second official language, then logic suggests that we translate that belief into programme requirements. On the other hand it would be worse than pointless simply to reinstate a language requirement if the courses available to meet these

requirements were not suited to students' needs. It is a long step from accepting the need for a programme to defining appropriate content.

PROGRAMME CONTENT

A first priority for universities, therefore, is to determine what kind of second language courses and programmes would have most meaning, most practical value to students. It was in this light that the recent Report of the University of New Brunswick Task Force on French Language recommended that each of the university's faculties and departments join with professional associations and prospective employers in conducting a thorough enquiry into students' second language needs and use the results to develop interdisciplinary efforts and to counsel students on the kind and level of second-language competence which will best enable them to pursue their own career options.

Speaking as a deeply interested observer, it seems fairly clear to me that Canadians wishing to pursue certain areas of study - Journalism, Public Administration, Education, and Law to name some of the most obvious - would find their studies enriched and their career possibilities enlarged if they could function to some extent in the language spoken by a quarter of this country's population. No less obvious, is the absolute contemporary necessity of approaching any study of Canadian history, literature, politics or society with the ability to understand the roles and concerns of both of our major language communities. I simply do not see how this can be done without a sound knowledge of their languages.

One can of course anticipate objections. In particular some will question the urgency of changing things now, when times are hard and funding in question. I have to reply that the expectations of your present and future clientele are creating that urgency. An increasing number of students are aware that competence in both official languages can give them an extra edge in a competitive job market. An increasing number have responded over the past decade to a changing political, social and cultural climate in this country which has brought home to them the urgency of finding new and better ways to communicate with

their neighbours of the other official language group.

SIGNS OF PROGRESS

A recognition of all these factors lies behind recent initiatives by a number of universities and university associations to look to the second language needs of their students. You will, I imagine, have a particular interest in the report soon to be submitted to the Association of Atlantic Universities by its Task Force on French Language. Established to look at the extent to which Atlantic Universities currently promote a knowledge of French as a second language and how they could and should increase their efforts, the Task Force will I hope be inspired by what I consider to be one of the most promising recommendations to have come out of the UNB committee on French language, namely that:

the University should immediately commit itself to the principle of offering a variety of courses taught in French, including sections of introductory courses, beginning no later than 1985.

In approving the committee's recommendations the University of New Brunswick has made that commitment. I can only hope that other universities will recognize that it is in their own interests and in the interests of their students to follow this enlightened lead.

By so doing they will be offering the only possible way out of what is shaping up to be an unacceptable choice facing many thousands of Canadian students. Last year, in the Atlantic provinces alone, there were close to 7,000 students enrolled in elementary and secondary French immersion programmes. And at the rate at which enrollments are rising, one would conservatively expect the figure to rise to 10,000 within the next few years.

If our traditionally English-speaking universities are not prepared to offer these students some opportunities to use their Second language skills, they may be faced either with choosing one of our French or bilingual universities to keep up their fluency in French, or putting their second language aspirations aside to pursue a programme of their choice in an English speaking institution.

I do not believe that this is a choice they should be forced to make. Undoubtedly a few graduates of immersion programmes will want and be able to follow a programme of studies in a French language university, and these universities may be willing to accept them. The numbers however, will be relatively small. The vast majority will surely wish to take a few courses but not necessarily a whole degree programme in French. Their needs ought properly to be met by those universities that are in other respects attuned to their background and needs.

TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE SECOND LANGUAGE POLICY

The cornerstone of the universities' response to the second language needs and expectations of Canadians lies in the courses they are prepared to require and offer in French. But a comprehensive response which would allow both students and faculty members to contribute to and get the greatest benefit out of their second language efforts would, one hopes, involve other ideas for enriching the linguistic soil of the university.

Several universities across the country, for example, have already established a corner on campus where a "French only" rule is followed by students and staff. Ideally, one could imagine a kind of salle de détente, furnished with French books, magazines, a T.V. tuned to a French language channel, where individuals could relax together in French. The corner could be used to host get-togethers with invited guests from local French speaking communities or clubs and perhaps get that much closer to fathoming the worries of their Francophone neighbours.

Carried to the next logical step, this reaching out would broaden to include exchanges between students and faculty members of English and French speaking universities in the Atlantic provinces and in Quebec. One very interesting model recently put forward by cross-country link involved several institutions and areas of study as a basis for a broad exchange programme.

SUPPORTING UNIVERSITY INITIATIVES - A MEASURE OF COMMITMENT

Both federal and provincial governments have a part to play in helping to meet the costs of any new initiatives to broaden second language opportunities in our universities. Over the past decade both

levels of government have backed up their commitment to improve second language programmes in the schools with substantial investments of money and expertise. They have done so, as much as anything, out of enlightened self-interest, hoping for a return on their investment that would enrich the linguistic treasury upon which all Canadians could draw.

It makes good fiscal as well as cultural sense to see this commitment through to its conclusion. But I must add that it makes bad political sense on the part of those who want better second language programmes in the universities not to realize that, in these times of fiscal restraint, university administrators and the governments which fill their coffers are not likely to take the initiative in looking for new ways to spend their money. Like the rest of us, they respond to pressure. And I am not convinced that enough pressure is being put on them by those who are well placed to know what can and should be done.

Let us look at a few of the initiatives already being considered. Have university spokesmen joined with other groups in the country in calling for a national bilingual exchange programme that would include the participation of university students and professors as part of a new federal provincial agreement on official languages in education? To what extent have our post-secondary institutions made their demands on the existing programme of the Department of the Secretary of State which, in conjunction with individual provinces, offers financial support for innovative or experimental programmes in the area of official languages in education? I am afraid the answers to these questions are not encouraging.

It is also not at all clear to me, for instance, why those interested in improving French second language opportunities in our English-speaking universities do not push for the creation of a University Fellows in French Studies programme, similar to that which the Federal Government already supports in the fields of engineering, health and the natural sciences. Such a programme might not only generate some badly needed development of new approaches to French-second language teaching for adults, it might also supply the universities with recent graduates of

masters or doctoral programmes who could teach a course while pursuing their research.

In short, I believe that the possibilities and the precedents are there if the universities are prepared to go after them. At present - and I say this as between friends - I seem to detect more maidenly hanging back than eagerness to look ahead. I would like to persuade you that, if that reluctance to imagine new language programmes prevails, the universities will be selling short some of the most promising items in Canada's educational portfolio.

CONCLUSION

Let me close my remarks to you tonight, as I opened, on a note of mild celebration. Despite my belief that there is still far too much fretting amongst the university establishment about what could and should be done to improve second language opportunities, and far too little direct action to meet the situation head on, there are reasons for optimism. The University of New Brunswick has, as I mentioned, given an important lead that I hope will be reflected in the recommendations of the Association of Atlantic Universities' Task Force.

Furthermore, I understand that the Modern Languages Department of our host university plans to establish a review committee to examine its French language offerings. And none too soon, I think, when you consider that the lead group of the more than 1200 students enrolled in the province's French immersion programmes will be graduating from high school next year.

There are stirrings in other regions of the country as well. The University of British Columbia has already reinstated a second language entrance requirement, and as of next year the University of Toronto will require students entering Arts or Science Faculties from Grade XIII to have a credit at that level in either a second language or mathematics. The University of Alberta's Senate Task Force on Second Languages did not go so far as to call for a second language entrance or exit requirement but did recommend:

"that the University take a leadership position in enhancing the role of second languages by encouraging all faculties to

examine the merits of introducing (or re-introducing) a second language entrance requirement".

The key word remains leadership. The great temptation, I fear, is to close ones eyes and hope that things will somehow work themselves out. But if the universities are not willing to assume their natural position at the head of the column then we can expect only disarray in the ranks and yet another generation of Canadians held hostage to our "language problem".

I suggest that the future of language relations in Canada will be a success or a failure to the extent that the leaders in every sector of Canadian life - including the educational establishment - have their eyes open and the will to enter a new linguistic era in which so many have already invested so much.

Linguistic Coalescence — Lobster-fishing
Terminology — Convergence vs. Divergence

Rose Mary Babitch

Centre universitaire de Shippagan

ABSTRACT

On Miscou Island, French Acadian and English fishermen share in the same heritage of English nautical terminology in the naming of lobster-fishing gear. In this paper, lobster-fishing terminology is analyzed as forming a linguistic coalescence between the French Acadian and English fishermen. A representative list of bilingual terms was compiled, then the French Acadian terms were analyzed as being either lexically, phonetically, and semantically convergent with or divergent from English and standard French terms. Results show that Acadian fishermen have their own terms in addition to English borrowings. Their vocabulary therefore, is more extensive than that of the English fishermen.

Introduction

This paper is the first part of a larger study, yet to be undertaken, of lobster-fishing terminology as it is presently used in north-east New Brunswick. Miscou Island was chosen as a starting point for the study because it has been the focus of commercial lobster fishing since the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Another factor, which makes Miscou Island an appropriate starting point for the study, is that the French and English inhabitants who have been co-existing on the Island since about 1830, have set up and preserved to the present day, a society which is characterized by dual linguistic and cultural identities; one French, the other English. The point of contact between the two cultures has been the sharing of an identical socio-economic status and the same occupation which is fishing. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Miscou Island was an empire of fish factories with commercial activity conducted in English.

After a government act stopped the use of trawls in the coastal fishing of lobster, the lobster trap was introduced by the fish companies to replace the nets which had been used to fish lobsters. The lobster trap thus constitutes the first phase in the use of modern lobster gear.

Both the Acadian French and English fishermen working at the fish factories were taught how to make the traps. In the process, they learned the English terms of nautical origin designating the various parts of a lobster trap. Research into the terms has revealed, that even though they have a nautical connotation, a number of the terms are in fact a calque in that the denotations do not always correspond to the definitions of the terms as given in a dictionary of nautical terms. For example, headstick, in the Encyclopedia of Nautical Knowledge, is defined as a short stick or piece of wood for the purpose of preventing the peak of a sail from twisting when spread. In a lobster trap on Miscou Island, a headstick is a short piece of cedar wood used to anchor trapheads.

The Acadian French and English fishermen passed down orally to the present generation of lobster fishermen, a nautical terminology learned at the fish shops. It is in this respect that lobster-fishing terminology forms a linguistic coalescence between the Acadian French and English fishermen, and that a descriptive analysis of the data in terms of linguistic convergences and divergences is more appropriate than analysis in terms of borrowings and lexical conservation.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the terms pertaining to lobster fishing on Miscou Island as forming a linguistic coalescence between the Acadian French and English fishermen. The terms have been classified chronologically according to the introduction of new lobster gear. The terms used by the Acadian French fishermen are classified as being either convergent with or divergent from those used by the English fishermen. They are also classified as being the same as or different from standard French terms.

The use of the terms convergent instead of borrowings or loan words, and divergent instead of conservation of native language vocabulary, permitted the analysis to go beyond a chronological, bilingual, lexical classification to include a synchronic description of the phonetics, semantics and morphology of the overall lobster-fishing terminology on Miscou Island.

Methods

The preliminary documentation, giving background information about lobster fishing, was found in a doctoral thesis by (Chaussade 1980:175-213).

Since this documentation referred to lobster fishing in general in the Atlantic provinces, the terms mentioned were not necessarily those used on Miscou Island. By informal interviewing, it was possible to obtain the information needed to compile a representative list of the bilingual terms used to designate the lobster gear used on the island.

The names of 54 licensed lobster fishermen on Miscou Island, 35 of whom are Acadian French and 19 English, were obtained from the Government of Canada Protection Office in Lamèque.

Forty-five fishermen, in the age group from 21 to 60, were interviewed. Of the 31 Acadian French interviewed, 29 owned their own boats and fishing gear; the other two were helpers or sous-maîtres. Of the 14 English interviewed, one was a helper or second hand; the 13 others were owners of their own boats and gear.

The phonetic transcriptions of the lexical terms were noted during the interviews with the exception of one Acadian French, and two English. These three interviews were taped.

The data were classified chronologically into the three phases characterizing the modernization of lobster gear. These are as follows:

- Phase I : the lobster trap, introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century
- Phase II : the jig, introduced about the 1930's
- Phase III: the pink and hydraulic trap hauler, introduced in the second half of the twentieth century

The following tables are a summary of the acquired data.

- Table I - Chronological Summary of Acadian French Lexical Convergences With and Divergences From English
- Table II - Phonetic Convergences and Divergences Between English and Acadian French
- Table III - Acadian French, English, and Standard French — Contrastive Analyses of Sounds and Meanings —
- A- Phonetic Divergences Between Acadian French and Standard French
 - B- Semantic Convergences With and Divergences From English, Acadian French, and Standard French
 - C- Phonetic Convergence With Acadian French and Standard French
- Table IV - Acadian French Word Formations

TABLE I - CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF ACADIAN FRENCH LEXICAL CONVERGENCES WITH AND DIVERGENCES FROM ENGLISH

A.		ENGLISH		ACADIAN FRENCH CONVERGENCES		% ACADIAN FRENCH CONVERGENCES WITH EACH PHASE	
	No. terms	%	No. terms	%			
Phase I	24	46.15	11	40.74			45.83 %
Phase II	19	36.54	11	40.74			57.89
Phase III	9	<u>17.31</u>	5	<u>18.52</u>			<u>55.56</u>
	Total No.	52	100	27	100	Total Convergences	51.92 %
B.		ENGLISH		ACADIAN FRENCH DIVERGENCES		% ACADIAN FRENCH DIVERGENCES IN EACH PHASE	
	No. terms	%	No. terms	%			
Phase I	24	46.15	21	51.22			87.50 %
Phase II	19	36.54	12	29.27			63.16
Phase III	9	<u>17.31</u>	8	<u>19.51</u>			<u>88.85</u>
	Total No.	52	100	41	100	Total Divergences	78.85 %
C.		ENGLISH		ACADIAN FRENCH		% ACADIAN FRENCH TERMS	
	No. terms	%	No. terms	%			
	52	100	68		Total No. terms		130.77 %

D. % Acadian French terms more than English 30.77%

TABLE II - PHONETIC CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES BETWEEN ENGLISH AND ACADIAN FRENCH

English IPA symbols are used to represent both the English and Acadian French pronunciation of the terms.

	ENGLISH		ACADIAN FRENCH		Plural Divergence
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
paling	[pe'lɪn]	[pe'lɪnz]	[pe'lɪn]	[pe'lɪnz]	—
lath	[læt]	[læts]	[læt]	—	[læt]
bow	[bo]	[boz]	[bo]	—	[bo]
crosspiece	[kras-pis]	[kras-pises]	[kras-pis]	—	[kras-pis]
split	[splɪt]	[splɪts]	[splɪt]	—	[splɪt]
blind	[blaɪnd]	[blaɪndz]	[blaɪn]	—	[blaɪn]
jig	[ʃɪg]	—	[ʃɪg]	—	—
pole	[pɒl]	—	[pɒl]	—	—
main line	[men laɪn]	—	[men laɪn]	—	—
scope	[skɒp]	—	[skɒp]	—	—
bait pin	[bet pɪn]	—	[bet pɪn]	—	—

TABLE III - ACADIAN FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND STANDARD FRENCH
 — CONTRASTIVE ANALYSES OF SOUNDS AND MEANINGS —

French IPA symbols are used in the representation of terms in A and C.

A- Phonemic Divergences Between Acadian French and Standard French

FRENCH	TERM	ACADIAN FRENCH	GRAPHÈME	DIVERGENT PHONÈME
[sɛk'k(ə)]	[cercle]	[sək ~ sɑk] <small>(doublet)</small>	e	French /ɛ/ — Acadian /a/
[g'ij'e]	guier <small>(archaic French)</small>	[g'aj'e]	gui	/g'i/ — /g'a/
[takɛ]	taquet	[takɛ ~ tɔkɛ] <small>(doublet)</small>	a	/a/ — /a ~ ɔ/
[a(a)'lœR]	haleur	[ɔ'lœR]	a	/a ~ a/ — /ɔ/
[ka(a)RO]	carreau	[kɔRO]	a	/a ~ a/ — /ɔ/

B- Semantic Convergences with and Divergences From English, Acadian French, and Standard French

ENGLISH	Convergences		Divergences	
	FRENCH	ACADIAN FRENCH	FRENCH	
bow	—	bau	bau	
paling	—	pelin	pelin	

TABLE III -

C- Phonetic Convergence With Acadian French and Standard French

FRENCH	ACADIAN FRENCH
[bo]	[bo]

TABLE IV - ACADIAN FRENCH WORD FORMATIONS

ENGLISH PREFIX	ENGLISH SUFFIX	ENGLISH ROOT	FRENCH ROOT	ACADIAN FRENCH ROOT	ENGLISH TERM	FRENCH TERM	ACADIAN FRENCH FORMATION
ba	—	—	lest	t → φ	ballast	lest	bales
—	ing	stand	—	—	standing pole	—	ing → φ stand pole

Comments:

The contrastive tables bring into focus an English, an Acadian French, and a standard French vocabulary. Because of historic and socio-economic factors, it is the Acadian French lobster-fishing terminology which has undergone major adaptations from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day. The Acadian French fishermen have had to adapt their speech act when confronted with the naming of lobster-fishing gear. The tables have given an indication of how this adaptation was effected. The data found in the tables may be summarized as follows:

- 1- Table I, which is a chronological summary of Acadian French lexical convergences with and divergences from English, shows the overall number of terms which have been borrowed from English as well as the number of borrowings for each of the three phases representing the innovations of lobster gear. The table also shows that presently, the Acadian fishermen use more terms than their English homologues in the denotation of lobster-fishing gear, and that the use of standard French terms is on the increase.
- 2- Table II shows how Acadian fishermen retain the pronunciation of English terms. It is for this reason that it was necessary to use English IPA symbols in the representation of the terms. In using the terms, the Acadian fishermen retain the rules of French syntax in that the English plural phonemes /s/ ; /z/ are not pronounced except in the term [pɛlɪnz] .
- 3- Table II also shows a reduction of the English phoneme /ɪŋ/ as in paling, and the phoneme /ə/ as in lath, to the phonemes /ɪn/ and /t/ respectively. As a consequence, the English term [læt] is a homonym of the Acadian French term [lat] . In addition to this, both terms have a semantic correspondence.
- 4- Table III A, gives some examples of phoneme variations between Acadian French and standard French. The examples lead one to conclude that in contrast to standard French, Acadian French vowels are more lax, and that the first syllable rather than the last is elongated.

- 5- Table III B, shows that even though there is a lexical and phonetic convergence between Acadian French and standard French in the term *bau*, the Acadian term is semantically divergent from the standard French term. The meaning of the Acadian term *bau* converges with the English term *bow*. Similarly, in the Acadian term *pelin*, one notes both a semantic and a phonetic divergence from standard French. In this case, convergence is with the English meaning and pronunciation of *paling* [*pə'li:n*] .
- 6- Table IV, offers a hypothesis as to how the Acadian French fishermen have formed new words in the naming of lobster gear. The word formations are based on derivations, that is additions or deletions of either prefixes or suffixes to roots.

In compiling the research data, it became evident that the Acadian French fishermen were using French syntax with English words, for example the main line — *la main line*. When the chronological classification of the fishing gear used by both the English and Acadian French fishermen was completed, there was an indication that the Acadian French fishermen presently, are moving away from borrowings towards the use of French technical terms in the naming of fishing gear. For example, in a trap hauler to designate a hydraulic disc plate, the Acadian French fisherman on Miscou Island will say either *un haleur hydraulique*, *une assiette hydraulique* or *un système hydraulique*.

Conclusion

On Miscou Island, the English and Acadian French fishermen share in the same heritage of English nautical terminology introduced by the fish companies which in the 19th century had formed a commercial economic system on the island with English as the language of business.

The Acadian French fishermen in their isolation from current standard French, did not have at their disposal the terms needed to designate new techniques and the new improved gear with which to fish lobsters.

To supplement their needs, the fishermen adapted cod-fishing terms preserved from the past, and filled in with terms from the English language whatever else was needed.

In today's society, television and education have played an important role in breaking down the isolation barrier preventing contact with standard French. The preference in using French rather than English terms in the face of modern technology shows the attachment of the Acadian French fishermen to their culture.

This paper in examining the interplay of the English and Acadian French languages in the naming of lobster-fishing gear on Miscou Island, in its conclusion, shows how two separate cultural identities are preserved through language.

Note:

I would like to express my appreciation towards the Centre universitaire de Shippagan and the research council of the Centre universitaire de Moncton for funding the research for this paper. My thanks go to all the fishermen on Miscou Island who found time to talk to me at a time when they were busy fishing lobsters. I would also like to express my gratitude, to my colleagues Diane Saucier and Caroline Lanteigne, and to Madame Boudreau Nelson of the Centre universitaire de Moncton whom I consulted about my paper.

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WORD MEANING VS. SENTENCE MEANING

Jean-Claude Choul
Dalhousie University

ABSTRACT

While discussion on the autonomy of semantics and the preferability of this or that type of theory is of interest, the scope and form of any semantic theory will ultimately be determined by the thoroughness and efficiency of its descriptive procedures. Katz's identification of meaning with logical form or Chomsky's inclusion of belief systems may evade the issue. Whether or not a sentence such as *the temperature is dropping* is situationally connected to the coming of a glacial epoch, there are still intra-linguistic relations which have to be described independently, and which cannot be reduced to a logical form normally free of content.

I almost subtitled this paper "anything goes". In fact, in present-day semantics almost any approach is self-justified, or self-justifying. As a semanticist my claim is obvious: semantics is autonomous, or at least can be autonomous, as long as we know what we are talking about. As Edmonston (1978:335) pointed out, there is a lack of agreement among linguists, philosophers and computer scientists on how to use the word semantics.

The problem stems from the fact that current semantics is ideologically conditioned by its rediscovery in 1963 by American linguists. Between that date and now, all kinds of rediscoveries have taken place, and among them, that logic and philosophy do use the word. However, it appears that we failed to realize that

logicians and philosophers may have two distinct concepts for the same word.

I do not intend to keep my discussion on terminological grounds, or to define semantics and meaning for the n th time. Let's keep in mind the fact that any use or definition of meaning is theory-dependent, which means that the framework has to be taken into account, whenever the words appear; for instance, meaning in a presuppositional framework will have little to do with what Lehrer (1978) analyses under the heading of lexical semantics.

Recently one of my colleagues asked a visiting lecturer what was the meaning of *coeur* (heart) for Pascal. Is this an indication that meaning is purely subjective, and outside a scientific description? I was forced to ask myself, as a non-reader of Pascal, what my answer as a semanticist might have been.

The best way would be to secure a copy of a dictionary of Pascal's time, look up the word, making sure one understands the definition in its own setting, by checking up all the terms appearing in the definition, within the lexical system established by the dictionary. Then select a number of utterances in Pascal, and substitute.

Another and more technical approach would consist in compiling a corpus of *heart* occurrences in Pascal, sorting them according to their collocates, and proceeding as above for all differences. Still another way, and surely more convenient, would be to read Pascal and eventually figure out what you think he means. But then, as in all cases of reading past works, present-day senses are projected on lexical items on the shaky grounds that we identify them as the same form.

I doubt personally that one could nowadays really succeed in knowing what Pascal's interpretation may have been for *coeur*, and

this applies to *reason* as well. All I can suggest is that any attempt at that sort of thing should be done within the lexical system of the time.

As it happens, not all semanticists would suggest the use of dictionaries. In fact, last year, Paul Garvin questioned my use of dictionaries in my discussion of semantic redundancy. My reply was that as long as I stuck to French, I was on relatively safe ground and I could save time and effort, since for the past fifteen years some (not all) French dictionaries have benefited from advances in linguistics. The same now applies to a few recent dictionaries in English. I am in fact working on a way of testing the dependability of a dictionary (Choul 1981a). The point here is that too often linguists consider meaning as what they as individuals think an utterance makes them think of, although they usually succeed in presenting this "feeling" as the result of an analysis. As a common phenomenon, and a daily practice, meaning is very seldom the result of analytical procedures. A semanticist is not concerned with what happens in the brain as such. Of course, he cannot discard cognition or comprehension, since meaning will ultimately be defined as what is understood. But this does not imply that he will attempt to grasp what so and so was trying to say, or convey, or evoke by certain uses of rare words or unfrequent collocations. Nor does it make it necessary for him to describe all utterances, as opposed to certain attempts currently underway: no matter how many sentences you describe, you will never have described language.

Sometimes I think a refresher course in General Semantics would not be wasted, since the apparent state of confusion in semantics has obviously semantic causes. For instance, the assimilation of semantics to logic or to grammar. Logical form is another abusive expression, since it should normally be free of content.

Linguistic semantics, apart from any specific school of thought or theoretical framework, is still the description of meaning in language. Not what one means by this and that, or one's interpretation of *the King of France is bald* or *Many men read few books*. Basically what is to be described is what is stable to a certain extent at a given point in time, and can be collectively agreed upon as what is understood of a certain signal sequence, either phonic or graphic.

Chomsky (1957:103-104) stated that grammar could not describe what was understood in a sentence, without the help of reference and morpheme meaning, which belonged to semantics. Later on (Chomsky & Ronat 1977:149) he argued that nobody knew what was meant by a sentence such as (1), without extra-linguistic presuppositions, that is, outside a "context of language use" or "belief systems" that would establish truth conditions. In his discussion of this example, Katz (1980:13) clearly distinguishes between a use of (1) and what is understood by (1) as an English sentence.

(1) The temperature is dropping

What Katz establishes here is that we have two levels of description at least, as far as semantics is concerned. The meaning of the sentence is, according to Katz, the same as for the French original in (2), that is, (3):

(2) La température baisse

(3) The temperature at some location is lower at the utterance point than at some time in the past.

Here we have what is to be considered the basic tool of modern semantics: paraphrase. If semantics as a part of linguistics is, like linguistics, based on the analysis of observations, the only way to observe meaning is in the comparative identity of two or more utterances. Meaning is not the paraphrase as such,

although for the sake of commodity, and the ease of demonstration, we can accept this as a convention. Meaning is the relation of equivalence in a set of possible related elements. Then, if Edmonston (1978:372) is right in noting that exact synonymy must perish, present-day semantics is a hoax and a gross miscarriage. If there is such a thing as belief contexts or systems, the ones currently entertained in linguistics should go under scrutiny. For instance, the assumption that a sentence in isolation is ambiguous, and that this ambiguity yields several different readings. The key-word here is of course "in isolation". As Katz pointed out, even for his paraphrase, there are truth conditions. (1) and (2) will always be (4) and (5):

(4) X says the temperature is dropping

(5) Y dit que la température baisse

We deal here with what Lyons called (1980:294) utterance-semantics (*sémantique de l'énonciation*), which overlaps pragmatics and semantics, just as Katz's paraphrase (3) overlaps grammar and semantics by inserting a PLACE category along with a TIME category. This third level of description is typical of deep case grammar, or, in a way of logical form, although the latter is not at all clear.

We then have, technically, three levels of semantic description, and only one of them can be said to be relatively autonomous. The paraphrase corresponding to this level should rewrite Katz's in such a way that the LOCATIVE is excluded, as well as the enunciative position, and thus be stated as (6):

(6) The temperature is going down

Now (6) is not very satisfactory, since paraphrase in the present framework has to combine the respective feature sets (sememes) of the cooccurring lexemes (or lexical units). It should be stated here that (6) is not, as a paraphrase, at the object

language level of (1) or (2). In a tree, this should be specified by a separate branching, with a symbol MLL (metalinguistic level), and numbered accordingly if we are to use a single tree for the three levels, or identified by an extra symbol S for syntagmation level. If (1) and (2) are sentences, the content or feature set of each relevant unit is already syntagmated, that is, selection of the proper subsenses has occurred. This means that at this level *fever* cannot be substituted for *temperature*, because of the cooccurring item *the* (at the enunciative or pragmatic level this element can of course be reinterpreted). *My* would operate a different selection and leave a choice at the enunciative level between (7) and (8).

(7) I suddenly suffer from hypothermia

(8) My fever is going

Lexical semantics, independently of (1), would have as a task the rewriting of the complete potential sememes (sémantismes), and this can be done using trees as in Katz and Fodor (1963). It can also use a syntagmatic approach, each subsense being identified by a generic collocate, following this model: temperature as in to have a temperature equals fever. This is a very old and dependable method used by most lexicographers when definition fails (and it often fails since the main purpose of language has never been to name things). It is extremely efficient in non-compositional settings. This conditional rule can operate at the deeper level, selecting not substitutables but features: if POSSESSIVE (as in logical form X has Y), then t. reads EXCESSxBODYxHEAT, and this rule will desambiguate (9).

(9) My monkey's temperature is dropping

An additional case-type label or condition will be necessary in interpreting (10) properly (although ungrammatical (10) can be understood), and this can be a floating feature (non-positional):

unless LOCATIVE.

(10) *My room's temperature is dropping

The advantage of the syntagmatic rule model over the tree model is that it can account for all subsenses in a more realistic and simpler fashion than branching which will run into problems with the twenty and some separate feature sets of *drop*, and specifically, every time an idiomatic sense or limited distribution is concerned. For instance, where do you branch *drop* (said of animals) and *drop (a brick)* to have a coherent picture?

Lexical semantics will still use (1) and (2) in order to assist lexicography: for example, Katz's LOCATIVE should be inserted in the first subsense, if we are in some way to account also for (2). Most of the English dictionaries I consulted (eight in all) do not permit a proper understanding of (1) without some inferring on the part of the reader. Although it will only consist in extending a value from one object to another, it is not obvious that all readers will assimilate PLACE to BODY. Longman's Contemporary does list *place* interlocked with an example (*London*).

This comment calls for another remark about beliefs in linguistic description. Bolinger (Hymes 1978:175) states a principle long entertained by structuralist linguistics, which is "one meaning, one form", and uses it to argue that "there is no such thing as two different surface structures with the same deep structure (that is, with the same meaning)". Anyone who is bilingual in this audience will note that (1) and (2) share a meaning, and this can be represented either in French or English. In fact, one could use one language as a metalinguistic device to represent the meaning of a sentence in another language, as in (11) or (12).

(11) The temperature is dropping → (MLLS) la température
baisse

(12) (1)-(2) if (1)&(2) → la temperatura sta ribassando

Note that *température* when collocating with *opinion* and assimilated will be expressed in Italian as *polso*, and this comes as no surprise since in French *température* and *pouls* are synonyms in that syntagmatic setting.

Following this observation, sememes can be translated as well, and are, as meaning, form-independent and language-independent. Another belief which has to be discarded is that semantics *decomposes* a lexical unit into "smaller" units of meaning. This attitude is probably linked to the fact that we use the word analysis. Can we really say that *temperature* is decomposed into HEAT, COLDNESS, DEGREE, PLACE, OBJECT? The answer is no: there is no such thing as a semantic component in the literal sense. The elements appearing on the sememe level are deprived of their lexical status and are used to delimit a set of explanatory terms, following the Saussurean principle of positional value in the lexicon, and which I named INTERDEFINITION, as distinct from inclusion or implication (Choul 1981b). This is a relation between elements according to which any element of the set can be described using all the others. This relation is especially useful in dealing with what is usually considered as encyclopedic knowledge. In the present case, PLACE and OBJECT have no direct bearing: they fill positions belonging to the case-concept or categorial level of description, where they are part of conceptual schemata, empty of lexical content and can be represented, as Pottier (1974) points out, by conventional graphs or drawings. *Temperature*, at this level, could consist of two points linked by a double-pointed arrow, and labelled AFFECTED, POSSESSIVE, LOCATIVE, STATE.

Such a representation will also be valid for other sememes, such as for *go up*, HIGH, RISE, and at the sememe level, for *temperature*, the arrow is replaced by DEGREE, and the boundaries by

HEAT and COLD. Note that *heat* and *cold* as lexical items are inter-defined by *temperature*. The labels are not necessarily filled at the sememe level, but will normally be satisfied at the object language level, such as here in (1) and (2). The respective sememes (feature sets) for these will be as in (13) and (14).

(13) DEGREExHEATxPLACE(ATMOSPHERE)xBECOMExLOWER

(14) /degré/x/chaueur/x/atmosphère/x/devenir/x/moins grand/

These require comments: I adopted here an economic representation, which means that we may not be able to account for all possible paraphrases (in the strict sense of semantic equivalence, as opposed to Culioli's paraphrastic set called Lexis (Culioli 1976:58) - not to be confused with the excellent French dictionary published by the group of linguists working for Larousse). In fact, the English sememe is not *stricto sensu* substitutable for the French example (2), unless PLACE can take on the value of AMBIENT or ATMOSPHERE, as listed in the Concise Oxford. You will note that (14) can yield (15), which is a normal way of expressing a *drop in temperature* in French.

(15) Le temps se refroidit

/atmosphère/x/devenir/x/moins chaud/ (recombined
features)

Note that /moins chaud/ is the combination of /moins grand/ and /chaueur/. (15) can then be translated as (16) or (17), using the features available, with a slight change from PLACE to ATMOSPHERE or AMBIENT, and (17) is an available translation of (18).

(16) It's not as hot

(17) It's getting colder

(18) Ça se refroidit

The semantic description of sentences will also include aspectual and modal considerations, such as PROGRESSIVE, present in (1), (2), (17) and (18). This label belongs to the categorial level,

and is attached to other labels such as ACTION, PROCESS, which at the object language level is typical of verbs, or of nouns resulting from verbs.

The meaning of an utterance will not be complete unless it is related to the act of utterance and the *sujet parlant* (or utterer, to suggest an English translation where Lyons seems to have failed), and the actual situation in which the uttering takes place. Here again, our paraphrastic device will come in handy, since (4) could become the equivalent of (19), and (5) of (20).

(19) He's cold

(20) The experiment has failed

(19) requires only a very sketchy situation, while (20) is less probable since it involves a very restrictive setting. No one will expect these "meanings" to appear in any dictionary, since they are highly dependent on conversational and situational factors. Nevertheless, such paraphrastic sets as (21) may be required in text linguistics, to account for discourse coherence.

(21) I'm cold - shut the window = the temperature is dropping = put up the heat = come closer = give me a blanket = the door is ajar = keep your coat on = I'm keeping my gloves on - etc.

Such situational equivalence may stabilize in such a way that they will be incorporated in verbal behaviour, first, and then in readings. Pragmatics, especially insofar as it tends to rest heavily on the so-called or dreamed-up presuppositions, goes far beyond a relevant semantic description, that is "what is understood under normal circumstances". The coming of a glacial epoch as suggested by Chomsky (1977) is no more presupposed by (1) than (20) is, while all the features listed are.

The problem with semantics is that too often, it is used as a pretext or a front for vague or shameful purposes. Any endeavour

calling itself semantics should clearly state its goals, but then, of course, it would not be as much fun for some of us.

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DIALECT STEREOTYPING IN RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND¹

Sandra Clarke

Memorial University of Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on the first study designed to elicit dialect stereotypes in rural Newfoundland. A sample of 86 high-school students, representing a range of standard and non-standard speakers, was chosen from five Newfoundland communities. Respondents were asked to evaluate six dialects of English, both standard and (local) non-standard. Evaluations were made on scales involving both status and solidarity dimensions - that is, the study was designed to elicit the degree of prestige attributed to various dialects of English by speakers who themselves were from different dialect backgrounds, as well as the extent to which such speakers exhibited dialect loyalty to regional speech forms. Results of this rural study are compared with those of an urban language attitude study conducted in St. John's, Newfoundland some two years earlier. Educational implications of the rural study are briefly discussed.

1. Introduction

In the past twenty years or so, much research has confirmed the existence of stereotypes held by speech communities in various countries to speakers of different languages or dialects. The matched-guise methodology invented by Lambert and his colleagues at McGill in the late 1950's has been employed in several variants to tap attitudes to speech types which, it has been claimed (e.g.,

¹This study was supported by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University. Special thanks must go to Eloise Hampson, who administered the study in St. John's and Avondale, Gerald Reid, who administered it in Brownsdale, and to Wayne Penney of Gander and Wade Colbourne of Long Island, who personally assumed responsibility for presentation of the questionnaire in their high school classes.

Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960), would not be elicited by direct questioning. Since this methodology is well known and its results well documented (see, for example, Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 145-147), a basic familiarity with language attitude literature will be assumed in this paper.

The study reported on in this article was designed as a follow-up to an attitudinal study conducted in St. John's, Newfoundland and reported on in part in Clarke (1980, 1981). In the St. John's study, various subsamples consisting of high-school and university students, parents, teachers and workers were all found to share similar stereotypes of speakers of various English dialects, stereotypes that largely transcended such variables as age, sex, occupation and education. St. John's subjects listened to taped segments of three standard dialects - Mainland Canadian (MC), British Received Pronunciation (RP) and St. John's "Upper" (SJU), this last an Anglo-Irish, standard dialect spoken by many middle- or upper-middle class St. John's speakers. In addition, subjects heard taped segments of two non-standard local dialects, St. John's "Lower" (S JL) and the speech of Witless Bay (WB), a small "outport" community on the Irish-colonized Southern Shore, some thirty miles south of St. John's.² Subjects were asked to rate speakers on seven-point scales representing a number of personality characteristics. The study used a modified matched guise or "verbal guise" technique; each of the five dialect types was represented by two different male voices, a mean then being calculated for each dialect type on each scale. Analysis of variance clearly showed that all St. John's subjects made significant differentiations among the five dialect types under study. Thus, for example, the three standard dialect speakers - in the order RP, SJU and MC - were assigned significantly higher ratings on those semantic differential scales representing 'status' or 'competence' traits than were the non-standard speakers. On the 'solidarity' scales,³ however (i.e., those scales designed to measure 'social attractiveness' or 'personal

²As Anglo-Irish dialects, SJU, S JL and WB would share, though to different degrees, such phonetic features as a "clear" pronunciation of post-vocalic l (e.g. full), frication of intervocalic and word-final t (e.g. better, bit), and fronting of the low vowels (e.g. cot, caught). S JL and WB would also display a number of non-standard Anglo-Irish morphological features.

³The terms "status" and "solidarity" are borrowed from Carranza and Bouchard - Ryan (1975).

integrity'), the non-standard dialect speakers, particularly SJL, were given significantly higher ratings than were the standard speakers. In short, while the St. John's sample appeared to possess a stereotype of non-standard local dialect speakers as economically inferior, it tended to upgrade such speakers on non-success related positive personality traits.

Since, as emerged from the St. John's study, the St. John's sample does not identify its dialect with the non-standard dialects under evaluation,⁴ results from this study cannot be interpreted as revealing the actual stereotypes held by non-standard Newfoundland dialect speakers with respect to local speech forms. It is quite possible that the positive personality evaluations of local speakers emerging from the St. John's sample will not be reflected by speakers from other areas of the province, themselves representing various degrees of non-standard speech. In other words, the "ethnic inferiority complex" which has emerged from a variety of other studies (e.g. from those involving speakers of Quebecois French, as shown in d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973) may well be found in a Newfoundland rural sample, rather than a strictly urban one. In addition, the extension of the study to a rural sample would permit a further examination of the general hypothesis "that people from a socio-economically deprived group will tend to downgrade members of that group only or mainly on traits related to socioeconomic success..." (Giles and Powesland 1975: 56-7).

In order to determine whether those stereotypes found in the St. John's study were representative of samples from other areas of the island, four communities outside St. John's were selected for a second language attitude study. Work done on local dialects (e.g. Paddock 1977) has suggested that Newfoundland is divided into five main dialect areas, noted D1 to D5 on the map that appears as Figure 1. These dialect areas are largely determined by the origin of settlers in the British Isles and, to a lesser extent, by the period of settlement. While most areas of the province seem to have been colonized from South-West England, the southern half of the Avalon Peninsula, including the St. John's area (D2 in Figure 1) was principally settled by the Irish.

⁴Subjects, indeed, seemed to feel that their speech was more similar to that of Mainland Canadian speakers than to the speech of Newfoundland outport residents.

While it would have been highly desirable to have administered a language attitude study in each of the main dialect areas of the island, constraints of time and money did not permit this. As a result, one small outport area clearly representative of D1 (Paddock's "English North") was selected: Long Island, Green Bay (see Figure 1 for the location of this and the other communities). The population of its three major communities (Lushes Bight, Beaumont, Beaumont North) was less than 500 at the time of the survey.⁵ Two other small outport communities were chosen, this time in the transitional area (TA1 on the map) between D1 and D2, the Irish Southern Shore. The first of these was Avondale, a community of approximately 1,000 inhabitants largely settled by Roman Catholic immigrants from Ireland. The second, Brownsdale, is a Trinity Bay community of some 200 people, settled by English Protestants. 1976 census figures show that approximately 67% of the over-15 population of Avondale, and 82% of this population of Long Island, had not completed high-school. Education figures were unavailable for Brownsdale. Of the three rural areas under investigation, Long Island speakers can be expected to display the most non-standard dialect features, since the other two communities are less isolated and geographically closer to more standard speech areas. Avondale subjects, indeed, would have a good deal of contact with St. John's, since a number of people from communities in the Avondale area commute to St. John's daily.

The three rural or outport communities just mentioned were counterbalanced by presentation of the questionnaire to an identical sample in two larger, more urban centres: St. John's and Gander. While St. John's lies in a predominantly Anglo-Irish dialect area, Gander was chosen because it is a relatively new community that has pulled in population from the surrounding area and, as well, has come under the influence of Mainland Canadian speakers who would have settled in the town as a result of airline-related employment. Gander residents could then be expected to have been exposed to a more standard dialect model than those found

⁵All population and education figures were obtained from statistics Canada 1976 census data. Note that while income and employment figures were not readily available, most inhabitants of Long Island and Brownsdale - to a lesser extent Avondale - would be employed in the inshore fishery.

in surrounding outports, yet a very different standard than that which predominates in St. John's.

In each of the four above - mentioned communities, the language attitude study described in this article was run with final year high-school (i.e. Grade 11) students,⁶ males and females being represented in equal numbers. The final sample consisted of 86 subjects, with the St. John's, Gander and Avondale groups represented by nine males and nine females each; the Brownsdale and Long Island groups each consisted of nine females, but only seven males. Seventy-six subjects in this sample were 17 years old or less, while the remaining ten were 18.

2. Methodology and research hypotheses

The study reported on in this paper closely parallels the original St. John's attitude study described above. Subjects were asked to listen to 30-second taped dialect samples, and to rate speakers on a variety of seven-point semantic differential scales. The present paper deals only with two of the types of scales used, namely status-assessment scales (CONFIDENT, INTELLIGENT, HIGH-PAYING JOB) and solidarity scales (HONEST, FRIENDLY, KIND, LIKE-ABLE, HARDWORKING).

The three standard dialect types (MC, RP, SJU) as well as two of the non-standard speech forms (SJL, WB) used in the previous study were incorporated into this one, each type again represented by two different male speakers.⁷ Since the two non-standard dialect types

⁶The study was administered to grade ten classes on Long Island, since grade eleven was not offered on the island in 1979-80, the year of administration of the study. Owing to limitations of time and money, the investigation was restricted to high-school students, and was not presented to a random sample drawn from each community as a whole.

⁷Tapes had of course been carefully edited to remove such features as excessive pauses, repetitions or stumbling. In addition, pilots were run to eliminate those voice samples judged to display abnormal voice characteristics (e.g. nasality, breathiness, hoarseness, etc.).

chosen for the first study, however, represented Anglo-Irish speech forms, a third non-standard speech type was added to the present study, a speech type with which the majority of subjects would be familiar. This took the form of a D1 or "English North" dialect - specifically, a dialect from western Notre Dame Bay (NDB - see Figure 1) which greatly resembled the speech of the Long Island group.

Subjects were presented, in a single fifty to sixty minute session, with a two-part questionnaire. The first part consisted of presentation, in random order, of the twelve taped samples representing the six dialect types under study. In the second part, subjects were asked to respond to almost eighty questions concerning their views on various language and dialect-related issues. Following this, they filled out, anonymously, a twenty-two-item background sheet. Administration of the questionnaire followed normal procedures, including instructions to use all blanks, even the left and right extremes; subjects were also assured that what was being sought was simply their own opinion and not what they might believe to be the 'correct' answer. Before evaluating the twelve taped segments mentioned above, subjects rated two practice speakers in order to ensure that they could manipulate the semantic differential scales.

3. Results

While the study examined a variety of different questions, only one basic one will be reported on here, namely:

Do high-school students from various areas of Newfoundland, with highly different dialect backgrounds, hold similar or different stereotypes with respect to speakers of various standard and non-standard dialect types of English?

Note that given the different speech forms displayed by the groups of the sample, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that the subjects' regional background is a significant factor in determining group attitudes to the various dialect types.

3.1. Overall Sample Evaluations

In order to determine the answer to the above question a repeated measures analysis of variance was run with the 86-subject

sample, using the Bio-Medical Computer Program (MBDP). The independent variables to be discussed will be called Subjects' Regional Group (with five levels, since subjects were chosen from five communities) and Dialect Type (with six levels, namely the six dialects under evaluation). Dialect Type constituted a repeated measures variable, all subjects having listened to all six dialects under investigation.

The question as to whether all 86 subjects of the sample - representing Newfoundland students from several urban and rural areas of the province - share similar stereotypes of speakers of the six dialects under study may be answered positively if, on the analysis of variance just mentioned, significant main effects were found for the repeated measures variable Dialect Type. That Dialect Type proved highly significant is shown by Table 1. In other words, subjects from all areas clearly differentiate among speakers representing the six standard and non-standard dialect types under evaluation. As can be seen from Table 1, there is a marked tendency over the entire sample to rank standard dialect speakers higher than non-standard speakers on status or "competence" scales. Thus RP, SJU, and MC speakers, in that order, are judged to be most intelligent, and to hold the highest-paying jobs, while SJU and RP speakers are ranked highest on the confident scale, with MC speakers in fourth position.⁸

If standard speakers are ranked ahead of non-standard speakers on status scales, they do not fare so well when it comes to measures of solidarity. As Table 1 shows, non-standard dialect speakers are ranked in first and second position (SJL and NDB, respectively) on the solidarity scales friendly, kind and likeable, while SJL speakers are also perceived as the most honest and hard-working. As to the standard speakers, their overall ranking on the five scales clearly shows that they are not seen to possess the degree of positive personality traits characteristic of local non-

⁸Note that the overall mean on the three status scales is 5.06 for RP, 4.68 for SJU and 4.19 for MC. These means are substantially higher than the 3.60 overall mean for WB, 3.55 for SJL and 3.15 for NDB.

standard speakers.⁹ As can be seen from Table 1, however, non-standard speakers are not all consistently awarded higher ratings on solidarity scales than are standard speakers. Thus both NDB and WB speakers were downgraded on the honest scale, as well as on the scales friendly (WB) and hardworking (NDB).¹⁰

In short, while subjects from all backgrounds seem to be clearly in agreement by ranking standard speakers higher on traits pertaining to status or socioeconomic success, they are more ambivalent in their reactions on solidarity measures. While there is a strong tendency to rate non-standard speakers highest on measures of desirable personality traits, this trend is by no means as strong as the one previously described for status evaluations.

This fact is particularly interesting when results are compared to those of the original St. John's study, where non-standard Newfoundland dialect speakers were in fact ranked highest on solidarity scales. This discrepancy between the two studies would tend to suggest that perhaps the regional background of

⁹Overall means on all five solidarity scales are as follows: 5.31 (SJL), 4.60 (NDB), 4.77 (SJU), 4.56 (WB), 4.46 (MC) and 4.43 (RP). Clearly, SJL speakers have significantly higher ratings on these scales than do speakers of any other dialect type.

¹⁰A partial explanation for the downgrading of WB speakers may lie in the fact that, of the three non-standard groups, these speakers were least frequently associated with "elsewhere in Newfoundland (than St. John's)". That is, of the three groups in question, WB speakers were least often identified as coming from a small Newfoundland outpost. Thus over the entire sample, WB speakers were perceived to originate "elsewhere in Newfoundland" in some 55.77% of cases, while 35.15% of the sample believed them to come from St. John's. This contrasts with the 70.84% "elsewhere"/21.05% St. John's identification of NDB speakers, and with the 73.94% "elsewhere". 19.65% St. John's identification of the genuine St. John's non-standard speakers (SJL). In other words, WB speakers may have fared less successfully on the solidarity scales since they have been perceived to be less "outport-like" than other non-standard speakers. Of course, such an explanation would not hold for the downgrading of NDB speakers on two of the solidarity scales.

subjects does have some effect on their solidarity-scale evaluations. Let us then turn to the question of whether, indeed, subjects' background is an important variable in determining the stereotypes they hold of standard and non-standard dialect speakers.

3.2. The Effects of Subjects' Regional Background on Dialect Evaluations

The above question will be answered by the results of the analysis of variance described earlier. In this case, however, it must be determined whether there is a significant interaction between subject's Regional Group or Background and the Dialect Type of the taped samples. As demonstrated by Table 2, significant interactions did occur on two of the three status scales, intelligent and high-paying job. On intelligent, all groups gave RP the highest ranking and all groups but LI were in agreement on the ranking of the next three dialects (SJU, MC and WB, respectively); these groups, that is, awarded lowest scores to the two non-standard dialects perceived as most "outport"-like: SJL and NDB. The LI group ranked MC speakers second on this trait, finding them significantly more confident than did most other groups.¹¹ Further, LI subjects ranked NDB speakers - i.e., representatives of the dialect that they themselves would speak - significantly higher than did most of the other groups. For three of the other groups, indeed, NDB speakers were ranked as least intelligent of all speakers.

¹¹This LI evaluation is perhaps related to the fact that, of all the groups which participated in the study, it is the LI group which can be expected to have the least contact with speakers of external standard dialects. It is interesting to note in this regard that in terms of percentage of correct identification of the regional origin of the six dialect types used in the study, there are some obvious differences in the accuracy rates of certain of the regional (subject) groups. LI respondents emerged as the least successful of all five groups at identifying the MC, SJU and SJL dialects, but one of the more successful at identifying the origins of NDB speakers. The urban groups (St. John's and Gander) emerged as by far the most successful at correctly identifying MC dialect speakers, while the St. John's group also proved much more successful than any other group at identifying SJU as a St. John's dialect type.

In the case of high-paying job, Table 2 shows that while all groups rated British speakers highest on this scale, B subjects gave significantly lower ratings to British speakers than did the other groups, particularly the SJ and G groups. A similar tendency for the B subjects to downgrade the other two standard dialect types (MC and SJU) emerges from Table 2; what is also striking is the reverse tendency in the LI group, in the form of LI group means for MC and SJU that are higher than those of other groups. The LI group tendency to upgrade, indeed, extends to its rating of non-standard dialects, where this group is only surpassed by the G group in the scores it awards non-standard SJL and WB speakers.

Given the variation in group means just mentioned, it is perhaps not surprising that on the high-paying job scale a second significant result emerges, in the form of a main effect for the variable Group. In other words, there are significant differences from one group to another in the overall ratings they have assigned, irrespective of the individual dialect under evaluation. Table 2 shows that what is striking is the consistency with which LI and G subjects award higher ratings to all dialects than do other groups, and the tendency for B subjects to give consistently lower ratings. Why this should be the case is unclear, since the means of the five groups do not pattern according to urban-rural divisions.¹²

One interesting generalization, however, should be noted. It is the St. John's group which maximally differentiates between standard and non-standard dialect speakers, while the LI group, on the contrary, makes a minimal differentiation between the two speech types. To take a specific example, the SJ group mean on intelligent for the dialect type it rates highest, RP, is 5.69, with its lowest-rated dialect, NDB, having a mean of only 2.50; the

¹²The general Brownsdale tendency to award significantly lower scores to all dialect types also emerges on the solidarity scale hardworking; contrast the overall mean on this scale of 4.02 for Brownsdale with 4.76 for Avondale, 4.69 for Gander, 4.63 for Long Island and 4.61 for St. John's. A similar tendency exists on status scales, particularly on the high-paying job scale. Why the Brownsdale group should display a general tendency to downgrade speakers, by comparison to other subject groups, is unknown.

spread between the two means is 3.19. Corresponding means given by the LI group, however, are 5.19 and 3.40, with a spread of only 1.79. The low-status LI group, indeed, tends to award higher status ratings to non-standard speakers - including speakers of its own dialect, NDB - than does any other group. Interestingly, this result tends to corroborate a conclusion noted by Alexander (1972) (not, incidentally, from specifically language-related attitudinal research) to the effect that low-status persons tend to make the highest status evaluations of individuals, and as well to minimize differences between various positions on status scales.

Significant differences in dialect evaluations resulting from subjects' regional background emerge not only from status, but also from solidarity scales. As shown in Table 3, significant Subject Regional Background/Dialect Type interactions occurred on four out of five of the solidarity scales - that is, on all but the hard-working scale (where there was nonetheless a significant main effect for subject Regional Background).

Several general tendencies emerge from the solidarity scale results. The most striking of these concerns the LI group, or the group which itself may be expected to display the greatest number of non-standard features. Thus while most subject groups tend to upgrade local non-standard dialect speakers on solidarity scales and downgrade standard speakers, ratings would indicate that the LI group does not share the same degree of empathy with local speech forms displayed by the other groups. As Table 3 demonstrates, the LI evaluations of standard and non-standard dialects are markedly different - on the first four solidarity scales, at least - from those of the other groups. Thus while the Avondale, Brownsdale, Gander and SJ groups all find non-standard SJL speakers to be the most friendly, kind, likeable, and honest of the various dialect speakers under evaluation, LI respondents in general judge standard dialect speakers to possess the most desirable personality traits: SJU speakers are evaluated by them as more friendly and kind than speakers of any other dialect, and British RP speakers are judged to be most likeable and honest. This last result is particularly striking, since on the five solidarity scales RP speakers are ranked in last place by the other four groups some eight out of twenty possible times, and in fifth or second last position four times.

To summarize, the LI group behaves in a somewhat aberrant manner when it comes to solidarity scale evaluations. There is a marked LI tendency to downgrade local non-standard dialect speakers on solidarity traits to an extent much greater than that displayed by other non-standard dialect groups, namely Avondale and Brownsdale. Long Island respondents, themselves the least standard dialect speakers, display then the least amount of empathy or loyalty towards Newfoundland non-standard dialect speakers. This is very interesting in the light of the hypothesis mentioned in 1. above, to the effect that a socio-economically inferior group will tend to downgrade itself only or mainly on status (i.e. socioeconomic) traits. Clearly, for LI subjects, there is a much greater tendency to downgrade local non-standard speakers on solidarity-related than on status-related traits. Indeed, as seen, there would appear to exist an LI tendency to award higher ratings than do other groups not only to standard dialect speakers but also to non-standard speakers.

The tendency among the non-standard speaker group constituted by LI to downgrade local non-standard dialect speakers only on solidarity traits contrasts markedly with results obtained from the original St. John's study, in which the various St. John's groups gave significantly higher ratings to the two non-standard dialects under evaluation (SJL and WB). If generalizations can be made from the fairly restricted sample used in the two studies, it would appear that Nfld. standard speakers display more empathy with local non-standard dialect types than do genuine non-standard (i.e. LI) speakers. This conclusion is perhaps elucidated by a comment of Ryan (1979: 154-155), to the effect that it is much easier for individuals who enjoy a favoured social status to engage in what may be termed "ethnic preservation activities" than it is for those who are in subordinate positions as true non-standard dialect speakers.

It should be noted, however, that in the original St. John's study it was primarily adults rather than high-school students who displayed the greatest degree of solidarity with local non-standard dialect speakers. That is, there was a suggestion that either those in the 16-17 year old range have not yet acquired genuine adult stereotypes when it comes to the solidarity scales, or else that an attitudinal shift has occurred among the younger, better-educated population. Some support for this second hypothesis emerges from the present study. Here, two of the rural, non-standard high-school groups - Avondale and to a lesser degree

Brownsdale - tend to behave more like the St. John's adult sample in the original study, in that they attribute the highest ratings on solidarity scales to local non-standard dialects. The St. John's and Gander high-school groups - that is, the two urban groups of the present study - display more mixed reactions, however. Thus the SJ group ranks one of the three local non-standard dialects - NDB - in sixth or last position on two of the solidarity measures, and in second-last position on another, behind the standard dialects under evaluation.

In addition to the LI downgrading of local non-standard dialect speakers, a second, and somewhat less striking, generalization also emerges from the solidarity scale ratings. This is a tendency, non-statistically significant, to downgrade external dialect types (i.e. RP and MC) as opposed to a local standard dialect (SJU) on the solidarity scales. On all five scales, over all the regional groups used in the sample, MC speakers are rated lowest (i.e. in sixth position) eight out of a possible twenty-five times. Of these eight sixth place ratings, four come from the Gander group - the group that, along with St. John's speakers, may be expected to have the most actual exposure to MC speech of all the groups used in the sample. These "urban" speakers, however, are less favourable towards MC speech than are the rural groups. It is also of interest to note that, if any group seems not to respond too positively to SJU on solidarity scales, it is the St. John's group itself - note the St. John's group's downgrading of SJU on the honest and friendly scales.

4. Conclusion

Let us now attempt to answer the question posed earlier in this paper: does the regional - and consequently, the dialect-background of Newfoundland speakers influence in any significant fashion the stereotypes they hold of standard and non-standard English speakers? Clearly, the answer has to be yes, but a qualified yes. While all groups are in essential agreement as to their assessments of status or socio-economic success associated with the dialects evaluated (the standard dialect speakers enjoying a higher ranking on these scales than do the non-standard speakers), the picture is quite different when it comes to solidarity scales. Here, the regional origin of respondents would seem more significant, in that Long Island subject reactions seem quite aberrant when compared to those of other groups.

To turn, however, from the essentially "qualitative" differences in dialect evaluations resulting from respondents' regional background, let us look at a second set of differences, which may be termed "quantitative". These involve the extent to which various respondent groups differentiate or discriminate among the various dialect types under evaluation - particularly, the extent to which they discriminate between standard and non-standard dialects. Examination of results reveals that, in general, there is much more discrimination, over all groups, on status rather than on solidarity scales. And here, interestingly, there would appear to be a link between evaluations on the one hand and the status of the evaluating group on the other. Thus the "high-status" or relatively "standard" speakers of the sample (the St. John's and Gander groups) tend to differentiate to the greatest degree between standard and non-standard dialect speakers. Low-status groups, on the contrary (notably the LI group) tend to effect such differentiation to a much lesser extent.

The results obtained in this study from non-standard dialect speakers - particularly the LI group - are interesting with respect to their possible educational implications. In recent years, there has been a good deal of discussion on the subject of the language of education of non-standard dialect speakers. Certain linguists, notably, have been recommending a bidialectal approach, rather than forcing such speakers to be educated uniquely in the standard dialect. Yet if the indirectly-elicited attitudes of LI high-school students are any indication, many non-standard Newfoundland dialect speakers do not have a very positive self-image, since they down-grade local non-standard dialect speakers not only on status, but also on solidarity traits. That is, LI speakers, at least, appear to display the "ethnic inferiority complex" found among certain other non-standard dialect speakers, notably French Quebecers. One cannot help but wonder whether such non-standard speakers would really want to receive an education in anything but a standard dialect, or if an education in the minority dialect would be at all successful.

The reaction of the LI student group on the indirect measures of evaluation reported on in this study are particularly interesting given the hypothesis of Lambert and others (e.g. Lambert et al 1960) that such indirect measures reflect genuinely held stereotypes, and not simply more conscious attitudes which the respondent perhaps feels to be socially appropriate. For when asked more direct questions about their feelings on local non-standard dialects, the LI

group, of all groups in the study, proved to be the most pro-dialect. Contrast, for example, the LI mean of 6.06 on the question "Do you care if Newfoundland dialects disappear?" with the SJ mean of only 4.50, the Gander mean of 4.33, and even lower means from the two other non-standard respondent groups which took part in the study, namely, 4.00 from Brownsdale and 3.50 from Avondale students. Clearly, there would seem to be a great discrepancy, for the LI group, between overtly held attitudes and those indirectly elicited via the methodology described in this article.

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Semantic Differential Scale	MC	RP	SJU	SJL	WB.	NDB	F-Ratio
STATUS							
Confident	4.01(4)	4.66(2)	4.77(1)	4.49(3)	3.98(5)	3.55(6)	16.78
Intelligent	4.48(3)	5.34(1)	4.85(2)	3.31(5)	3.48(4)	3.09(6)	80.41
High-paying job	4.08(3)	5.17(1)	4.42(2)	2.86(5)	3.33(4)	2.82(6)	93.60
SOLIDARITY							
Honest	4.81(3)	4.83(2)	4.74(4)	5.18(1)	4.62(6)	4.70(5)	5.32
Friendly	4.52(5)	4.42(6)	4.65(3)	5.51(1)	4.62(4)	4.80(2)	18.19
Kind	4.50(4)	4.34(6)	4.52(3)	5.26(1)	4.46(5)	4.56(2)	13.87
Likeable	4.38(5)	4.27(6)	4.42(4)	5.28(1)	4.49(3)	4.55(2)	15.06
Hardworking	4.09(6)	4.30(5)	4.52(3)	5.34(1)	4.59(2)	4.14(4)	18.56

Table 1: Means and F-Ratio for each Dialect Type, over the Entire 86-Subject Sample (df = 5/380, $p < .001$ in each case; the figure enclosed within brackets represents the ranking of the dialect on each scale)

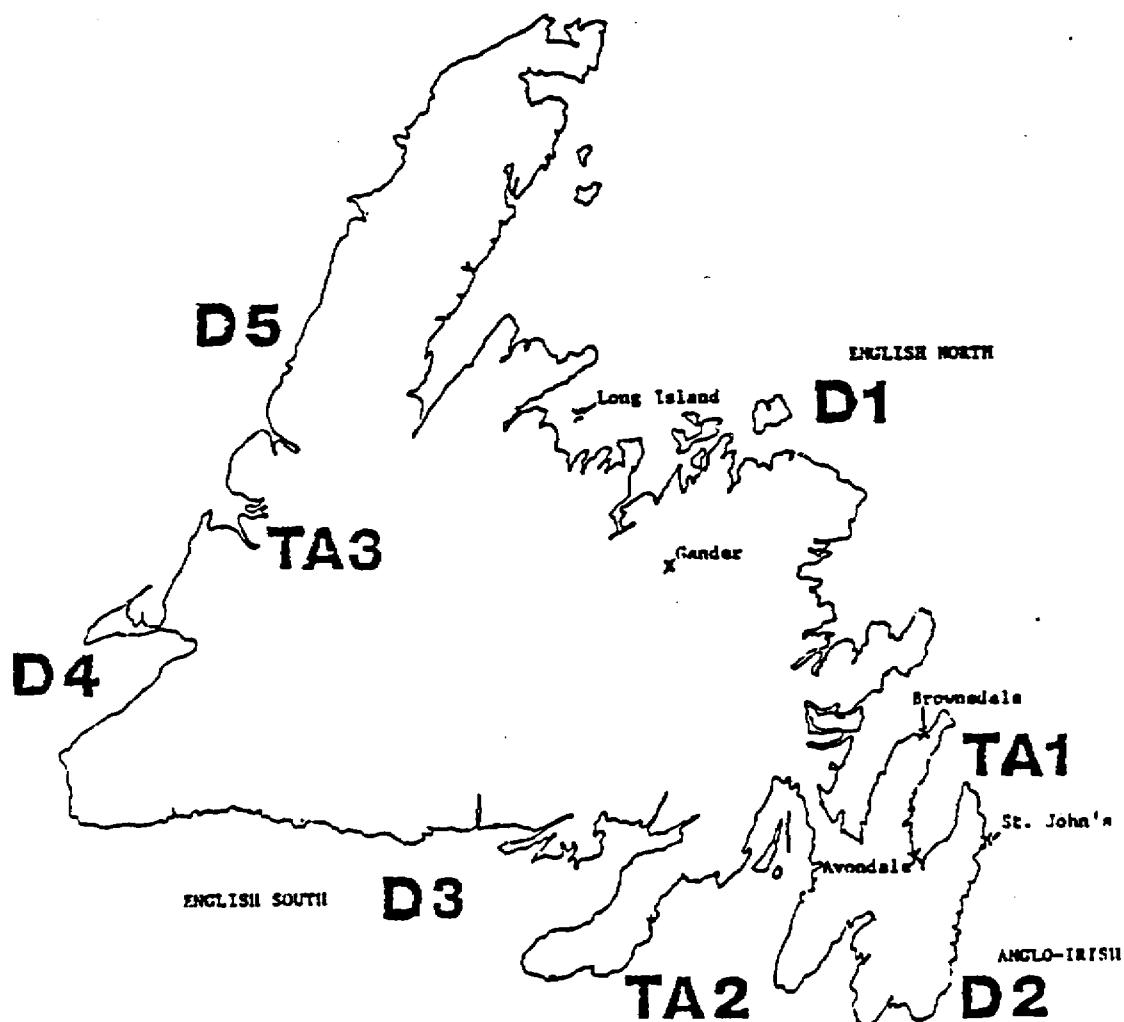


Figure 1. Main Dialect Areas of Newfoundland
(Courtesy of H. Paddock, Newfoundland Dialect Mapping Project)

	Dialect Type	RP	MC	SJU	WB	SJL	NDB
INTELLIGENT (F = 2.31, p < .01, df = 20/380)	Regional Group	SJ-5.69(1) G-5.50(1) A-5.28(1) LI-5.19(1) B-5.01(1)	LI-5.13(2) A-4.69(3) SJ-4.33(3) B-4.29(3) G-4.00(3)	G-5.11(2) LI-5.09(3) A-4.78(2) B-4.71(2) SJ-4.58(2)	G-3.94(4) A-3.64(4) LI-3.40(6) B-3.42(4) SJ-2.97(4)	LI-3.75(5) A-3.44(6) G-3.36(5) B-3.34(5) SJ-2.64(5)	LI-3.80(4) A-3.58(5) B-2.94(6) G-2.64(6) SJ-2.50(6)
HIGH-PAYING; JOB (F = 1.99, p < .01, df = 20/380)		G-5.53(1) SJ-5.47(1) LI-5.14(1) A-5.00(1) B-4.60(1)	LI-4.78(3) SJ-4.28(2) G-4.17(3) A-3.92(3) B-3.31(3)	LI-5.03(2) G-4.89(2) A-4.47(2) SJ-4.11(3) B-3.63(2)	G-3.86(4) LI-3.65(4) A-3.22(4) SJ-2.97(4) B-2.91(4)	G-3.58(5) LI-3.26(5) B-2.62(5) A-2.50(6) SJ-2.27(6)	LI-3.19(6) A-3.08(5) G-2.72(6) SJ-2.53(5) B-2.49(6)
CONFIDENT (No signifi- cant inter- action)		SJ-4.81(1) G-4.67(3) B-4.66(2) A-4.64(2) LI-4.54(2)	LI-4.51(3) B-4.27(4) A-3.86(5) SJ-3.75(5) G-3.75(5)	G-5.11(1) B-4.83(1) A-4.78(1) LI-4.71(1) SJ-4.44(2)	G-4.25(4) SJ-4.06(4) A-3.97(4) B-3.94(3) LI-3.61(4)	G-5.03(2) A-4.47(3) B-4.42(3) SJ-4.33(3) LI-4.16(4)	LI-3.73(5) B-3.68(6) G-3.64(6) A-3.47(6) SJ-3.22(6)

Table 2: Group Means per Dialect Type on Status Scales (The bracketed number indicates the ranking given the various dialect types with respect to one another by each individual group on the scale in question. Where significant Group/Dialect Type interactions occur, F-ratios and probabilities are provided. SJ = the St. John's group, G = Gander, A = Avondale, B = Brownsdale, LI = Long Island).

	Dialect Type	SJL	NDB	WB.	SJU	MC	RP
FRIENDLY (F = 2.58, df = 20/380, p < .001)	Regional Group	SJ-5.86(1) G-5.78(1) A-5.64(1) B-5.48(1) LI-4.62(4)	G-5.08(2) A-5.08(2) SJ-4.69(3) B-4.62(3) LI-4.44(5)	SJ-4.92(2) G-4.92(4) A-4.75(3) B-4.48(5) LI-3.89(6)	G-5.08(2) LI-4.78(1) B-4.63(2) A-4.47(5) SJ-4.28(6)	LI-4.66(3) A-4.61(4) G-4.53(6) B-4.50(4) SJ-4.31(5)	LI-4.75(2) G-4.67(5) SJ-4.53(4) A-4.17(6) B-4.01(6)
KIND (F = 2.45, df = 20/380, p < .001)		SJ-5.61(1) G-5.39(1) B-5.28(1) A-5.19(1) LI-4.73(2)	G-4.89(2) A-4.53(3) LI-4.50(5) B-4.42(3) SJ-4.42(6)	A-4.94(2) G-4.64(4) SJ-4.50(2) B-4.37(4) LI-3.76(6)	LI-4.88(1) G-4.75(3) SJ-4.44(4) A-4.40(5) B-4.06(5)	LI-4.64(4) B-4.58(2) SJ-4.50(2) A-4.50(4) G-4.33(6)	LI-4.70(3) G-4.50(5) SJ-4.44(4) B-4.04(6) A-4.00(6)
LIKEABLE (F = 2.23, df = 20/380, p < .01)		SJ-5.64(1) G-5.44(1) A-5.33(1) B-5.23(1) LI-4.69(2)	A-4.83(2) LI-4.58(4) G-4.58(5) B-4.49(2) SJ-4.19(5)	G-4.83(2) A-4.72(3) SJ-4.50(2) B-4.35(4) LI-3.92(6)	G-4.64(3) LI-4.46(5) B-4.42(3) SJ-4.36(3) A-4.19(5)	LI-4.59(3) A-4.56(4) G-4.47(6) B-4.21(5) SJ-4.08(6)	LI-4.75(1) G-4.64(3) SJ-4.31(4) A-3.89(6) B-3.78(6)
HONEST (F = 1.62, df = 20/380, p < .05)		A-5.50(1) SJ-5.44(1) G-5.19(1) B-5.06(1) LI-4.60(5)	A-4.86(2) SJ-4.83(3) G-4.83(4) LI-4.64(4) B-4.35(6)	A-4.78(4) G-4.72(5) SJ-4.64(5) LI-4.59(6) B-4.35(6)	G-5.03(3) LI-4.98(3) B-4.63(2) A-4.61(6) SJ-4.50(6)	LI-5.14(2) SJ-4.92(2) A-4.89(3) G-4.69(6) B-4.49(3)	LI-5.15(1) G-5.11(2) SJ-4.81(4) A-4.72(5) B-4.37(5)
HARDWORKING (No significant interaction, but main effect for Group (Reg'1 Bkgd): F = 3.20, df = 4/76, p < .05)		A-6.00(1) SJ-5.42(1) G-5.25(1) LI-5.19(1) B-4.76(1)	A-4.92(2) LI-4.88(2) G-4.44(5) SJ-4.14(5) B-3.71(5)	A-4.81(3) G-4.78(3) SJ-4.75(2) LI-4.74(3) B-3.87(3)	G-4.83(2) SJ-4.64(3) LI-4.42(4) A-4.39(4) B-4.31(2)	A-4.28(5) G-4.17(6) LI-4.11(6) SJ-4.11(6) B-3.76(4)	G-4.64(4) SJ-4.61(4) LI-4.41(5) A-4.17(6) B-3.68(6)

Table 3: Group Means per Dialect Type on Solidarity Scales

GEORGE ELIOT'S USE OF HEBREW NAMES IN DANIEL DERONDA

Lilian Falk

Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia

ABSTRACT

In giving names to her various characters in Daniel Deronda George Eliot used for the most part well established first and last names. An exception to this can be seen in the name of the musician Herr Klesmer. The name is neither English nor German, and on further inquiry it suggests very strongly a derivation from the Hebrew expression kli-zemer 'musical instrument' or more probably from the Yiddish klezmer 'folk musician'. The paper traces the historical development of the word itself, from Biblical Hebrew onwards to its use in Yiddish, and raises the question of how George Eliot might have heard the word and decided to use it as a name.

In conclusion, the paper proposes that in this particular case George Eliot coined a new name from an existing Hebrew-Yiddish word.

Daniel Deronda was George Eliot's last novel, published four years before her death. It is a product of her mature years, reflecting her accumulated knowledge and learning. Every detail in the book seems chosen with care and deliberation, as often also attested by George Eliot herself; when she has occasion to comment on some of these details in her letters. When it comes to naming her characters, she takes care in choosing names with a richness of connotation. Thus we get Gwendolen, and Grandcourt, and Sir Hugo Mallinger, and the rest. She is equally careful in choosing names for her Jewish characters. The name 'Daniel', for example, must at first be non-committal, so as not to offer a clue to Daniel's antecedents, but it must also have appropriate Biblical connotations, to come into light later. Family names such as Lapidoth, Cohen, Alcharizi, even Kalonymos, are traditional, and recognizable as names used by Jews. In making these

choices, her diligent study of Hebrew is clearly made use of.

But among the names used by George Eliot for the various characters in Daniel Deronda that of Herr Klesmer stands apart as one that is not self-explanatory. Clearly not an English name, it is likely to be taken, perhaps, for a traditional German name, especially in the combination with Herr, and left at that. However, Klesmer is not a German name, and it is not a traditional name in any European country. It is not to be found in the telephone directories of large metropolitan centres of the world, nor in current European and North American Who is Who directories. In view of the Russian-Jewish background of Herr Klesmer's prototype, the musician Anton Rubinstein, one might wonder if Klesmer is perhaps a traditional Jewish name. But, just as with European directories, Jewish sources do not list Klesmer as a known name. It does not appear in Kaganoff's Dictionary of Jewish Names [Kaganoff, 1977] and it is also absent from Who is Who in Israel 1980-81; nor is there any noted Jewish personage of that name in the standard Jewish Encyclopedias.

And yet the name sounds familiar, too genuine, to be dismissed as a pure invention. It sounds, in fact, identical with the Yiddish word Klezmer (pl. Klezmerim) which means "musician". The question arises whether George Eliot chose the name deliberately, or by coincidence. If the choice was deliberate, then the name is very apt, and if the choice was fortuitous, the coincidence is remarkable.

To pursue the possibility that the word Klezmer was a deliberate choice for the name, it is necessary to establish whether the word had any currency in England in George Eliot's time, and whether Jewish musicians of the Klezmer tradition may have come to her attention.

Indeed, though the Klezmer musical tradition goes back to the folk music of the Middle Ages in Eastern Europe, and Klezmer music was

usually heard at Jewish weddings and other festive social events, the importance and high professional quality of the Klezmer music eventually took the musicians also to the synagogues, to perform in connection with religious festivals, though outside the ritual proper. Rather than diminish in the period of Enlightenment, this musical tradition flourished and became once again appreciated outside the Jewish community as it often was before. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1980, cites in this connection the case of Michael Jozef Guzikow (1806-1837) xylophonist, flautist and dulcimer player who began his career as a poor street musician of the Klezmer tradition but gained considerable reputation throughout Europe, performed in all the important European cities, and won the admiration of Mendelssohn himself.

While it is true that Guzikow's fame and untimely death took place when George Eliot was still a young girl, the tradition of Klezmer music in the Synagogues of Prague and Frankfurt was still firm at the time of her visits to these cities. The expression "Klezmer music" may have occurred in the course of conversations about music in general, or Jewish music in particular.

To suppose, on the other hand, that George Eliot might have known the word Klezmer as a Hebrew word, would be erroneous. Although the word is of Hebrew derivation, it does not occur, as such, in Biblical Hebrew. The Hebrew base of this word is kli 'instrument' (pl. Kelim, in combined pl. form klei) and zemer 'music, song,' Klei in combination with several other words occurs in the Bible; for example, klei zain, 'instruments of warfare,' and frequently klei shir 'instruments of music.' According to Nelson's Complete Concordance, 1957, the latter expression occurs in 1 Ch. 16.42, 2 Ch. 7.06, 2 Ch. 34.12, and in Amos 6.05. Thus though a possible combination, klei zemer does not appear in the Bible, nor is it a Talmudic word, according to Levy, 1963.

The word finally appears in Yiddish as noted above, with the meaning not of 'musical instrument', but 'musician' and as such has been used as the proper designation for the Eastern European folk musicians since the Middle Ages. The Yiddish meaning and spelling קלמער clearly testify to the Hebrew derivation. This word, in the traditional sense of folk musician is also used in Modern Hebrew, but is felt to be a Yiddish word, and is used in this sense with quotation marks, (thus, for example, in the *Encyclopaeda Hebraica*) and with the appropriate Yiddish, not Hebrew, plural formation. (The Yiddish ending *-im* is of Hebrew origin, but it would not be used in Hebrew as suffix in combined nominal expressions, i.e. in the case of "status constructus.") The quotation marks in this context also safeguard against reading it as if it was a Hebrew word, in which case it would mean 'musical instrument(s)'.

It is not in George Eliot's knowledge of Hebrew, therefore, but in her interest in Jewish traditions and in music, that we may seek for the source, incidental or deliberate, of the name Klesmer for the temperamental and highly principled musician of Daniel Deronda.

One might remark before concluding, that the Klezmerim of Europe, like many other folk performers, suffered various persecutions, and were relegated to very low social position. For this reason, and in spite of the high demand for their services, a certain derogatory meaning has attached itself to the word itself. Of this, however, there seems to be no reflection in George Eliot's novel.

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LES PROPOSITIONS CAUSALES DANS LES
PARLERS FRANCO-ACADIENS ÉCRITS

Pierre Gérin

Mount Saint Vincent University

RÉSUMÉ

L'analyse d'un corpus de six oeuvres franco-acadiennes révèle un emploi restreint de que et d'à cause que, que l'on peut rattacher à un usage préclassique. Si l'on examine les formes usuelles du français commun car, comme, puisque, c'est que, c'est pour ça que, elles sont rares dans notre corpus; en revanche, parce que se trouve très fréquemment, même après un signe de ponctuation fort; ce n'est pas que, soit ... ou que sont suivis du mode indicatif. Quant à d'abord, surtout que, et par rapport que (fréquent après un signe de ponctuation fort), ils appartiennent au français populaire. Ainsi, dans l'expression de la causalité, les parlers franco-acadiens écrits apparaissent plus proches du français populaire que du français préclassique.

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"Pourquoi ci? Pourquoi ça?
Pourquoi l'âne à Thomas
A-t-il quatre pattes?"

La réponse variera selon le degré d'évolution et la culture des interlocuteurs, mais la question que pose la ritournelle enfantine exprime un besoin fondamental de l'esprit humain, indépendant de l'âge et de l'état social, celui de chercher, sinon de trouver, une explication à tout phénomène. Aussi, en français commun, outre les compléments circonstanciels - substantifs ou infinitifs -

régis par des prépositions ou des locutions prépositives, outre les participes apposés ou absolus, outre les propositions relatives explicatives, une riche gamme de conjonctions et de locutions conjonctives introduit-elle les réponses à ces incessants "pourquoi". La Grammaire française Larousse cite comme conjonctions de coordination (Dubois, Jouannon, Lagasse, 1961: 129, par. 224) car, en effet, et, comme conjonction de subordination (p. 144, par. 262), parce que, puisque, comme, vu que, attendu que, sous prétexte que, du moment que, suivis de l'indicatif ou du conditionnel, et non que, non pas que, ce n'est pas que, suivis du subjonctif. De quelles conjonctions ou locutions conjonctives les parlers franco-Acadiens écrits usent-ils pour exprimer la notion de causalité? De quel mode les font-ils suivre?

Pour répondre à ces questions, je limite mon étude à l'examen des propositions causales relevées dans six oeuvres, trois de la Nouvelle-Ecosse (Les Lettres de Marichette, publiées entre 1895 et 1898 dans L'Évangéline, alors imprimée à Weymouth, N.-E., - Dans Note Temps avec Mélonie et Philomène, dialogues folkloriques de Félix Thibodeau, 1978, - Les Gossipeuses, scénario du film de Phil Comeau, 1978); trois du Nouveau-Brunswick (La Saguine d'Antonine Maillet, 1971; Le Djibou de Laval Goupil, 1975, - Sacordjeu de Claude Renaud, 1979). Il est remarquable que, sauf Les Lettres de Marichette, ce sont toutes des oeuvres faites pour être jouées, parlées, et non lues. Marichette, elle-même, est censée écrire comme elle parle. Un tableau statistique annexe classe les 308

observations notées.

En gros, nous pouvons distinguer parmi les conjonctions et locutions conjonctives relevées trois catégories: celles qui paraissent conformes à un usage préclassique, celles qui sont conformes aux usages du français commun d'aujourd'hui, celles qui relèvent de l'usage dit "populaire".

Dans la première catégorie, celle des conjonctions et locutions conjonctives qui paraissent conformes à un usage préclassique, figurent seulement que et à cause que.

Pierre Guiraud dans Le Français populaire (1965: 72) fait observer qu'en ancien français "que assume la fonction d'un corrélatif minimum à valeur universelle". Et c'est bien un que explicatif que nous trouvons dans ce passage du Vair Palefroi de Huon le Roi (vv. 1027-9, XIIIe siècle) cité par Lucien Foulet dans sa Petite Syntaxe de l'ancien français (1930:292):

"Molt ert ombrages
en cele part li granz boschages
que molt parfons estoit li vaus"

J'ai rencontré seulement trois occurrences de ce que à nuance causale dans mon corpus, et toutes chez Marichette:

"(...) le maître ou la maîtresse voulions pas yeux montrer l'français, qu'on se moquerait de nous autres si j'le parlions devant les étrangers (...) (Lettre du 28/2/1895)."

Remarquons que cet emploi archaïque rejoint l'usage populaire. Henri Frei dans La Grammaire des

fautes (1929: 154) fait observer qu'au contraire de la langue écrite qui multiplie les procédés explicites, "la tendance populaire (...) est de remplacer tous ces signes par un instrument unique - le corrélatif générique que" et il cite Monnier (Scènes pop.):

"Reprends donc vite le petit, que je suis tout trempé."

Pierre Guiraud (1965: 72) offre une explication historique: que a été refoulé dans la langue populaire où il continue "à jouer (...) ce rôle de conjonction minimum, de terme générique impliquant tous les autres."

A cause que, aussi, était fort usité dans la langue préclassique. Gougenheim, dans sa Grammaire de la langue française du seizième siècle (1951:199) cite un exemple de Marguerite de Navarre (Heptaméron, 10):

"Mais à cause qu'il estoit puisné, n'avoit riens de son patrimoine."

On trouve encore cette locution conjonctive au XVII^e siècle, notamment chez Descartes, Pascal, Molière, et même chez des puristes comme La Bruyère et Fénelon. Cependant, à cause que ne se présente que 24 fois dans notre corpus, ce qui ne paraît d'ailleurs pas correspondre aux habitudes que nous constatons quotidiennement. Fait encore plus remarquable, la Sagouine l'ignore et 18 des 24 occurrences apparaissent chez Marichette:

"(...) les filles étions toute crasy après lui, à cause qu'il était aimable, et beau garçon, et chi commençais avoir une p'tite moustache (op. cit.,) 14/3/1895."

Aujourd'hui, malgré les savantes interventions de Littré (art. cause, t. I, p. 1528) et de Brunot (La Pen-

sée et la langue, 1922: 810), qui défendent cette locution de bonne venue, à cause que, naguère sentie comme vieille et désuète, a trouvé refuge dans la langue populaire et pseudo-populaire, par exemple chez Gaston Leroux et chez San-Antonio (Certaines l'aiment chauve, p. 144):

"Néanmoins (jadis j'ajoutais: 'comme aurait dit Cléopâtre, ou bien' et ce n'est pas fait pour m'embellir,' à cause que néanmoins ça phonétise nez en moins, tu comprends?)..."

L'emploi de que et d'à cause que dans notre corpus apparaît très discret, inconstant. Il pourrait même laisser penser qu'il s'agit là aussi bien d'un usage populaire que d'archaïsmes.

Si les formes qui peuvent provenir de l'âge pré-classique sont rares, en revanche, notre corpus présente de nombreuses formes qui appartiennent au français commun, voire à la langue littéraire: la subordonnée relative explicative, les conjonctions et locutions conjonctives car, comme, puisque, parce que, c'est que, c'est pour ça que, ce n'est pas que, soit que... ou que.

Héritée du latin, la subordonnée relative causale ou explicative est presque inexistante dans les textes étudiés. Nous n'en trouvons que deux exemples, tous deux chez Antonine Maillet:

"Fallit qu'il allit qu'ri' du secours pour les autres qu'étaient restés enfarmés dans une cave à patates (1971: p. 90)."

Autrefois l'égal de que causal, honnie par le romancier Gomberville, défendue par Vaugelas (Brunot et Bruneau, 1949: 453), la conjonction de coordination car

"n'est plus guère employée", selon Foulet (1930: 293), "que par la langue écrite." J'en ai cependant relevé cinq occurrences, dont deux chez Marichette:

"J'crois pour un temps qu'il allait me mener ouse qu'il avait dit, car le jâble portait le cheval, tant qu'il allait, et toute clirait le chemin devant lui (op. cit., 22/10/1896)".

D'origine latine, issue de quomodo, mais confon- due au XVIe siècle avec cum, la conjonction comme a pris de cette dernière le sens causal, et l'a gardé. Dans notre corpus nous n'en trouvons que cinq exemples. Marichette décrit ainsi sa fuite:

"Comme j'avons des plus grandes jambes que ma voisine je saute par-dessus la bouchure in one snap, sans mette mes mains sur les lisses. (op. cit., 26/8/1897)."

Puisque, de création ancienne, employé pour mar- quer qu'on va rappeler une raison déjà connue explici- tement ou implicitement, a bien sa raison d'être dans la langue. Il n'apparaît pourtant que trois fois dans notre corpus. Félix E. Thibodeau le note dans sa pro- nonciation acadienne (et populaire):

"C'est bin simple, p'isque l'eau a point d'goût on met de quoi d'dans pour y dounner du goût (1978:39)."

Quant à parce que, longtemps concurrencé à juste titre par pour ce que, aujourd'hui la plus employée des conjonctions causales dans le français commun, il l'em- porte aussi largement dans notre corpus: 158 occurrences sur un total de 308. La comparaison avec à cause que est intéressante: chez Antonine Maillet, le rapport est

de 110 à 0; chez Marichette il est de 14 à 18; dans l'ensemble du corpus, il est de 158 à 24. Antonine Maillet en use parfois fort régulièrement:

"Je pouvons pas aller nous faire bénir la gorge à la Saint-Blaise, non plus, parce qu'il faut que je gardions sus les autres, ce matin-là tandis qu'ils alont à l'église. (1971: 12)."

Il arrive même que la conjonction soit reprise par un simple que après et:

"Y a la messe le dimanche qu'on a désartée parce qu'on avait rien qu'un chapeau cobî à se mettre sus la tête et qu'on voulait pas se faire moquer de nous autres (1971: 95-96)."

Marichette donne souvent à parce que un cachet acadien (et même populaire) en omettant le R:

"C'était un gros homme (y paraissait coume ça toujours, pasqu'il avait beaucoup de poils sur l'échine (...)) (op.cit., 28/2/1895)."

Bien plus, par souci d'expressivité certainement et par ignorance (bien entendu, feinte) de la grammaire, deux traits caractéristiques des parlers populaires, Antonine Maillet, une fois sur deux, traite parce que comme la locution conjonctive en effet, et le place après un signe de ponctuation fort, faisant de la subordonnée causale une indépendante:

"Et c'est pas la crache qui dérange, c'est la boucane. Parce que la boucane, tu peux pas mettre ça dans une spitoune (1971: 13)."

Dans ce cas, parce que ne devrait pas être repris par que après et. De fait, nous trouvons:

"Et c'est coume ça que les Concessions

avont pu se faufiler et prendre leu place dans les bancs d'église. Parce quand c'est que les Village-des-Colette avont vu les Saint-Hilaire envahir les bancs, ils s'avont amenés itou, et ils avont dénigé à leu tour les Gallant, les Barthe pis les Landry (1971: 51)."

Mais que dire quand parce que, simple coordinatif, est repris par que après et?

La guerre

"s'en a venu par icitte juste à temps, c't'elle-là. Juste au bon temps pour nous sauver de la misère. Parce que si j'avions pas pu nous rendre jusqu'à la guerre et que j'avions corvé en chemin, pas parsounne s'en arait aperçu (1971: p. 53)."

Pierre Guiraud (1965: 74) considère ce type d'anaphore abusive comme populaire:

"Il est malade, c'est pourquoi il est couché et qu'il ne peut pas travailler."

C'est que, après une proposition par si exposant l'effet, sans valeur suppositive, sert à mettre en relief la cause. Dans notre corpus nous ne trouvons que deux exemples de ce tour, l'un chez Claude Renaud, l'autre chez Antonine Maillet:

"Gapi, lui, il a pour son dire que si un homme veut t'acheter ta chemise, c'est qu'y a de quoi de caché sous c'te chemise là qui vaut de quoi (...) (1971: 43)."

Familière par son intensité et par la contraction de cela en ça, l'expression c'est pour ça que énonce le fait principal ou effet, après qu'une indépendante a fait connaître la cause. Nous la rencontrons 13 fois dans notre corpus. Félix Thibodeau explique la forme des sièges

anciens:

"La femme, et même les hommes, travaillent beaucoup sur leur genoux tant qu'y étaient assis (...) C'est pour ça que les chaises et les bancs de travail étaient bas sur la patte (1978: 26)."

Le tour négatif ce n'est pas que revient six fois dans notre corpus. Dans Sacordjeu! de Claude Renaud, Joseph nie ainsi sa jalousie:

"Comment ça se fait que t'invites rien que de la saloperie comme ça à ton palais? C'est pas que j'sus jaloux, monsieur le Grand Vicaire, c'est juste qu'je trouve ça tchurieux (1978: 62)."

Remarquons la négation réduite à l'adjuvant pas, conformément aux habitudes acadiennes et populaires. D'autre part, le mode du verbe de la subordonnée mérite un examen: j'sus est un présent de l'indicatif. Selon Grévisse dans son Bon Usage (1975: 1169, par. 1023), ce n'est pas que, à l'époque classique, quand il signifiait "après tout", "en vérité", régissait le mode indicatif; à l'époque moderne, s'il signifie "on ne doit pas dire à cause de cela que", il peut encore se construire avec l'indicatif; mais quand il exprime une fausse cause, il exige le subjonctif. Or c'est le cas de l'exemple étudié. Ici encore nous constatons un trait de la langue populaire, car, comme le constate Pierre Guiraud (1965: 37), le mode subjonctif, partout ailleurs que dans les propositions volitives et désidératives, tend à être remplacé par l'indicatif.

Enfin soit que... ou que, exprimant l'incertitude quant à la cause, ne se rencontre qu'une fois, sous la plume de Marichette:

"(...) depi que j'ai perdu mes dents et tiens ma bouche fermé ont dit que j'ai le mâton enfoncé sous le nez et que le nez me déborde comme le bec d'un paroquet et me cache toute la face; soit que j'avais perdu la machoire d'en bas ou que le nez m'avait poussé trois pouces plus long depi (op. cit., 22/10/1896)."

Curieusement cette locution toute classique est ici construite avec l'indicatif, alors qu'elle marque un doute du fait même qu'elle présente une alternative. C'est évidemment une construction populaire.

Ainsi, dans le corpus étudié, même les conjonctions et locutions conjonctives qui paraissent appartenir au domaine du français commun, sont souvent marquées du cachet populaire, soit du fait de la prononciation, soit du fait d'un changement de catégorie grammaticale, soit du fait d'une anaphore abusive, soit du fait de la substitution d'un mode à l'autre.

Les tendances à l'expression populaire, déjà visibles dans l'emploi des subordonnants en usage dans le français commun, se manifestent pleinement dans celui de la parataxe, de l'adverbe d'abord au sens causal, des locutions conjonctives par rapport que, surtout que.

Comme la langue parlée dont il n'est souvent qu'une forme relâchée, le français populaire tend à exprimer la corrélation par la juxtaposition des phrases, laissant au contexte le soin de faire deviner les distinctions utiles. Dans le corpus étudié, j'ai relevé 48 cas de parataxe. Mais il est évident que j'ai pu en laisser échapper un certain nombre par distrac-

tion, par manque de subtilité. Voici un exemple dans lequel l'auteur, Antonine Maillet, suggère par un signe de ponctuation (:) une étroite relation entre les deux idées exprimées:

"Eh ben apparence qu'ils les avont
pas retrouvées, leux terres: les
Anglais les aviont tous pris (1971:89)."

Au contraire, dans Les Gossipeuses, l'auteur sépare les deux propositions par un point; le ton de l'actrice suffit à marquer la nuance causale:

"Agathe, sneak oir à leu vite.
Y't'oiron poinne astheure. Y fait
noir (1978: 29)."

D'abord, locution adverbiale de temps, finit par exprimer la cause à la suite d'une extension de sens: ce qui est venu avant semble avoir nécessairement entraîné ce qui vient après. On trouve d'abord dans cette acception deux fois chez Antonine Maillet:

"(...), ils contiont que le Frank à
Thiophile, il se roulait des cigarettes
avec des piastres. Si ça du bon sens
asteur de partir des histoires de même!
(...) D'abord depuis sa loterie, il se
roulait pas de cigarettes, le Frank,
il les achetait toutes faites au magasin
(1971: 34-35)."

La locution conjonctive par rapport que est vivement critiquée par les grammairiens. Georquin (1961: 64) rappelle que rapport exprime une idée de comparaison, de référence et non pas de cause. Selon Crevisse (1975: 972, par. 912), (par) rapport que appartient au langage populaire ou très familier. Bourciez (1946: 717, par. 567, b) la juge sévèrement: "depuis le milieu du XVIIIe siècle circule (...) dans le peuple une locution vulgaire (par)

rapport que..." Dans notre corpus, nous la rencontrons 31 fois chez Antonine Maillet et une fois chez Laval Goupil:

"Ah oui, ce'ui-là qu'i avont surnommé le grand-slack-à-Zidôre, par rapport qu'i'a du lousse tchèque part dans les membres (1975: 58)."

On le trouve même placé après un signe de ponctuation fort. C'est ainsi qu'Antonine Maillet écrit:

"C'ti-là, c'était pas tout à fait un prêtre, c'était ce qu'ils appelont un Père Blanc. Par rapport qu'il avait une soutane blanche, et je savons pas si ça comptait pour une soutane (1971:41)."

L'intensif surtout que, qualifié de vulgaire par Gougenheim (1951: 201), est mieux accepté par Grevisse (1975: 1103-1104, par. 986), qui ne le trouve que familier, en notant qu'il est généralement condamné par les grammairiens et les puristes. J'en ai relevé seulement quatre occurrences, chez Antonine Maillet, après un signe de ponctuation fort: (il s'agit des fêtes de Noël)

"J'en ai vu soixante-douze dans ma courte vie, c'est pas assez pour s'en faire une idée? Et pis, surtout, qu'ils se ressemblont toutes, leux Nouëls (1971: 21)."

Ainsi, dans notre corpus, les conjonctions et locutions conjonctives du domaine populaire sont utilisées discrètement, sans vulgarité, on pourrait même dire à la limite du familier.

De cette courte étude d'un corpus assez réduit, deux idées me paraissent se dégager. D'une part, les écrivains franco-acadiens, lorsqu'ils veulent "faire franco-acadien", concentrent leurs efforts de préféren-

ce sur la prononciation, sur les archaïsmes de vocabulaire et de forme, sur les anglicismes. D'autre part, il apparaît une fois de plus que la syntaxe des parlers franco-acadiens se rapproche plus de celle du parler populaire français contemporain que de celle du français préclassique.

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LES PROPOSITIONS CAUSALES DANS LES PARLERS FRANCO-ACADIENS ECRITS -
 TABLEAU STATISTIQUE -
 Pierre Gérin, M.S.V.U.

	que	à cause que	français commun										français populaire				TOTALS
			relati- ve exp. cative	car	comme	puisque	parce que	c'est que	c'est pour que	ce n'est pas que	soit que	para- taxe	d'abord	par rapport	surtout		
Marichette	3	18	-	2	3	-	14	-	2	-	1	15	-	-	-	58	
Félix Thibodeau	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	10	-	-	-	-	18	
Phil Comeau	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	6	
Antoine Maillet	-	-	2	-	2	1	110	1	7	3	-	12	2	31	4	175	
Laval Goupil	-	3	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	1	-	7	-	1	-	29	
Claude Renaud	-	-	-	2	-	1	17	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	22	
TOTAUX	3	24	2	5	3	158	2	13	6	1	48	2	32	4	308		

Observations sur le comportement morphosyntaxique
de "tout" en acadien

B. Edward Gesner

Dalhousie University

RESUME

La présente étude examine toutes les occurrences du lexème tout relevées dans deux corpus oraux enregistrés dans deux régions acadiennes différentes (la Baie Sainte-Marie et Pubnico, Nouvelle-Ecosse). Les huit informateurs enregistrés dans la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie ont entre 32 et 89 ans, tandis que les six informateurs de Pubnico sont des enfants ayant de six à onze ans. Ceci a permis d'entreprendre une analyse à la pris à travers l'espace et le temps et, après avoir tenté de dégager les diverses formes et fonctions de tout dans les deux parlars à l'étude, je confonterai mes résultats avec les formes et fonctions de tout en français standard.

Il est toujours bon, me semble-t-il, de rappeler que les parlers franco-acadiens des Provinces Maritimes ont pu, dans une assez large mesure, échapper aux contraintes normatives du français dit "standard" ou "international" ou "général". Dans cette étude je me propose de décrire et de commenter les diverses formes et fonctions du lexème tout en acadien, telles que celles-ci se relèvent à travers une analyse de toutes les occurrences du lexème relevées dans deux corpus linguistiques différents. En même temps il me paraît intéressant de signaler les écarts entre le comportement morphosyntaxique de tout en acadien et en français standard.

Pour ce qui est des deux corpus sur lesquels ce travail est basé, signalons tout de suite qu'ils se différencient aussi bien dans le temps que dans l'espace. J'ai réuni le premier corpus moi-même à, ou près de, Meteghan, ville principale de la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie, Nouvelle-Ecosse, en 1975 et en 1976. Les témoignages de huit informateurs (deux hommes et deux femmes ayant entre 71 et 89 ans et deux hommes et deux femmes ayant entre 32 et 53 ans) ont été retenus. Il s'agit d'un corpus de discours libre d'environ 16,000 mots graphiques. Le deuxième corpus a été enregistré en 1979 dans la région de Pubnico, Nouvelle-Ecosse par les soins du Dr. Moshé Starets, directeur du Centre de Recherches sur l'Enseignement du Français (CREF) de l'Université Sainte-Anne. Ce corpus d'environ 12,000 mots graphiques

est aussi constitué de discours libre. Les six informateurs, qui avaient entre six et onze ans, se répartissaient comme suit: un garçon et une fille de la cinquième année scolaire, un garçon et une fille de la troisième année scolaire et un garçon et une fille de la première année scolaire. Les deux corpus représentent donc deux régions et trois générations différentes. J'aurai l'occasion de noter quelques points de divergence entre l'emploi du lexème tout dans ces deux régions acadiennes, qui se trouvent toutes deux dans le sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Ecosse à une centaine de kilomètres de distance l'une de l'autre.

I Tout - Pré-article

J'appellerai pré-article l'emploi adjectival de tout, étant donné que celui-ci précède toujours l'article, le démonstratif ou le possessif dans le syntagme nominal¹.

Ex: (1) J'ai lu tout le livre.

(2) Il a vu toutes ces femmes.

(3) Il a passé toute sa vie à Charlottetown.

Avant de commenter les occurrences de tout pré-article relevées dans les deux corpus, je présenterai en forme de tableau un résumé des données. Dans ce tableau (ainsi que dans ceux qui y feront suite), j'utiliserai les abréviations et symboles suivants:

C. M. corpus de Meteghan

C. P. corpus de Pubnico

m. masculin

1. Voir J. Dubois (1970:38-39).

f. féminin

s. singulier

p. pluriel

adj. adjectif

adv. adverbial

prép. préposition

pron. pronom

occ. tot. occurrences totales des unités

occ. diff. occurrences différentes des unités

* écart par rapport au français standard

† suivi de

Tout - Pré-article

	m.s.	occ. tot.	occ. diff.	f.s.	occ. tot.	occ. diff.	m.p.	occ. tot.	occ. diff.	f.p.	occ. tot.	occ. diff.
C. M.				/tut/	16	9						
	/tu/	18	4	*/tu/	1	1	/tu/	13	9	*/tu/	11	8
C. P.				/tut/	2	2				*/tu/	27	8
	/tu/	30	3	/tut/	2	2	/tu/	10	8	/tut/	3	3
Tot.				/tut/	18	11				*/tu/	38	16
	/tu/	48	7	*/tu/	1	1	/tu/	23	17	/tut/	3	3

Tableau 1

1. tout suivi d'un nom masculin singulier

Les deux parlars à l'étude se montrent conformes à la langue standard quant à la forme que prend tout dans un syntagme nominal où le nom est masculin et singulier. Je relève sans exception la réalisation /tu/. En voici quelques exemples provenant des deux corpus.

(4) A' ("elle") fait tout /tu/ son travail tout seule... (C. M.)

(5) Pis tout le temps i' chantait. (C. M.)

(6) I' fait des canots pour tout le monde. (C. P.)

(7) N'avait un' aut' sorte de U. F. O. qu'a venu. A' faisait
tout le tour. (C. P.)

Sur un total de 48 occurrences, les corpus ne nous livrent que sept occurrences différentes (c'est-à-dire sept syntagmes nominaux qui ne sont pas identiques). Ceci s'explique par le fait qu'il y avait de nombreuses occurrences de "tout le temps" (21) et de "tout le monde" (18). L'on pourrait sans doute considérer ces deux derniers comme des syntagmes figés.

2. tout suivi d'un nom féminin singulier

A une exception près, j'ai relevé la forme standard /tut/² dans les deux corpus.

Ex: (8) I' s'en alliont toute /tut/ la journée. (C. M.)

(9) Il a toujours fait ça toute sa vie. (C. M.)

(10) Toute une gang, j'allons dans le bois et ça. (C. P.)

(11) Et toute la peinture a toute 'té su' moi. (C. P.)

Cependant, une informatrice de Meteghan racontait que:

(12) Tout /tu/ ma famille avont été née icitte.

On remarquera, dans cet énoncé où les écarts sont d'ailleurs nombreux, que le verbe avont été ("ont été") est au pluriel. Nous verrons par la suite que, même si le nom est du genre féminin, l'on relève presque toujours au pluriel la forme /tu/ (cf. /tut/ en français standard). Dans un premier temps j'avais donc considéré "tout ma famille" comme

2. Cette forme se réalise presque toujours [tʰt] dans mes corpus, avec une voyelle nettement plus relâchée que la réalisation [tut] du français standard. Voir à ce sujet Ryan (1981: 46) ou Gesner (1979: 116-117)

un simple lapsus. Mais assez récemment j'ai pu consulter à nouveau une de mes informatrices de la Baie Sainte-Marie, et tout en convenant qu'elle dirait bien "toute l'affaire", "toute la semaine", "toute l'année" et "toute la bande", elle pensait dire plutôt, non seulement "tout la famille", mais "tout la maison", "tout la viande" et "tout sa vie". Avant de parler de variante libre, cependant, comme le fait Louise Péronnet en décrivant le comportement du pré-article tout dans le parler acadien de Moncton³, il faudrait sans doute entreprendre une étude bien plus approfondie. Pour le moment, en ce qui concerne les régions de Meteghan et de Pubnico, la question reste en suspens.

3. tout suivi d'un nom masculin pluriel

Tout comme pour la forme du pré-article suivie d'un nom masculin au singulier, aucun écart n'est à signaler quand le nom est masculin et pluriel. Les deux corpus fournissent au total 17 occurrences différentes de /tu/.

Ex: (13) On sort presque tous /tu/ les soirs. (C. M.)

(14) Tous ces mots-là, faudrait que ça fut mis d'un ("dans un") livre. (C. M.)

(15) L'eau, ç'avait toute floodé ("inondé") tous les ruisseaux. (C. P.)

(16) Presque tous les hommes vont à la pêche. (C. P.)

3. Péronnet (1975:48) estime que "les formes de tout du parler décrit n'expriment ni l'opposition du 'nombre', ni la contrainte du 'genre'. Devant une consonne, il y a deux variantes libres, /tut/ et /tu/, qui accompagnent aussi bien un substantif 'masculin' qu'un substantif 'féminin', et aussi bien un substantif 'singulier' qu'un substantif 'pluriel'."

4. tout suivi d'un nom féminin pluriel

C'est surtout ici que les deux parlers acadiens à l'étude s'éloignent formellement du français standard. Dans le corpus de Meteghan, j'ai noté 11 occurrences de la forme /tu/, mais aucune occurrence de la forme standard /tut/.

Ex: (17) J'avons vu tous /tu/ ces affaires-là.

(18) Il a fait tous ses études aux Etats.

A Pubnico, c'est également la forme /tu/ qui prédomine nettement (27 occurrences).

Ex: (19) Pour tous /tu/ mes cousines et tous mes tantes...

(20) Et now j'ons givé up ("nous y avons renoncé") à cause que tous les branches ont séché.

(21) Et tous les portes étiont barrées...

Mais j'ai aussi relevé trois occurrences de la forme standard /tut/ (réalisées, rappelons-le, [tʰt]).

(22) Mrs. Roper a été et alle ("elle") a pacté toutes /tut/ ses hardes.

(23) J'allons around darrière de toutes les prés, là, round la côte. (Le lexème pré serait du genre féminin dans le parler acadien de Pubnico - enquête.)

(24) ...des chemises et des curtains et toutes sortes de choses.

Contre une seule occurrence de "toutes /tut/ sortes de choses" dans le corpus de Pubnico, j'ai relevé pas moins de 18 occurrences de "tous /tu/ sortes de choses"; cette dernière réalisation semblerait donc être la norme dans la région. Il faut se rappeler que le corpus

de Pubnico est entièrement constitué de témoignages d'élèves - on s'efforce de parler le français standard à l'école, et il serait peut-être possible d'attribuer les trois occurrences "normales" de /tut/ à l'influence normative de l'école. Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est de loin la forme /tu/ qui est la plus fréquente quand elle précède un nom féminin pluriel, et ceci dans les deux parlars.

5. tout + ça; tout + pronom relatif

Aux remarques précédentes sur les formes de tout pré-article, il faudrait ajouter que tout peut être suivi d'un pronom démonstratif sans article. L'expression figée "tout ça" se rencontre aussi bien en acadien qu'en français standard, et ici la réalisation serait plutôt /tu/ dans la région de Meteghan (comme en français standard), et /tut/ à Pubnico. En témoignent les exemples suivants tirés des deux corpus.

(25) Les inspecteux d'école et les médecins et les dentistes et tout /tu/ ça, i' voudriont absolument pas trop parler acadien, vois-tu? (C. M. - quatre occurrences en tout de "tout ça" dans ce corpus; aucune occurrence de "toute ça")

(26) A' lave la vaisselle et toute /tut/ ça. (C. P. - trois occurrences en tout de "toute ça" dans ce corpus; aucune occurrence de "tout ça")

Quant à tout suivi d'un pronom relatif, j'ai rencontré à la fois - et surtout - la forme standard "tout /tu/ ce qui/que" (quatre occurrences dans le corpus de Meteghan) et une forme propre à l'acadien "toute ça qui/que" (une seule occurrence dans le corpus de Meteghan).

Ex: (27) Faut point que vous croyiez tout /tu/ ce que vous entendez dire.

(28) C'est-ti vrai, tout ce qu'i' nous disait?

(29) C'était toute /tut/ ça qu'y avait icitte.

Aucune occurrence de la structure tout + pronom relatif n'était présente dans le corpus de Pubnico. Est-ce qu'il s'agit d'une structure "relativement" complexe et donc peu utilisée par les écoliers?

Signalons que le pronom relatif "ce qui/ce que", quand il n'est pas précédé de tout, se réalise toujours ça qui, ça que (19 occurrences dans les deux corpus).

Ex: (30) Ça que n'y a ("il y a") à Bedford, c'est quasiment toute de la clear money ("des bénéfiques").

6. whole [hol]

Je ne saurais passer sous silence l'emprunt du lexème whole de l'anglais, au sens de "entier, complet". Là où on s'attendrait à l'emploi de tout, on relève:

(31) I' travaillait une whole veillée pour vingt-cinq cents. (C. M. - une seule occurrence dans ce corpus)

(32) Je faisons un whole pilot ("une grande quantité") de routes dans le bois, là. (C. P. - trois occurrences en tout dans ce corpus)

Il est à noter qu'on n'emprunte pas que le lexème, mais l'ordre des mots typiques du syntagme anglais correspondant. Comparons:

a whole evening (anglais)

une whole veillée (acadien)

toute une soirée (français)

Whole, tout en ayant le sens de tout, devient plutôt un post-article en acadien!

II Tout - Pronom

Avant de quitter le cadre du syntagme nominal, passons en revue les emplois pronominaux de tout dans les parlers de Meteghan et de Pubnico. Le tableau 2 en donne un résumé.

Tout - Pronom

	Pronom variable			Pronom invariable					
	m.p.; f.p.	occ. tot:	occ. diff.		occ. tot:	occ. diff.		occ. tot:	occ. diff.
C. M.	*/tut/	12	12	*/tut/	5	5	/tu/	1	1
C. P.	*/tut/	7	7	*/tut/	10	5	/tu/	0	0
Tot.	*/tut/	19	19	*/tut/	15	10	/tu/	1	1

Tableau 2

1. tout - pronom variable

En français standard, les pronoms tous /tus/ et toutes /tut/ varient selon le genre des noms des personnes ou des choses qu'ils représentent (voir Grevisse, §457 B). C'est dire que, en parlant

d'hommes ou de livres, l'on dirait: "Tous /tus/ sont là" ou "Ils sont tous là", tandis qu'en évoquant des femmes ou des tables, il faudrait plutôt dire: "Toutes /tut/ sont là" ou "Elles sont toutes là". L'acadien semble haïr les complications, car j'ai relevé la seule réalisation toute(s) /tut/ pour les deux contextes.

Ex: (33) (les garçons) I' s'ont toute(s) réuni pour la fête. (C. M.)

(34) (les femmes) Il a renté ("loué") une maison pour que je purent toute(s) y aller, chaque not' semaine. (C. M.)

(35) C'était toute(s) des soeurs. (C. M.)

(36) (Mr. Dressup et ses amis) I' avont toute(s) venu et i'ont fait un tune en venant. (C. P.)

(37) Quand ce que les roches avont toute(s) timbé down, ça a toute défait le chemin. (C. P.)

(38) (Big Bird et tout le monde) I'ont couché back, toute(s) zeux; c'était le soir. (C. P.)

Notons l'ordre des mots dans la dernière phrase citée; on dirait "eux tous" /tus/ et non pas (en effectuant des changements morphologiques) "tous eux" en français standard.

2. tout - pronom invariable

Il est bien évident qu'un pronom invariable n'aurait pas à subir des modifications basées sur le genre ou le nombre. Grevisse parle du "singulier masculin tout" qui est "neutre quant au sens" (§457 C). Mais - et on l'aura peut-être deviné - le tout du français standard ("il pense

tout savoir", "il viendra malgré tout") se réalise presque toujours toute /tut/ dans nos corpus.

Ex: (39) On peut point toute /tut/ blâmer su' l'école. (C. M.)

(40) J'avais été chanceux malgré toute. (C. M.)

(41) Je sais pas si c'est toute asteur. C'est peut-être toute. Ya ("oui"), c'est toute, je crois. (C. P.)

(42) Dans le garbage n'avait un sac et il a toute tiré out; (...)il a toute tiré ("jeté") tout le tour de la place ("partout sur le plancher"). (C. P.)

Si j'ai dû me contenter de dire "se réalise presque toujours toute /tut/", c'est qu'une occurrence relevée dans la région de Meteghan fait problème.

Un informateur âgé de 71 ans a dit:

(43) Il' ont tout /tu/ chu' zeux; pourquoi sortir?

Je m'explique mal cette réalisation, qui est d'ailleurs celle du français standard. L'informateur avait quinze ans de scolarité; parlait-il, comme disent les Québécois, "en termes"? Il s'agirait peut-être d'une tournure idiolectale. L'informatrice de Meteghan que j'ai pu consulter récemment était d'avis que "B... s'a trompé; i' voulait dire toute /tut/!

III Tout - Adverbial

Je distinguerai dans ce travail entre les adverbiaux, qui déterminent toujours un syntagme verbal ("il va vite" à la gare), et les adverbess, qui peuvent déterminer un adjectif ("très grand"), un adverbial ("plus vite") ou un syntagme prépositionnel ("tout près d'ici"). Quand le lexème tout fonctionne comme adverbial, il a le sens de "complètement",

"entièrement", etc. Je n'ose presque pas le dire, l'adverbial tout se réalise systématiquement /tut/ dans mes corpus (16 occurrences dans les deux régions).

Ex: (44) Pis (il) a toute /tut/ foulé ("fallu") que j'aie quitté ça, là. (C. M.)

(45) Et l'eau, ç'avait toute floodé tous les ruisseaux et j'ons été avec des bottes et ça. (C. P.)

(46) Et toute la peinture a toute 'té su' moi. (C. P.)

Certaines occurrences sont difficilement interprétables; s'agit-il, dans les exemples suivants, de simples adverbiaux, ou est-ce que des pré-articles seraient devenus, par déplacement, des pronoms?

(47) J'avais toute carpeté les places ("fait poser des moquettes sur les planchers"). (C. M. - "complètement carpeté" ou "toutes les places"?)

(48) I' aviont toute louté ("enlevé") le sang qu'il avait dans lui. (C. M. - "complètement louté" ou "tout le sang"?)

(49) Quand ce que les roches avont toute(s) timbé down, ça a toute défait le chemin. (C. P. - "complètement défait" ou "tout le chemin"?)

Dans sa thèse, Louise Péronnet remarque que "tout n'occupe pas toujours la place qu'il devrait d'après sa fonction dans l'énoncé." Parmi ses exemples, citons les deux suivants:

/a i fε tut kōte listuεr/
Elle lui fait raconter toute l'histoire.

/al a tut pri se mzyr pur sōn abi/
Elle a pris toutes ses mesures pour son habit." (p. 65)

La possibilité de faire déplacer un tout pré-article devant un infinitif ou un participe passé précédents semblerait se dégager assez clairement des exemples tirés de mes corpus ainsi que de celui de Péronnet. Mais il faudrait sans doute réunir un corpus bien plus vaste que les miens avant d'entreprendre une analyse rigoureuse de cette question délicate⁴.

IV Tout - Adverbe

Quand le lexème tout est pronom ou adverbial, il se réalise toujours /tut/, comme nous venons de le voir dans les deux sections précédentes. Mais quand il est adverbe et suivi d'un adjectif, d'un adverbial ou d'un syntagme prépositionnel (il a le sens de "très", "tout à fait", etc.), son comportement morphologique serait, d'après mes données, nettement moins "régulier". Les tableaux 3A et 3B, en résumant ces données, en témoignent.

Tout - Adverbe + adjectif

	+ adj.m.	occ: tot:	occ diff.	+adj.f.	occ: tot:	occ diff.	+ adj: + inv:	occ: tot:	occ diff.
C. M.				/tut/	1	1	*/tut/	4	4
C. P.	/tu/	2	2	/tut/	3	3	*/tut/	1	1
	*/tut/	1	1						
Tot.	/tu/	2	2	/tut/	4	4	*/tut/	5	5
	*/tut/	1	1						

Tableau 3A

4. Voir aussi à ce sujet Daoust-Blais et Lemieux-Niéger (1979: 104).

1. tout + adjectif

Les deux corpus à l'étude ne nous fournissent guère assez d'occurrences pour permettre une analyse rigoureuse de la structure tout + adjectif. Certaines tendances semblent néanmoins se dessiner assez nettement.

(a) tout + adjectif masculin

Cette structure ne s'est pas manifestée dans le corpus de Meteghan. Des trois occurrences relevées dans le corpus de Pubnico, deux avaient la réalisation /tu/ (comme en français standard), tandis que pour l'autre on retrouve /tut/. Voici ces trois occurrences:

(50) On met rinqu'un tout /tu/ petit motor, et...

(51) C'était des tout petits, rinqu ça de long.

(52) Nous aut' mettons un arbre de Noël, toute /tut/ décoré avec des lumières.

Ce n'est peut-être pas par hasard que la forme décoré peut être employée comme participe passé. Souvenons-nous des adverbiaux "il a toute foulu que...", "ç'avait toute floodé tous les ruisseaux", etc. L'analogie y serait-il pour quelque chose?

(b) tout + adjectif féminin

En français standard, si l'adjectif féminin qui suit l'adverbe tout commence par une consonne, celui-ci se réalise /tut/ ("une toute petite maison", etc.). Les quatre occurrences de cette structure que j'ai relevées dans les deux corpus se montrent conformes à la norme.

Ex: (53) J'avions appris ça quand j'étais toute /tut/ petite à l'école. (C. M.)

(54) Pis n'avait une qu'était toute (pe)tite. (C. P.)

(55) Dans les maisons, i'avont des pumpkins, là, des citrouilles, déjà toute(s) coupées, et i' font une face. (C. P.)

(c) tout → adjectif invariable

J'ai pu dénombrer dans les corpus cinq occurrences de tout suivi d'un adjectif qui doit être considéré comme invariable. Ces cinq occurrences présentent invariablement des écarts avec le français standard, car elles se réalisent toutes /tut/!

Ex: (56) Ça, c'est toute /tut/ différent. (C. M.)

(57) Pis a' dit que c'est toute private. (C. M.)

(58) (dans un "haunted house") C'était toute noir. (C. P.)

Dans chaque exemple, on dirait tout /tu/ en français standard.

Tout - Adverbe → adverbial ou syntagme prépositionnel

	↑ adv.	occ: tot:	occ: diff.	+ syn. prép.	occ: tot:	occ: diff.
C. M.	/tu/	11	7	/tu/	3	2
				/tut/	1	1
C. P.	*/tut/	1	1	/	/	/
Tot.	/tu/	11	7	/tu/	3	2
	*/tut/	1	1	*/tut/	1	1

Tableau 3B

2. tout + adverbial

Suivi d'un adverbial, l'adverbe tout se réalise /tu/ en français standard ("Parle tout /tu/ doucement, s'il te plaît"). Tel serait également le cas dans le parler acadien de Meteghan, à en juger par les onze occurrences de /tu/ relevées dans le corpus que j'ai recueilli dans cette région.

Ex: (59) C'était tout /tu/ proche.

(60) Il a abandonné ça tout net.

(61) Foulait aussi ben que je me fis chu' nous ("je fasse comme chez moi") tout drouette ("droit").

Aucune occurrence de l'adverbe tout suivi d'un adverbial n'avait la réalisation /tut/ dans le corpus de Meteghan. Par contre, la seule occurrence de tout dans le même contexte syntaxique que j'ai rencontrée dans le corpus de Pubnico s'est réalisée /tut/!

(62) En dedans, là, i' plankont ("posent des planches")
toute /tut/ premier, den après i' steamont les
planches.

"Toute premier" aurait le sens de "tout d'abord" dans cet énoncé. Pour ce qui est du comportement morphologique de l'adverbe, il serait évidemment bien téméraire de tirer des conclusions basées sur une seule occurrence de /tut/.

3. tout + syntagme prépositionnel

Citons d'abord les quatre occurrences de cette structure qui se sont manifestées dans le corpus de Meteghan. (Elle était absente du corpus de Pubnico.)

(63) ...deux qui sont tout /tu/ près de nous aut'.

(64) On a été tout près de Valenciennes.

(65) Oui, tout proche d'icitte.

(66) J'avions du monde tout autour /tutotur/ de nous aut'.

Ce n'est que dans le dernier énoncé que j'ai relevé la réalisation /tut/, et il s'agit vraisemblablement ici d'un cas de liaison. Tout comme pour la structure précédente (tout + adverbial), tout suivi d'un syntagme prépositionnel se réaliserait surtout /tu/, du moins dans la région de Meteghan. Ici encore, l'on rejoint l'usage du français standard.

Insistons à nouveau sur le fait que les données présentées dans la section IV sont plutôt fragmentaires, et je me garde bien de tirer des conclusions hâtives sur le comportement morphosyntaxique de tout dans sa fonction d'adverbe.

Conclusion

Il me semble ressortir assez clairement de cette étude que le comportement syntaxique de tout dans les parlers acadiens de Meteghan et de Pubnico diffère peu de celui du français standard. Mis à part l'ordre des lexèmes dans "toute(s) zeux" (cf. "eux tous" en français standard), il faudrait seulement rappeler la question épineuse de la fonction de tout dans les phrases (47)-(49). Peut-on être sûr, par exemple, de la fonction de tout dans l'énoncé (48) "I' aviont toute louté le sang qu'il avait dans lui"? D'autres études confirmeront peut-être la possibilité de faire déplacer le pré-article tout

devant un infinitif ou un participe passé, déplacement qui me paraît impossible en français standard.

Sur le plan morphologique, c'est l'emploi de /tut/ au dépens de /tu/ ou de /tus/ qui frappe l'auditeur non-averti. Mettons en regard une dernière fois quelques unités qui n'auraient pas la même réalisation dans les deux systèmes linguistiques.

<u>acadien</u> - /tut/	français standard - /tu/, /tus/
(26) ... <u>toute</u> ça.	... <u>tout</u> /tu/ ça.
(33) I' s'ont <u>toute(s)</u> réunis...	Ils se sont <u>tous</u> /tus/ réunis...
(39) ...malgré <u>toute</u>malgré <u>tout</u> /tu/.
(60) ...c'est <u>toute</u> différent.	...c'est <u>tout</u> /tu/ différent.

En tout et pour tout, sur 214 occurrences de tout présentes dans les deux corpus, j'ai relevé 62 fois la forme /tut/ (29.2%) là où il aurait fallu /tu/ ou /tus/ en français standard! La préférence pour /tut/ semble encore plus prononcée à Pubnico qu'à Meteghan. Comparons:

<u>Meteghan</u> /tu/	<u>Pubnico</u> /tut/
(25) ... <u>tout</u> ça...	(26) ... <u>toute</u> ça...
(59) ... <u>tout</u> proche...	(62) ... <u>toute</u> premier

Mais l'on se souviendra également d'un écart qui va dans le sens contraire. Il s'agit, pour la forme du pré-article au féminin pluriel, de la réalisation /tu/ en franco-acadien néo-écossais là où on entendrait plutôt /tut/ en français standard.

- (19) ...pour tous /tu/ mes cousines et tous mes tantes...
 (cf. ...pour toutes /tut/ mes cousines et toutes mes tantes...)

Tout - Nombre et pourcentage d'écarts

	occ.tot.	écarts	écarts [%]	occ.diff.	écarts	écarts [%]
C. M.	106	44	41.5	71	39	54.9
C. P.	108	59	54.6	53	35	66.1
Tot.	214	103	48.7	124	74	59.7

Tableau 4

Le tableau 4 donne, pour Meteghan, pour Pubnico et pour les deux régions réunies, les occurrences totales de tout relevées dans les corpus avec le nombre et le pourcentage d'écarts, ainsi que les occurrences différentes relevées avec le nombre et le pourcentage d'écarts. On remarquera que le pourcentage d'écarts (48.7% dans le premier cas et 59.7% dans le second) est plutôt élevé. Le pourcentage d'écarts est aussi relativement plus important à Pubnico qu'à Meteghan. La forme passe-partout /tut/ semble être bien ancrée chez mes jeunes informateurs, et ceci en dépit de l'influence normative de l'école.

Ces quelques conclusions doivent être considérées comme provisoires. De futures recherches montreront peut-être que dans les deux régions étudiées, certains emplois ou réalisations varient soit librement soit selon certains critères sociolinguistiques bien déterminés. J'espère avoir, dans cette étude, lancé le débat.

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On Bloomfield On Meaning

W. Terrence Gordon

Dalhousie University

ABSTRACT

Historians of linguistics have failed to achieve a comprehensive perspective of Leonard Bloomfield's work. Discussion has centered on the misunderstanding among later linguists over Bloomfield's views on meaning. Neither Bloomfield's own attempt at setting the record straight nor the attempts of his defenders and disciples succeeded entirely. This paper begins by examining intrinsic flaws of presentation and argument in the latter and then proceeds to survey Bloomfield's little-discussed treatment of diachronic semantics. There emerges from Bloomfield's work, taken as a whole, a dichotomy, if not an outright paradox, which reflects divergent formative and professional influences in his career.

Introduction

The misunderstanding among later linguists over Leonard Bloomfield's views on meaning is well-known.¹ Bloomfield realized that his position had been misunderstood, but his attempt to set the record straight was not made public until 1954, when Charles Fries published the following passage from Bloomfield's personal correspondence (dated 29 January 1945):

It has become painfully common to say that I, or rather, a whole group of language students of whom I am one, pay

¹ The misunderstanding appears to date from the early 1940s. The first reviews of Bloomfield's Language, Kent (1934) and Bolling (1934, 1935), did not even take any notice of its statements on meaning. Bolling (1934) centered his whole discussion on the validity of Bloomfield's system of phonemic transcription.

no attention to meaning, or neglect it, or even that we undertake to study language without meaning, simply as meaningless sound. ... It is not just a personal affair that is involved in the statements to which I have referred, but something which, if allowed to develop, will injure the progress of our science by setting up a fictitious contrast between students who consider meaning and students who neglect or ignore it. The latter class, so far as I know, does not exist. (Fries 1954:60)

Fries own contribution to setting the record straight, as will be noted below, is not entirely to the point. Also to be noted below, Charles F. Hockett, Bloomfield's chief disciple, constructs an unconvincing argument in defense of Bloomfield's position on meaning (Hockett 1968). What is lacking in both Fries and Hockett, in addition to intrinsic flaws of presentation and argument, is any attempt at a comprehensive perspective of Bloomfield's treatment of meaning. The need for such a perspective becomes apparent from Koerner (1970). Though it is not Koerner's purpose there to go beyond discussing the Bloomfieldian sources of American structural linguistics in the 1940s and '50s, his background synopsis of Bloomfield the man suggests a possible dichotomy in the man's work which needs to be confirmed or disconfirmed by a close reading of all of his writings relative to meaning.

Bloomfield who had studied at the universities of Göttingen and Leipzig before the First World War, had come to know the methods of linguistic investigation taught by the Junggrammatiker and contemporary psychology, and it is therefore not astonishing that he devoted almost half of his book to historical linguistics. He never-

theless departed widely from the neogrammarian comparative method and the underlying psychology of their explanations of linguistic change, emphasizing a synchronically oriented approach to the study of language...
(Koerner 1970:165-6)

Bloomfield's Definition of Meaning

No misunderstanding of Bloomfield's view would have occurred if he had not repeatedly and forcefully given the impression of somehow excluding meaning from linguistics. Precisely how? At least from the method of analysis, if not also from the object of analysis. For this reason, Fries (1954:58), like Hockett (1968), cannot support his defense of Bloomfield by explicit reference to Bloomfield's text. Fries attempts to show that it is irrelevant to speak of Bloomfield's condemnation of 'the use of meaning' (my emphasis) in linguistic analysis yet his quotes come not from Bloomfield but from Zellig Harris. There is nothing irrelevant about the evidence in Bloomfield's own statement about meaning and the basis of linguistic method: "Linguistic study must always start from the phonetic form and not from the meaning." (1933:162)

Bloomfield defined the meaning of a linguistic form as "the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer." (Bloomfield 1933:139) Hockett terms this a 'lapse' on Bloomfield's part, to be explained by his excessively zealous search after conciseness of expression, which occasionally culminated in ambiguity. In fact, Bloomfield's definition is neither a lapse nor an ambiguity. It

appears as the opening to a complete chapter on meaning and is carefully phrased to remind the reader of the stimulus-response model of language which informed the introductory chapter of the book. It is beyond belief that an ill-considered phrase would be repeated in nearly identical form throughout Bloomfield's work, but the definition of meaning is:

Meaning consists of the important things with which the speech-utterance (B) is connected, namely the practical events (A and C). (27)

Linguistic meaning is the semantic features which are common to all the situations that call forth the utterance of the linguistic form. (141)

By uttering a linguistic form, a speaker prompts his hearers to respond to a situation; this situation and the response to it, are the linguistic meaning of the form. (158)

And ten years later:

The features of situation and action which are common to all utterances of a speech form are the meaning of that speech form. ([1943] 1970:401)

There is an exclusion of meaning here. Bloomfield excludes meaning from that part of the stimulus-response model of language which is the speech-act itself. What is curious is that Hockett should consider this stand in need of defense. Meaning is independent of vocal acts in countless semiotic systems; it is not dependent on speech-acts. This proves to hold true in the domain of natural human languages, as Hockett himself subsequently demonstrated. (1977:82) Consequently, the definition of meaning independently of speech-acts is perfectly valid and not in need of any defense. In fact, meaning must be independent of

speech-acts, if such acts are not to be uselessly self-referential. Yet Hockett insists on defending Bloomfield by telling us what Bloomfield really meant. But his paraphrase goes beyond Bloomfield:

The meanings of speech forms are the things and situations, or kinds of things and situations, encountered by the speakers of the language. (1968:22, my emphasis)

There is no concession for kinds of things in Bloomfield's definition of meaning, no concession for the analog functioning of word-meaning. This appears to be symptomatic of an exasperation on Bloomfield's part with any non-quantifiable dimension of language, any feature of language which could not be described within a taxonomy. By 1933, Bloomfield appears to have forgotten his own words of 1914:

When our attention analyzes a total experience into elements, we constantly assimilate these elements to earlier experiences and express them by words used for these earlier experiences. The assimilation is due to a partial similarity between the earlier experiences and the present one, a similarity inhering in some uniform component of both experiences. This component common to all of the experiences designated by the same word is called the dominant element. (1914:237-8)

Hockett's paraphrase of Bloomfield, an attempt to rectify misunderstanding of Bloomfield's views, concludes by simply re-affirming Bloomfield's argument that the mentalistic concept of meaning is irrelevant to linguistics:

Speech forms have habitual associative ties with meanings as thus defined. The meaning of a form is not, to be sure, in the 'mind' of the speaker or hearer (not

as Bloomfield understood and used, or refused to use, the term 'mind'); but the associative ties between meanings and forms are, indeed, mediated by the central nervous systems of speakers and hearers, by neurological mechanisms that are largely unknown to us but with which, as linguists, we need not be concerned.

(Hockett 1968:22)

There was never any misunderstanding on this point, and at the end of Hockett's discussion, meaning is as surely outside the linguist's work as it was in Bloomfield's view.

This is not to imply that the misunderstanding of Bloomfield's views did not really occur; there is too much evidence (from a whole generation of pre-Chomskyan linguists in America) to the contrary. If the explanation for that misunderstanding is that the sum of Bloomfield's statements on meaning was ignored, and that attention was focused on the over-simplified opposition between mentalistic and mechanistic views, it is still surprising that the misunderstanding should have occurred, for the conclusion to Bloomfield's substantial and lucid discussion of the opposition runs as follows:

In practice, all linguists, both mentalists and mechanists, define meanings in terms of the speaker's situation and, whenever this seems to add anything, of the hearer's response. (1933:144)

This resolution of the mentalist/mechanist opposition, achieved so deftly by Bloomfield as to have escaped notice, simply sweeps the mentalists into the opposite camp. The facility which Bloomfield displays here for abolishing oppositions did not extend to his own treatment of meaning in its synchronic and diachronic aspects. With one exception, to be noted below, his statements

relative to synchronic meaning, as discussed thus far, are mutually exclusive of those made in dealing with change of meaning. Apparently the latter topic could be discussed in 1933, as in 1914, without any preliminary soul-searching over the nature of meaning. The following section of this paper will deal with Bloomfield's diachronic semantics, by comparing and contrasting Bloomfield's presentations of the topic in 1914 and 1933.

Bloomfield on Diachronic Semantics

In both these works the study of diachronic semantics finds its rationale in the service of etymology, and ultimately in the service of cultural and historical studies.

Thus the history of words, etymology, is interesting to the student of civilization and culture. Often the only trace of changes in a nation's mode of life is in semantic changes. (1914:244)

A change of meaning may imply a connection between practical things and thereby throw a light on the life of older times. (1933:428)

These passages give the impression that Bloomfield's objective for diachronic semantics has substantial affinity with the German tradition of Kulturgeschichte, but there is evidence from his later work to the contrary:

It is an unfortunate fashion which leads to the writings of essays and dissertations on 'semantic fields' of the most difficult and abstract sort in older languages. ([1943] 1970:404)

There can be no doubt that this disapproving comment is in reference to the work of Günther Ipsen, Jost Trier, et al.,

particularly as it comes from an article published originally in a German periodical. But it is perhaps not to be taken too seriously, for it contradicts implicit acceptance of semantic field theory on Bloomfield's part elsewhere, when he speaks of "semantic spheres" (1933:442) and "unitary domains of meaning" (1933:432). Whatever the extent of Bloomfield's dispute with the field theorists, his outline of objectives for diachronic semantics, as quoted earlier, remains compatible with their orientation. I'll return to Bloomfield's more detailed comments in this regard later.

In both 1914 and 1933, Bloomfield provided some insight into the history of linguistics. In the latter work, he indulged in some revisionist history, if not outright ancestor-seeking. Various passages from both works give bold and sure perspectives on the development of linguistic science, so much so in the case of the 1914 work as to give the lie to the view that assessment of one's contemporaries is notoriously difficult. There Bloomfield declares that only Wundt (1911) is fully modern in his treatment of the psychology of language. By contrast, Bréal's work is somewhat denigrated:

The semantic phase of linguistic development is cleverly and interestingly, though, unfortunately, from the standpoint of 'popular' psychology, discussed in M. Bréal ... (1914:315)

Later, the qualifier 'popular' is explained:

In describing the analogic or semantic change, for instance, linguists most usually outline the conditions of mental predisposition which brought it about. If they do not do this in terms of scientific psychology, they will resort to rationalizing 'popular psychology',

--to such explanations as that the new form was desired for greater 'clearness' or 'convenience'. As language is in its forms the least deliberate of human activities, the one in which rationalizing explanations are most grossly out of place, linguistics is, of all the mental sciences, most in need of guidance at every step by the best psychologic insight available. (1914: 322-3)

Thus, Wundt's work is superior to Breal's for offering genuine explanation of semantic change, rather than description of those changes, thinly veiled as their causes. Yet even in 1933, Bloomfield accepted and used at least part of the terminology of Bréal and Darmesteter (contagion and condensation) to characterize aspects of semantic change.

Of the work done on diachronic semantics between 1914 and 1933, some, though not a great deal, finds its way into Bloomfield's later work and is approvingly cited. Thus, the references to Hans Sperber and Gustaf Stern (1933:439). Somewhat paradoxically, the most extensive references in 1933 are to the work of a scholar who had already produced the first edition of his magnum opus a generation before Bloomfield's earlier work--Hermann Paul. To Paul goes the credit for a major advance in diachronic semantics:

All marginal meanings are occasional, for--as Paul showed--marginal meanings differ from central meanings precisely by the fact that we respond to a marginal meaning only when some special circumstance makes the central meaning impossible. (Bloomfield 1933:431)

Bloomfield was not oblivious to Paul's assumptions about meaning, but regarded his achievement to have stood in spite of these:

Paul's explanation of semantic change takes for granted the occurrence of marginal meanings and of obsolescence, and views these processes as adventures of individual speech-forms, without reference to the rival forms which, in the one case, yield ground to the form under consideration, and, in the other case, encroach upon its domain. This view, nevertheless, represents a great advance over the mere classification of differences of meaning. (1933:432)

Subsequently, Bloomfield appears to re-evaluate the achievement of both Paul and Wundt as merely one of appropriately innovative outlook, rather than of substantial advance for linguistics:

Paul's explanation of semantic change does not account for the rise of marginal meanings and for the obsolescence of forms in a part of their semantic domain. The same is true of so-called psychological explanations, such as Wundt's, which merely paraphrase the outcome of the change. Wundt defines the central meaning as the dominant element of meaning, and shows how the dominant element may shift when a form occurs in new typical contexts. Thus, when meat had been heard predominantly in situations where flesh-food was concerned, the dominant element became for more and more speakers, not 'food' but 'flesh-food.' This statement leaves the matter exactly where it was. (1933:435)

This should not be construed as fundamentally a negative judgement. On the contrary, Bloomfield admired Paul's achievement enough to cast him in the role of the first behaviorist:

The first student, probably, to see that semantic change consists of expansion and obsolescence, was Hermann Paul. Paul saw that the meaning of a form in the habit of any speaker, is merely the result of the utterances in which he has heard it. (1933:431)

Unifying Bloomfield's work of 1914 and 1933 is the statement of the primary cause of semantic change:

The transference of meaning is unlimited; the history of languages shows us innumerable associational changes of meaning ... It would be difficult to find an English word which, if it existed at all a thousand years ago, has not since then in some way changed its meaning. All this is due to the fact that there never was a stage in which a hearer could recognize any but an arbitrary connection between sound and sense. (1914:16)

Interestingly enough, the corresponding passage in 1933 occurs not in the chapter on change of meaning but in the earlier chapter on the nature of meaning:

We may state this presupposition as the fundamental assumption of linguistics, namely: In certain communities (speech-communities) some speech-utterances are alike as to form and meaning. This virtue of speech-forms is bought at the cost of rationality. The non-linguistic modes of communication are based directly upon our bodily make-up, or else directly from simple social situations, but the connection of linguistic forms with their meanings is wholly arbitrary. (1933: 144-5)

As the earlier counterpart to this statement indicates by its date, Bloomfield arrived at this idea independently of any

influence from Saussure. But he admired Saussure's work, calling it "the theoretical basis for a science of human speech" in his review of the second edition of the CLG, and he could have profited from Saussure's dictum that arbitrary and differential are correlative qualities of the linguistic sign. The 1933 statement makes no such advance over the earlier one. On the contrary, Bloomfield comes to the opposite conclusion:

Our fundamental assumption implies that each linguistic form has a constant and specific meaning. (145)

This so-called implication is no logical consequence of the assumption at all, but merely a further and methodologically convenient assumption on Bloomfield's part, as he goes on to admit.

Bloomfield closes his chapter on semantic change in his work of 1933 with a long passage, quoted in part below, on method, insisting, as he had earlier for synchronic analysis, that form and not meaning must take priority in linguistics:

The methodological error which has held back this phase of our work, is our habit of putting the question in non-linguistic terms--in terms of meaning and not of form. When we say that the word meat has changed from the meaning 'food' to the meaning 'edible flesh,' we are merely stating the practical result of a linguistic process. ... A semantic change, then, is a complex process. It involves favorings and disfavorings, and, as its crucial point, the extension of a favored form into practical applications which hitherto belonged to the disfavored form. This crucial extension can be observed only if we succeed in finding the locutions in which it was made, and in finding or reconstructing the model locutions in which both forms were used alternatively. (1933:440-41)

Conclusion

Apart from the last passage quoted here, there is no relationship between Bloomfield's treatment of historical semantics and his general pronouncements on the nature of meaning. The former is the legacy of his early training in Germany; the latter results from his commitment to behavioral psychology. A model of language in which meaning is independent of speech-acts is the necessary form of an orientation based on behaviorist principles. This model led to the post-Bloomfieldian orthodoxy, Bloomfield's unintended legacy.

Taking the long view of the history of linguistics, one must conclude that the degree of misunderstanding surrounding Bloomfield's view was greater than its ultimate effect. No long-standing tradition of semantic studies in America was interrupted, and the moderate Bloomfieldians, such as Eugene Nida and Martin Joos, were already at work during the 1950s effecting a salutary counter-balance to the position of those linguists who believed that meaning should be banned. Before Chomsky's work exerted its influence, semantics had already made substantial advance in America with the development of componential analysis of meaning. Work in this field was sufficiently well insulated by its parent discipline of anthropology to be impervious to the negative effects of the neo-Bloomfieldians. Lounsbury (1964), for example, reintroduced the concepts originated by Sol Tax (1937), without any modifications or adjustments which could be viewed as concessions to the neo-Bloomfieldians.

The neo-Bloomfieldian era in American structuralist linguistics ended with the rise of transformational generative grammar, taking with it some of the answers as to how a

generation of Bloomfield's students could have so misinterpreted their teacher's views on meaning.

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THE WELSH DIALOGUE OF *PATIENT GRISSIL*

MARGARET HARRY

SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

Thomas Dekker's comedy, *Patient Grissil*, includes three Welsh characters who sometimes speak to each other in a language described as "Welsh". This so-called "Welsh" dialogue, however, has generally been treated as nonsensical, the speeches mere gibberish existing for purposes of ridicule only. It is the contention of this paper that these speeches are, in fact, written in Welsh and, furthermore, that they make sense not merely as independent statements but also within the context of the play itself. The interpretation of the Welsh speeches suggested here tends to support the argument that the text was printed from Dekker's own foul papers rather than, as Fredson Bowers suggests, from prompt copy.

The late Elizabethan comedy, *Patient Grissil*, seems to have been written by Thomas Dekker before the end of 1599, and performed the same year, or at least before then end of January, 1600. The only quarto was printed for Henry Rocket in 1603, and the printer is thought to have been Edward Allde. The play is preserved in only four copies.¹

In the introduction to *Patient Grissil* in his standard edition of Dekker's plays, Fredson Bowers states that "the text gives a general impression of ingenuous compositorial faithfulness to copy" (Dekker 1953:I, 209). There is a large number of literal errors, but they are minor, and do not in any way impede the understanding of the text itself. Bowers is inclined to think that the text is "too clean" (Dekker 1953:I, 210) for it to be likely that its source was foul papers (i.e., the author's own uncorrected manuscript),

¹The four copies are in the British Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Huntington Library, and the Carl Pforzheimer Collection.

and concludes from the consistency of speech prefixes and certain other characteristics that the source may have been prompt copy.

The play is of interest to me in that it includes three characters who are supposedly bilingual in English and Welsh. These three are Sir Owen ap Meredith, a Welsh knight, his servant, Rice, and a Welsh widow, Gwenthyan, who is a cousin by marriage of Gwalter, Marquess of Salucia, the husband of the eponymous heroine, Grissil. The Welsh characters are present only for the purposes of low comedy. Their English dialogue provides an early example, alongside Shakespeare, of a "stage" Welsh pronunciation of English, and is, for that reason, the subject of ridicule. It is also, of course, for the same reason, an interesting linguistic subject in itself. However, of more interest is the small part of the dialogue that is supposedly in Welsh.

This Welsh dialogue consists of seventeen separate statements and a few single words or expressions which are repeated several times, sometimes by the English-speaking characters in mockery. Part of the dialogue includes recognizable Anglo-French expressions, *gramercy* and *mon dieu* in particular, which were an ordinary part of Elizabethan English speech. Except for these expressions, the Welsh speeches have generally been treated as nonsense, and no attempt has been made to edit them. Bowers makes a few textual emendations but, except for one case, these are done merely to provide consistency in the spelling of the nonsense words. The one exception is puzzling, since its effect is to turn what is actually an identifiable Welsh expression into nonsense. What Bowers was thinking of in this case is not clear; he was evidently not thinking in Welsh.

It is possible to argue that since the Welsh dialogue exists for the sake of ridicule, and other characters in the play refer to it as nonsense of one kind or another, that it could well be nonsense, "nothing but cracking noise, noise" (Dekker 1953:I, 270).

However, this seems unlikely. In London at this period, there was a fairly large Welsh-speaking population, and this number included actors. In a comparable situation in *Henry IV, Part One*, although without the ridicule, Shakespeare merely gives stage directions, e.g., "The Lady speaks in Welsh". The assumption there seems to be that a Welsh-speaking actor will play the part, and provide a suitable dialogue. Even with the mockery, it does not seem probable that Dekker would have got away with nonsense, mere "cracking noise". The audience would not have permitted it, and the general availability of Welsh-speaking actors would have made it unnecessary.

The problem is, therefore, one of decipherment. It should be assumed that Dekker either wrote a Welsh dialogue, or, more likely, got someone else, perhaps an actor, to write it. What is clear is that the person who wrote the dialogue down had little, if any, knowledge of Welsh, and was almost certainly not a Welsh-speaker.

The general illiteracy of the English-speaking population at the time, and the considerable variation in spelling practices even amongst the educated, tend to obscure the relatively higher literacy of the Welsh-speaking population and the standardization of Welsh spelling. The latter feature, in particular, permitted the phonetic transcription of English words occurring in a Welsh text in a manner that is still easily readable today. In fact, such transcriptions could form an art in themselves. In a poem of Captain Tomas Prys (late 16th century), for example, attention has been paid to fitting the English words into a strict metrical form, and on the whole this has been done successfully:

Ag wrth ymladd gwarth amlwg
wee lost ovr men ar lestr a mwg
gif bak lest all be taken
 oes modd ffor to saf sym men.

However, this example serves to point out some of the difficulties inherent in such an exercise. Prys is more-or-less limited to English words of one or two syllables, and no more, because of

the difference in the stress patterns of the two languages. A trisyllabic English word would not fit into any Welsh metre, since Welsh words of two or more syllables are stressed on the penultimate syllable, apart from compounds, which retain the stress of the original components. Orthographically, this problem can be solved, at least theoretically, by splitting words so that the stress falls on the appropriate syllable, and Prys occasionally attempts this solution. However, the result tends to be unintelligible at first reading. In addition, Prys is faced with the difficulty of transcribing sounds which do not occur in Welsh in a Welsh orthography. He sometimes resorts to an English spelling, which hardly promotes consistency, and again tends to result in unintelligibility.

Prys, of course, was both bilingual and relatively well-educated. The problems faced by a non-Welsh speaker attempting to transcribe Welsh speech in an English orthography with some sort of phonetic accuracy would be far greater than those confronting Prys. These problems are obvious in *Patient Grissil*. It is clear that the writer had no knowledge of Welsh words and no idea of the Welsh stress pattern, and these lacks result in a sort of chaos of word-division. Yet this point, in itself, tends to support the theory that the writer was transcribing actual Welsh speech. Furthermore, there are several diphthongs and consonants in Welsh which simply do not occur in English and which defy transcription in an English orthography, even given a consistent spelling system. These are notably the diphthongs ew [eɔ], and wy [uɨ], and the consonants ll [ɬ], rh [r], and ch [χ]. Certain groups of consonants would also be unfamiliar, particularly the nasals mh, nh, and ngh [ŋh], and the clusters gwn, gwl, etc..

In turning to the actual problem of deciphering the text of *Patient Grissil*, it seems reasonable to make the preliminary assumption that the deciphered words will form statements, and not be merely meaningless collections of words. Further, it should

be hoped that the statements will make sense in the context. That they should is apparent, for on two occasions in Act IV, Scene iii, Sir Owen gives an English translation, or so he says, of what Gwenthyan has just said in Welsh.

The first speech spoken in Welsh is in Act II, Scene i, and it is spoken by Rice. Rice responds to a command by Sir Owen: "Ha, ha, *Rice goe call Gwenthyan*". He replies: "I will master: *dahoma, Gwenthyan dahoma?*" This speech is easy enough to decipher, since Rice, in calling Gwenthyan, would presumably use the polite form of the imperative of the verb *dyfod* (to come), that is, "Come here!"-- "Dowch yma!" The relationship between *dahoma* and *dowch yma* is obvious, and, as a result, several things can be learned from the speech, of which not the least important is that the statement does make sense in the context. In the transcription, however, the fricative ch [χ] is rendered by h and the lateral ll [ɮ] by th. Although fl and thl are more usual anglicizations of the latter, the two examples still suggest a genuine attempt to transcribe the Welsh consonants phonetically. On the other hand, the diphthong ow [oɔ] is rendered by a, and the vowel y [ʌ] by o; the vowel a [a], which sometimes can occur in this position as [ʌ], is correctly transcribed by a. This suggests that vowel transcription in these speeches may well be less reliable than that of consonants.

This inference is borne out to some extent in the second speech, given by Sir Owen, later in the same scene, a speech that at first glance, apart from *mon dieu* in the middle, may seem indecipherable:

*Belly the ruddo whee: wrage witho, Mandag eny Mou du ac
whellock en wea awh.*

But what is immediately apparent from this speech is that the transcription of consonants is not consistent, and may, therefore, be scarcely more reliable than the vowel transcription. Yet, on a second look, some of the expressions seem intelligible. The last

word in the first phrase, "*whee*", is reasonably the second person plural pronoun, or the polite form of the singular, *chwi*, and it is followed by the expression for widow, *gwraig weddw*, with lenition of the initial consonant of *gwraig* correctly after what can be assumed, from the presence of the pronoun, to be a verbal expression in the second person.

The other speeches confirm the interpretation of "*whee*", and its variant, "*wheeh*", as *chwi*, particularly the two speeches in Act III, Scene ii:

Sir Owen: *Terdawgh Gwenthian Terdawgh.*

Gwenthyan: *Terdawgh whee, Sir Owen, Terdawgh whee*

where the imperative form of the verb occurs both with and without the pronoun.

A comparison between two speeches from Act II, Scene i, shows considerable similarity in the second half of each statement:

Sir Owen: *Belly the ruddo whee: wrage witho, Mandag eny Mou du ac whellock en wea awh.*

Gwenthyan: *Sir Owen gramarrye whee: Gwnethyan Mandage eny, ac wellock en Thawen en ryn mogh.*

If, in the latter example, the *Th* of "*Thawen*" is taken as *ll*, by analogy with Gwenthyan/Gwenllian, then the resulting *llawen* (glad, merry) suggests a conventional greeting: *ac welwch yn llawen yn yr un moch*, which permits an almost-pun by Gwenthyan later in the same scene: *Gramercy chwi, am y moch honno.*

Taking the analogy back to Sir Owen's earlier speech, the greeting there, if treated as a conventional greeting, also becomes clear: *mae'n da genny, mon dieu, ac welwch yn wiw awch*, with a half-hearted attempt at a phonetic transcription of *wiw*: "*wea*" (*gwiw* = fit, healthy). While the beginning of this speech remains obscure, and, in fact, the interpretation I suggest is only a suggestion: *Pa lyth yr ydych chwi* (How lovely you are), it is obvious that four out of the five Welsh speeches occurring in this particular scene not only make sense but fit perfectly into the

context. The fifth: "Come widdow: *Vn loddis Glane Gwenthyan mondu*", once the proper word-division is established, is also straightforward: *Yn lodes glân y Gwenllian* (What a beautiful lass Gwenllian is).

This method is perhaps somewhat arbitrary, but some useful information can be derived from it. For example, it is now clear that the letter a is used for a [a], y [ʌ], and a [æ]; it is not used for any high vowels. It is, however, used, in conjunction with e, to denote ai [aɪ], and, alone, in an open syllable, for ow [oɔ]. The diphthong aw [aɔ] is transcribed by aw [ɔ], which is fortunate in providing a familiar spelling. The consonant ch [X] appears as h, wh, ck, and gh, and the consonant ll [ʎ] as th and thl: all of which are understandable transcriptions of these two consonants.

If some of this information is applied to a speech in Act IV, Scene iii: "*Stethe whee lawer*", the interpretation of the phrase there is straightforward. Pronouncing the first word "*Stethe*" with two syllables produces [stɛðʌ] which, with the following "*whee*", is a reasonable approximation of [ei]steddŵch chwī (sit). The first syllable of *eisteddŵch* is, in any case, frequently dropped in speech. In addition, the polite imperative *eisteddŵch chwī* is almost without exception followed by the adverb *lawr* (from *llawr*: down, with lenition of the initial consonant after a verbal phrase). The replacement of Welsh *awr* [aɔ:r] by the English "awer" [ɔ:ʌ] is again a fairly reasonable approximation and in line with the transcription of aw [aɔ] by aw [ɔ]. The application of this analogy to a speech in Act III, Scene ii: "*A breath vawer or no Tee*", gives there the feminine adjective *fawr*.

The problem of word division is also simplified if it is remembered that in Welsh the final consonant of a word is frequently pronounced as the initial consonant of the following word, especially if the following word begins with a vowel, or it may be elided, again especially if the following word begins with the same consonant. A double consonant is never pronounced as such; e.g., one

would always say "*eisteddw chwi*", and never "*eisteddwch chwi*"; or, more likely, pronounce the two words as one: a habit that has sometimes led to erratic word-division in Welsh itself.

Virtually the whole of the Welsh text of *Patient Grissil* can be deciphered by a process of analogy and some attention to the conventions, such as they were, of English spelling of the time. For example, in the final parts of two statements in Act III, Scene ii: "*Gna wathe gethla Tee*" and "*gna wathee Gnathla tee*", the word "*wathe*", by analogy with "*wrage*" in Act II, Scene i, could contain the diphthong *ae* [aʷ]: the phrase, taking into account other analogies, is, therefore, *Gwna waeth y gelly ti* (Do the worst you can), with the second example including the article *y* [ʌ] but also including the misspelled "*Gnathla*" for *gelly*, probably a repetition of the preceding "*gna*" (*gwna*). However, if this example is compared with "*Glane*" in Act II, Scene i, which is *glan y*, not **glaen*, it becomes even more obvious than before that the transcriber's own spelling and transcription practices were inconsistent, to say the least. Keeping this in mind, "*crogge*" in Act III, Scene ii: "*Catho crogge*", and Act IV, Scene iii: "*Cartho crogge, Cartho crogge*", becomes recognizable as the simple *crog* (cross), rather than the strange and indecipherable *crog y*.

Unfortunately, the problems do not end there, although it may be, in the long run, that the outcome of the remaining problems is interesting rather than unfortunate. There are several words in this text that defy interpretation, however far analogy can be stretched. But they present fascinating objects in themselves. Several speeches contain a word, variously spelled *Thonigh* or *Thlonigh*, which cannot be interpreted in terms of either analogy or conventional English spelling. There is no Welsh word *llonich* or *llonech*; nothing that will fit into the particular contexts. On the other hand, there is a word *llonydd* (quiet), which not only fits into the context but which is conventional there. For example,

in Act III, Scene ii, the phrase "*bethogh en Thonigh*", interpreted as *byddwch yn llonydd* (Be quiet!), is followed in the next speech by "*Ne vetho en Thlonigh*", i.e., *Ni fyddaf yn llonydd* (I shall not be quiet), and again later by the same expression. These exchanges make perfect sense in terms of context, but they present the apparent paradox that [ð] is being transcribed as [χ]. Yet if one looks at another example in the same scene: "*A breath vawer or no Tee*", the converse seems to apply: the Welsh adjective *prudd* (wise, true) is obviously inappropriate in the context, which demands an imprecation of some kind, and there is no word *bredd*, imprecation or otherwise. However, *brech* fits perfectly well, and *Y frech fawr arnat ti* (The pox on you) is not merely an appropriate response to the preceding speech, "I shall not be silent, do the worst you can", but is reiterated by Sir Owen in Act IV, Scene iii, in English: "A pogs see her", and "A pogs on her". What one has, phonologically, it seems, is an apparent ambivalence between ch [χ] and dd [ð] when they occur as the final consonant of a word.

This is a problem that I cannot altogether explain, apart from assuming that the transcriber was not very efficient in these cases. The excuse, within the text, is that the ambivalence occurs in the final position, that is, in the position where the consonant is most likely to be elided or assimilated in speech. However, in the last example, a further problem develops. If "breath" is taken as *brech* rather than as *breth* or *bredd*, the result makes sense, but it is not grammatical. *Y brech fawr* ignores the grammatical demand for lenition at this point, that is, lenition of the initial consonant of a feminine noun after the definite article: it should be *Y frech fawr*. The problem is complex. I am not denying that, in certain dialects, lenition does not occur in this position, but the evidence of the text as a whole is that the dialect being transcribed was not one where lenition was ignored, e.g., the lenited *fyddaf*, from the radical *byddaf*, occurs after *Ni* in an

example quoted above: "*Ne vetho en Thlonigh*". On the other hand, two speeches have already been seen to have *crog* after the definite article, where grammatically there should be *grog* ("*Catho crogge*" = *Cardd y grog*), and a speech in Act IV, Scene iii, has "*pobe nose*" (*pob nos*) after a presumed *â* (and), where there should be the spirant mutation *phob*: *â phob nos*. The only possible conclusion seems to be that, in certain situations, the radical replaced the mutated form even though, grammatically, the mutated form was necessary.

There are two possible explanations. The first is that we are dealing here with a somewhat unlikely dialect which occasionally employs lenition and spirant mutation, and occasionally does not. The second is that the Welsh speaker, that is, the individual who was actually providing the Welsh dialogue for transcription, was sometimes asked to repeat a word. Instinctively, a Welsh speaker would repeat a word out of context in its radical form, i.e., asked to repeat *frech* without the definite article *y*, the Welsh speaker would quite naturally say "*brech*". The speech with *pob nos*: "*Mon due Gwentian, Me knocke the pen, en vmb leth, pobe des, and pobe nose*", suggests very clearly that this kind of repetition was not merely asked for, but that there was also some discussion of the meaning of the text. The final part of the speech includes an expression which must be *pob dydd â phob nos*, yet what has been transcribed is apparently a phonetic rendering of the English word "days" followed by "and", that is, a partial translation of the Welsh expression.

There is one further curiosity in the text which I shall mention briefly, and that is an apparent tendency to replace voiced stops by voiceless stops in situations where this would not occur in Welsh. The dialect form of English used by the Welsh characters in this play is full of examples of this tendency, and, in fact, this is a common characteristic of the "stage" Welsh accent. However, in Welsh itself, the characteristic of lenition is to replace a

voiceless stop by a voiced one, rather than the other way around. Yet in several examples the original voiced d of the Welsh has been transcribed as t, and in an example in Act IV, Scene iii: "*en hecar Ee*", the g of *hygar* has been transcribed as c. It is possible also that this feature explains the absence of lenition of *crog* in the earlier examples.

The conclusion to be drawn is, obviously, that this apparently nonsensical text does represent a genuine attempt at transcribing a Welsh dialogue. The accuracy of the transcription varies with the relative familiarity of the sounds involved to the English transcriber, the consonants, apart from ch [X], which has five different transcriptions, being consistently transcribed, and the vowels and diphthongs most inconsistently on the whole. The definite article *y*, for example, has six different transcriptions.

In terms of meaning, the results are most satisfactory. In Act IV, Scene iii, Sir Owen provides a translation of one of Gwenthyan's speeches: "her saies shee'll scradge out Sir Owens eyes...." This is precisely what Gwenthyan does say in her preceding speech: "*Mi grafu ti dy lygaid, i allan o'th pen di*" (I'll scratch the eyes out of your head). The inference from the close correlation between the meaning of the Welsh text and the context is that the person ultimately responsible for providing the Welsh dialogue was Dekker himself, and the implied discussion of meaning in one case further supports this conclusion. At the same time, it also suggests that the text used as the source for the 1603 quarto may after all have been Dekker's foul papers: it does not seem probable that the prompter would have had such an interest in discussing the meaning of the Welsh dialogue.

A Suggested Interpretation of the Dialogue

The individual Welsh speeches of *Patient Grissil* are given below, with a suggested interpretation following each statement.

Act II, Scene i.

1. Rice: I will master: *dahoma, Gwenthyan dahoma?*
Dowch yma, Gwenllian, dowch yma!
2. Sir Owen: *Belly the ruddo whee: wrage witho, Mandag eny Mou du ac whellock en wea awh.*
Pa lyth yr ydych chwi, wraig weddw; mae'n da genny, *Mon dieu*, ac welwch yn wiw [arn]awch.
3. Gwenthyan: *Sir Owen gramarrye whee: Gwenthyan Mandage eny, ac wellock en Thawen en ryn mogh.*
Sir Owen, *gramercy* chwi; (Gwenllian) mae'n da genny, ac welwch yn llawen yn yr un moch.
(Farneze repeats "*Mandage Thlawen*" in mockery of this speech.)
4. Sir Owen: Come widdow: *Vn loddis Glane Gwenthyan mondu.*
Yn lodes glân y Gwenllian, *mon dieu*.
5. Gwenthyan: *Gramercie wheeh, Am a Mock honnoh.*
Gramercy chwi, am y moch honno.

Act III, Scene ii.

6. Sir Owen: *Terdawgh Gwenthian Terdawgh.*
Dydowch, Gwenllian, dydowch.

Gwenethyan: *Terdawgh whee, Sir Owen, Terdawgh whee.*

Dydowch chwi, Sir Owen, dydowch chwi.

Dydowch (intensive form of *dowch*) is frequently repeated, in the form *Tardawgh* as well as *Terdawgh*.

7. Sir Owen: *Tawsone Gwenethyans....*

Disôn, Gwenllian.

8. Gwenethyan: *O mon Iago, mon due, hang Gwenethyans?*

This is not Welsh.

O mon Iago (i.e., Jacques), mon dieu, hang Gwenllian?

9. Sir Owen: *Adologo whee Gwenethyan, bethogh en Thonigh, en moyen due.*

Adolygwch chwi, Gwenllian; byddwch yn llonydd, er mwyn Duw.

10. Gwenethyan: *Ne vetho en Thlonigh, Gna wathe gethla Tee....*

Ni fyddaf yn llonydd; gwna waeth y gelly ti....

11. Gwenethyan: *Catho crogge, Ne vetho, en Thlonigh gna wathée Gnathla tee.*

Cardd y grog, ni fyddaf yn llonydd, gwna waeth y gelly ti.

12. Sir Owen: *A breath vawer or no Tee.*

Y frech fawr arnat ti.

Act IV, Scene iii.

13. Gwenethyan: *Cartho crogge, Cartho crogge....*

Cardd y grog, cardd y grog....

14. Sir Owen: *Man gras worthe whee cozen Marguesse, Man gras worthe whee cozen Iulia....*
 Mae'n groes wrth y chwi, cousin Marquess; mae'n groes wrth y chwi, cousin Julia....
 This greeting is repeated later.
15. Gwenthyan: *Tawsone en Ennoh Twewle.*
 Disôn, yn enw Diawl.
16. Sir Owen: *Adologg whee bethogh en Thlonigh, en Moyen due, Gwenthian.*
 Adolygwch chwi, byddwch yn llonydd, er mwyn Duw, Gwenllian.
17. Gwenthyan: *Ne vetho en Thlonigh, Gna watha gethla Tee.*
 Ni fyddaf yn llonydd, gwna waeth y gelly ti.
18. Sir Owen: *Mon due Gwenthian, Me knocke the pen, en umbleth, pobe des, and pobe nose.*
Mon dieu, Gwenllian, mi cnocyt y pen yn ymladd, pob (days and) pob nos.
 = dydd â phob nos.
19. Gwenthyan: *Gwenogh olcha vessagh whee, en herawgh, ee.*
 Gwelwch oll cyfysu chwi, yn hyrio chwi.
20. Gwenthyan: *En herawgh Ee? Me grauat the Legatee, athlan oth pendee, adroh ornymee on dictar, en hecar Ee.*
 Yn hyrio chwi! Mi grafu ti dy lygaid, i allan o'th pen di, a dro arnaf i yn dicter, yn hygar i.
21. Gwenthyan: *Stethe whee lawer....*

Eisteddwch chwi lawr....

This request is repeated.

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THE FIVE DIPHTHONGS OF MODERN FRENCH

John Hewson

Memorial University of Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

The fact that French *troua* must be pronounced [trua] whereas *trois* must be pronounced [trwa] leads some to the conclusion that [w] has separate phonemic status in French. A different view, advanced in a little known paper by Arnold in 1951, indicates that the segments [wa] and [ɥi] are diphthongs, and that wherever [w] is *required* it is always as the on-glide of /wa/ and has no phonemic status by itself. This makes sense not only synchronically, but also diachronically, and there is further historical evidence for a total of five diphthongs in Modern French: /wa, ɥi, jɛ, wɛ̃, jɛ̃/.

The problem of the phonemic status of the three semi-vowels of French [j, w, ɥ] has been debated since Martinet raised the question in 1933. The debate centres around the question of whether these three semi-vowels are phonemes in their own right, or merely allophones of the three high vowels /i, u, y/.

Certainly as far as [j] is concerned there can be little doubt about its phonemic status: it is the only one of the semi-vowels to occur in syllable final as well as syllable initial position, and minimal pairs such as *abeille* [abej] *bee* vs. *abbaye* [abei] *abbey* and *paie* [pej] *pays* vs. *pays* [pei] *country* confirm that it contrasts phonemically with the corresponding high front vowel. It is also the only one of the semi-vowels to be found in initial position in an internal syllable, in words such as *payer*,

paillasse, *bouiller*, so that evidence of the phonemic status of /j/ is ample, and convincing.

Before passing to the examination of the other two semi-vowels, however, it is important to notice that [j] also occurs in free variation with [i] the corresponding high front vowel in words such as *lier to bindā*, which may be pronounced either [lie] or [lje]. In such a case we must consider the pronunciation with [j] an allegro form where the [j] is simply an allegro exponent of the high vowel [i], an allophone that may occur when another vowel immediately follows. In this way we already recognize two underlying sources for phonetic surface [j]: either semi-vowel /j/ or high vowel /i/.

Such a move then becomes significant, since when we come to examine the case of phonemic status of [w], there is a similar alternation between words such as *loi* [lwa] *law*, which is monosyllabic (so that the [w] must always remain a semi-vowel), and words such as *loua he praised*, which may be pronounced either [lua] or [lwa]. Following the analysis of the similar distribution with [j], this should lead us to posit a phoneme /w/, which is the solution of some linguists (such as Valdman in his recent *Introduction to French Phonology and Morphology*) but is resisted by others such as Martinet on the grounds that the alternation is only permissible at a morpheme boundary (in *loua* the stem is *lou-* and the *-a* is the inflection of the *passé simple*).

We also find the same kind of alternation in certain words for the high front rounded vowel [y] and its corresponding semi-vowel [ʏ]. As Valdman points out a word such as *nuage cloud* may be pronounced either as [nya:ʒ] (disyllabic) or as [nʏa:ʒ] (monosyllabic), whereas in a word such as *nuit night* the pronunciation is always monosyllabic.

This alternation becomes even more marked after initial consonant clusters: the verb *trier* *to select* must be disyllabic as also must be *troua* *made a hole* and *truelle* *trowel*. It is well known that there is a tendency in French to reduce or avoid complex consonant clusters, and the *Loi de trois consonnes* (which says that a schwa will be inserted to prevent a sequence of three consonants) is an indicator that clusters of more than two consonants are normally avoided. Since semi-vowels, being non-syllabic, count as consonants, it is not surprising that the semi-vowel variants are not heard in *trier*, *trouer* and *truelle*, since that would cause a sequence of three consonants, an occurrence which is avoided by using the vocalic (or syllabic) allophones in these words.

This raises a further problem, however, in that in the words *trois* and *truite*, only the semi-vowels are possible, and this leads to a minimal pair between *troua* and *trois*, indicating that [w] has phonemic status in French, a conclusion that has been rejected by Martinet on the grounds that this is not a minimal pair since one word has two morphs, whereas the other has only one (1945:176). This argument is unsatisfactory, however, because similar patterns of alternation do occur in monomorphemic words: *mouette* *sea gull* shows the alternation [mʊɛt] ~ [mwɛt] (Valdman 1975:74) whereas *brouette* *wheel-barrow* has only the disyllabic form [brʊɛt] because of its initial consonant cluster. The same is true of *muette* *dumb* (f.) in which the alternation [myɛt] ~ [mʏɛt] is possible, and *cruel* *cruel*, which must be disyllabic: [kryɛl]. It follows that with traditional procedures of segmentation and contrast [w] must necessarily be given phonemic status in modern French, a conclusion that Valdman accepts, for example, (1975:74) but which seems to run counter to the intuitions of at least some French speaking

linguists.

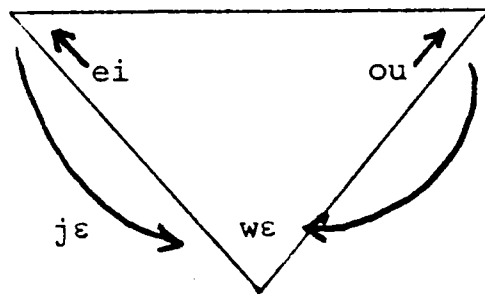
One important factor that has been pointed out in the literature (Spence 1971:150) is the unusual distribution of the semi-vowels. After an initial consonant cluster, for example, [w] only occurs before [a] (with the spellings oi, oy) or before its nasalized equivalent [ẽ] (with the spelling oin). Likewise [ɥ] in such circumstances only occurs before the high front vowel [i], so that Valdman, who treats [w] as a phoneme, is able to draw up distributional rules for [ɥ] and to treat it, in spite of the systematic contradictions, (e.g. that he treats [w] as a separate phoneme) as an allophone of /y/.

A solution to all these contradictions, and a solution that has not only synchronic but also diachronic support, is to treat [wa] and [ɥi] as diphthongs. If one does this, all instances of [w] can be analysed as either allophones of /u/ in free variation with the vowel, or else as the on-glide of the diphthong /wa/ or its nasal equivalent /wẽ/. And likewise all instances of [ɥ] can be analysed as either exponents of vowel /y/ in free variation with the vowel itself or else as the on-glide of the diphthong /ɥi/ (which has no nasal equivalent).

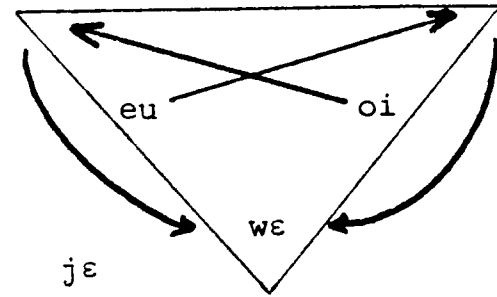
If one accepts this solution, it quite naturally follows, from contrastive and systemic evidence, that there is also a diphthong /je/ in such words as *pie* /pje/ *foot*, a diphthong that also has a nasal equivalent /jẽ/ as in such words as *mien* *mine*, *tien* *thine*, *sien* *his/hers/its*.

This view is amply supported by the diachronic evidence.

In the early history of French, the mid-vowels in open syllables all became diphthongized. The high mid-vowels formed closing diphthongs, while the low mid-vowels formed opening diphthongs according to the following pattern (Stage I):



Stage I



Stage II

Dissimilation of the high mid diphthongs then led to the following changes

$ei > \text{ə}i > oi$

$ou > \text{ə}u > eu$

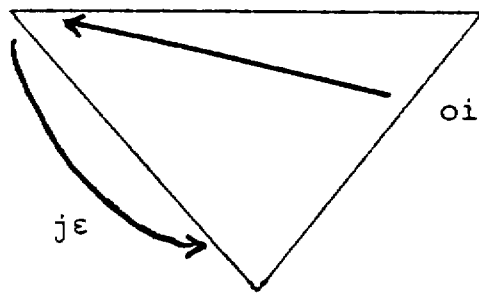
resulting in the situation illustrated as Stage II. It is noteworthy that this double dissimilation itself follows a systemic pattern and in no way disrupts the balanced patterning in the system of these diphthongs.

The systemic patterning of these diphthongs was subsequently disrupted, however, by the formulation of the front rounded vowels, which eliminated two of the diphthongs as follows:

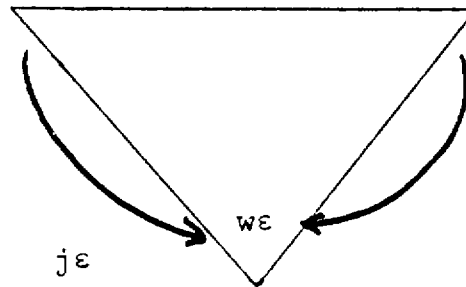
$eu > \emptyset$

$w\epsilon > \text{œ}$

Both of these diphthongs had the frontal element and also the lip rounding necessary for front rounded vowels, but since one was a closing diphthong and the other an opening diphthong, their elimination led to a disparity in the systemic patterning of these diphthongs (Stage III):



Stage III



Stage IV

It appears that this imbalance is a direct cause of one of the more remarkable changes of French historical phonology, that of the diphthong [oi] to [wε], which took place after the formation of the front vowels and restored the systemic balance that had been destroyed in their formation.

The diphthong [ɥi] appears at about the same time, and again as a result of the formation of the front rounded vowels, so that the new set of diphthongs which appears at this time has three components, all falling diphthongs, all beginning from semi-vowel on-glides, one from [j] which thereby relates to the front vowels, one from [w] which thereby relates to the back vowels, and one from [ɥ] which consequently relates to the front rounded vowels. In this way the subsystem of the diphthongs may be seen to relate to the three main sets of oral vowels.

The nasal diphthongs [jɛ̃] and [wɛ̃] are also of interest, since spellings such as *lentement* show that the mid-front vowels were normally nasalized to [ã], whereas the second element of the diphthong [jε] is nasalized to [ɛ̃], as in *rien*. The same is true of the diphthong [wε] which is nasalized to [wɛ̃] in such words as *coin*, whereas disyllabic [u] + [e] is nasalized to [u] + [ã] in the name of the city of Rouen, for example. As a result we have two distinctive nasal diphthongs, whose evolution is distinct from

that of other nasal vowels, and which relate in their own way to the subset of nasal vowels.

The proposal that a coherent analysis of French vowels should recognize five falling diphthongs, three oral and two nasal, is not new. A somewhat similar suggestion occurs in a little known article by Gordon Arnold that was published in *Lingua* 25 years ago. Arnold's approach is distributional, rather than the Prague School approach adopted in this paper, and his conclusions are based upon extensive statistics of the distribution of vocalic elements. He started from the classical phoneme inventory of Passy, which established the tradition of treating the semi-vowels as phonemes, and having applied his statistical methods, found conflicting distributional patterns for the semi-vowels. In particular, the stability of [w] in certain contexts led him to write as follows:

"The conclusions to be drawn from this analysis are inescapable. We must set up two new units /wa/ and /wẽ/, consider all other occurrences of [w] as conditioned variants of /u/, and remove /w/ as a separate unit from our phoneme inventory." (1956:267).

Similar arguments lead him on the next page to recognize /ɥi/ as a diphthong, and then after a long discussion, to ignore the similar patterning of [jɛ] and [jẽ] because both elements of these diphthongs can be shown to have full phonemic status in other contexts. Distributionalist phonology, of course, emphasizes context of occurrence, distribution, and contrast, and takes little note of the systemic structure of a set of phonemes as a whole. Concern for the systemic structure is more typical of the Prague School, and it is here that the two different schools of thought go off on different paths. As a consequence, where Arnold's inventory has only the three diphthongs /wa, wẽ, ɥi/, I

have tried to show in this paper that there is diachronic systemic evidence to justify two further diphthongs /jɛ, jẽ/ in the phonological system of Modern French.

Arnold's analysis of /wɛ/ and /wẽ/, however, is so lucid and so convincing that it is difficult to see why this solution has been ignored by the main tradition of French phonology, and it is baffling to see a text such as Valdman (1976), designed for teaching French phonology to undergraduate students, still proposing that [w] is a part of the phonemic inventory of French, especially since Valdman concludes that [ɥ] can be shown by means of hocus pocus distributional rules to be an allophone of /y/!

The time has come, in short, for a re-assessment of the whole question of the French semi-vowels, and this paper has been designed as a step in that direction.

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'N A, 'N Y A, ETC: FORMES ACADIENNES DE IL Y A
DANS LA PARTIE OUEST DE LA NOUVELLE-ECOSSE

Maurice A. Holder

Dalhousie University, Halifax

Le franco-acadien parlé dans l'ouest de la Nouvelle-Ecosse (Pubnico, Baie Sainte-Marie) présente des formes populaires de il y a dont plusieurs avec un n parasite [na nja ənjainja], la forme là employée verbalement, et enfin la forme standard parlée y a. Les formes [na] et [nja] ont été observées par d'autres chercheurs (un exemple de [na] a été relevé par Ryan, 1982, p. 518), mais dans l'ensemble elles n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune étude spéciale jusqu'ici, à notre connaissance.

Nous avons noté ces formes lors du dépouillement d'un corpus établi en 1979 sous la direction de M. Moshé Starets de l'Université Sainte-Anne. Nous tenons à le remercier pour l'autorisation d'utiliser le corpus. Il s'agit d'une série d'enregistrements du parler d'enfants acadiens âgés de 7 à 12 ans des quatre régions acadiennes de la Nouvelle-Ecosse. Six enfants ont été choisis de chaque région, et chacun enregistré pendant une demi-heure approximativement. Ce corpus a servi à une étude lexicale importante subventionnée par le Secrétariat d'Etat et le Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Ecosse.

DONNEES

Le Tableau I présente le nombre absolu des formes relevées chez chaque informateur, dans les régions de la Baie Sainte-Marie et de Pubnico. Nous n'avons noté que la forme y a dans les deux autres régions (Cap Breton: Ile Madame et Chéticamp), bien qu'il paraisse que les formes avec [n] y existent

Le Tableau II est une liste d'exemples de chaque forme en différentes positions phonétiques, aussi bien que des exemples avec le pronom en.

Selon les données fournies au Tableau I, la répartition des formes est différente chez chaque informateur. Il n'est pas encore clair quels pourraient être les facteurs qui déclenchent le choix d'une forme ou une autre, mais il est évident que les formes avec [n] sont les plus caractéristiques du parler populaire de la région. Le Tableau II montre que leur occurrence n'est pas conditionnée par l'entourage phonétique. Ces formes sont donc en variation libre.

ORIGINES POSSIBLES DES FORMES AVEC [n]

Une étude attentive des contextes où apparaissent les diverses formes de il y a montre que cette locution peut avoir une valeur tantôt personnelle, tantôt impersonnelle, selon le contexte. C'est à partir de cette fluctuation de sens que nous formulerons une première hypothèse concernant l'origine possible des formes avec [n]. Des critères phonétiques fourniront la base d'une deuxième hypothèse, aucunement en conflit avec la première, et qui pourrait même servir comme appui à celle-ci.

Voici, en bref, la substance de ces théories: selon la première, on considère [na] comme une forme courte de on a, par aphérèse; ensuite on obtient une forme mixte [nja] par croisement entre [na] et y a, et une deuxième forme mixte [inja] par croisement avec la forme pleine il y a. Cette forme doublement hybride [inja] ne s'entend qu'occasionnellement. Quant à l'apparition d'un [ə] devant [nja] (que nous orthographierons e'n y a - voir paragraphe suivant), il y a lieu de se demander si ce phénomène serait apparenté au [ə] d'appui dans la forme ej [əʒ], variante fréquente de je à la Baie Sainte-Marie et à Pubnico.

Tableau I: Nombre absolu des formes de il y a employées par chaque informateur

	Informateur	Formes						Total
		ya	là	'na	'n ya	e'n ya	i'n ya	
Baie Sainte-Marie	A	1	8	1				10
	B	1			7	16	2	26
	C	4		10	25	1	1	41
	D	14						14
	E	4	25	3				32
	F	5	1	68	5			79
	Total	29	34	82	37	17	3	202

	Informateur	Formes						Total
		ya	on a	'na	'n ya	e'n ya	i'n ya	
Pubnico	G	4	10	25		1	1	41
	H	6	2	12	1			21
	I	1	1	7				9
	J		7	1				8
	K		13	4				17
	L		15	11	1			27
	Total	11	48	60	2	1	1	123

Tableau II: Liste d'exemples de chaque forme
 (1) après une pause, (2) après une
 voyelle, (3) après une consonne,
 (4) avec le pronom en

<u>Forme</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Informateur</u>	<u>Exemples</u>
y a	(1)	D.	"et y avait mouillé tout c'te soir-lâ, et euh, <u>y avait</u> à peu près un pied de vase".
	(2)	D.	"une fois <u>y avait</u> un homme qui voulait (...)"
	(3)	E.	"n'a point qui sortont vraiment quand ce <u>y a</u> quelqu'un"
	(4)	C.	"Oh! <u>y en a</u> en masse d'autres"
'n y a	(1)	C.	"et, <u>'n y a</u> en masse de choses de même"
	(2)	B.	"pi lâ <u>'n y a</u> des toilettes, et <u>'n y a</u> une porte en avant"
	(3)	B.	"c'est toutes des différentes danses <u>'n y a</u> , du ballet(...)"
	(4)	C.	"tu vas, pi <u>'n y en a</u> qui se cachent"
e'n y a	(1)	B.	"pas mal par en bas, <u>e'n y a</u> un lac, pi au bord de ça, <u>e'n y a</u> lâ ce qu'on couche"
	(2)	B.	"pi e'n y avait un homme qui prenait les portraits"
	(3)	B.	"des fois lâ c' ... comme <u>e'n y a</u> un ... un intermission"
	(4)	B.	"h'ai deux frères, <u>e'n y en a</u> un, son nom c'est Carl"

- | | | | |
|------|-----|----|--|
| 'n a | (1) | C. | "le vendredi 'n y a des O...
<u>'n a</u> des Olympiques" |
| | (2) | F. | "pi <u>n'avait</u> : Beauséjour,
Champlain, Evangéline" |
| | (3) | F. | "ben on va, 'n a (u)ne place
là ce <u>'n a</u> du sab(le)" |
| | (4) | F. | "pi là, n'a...des industries
à vison: <u>'n en a</u> pas mal par
ici." |
-
- | | | | |
|----|-----|----|--|
| là | (1) | E. | " <u>Là</u> quelqu'un qui doune coume
des sacs" (en réponse à la
question "Qu'est-ce que vous
faites à la Hallowe'en?") |
| | (2) | A. | "des fois <u>là</u> des phrases
comme..." |
| | (3) | E. | "à la plage, pour aouère le
time, j'allons là ce <u>là</u>
l'eau" |
| | (4) | - | (pas d'exemples dans le corpus) |
-
- | | | | |
|----------|-----|----|--|
| i 'n y a | (1) | B. | "mais, <u>i...n'y</u> avait déjà une
fille qu'avait gagné" |
| | (2) | - | (pas d'exemples dans le corpus) |
| | (3) | B. | "et puis, e'n y a un aut place,
et puis là ce qu' <u>i n' y a</u> tous
les costumes. |
| | (4) | - | (pas d'exemples dans le corpus) |
-

Selon la deuxième hypothèse, on pourrait concevoir une anticipation nasale de en dans y en a, ce qui donnerait [njãna], et ensuite [nja] dans les cas où le pronom en n'est pas employé. On obtiendrait [na] encore une fois par aphérèse, à partir de 'n y e]n a. Nous proposons l'orthographe 'n pour cette particule, où l'apostrophe représente la chute du phonème ou groupe de phonèmes initial. L'orthographe des formes avec [n] sera donc comme suit: 'n a, 'n y a, e'n y a, et i 'n y a.

La première hypothèse est rendue plausible à la lumière des contextes où 'n a et on a équivalent à il y a. Soit les exemples suivants:

- F: Pi là 'n a (u)ne chapelle, pi là en arrière (1)
de ça, 'n a le ... le doctoir (=dortoir) là ce que (2)
les ... les campeurs et les campeuses couchent pi
là après 'n a le lac pi là, c'est ça. (3)
- F: Oui, mais 'n a (u)ne piscine...entre le doctoir, (4)
la chapelle et pi le doctoir et ça; et pi on
... on peut pas se baigner dans le lac parce
que ... c'est trop sale pi ... 'n a des roches qui (5)
est ... c'est trop dangereux pi je nous baignons
dans le ... dans la piscine.
- Q: Allez-vous en bateau parfois?
- F: Oui 'n avait euh... 'n avait une année (6)
j'y avais été.
- J: Nous... on a du monde qui porte des ha...habits; (7)
i se prêtonnt et des fois i dounont des bonbons.

Dans (1), (2) et (4) il y a coïncidence entre le sens personnel, possessif, et le sens impersonnel, celui de 'actualisateur'. Dans ces contextes, on a, nous avons, et il y a seraient interchangeable. Dans (3) et (5), c'est plutôt le sens impersonnel qui est indiqué, bien que on a soit encore acceptable; dans (6) et (7) par contre, le sens personnel est absolument exclu. Ces deux derniers exemples impliquent, donc, que on a et sa forme courte 'n a se sont lexicalisés au sens de l'actualisateur il y a.

Très suggestives aussi sont les hésitations entre on a, 'n a et 'n y a, qui montrent bien l'équivalence des formes en question:

- B: l'année passée, à Noël on avait eu... 'n y avait eu une femme (8)
 pi un homme qu'avaient venu.
- C: le vendredi 'n y a des O... 'n a des Olympiques (9)
- G: Et, mais ... den après 'n a ... on a un gars qui va au mitan (10)
- L: Ej jouons des jeux et 'n a ... on a en masse de monde qui (11)
 porte des masques et toute ça.

Considérons maintenant les exemples (12) à (15):

- G: I faisont tout le temps du bois. En a qui sont faits de (12)
 fer, les grous là.
- I: Oh, si, 'n avions eu yune. (...) (13)
 Un... 'n avons deusse. Yune, c'était Andy the (14)
 Christmas Doll, et l'aut j'ai oublié....
- L: Coume, on avait une grosse, grosse, grosse, grosse boule(...) (15)
 Et alle a explosé et 'n avons fait une, une aut

Ces cas d'aphérèse (y en a → en a, nous en avons → 'n avons) prouvent que le procédé est tout à fait vivant dans le parler acadien. Rappelons que c'est un phénomène linguistique usuel (cf. en anglais except → 'cept, remember → 'member) qui a joué un rôle non négligeable dans la formation des pronoms français à partir du latin vulgaire (ILLU, ILLA, ILLŪI, ILLŌRU, ECCE HOC, ECCE HAC, ECCE ILLŪI, ECCE ILLA → respectivement le, la, lui, leur, ce, ça, celui, celle).

Finalement, nous avons aux exemples (16), (17) et (18) un cas d'anticipation nasale qui ajoute quelque peu à la vraisemblance de notre deuxième hypothèse:

- L: Je 'n en donnerais à mes grand-mères et à mes grand-pères (16)
 et je 'n en donnerais à mes tantes et à mes noncles et à (17)
 papa et maman et j'irais su un voyage
- Q: Aha. Y a-t-il d'aut choses?
- L: 'N en donnerais en masse à papa et maman pour qu'i achetiont (18)
 une auto.

Bien qu'on puisse considérer notre première hypothèse comme étant plus forte, il n'y a pas de raison de supposer que l'anticipation nasale n'ait pas lieu en même temps; autrement dit, on peut très bien y voir un cas de convergence des deux tendances.

LA FORME LÀ

L'emploi verbal de là pourrait s'expliquer à partir du rapprochement fréquent de là et il y a en tête de phrase ("Là y a ..."). Il n'est pas surprenant de voir disparaître par économie l'un des éléments redondants, en l'occurrence y a, d'autant plus qu'il y a une similitude phonétique entre là, 'n a et il y a: [l] et [n] sont tous deux sonantes, et tous deux partagent le même lieu d'articulation; de plus, la consonne l est présente dans la forme pleine il y a. Au fait, nous avons noté (en dehors du corpus) l'hésitation suivante dans la bouche d'un enfant de Meteghan (Baie Sainte-Marie): "Pour pouvoir driver une car, là un ... 'n a un test".

RESUME

Dans cet échantillon limité du parler franco-acadien, un certain nombre de différentes formes de il y a ont été mises en évidence. Ces formes n'exhibent pas de distribution particulière selon le contexte linguistique. Elles sont donc en variation libre. Chaque individu, pourtant, emploie une forme particulière beaucoup plus fréquemment que d'autres formes. Les formes 'n a et 'n y a sont de loin les plus fréquentes, et nous avons avancé deux hypothèses pour expliquer leur formation.

Il reste à déterminer si une forme donnée serait plus caractéristique d'une région que d'une autre: il y a, par exemple, beaucoup plus d'occurrences de 'n y a à la Baie Sainte-Marie qu' à Pubnico, dans notre corpus. L'extension

géographique des formes 'n a, 'n y a etc. reste aussi à déterminer. Il serait intéressant de savoir si ces formes existent dans d'autres régions acadiennes des provinces atlantiques (Cap Breton, Nouveau Brunswick, Ile du Prince Edward, Terre-Neuve).

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RYAN, Robert W., 1982. Analyse morphologique du groupe verbal du parler franco-acadien de la Baie Sainte-Maire, Nouvelle-Ecosse (Canada). Québec. Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme. Publication B-106

DISCUSSION

- Pierre Gérin (Père): 'N y a s'entend aussi en France - dans le parler populaire, à la campagne surtout.
- Robert Ryan: Le [n] parasite ne se limite pas à l'ouest de la Nouvelle-Ecosse: je l'ai aussi observé dans la bouche de gens de l'Ile Madame et de Chéticamp.
- Ruth King: J'ai observé à Terre-Neuve y en a, y 'n en a, 'n en a, 'n a, y 'n a.
- Anthony Lister: Est-ce qu'il y aurait un rapport avec la particule négative ne?
- Maurice Holder: Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait un tel rapport.

LA DIPHTONGAISON DES NASALES À LA BAIE SAINTE-MARIE:
LE CAS DE PETIT-RUISSEAU.

Francis Landry
Université de Montréal

Dans le parler de Petit-Ruisseau, la diphtongaison touche autant les voyelles orales que les voyelles nasales. Nous serions a priori tenté de traiter par le biais d'une seule règle ce processus généralisé de diphtongaison. Nous démontrerons dans cette communication qu'une telle analyse ne saurait rendre adéquatement compte des faits. Nous argumenterons en faveur d'une analyse selon laquelle la diphtongaison des voyelles nasales est traitée indépendamment de celle des voyelles orales.

Nous ne traiterons dans cette communication que du cas des voyelles orales accentuées. Les voyelles inaccentuées feront l'objet d'une étude que nous nous proposons de faire prochainement.

Dans la première partie de cet exposé, nous traiterons des voyelles orales et nasales en position accentuée libre. Le cas des voyelles en syllabe accentuée entravée sera examiné plus loin.

SYLLABE ACCENTUEE LIBRE

Il existe dans le parler de Petit-Ruisseau, trois voyelles nasales / \tilde{e} /, / \tilde{a} /, / \tilde{o} / qui se réalisent sous diverses formes selon leurs positions dans la chaîne parlée.

- (1) (a) [dy v \tilde{e} r \tilde{u} ʒ] 'du vin rouge'
 (b) [de pat \tilde{a} n ordina \tilde{e} :r] 'des patins ordinaires'
 (c) [dy b \tilde{o} v \tilde{a} n] 'du bon vin'
- (2) (a) [la me \tilde{z} \tilde{o} bl \tilde{a} :ʃ] 'la maison blanche'
 (b) [Yn me \tilde{z} \tilde{e} \tilde{w} ora \tilde{a} :ʒ] 'une maison orange'
 (c) [la be \tilde{l} me \tilde{z} \tilde{e} \tilde{w}] 'la belle maison'
- (3) (a) [ə \tilde{l} b \tilde{a} nw \tilde{a} :r] 'le banc noir'
 (b) [ə \tilde{l} b \tilde{e} \tilde{w} ora \tilde{a} :ʒ] 'le banc orange'
 (c) [ə \tilde{l} pti b \tilde{e} \tilde{w}] 'le petit banc'

Les formes diphtonguées des voyelles nasales se retrouvent en syllabe accentuée¹ libre (contexte (c)) et en syllabe inaccentuée libre suivie de voyelle (contexte (b)). Les formes non-diphtonguées se présentent en syllabe inaccentuée suivie de consonne (contexte (a)).

¹ Cet accent peut être accent de groupe, de phrase, ou d'insistance.

Dans son article, "Nasalization and Diphtongization in Marais Vendéen French", Y.-C. Morin (1977:125) a traité de formes similaires à celle illustrée en (1) - i.e. / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / → [ən̄]. En d'autres termes, il existe en Marais Vendéen des alternances du type voyelle nasale simple versus diphtongue nasale, i.e. [$\tilde{\epsilon}$] - [an̄] [\tilde{o}] - [aŋ]. Morin a bien montré dans son article que les consonnes nasales de [an̄] et [aŋ] correspondent structurellement à des semi-voyelles nasalisées, i.e. [\tilde{y}] > [n̄], [\tilde{w}] > [ŋ]. Bref, l'auteur montre la possibilité d'engendrer les diphtongues de surface [an̄] et [aŋ] en deux étapes:

- 1) / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / et / \tilde{o} / diphtonguent, dans certaines conditions, sous les formes [$\tilde{a}\tilde{y}$] et [$\tilde{a}\tilde{w}$].
- 2) les semi-voyelles se "consonantisent" i.e. [$\tilde{a}\tilde{y}$] > [an̄] et [$\tilde{a}\tilde{w}$] > [aŋ].

La diphtongaison dans le parler de Petit-Ruisseau rappelle les faits traités par Morin. En effet, on obtient pour / \tilde{a} / et / \tilde{o} / une diphtongue à second élément semi-vocalique nasalisé. i.e. / \tilde{a} / → [$\tilde{a}\tilde{w}$] et / \tilde{o} / → [$\tilde{a}\tilde{w}$]. En ce qui concerne / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ /, on obtient une diphtongue à second élément consonantique. i.e. / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / → [ən̄]. Il est donc structurellement admissible en nous référant à l'analyse de Morin de considérer la forme [ən̄] dans nos exemples en (1) comme une diphtongue nasale.²

² L'existence d'une diphtongue [$\tilde{a}\tilde{y}$] > / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / est d'ailleurs attestée dans les parlers voisins de Petit-Ruisseau.

Nous pouvons formuler la règle de diphtongaison des voyelles nasales en syllabe accentuée libre ainsi:

(4) Diphtongaison des voyelles nasales³

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+nasal] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} [+diph] \end{array} / \begin{array}{c} [+acc.] \end{array} \# \#$$

Dans les exemples qui suivent, on observe que les voyelles orales mi-fermées et fermées diphtonguent sous l'accent, en syllabe libre. La diphtongaison de toute voyelle orale autre que ces-dernières est absolument exclue.

Comparez (5a) et (5b):

(5)	(a) [-accent]		(b) [+accent]
[<i>ẽ</i> pti ga]	'un petit gars'	[<i>ilari</i> ^j]	'il a ri'
[<i>dy</i> læ]	'du lait'	[<i>dy</i> ʒy ^ʷ]	'du jus'
[<i>ɪn</i> ru nœ:v]	'une roue neuve'	[<i>ẽ</i> pœ ^ʷ]	'un pou'
[<i>dy</i> te nwæ:r]	'du thé noir'	[<i>dy</i> tɛ ^j]	'du thé'
[<i>dø</i> zø ʒœ ^ʷ n]	'deux oeufs jaunes'	[<i>dø</i> bœ ^ʷ]	'deux boeufs'
[<i>dlo</i> tʃɛd]	'de l'eau tiède'	[<i>il</i> e bœ ^ʷ]	'il est beau'
[<i>dy</i> læ hɛg]	'du lait sûr'	[<i>al</i> tʃæ]	'le quai'
[<i>de</i> bævæ:r]	'des bas verts'	[<i>mã</i> ʒlæ]	'mange-le'
[<i>la</i> kloʃ]	'la cloche'	[<i>ẽ</i> Kadna]	'un cadenas'

³ L'indication [+diph] dans la règle (4) n'est pas un trait phonétique ou phonologique. Il ne sert que de façon provisoire dans la règle.

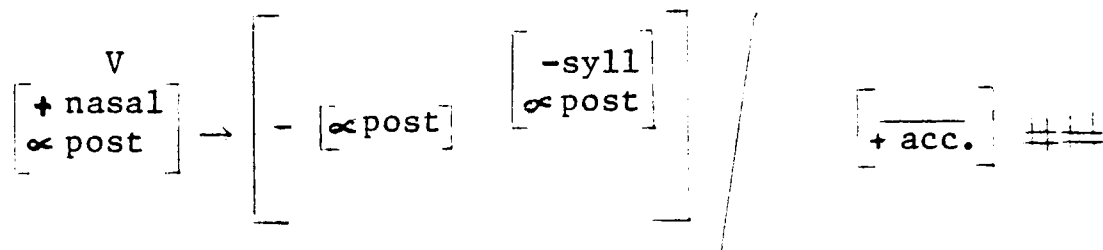
On peut exprimer les faits de diphtongaison consignés en (5) par la règle suivante:

(6) Diphtongaison des voyelles orales⁴

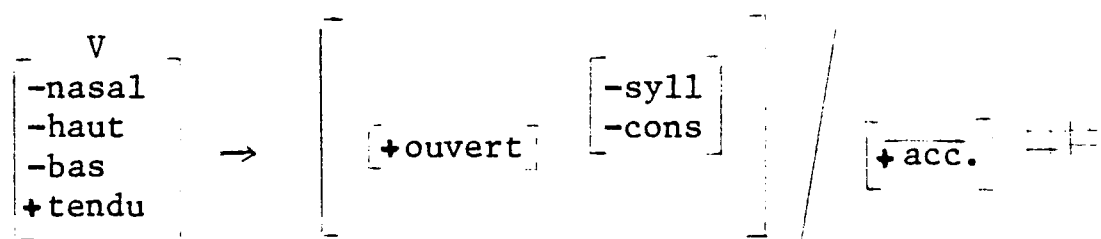
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{nasal} \\ -\text{haut} \\ -\text{bas} \\ +\text{tendu} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[+\text{diph} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ +\text{acc.} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

En syllabe accentuée libre, les diphtongues nasales diffèrent donc sur deux plans des diphtongues orales. D'une part la règle (6) n'opère que sur la classe des voyelles mi-fermées et fermées contrairement à la règle de diphtongaison des nasales, règle (4), qui opère sur toute les voyelles nasales indépendamment de leur ouverture. -cf. $/\tilde{a}/ \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \tilde{e} \\ \tilde{w} \end{array} \right]$. D'autre part, il est clair que phonétiquement, la réalisation des diphtongues diffère selon que la voyelle est orale ou nasale. Pour les diphtongues nasales, le noyau syllabique de la diphtongue adopte la valeur inverse de celle du trait de postériorité de la voyelle sous-jacente tandis que l'appendice qui termine la diphtongue se réalise sous la forme d'une semi-voyelle préservant la valeur originale du trait de postériorité de la voyelle sous-jacente. -e.g. $/\tilde{a}/ \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \tilde{e} \\ \tilde{w} \end{array} \right]$, $\left[\begin{array}{c} \tilde{e} \\ \tilde{w} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \tilde{e} \\ \tilde{w} \end{array} \right]$. On doit exprimer formellement cette réalisation phonétique des diphtongues nasales à l'intérieur de la règle de diphtongaison des nasales:

⁴ Pour la justification du trait [+tendu] voir Morin (1981), qui explicite cette opposition à partir des travaux de Alice Grundt, Denis Dumas, et Mona Lindau.

(7) Diphthongaison des voyelles nasales (2^{ième} version)

Pour ce qui est du mode de diphthongaison des orales, il se caractérise par l'ouverture du noyau de la voyelle auquel s'adjoint un appendice qui, dans la plupart des cas, prend la forme d'une semi-voyelle homorganique. (i.e. antérieure non-arrondie, antérieure arrondie, postérieure) e.g. /e/ → [e^j], /ø/ → [ø^j] ~ [ø^ʔ], /u/ → [u^w]. On peut préciser l'output de la règle (6) et la réécrire ainsi:

(8) Diphthongaison des voyelles orales⁵ (2^{ième} version)

SYLLABE ACCENTUEE ENTRAVEE

Les exemples qui suivent en (9), (10), (11) illustrent respectivement le comportement des nasales / \tilde{e} /, / \tilde{a} /, / \tilde{o} / en syllabe accentuée entravée.

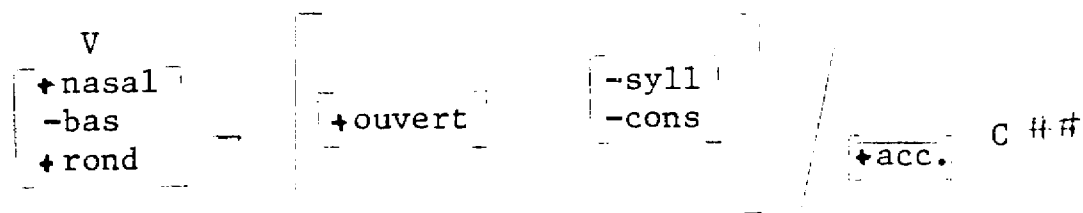
⁵ Par convention, nous adopterons le trait [+ouvert] pour exprimer que la voyelle, en diphthonguant, peut s'ouvrir c'est-à-dire que dans le cadre de Chomsky et Halle (1968) il s'agit d'une valeur intermédiaire entre tendu et relâché.

- (9) (a) [la pɛ̃t nœ:v] 'la casserole neuve'
 (b) [la pɛ̃:t] 'la casserole'
- (10) (a) [le ʒãb kasej] 'les jambes cassées'
 (b) [le ʒã:b] 'les jambes'
- (11) (a) [ʁn mœ̃wt nœ:v] 'une montre neuve'
 (b) [ʁn mœ̃wt] 'une montre'

Les nasales en syllabe accentuée entravée se réalisent donc sous la forme d'une monophthongue à l'exception de /œ̃/, qui, elle, diphtongue. On peut faire ici deux observations: 1) /œ̃/ est une voyelle mi-fermée. 2) la réalisation phonétique de la diphtongue suit le modèle des diphtongues orales, à savoir que le noyau de la voyelle s'ouvre et qu'un appendice appartenant à la même série, s'adjoint à la voyelle. i.e. /œ̃/ - [œ̃ w̃]

Il nous faut donc postuler l'existence d'une règle de diphtongaison particulière à la nasale [+rond] et [-bas] et qui opère en syllabe entravée:

(12) Diphtongaison de /œ̃/



En syllabe accentuée entravée, les exemples qui suivent mettent en évidence certains faits de diphtongaison des voyelles orales. La diphtongaison apparaît en syllabe entravée par consonne

allongeante.⁶ (cf. (13), (14), (15), (16): comparez (a) et (b) dans chaque cas).

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|----------|-----------|----------|------------|
| (13) | (a) | [vniːr] | 'venir' | [peːr] | 'père' |
| | | [dyːr] | 'dure' | [bœːr] | 'beurre' |
| | | [kœːr] | 'cour' | [kœːr] | 'corps' |
| | (b) | [fæːr] | 'faire' | [kaːr] | 'quart' |
| | | [kœrv] | 'crève' | [kaːr] | 'auto' |
| (14) | (a) | [briːz] | 'brise' | [ʃeːz] | 'chaise' |
| | | [edʒyːz] | 'aiguise' | [pœːz] | 'peureuse' |
| | | [dœːz] | 'douze' | [œːz] | 'repose' |
| | (b) | [treːz] | 'treize' | [ekraːz] | 'écrase' |
| | | [pœːz] | 'pèse' | | |
| (15) | (a) | [niːz] | 'nige' | [neːz] | 'neige' |
| | | [ʒyːz] | 'juge' | [œːz] | 'auge' |
| | | [rœːz] | 'rouge' | | |
| | (b) | [naːz] | 'nage' | | |

⁶ Comme en français de Montréal, la classe des consonnes allongeantes comprend /r, z, v, ʒ/.

(16)	(a)	$[arijv]$	'arrive'	$[pø^wv]$	'pauvre'
		$[ru^wv]$	'rouvre'	$[ʃejv]$	'shave'
(b)		$[ʃɛ:v]$	'chèvre'	$[sɔ:v]$	'save'
		$[vœ:v]$	'veuve'	$[ka:v]$	'cave'
		$[lœ:v]$	'lève'		

Les diphtongues du type $[i^j, y^ç, u^w, e^j, ø^ç, o^w]$ apparaissent en syllabe accentuée entravée ailleurs que devant consonne allongante: cf. (17), (18).

(17)	$[i^j]$	'île'	$[vɪ]$	'ville'
	$[vi^j]$	'vitre'	$[vit]$	'vite'
	$[si^jn]$	'signe'	$[medsɪn]$	'médecine'
	$[hy^ç]$	'hucher'	$[krɪç]$	'cruche'
	$[pɪ^çs]$	'puce'	$[ɪs]$	'sourcils'
	$[p^lɪ^çs]$	'plus'	$[ogɪs]$	'Auguste'
	$[dʊ^ws]$	'douce'	$[lʊs]$	'loose'
	$[grʊ^ws]$	'grosse'	$[brʊs]$	'brosse'
	$[krʊ^wt]$	'croûte'	$[brʊt]$	'broute'
(18)	$[prejt]$	'prêtre'		
	$[pejç]$	'pêche'		
	$[bejt]$	'bête'		
	$[ʒø^çn]$	'jeûne'		

	[kə ^w t]	'côte'	[və ^w t]	'vote'
	[hə ^w t]	'haute'	[ʒə ^w n]	'jaune'
	[ʃə ^w d]	'chaude'	[pə ^w m]	'paume'
(19)	[smɛn]	'semaine'	[bos]	'bosse'
	[pɛl]	'pelle'	[nos]	'noce'
	[sɛl]	'seul'	[kɑ:b]	'cable'
	[mœb]	'meuble'	[ha:l]	'hale'
	[plas]	'place'	[ba:s]	'basse'
	[tab]	'table'	[dʒa:b]	'diable'

Dans les exemples en (17) et (18), il s'agit d'une situation qui rappelle dans bien des cas, des voyelles "longues étymologiques", bien identifiées en français de Montréal⁷; e.g. allongement ancien devant [s] implosif bête < besta, pâte < pasta, croûte < crusta⁸. Contrairement à l'acadien, le français de Montréal n'a conservé qu'un sous-ensemble de longues historiques⁹, soit les [-haut] i.e. toutes les voyelles sauf /i, y, u/.

⁷ Voir Dumas (1978).

⁸ E. et J. Bourciez, *Phonétique française, étude historique*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1978.

⁹ Pour les détails de cette analyse, voir le premier chapitre de la thèse de Dumas (1978).

Nous venons de voir qu'il en est autrement avec l'acadien de Petit-Ruisseau où certaines longues étymologiques ont été gardées. cf. (17) et (18)¹⁰.

Pour certains de nos exemples dans lesquels on retrouve des diphtongues en syllabe entravée devant consonne non-allongeante, les sources de la durée vocalique sont un peu moins transparentes e.g. vitre < vitrum, puce < pulice, hucher < huccare mais peu importe la source d'allongement des voyelles hautes, il demeure que sur le plan strictement synchronique, il nous faut rendre compte de l'existence de deux classes de voyelles hautes: les hautes diphtonguées et les hautes non-diphtonguées. Ces voyelles dans le même contexte, se réalisent respectivement par une diphtongue et par une voyelle simple relâchée. e.g. [vi^ht] 'vitre' ~ [vit] 'vite'

Sur la base des exemples déjà vus, nous pouvons présenter la situation à Petit-Ruisseau comme suit:

En syllabe accentuée libre

1. Toutes les voyelles mi-fermées et fermées diphtonguent.
11. Toutes les voyelles nasales diphtonguent.

¹⁰ En français de Montréal, toutes les longues étymologiques diphtonguent. En acadien de Petit-Ruisseau, seules les longues étymologiques marquées [-bas] diphtonguent -i.e. /a/ de e.g. "pâte" < pasta ne diphtongue pas en acadien de Petit-Ruisseau.

En syllabe accentuée entravée

111. Il y a neutralisation des voyelles fermées devant consonnes allongeantes entravantes. i.e. /r,z,v,ʒ/. Cependant, nous avons remarqué une exception, soit le mot "livre" [lI:v]. A l'heure actuelle, il n'est pas facile d'évaluer ce mot à savoir s'il s'agit d'un archaïsme ou d'une innovation dans le système.
- 1V. Les "longues historiques" mi-fermées et fermées diphtonguent devant consonne non-allongeantes. i.e. [t,s,l,ʃ...].
- V. Il existe dans le parler de Petit-Ruisseau deux classes de voyelles fermées i.e. /i,y,u/, une classe qui se présente toujours diphtonguée et l'autre jamais diphtonguée (brève et relâchée) devant consonne non-allongeante.
- VI. Les voyelles mi-ouvertes et ouvertes ne sont jamais diphtonguées devant consonnes non-allongeantes ou allongeantes.
- VII. Des trois nasales du parler, seule /õ/ diphtongue en syllabe accentuée entravée.

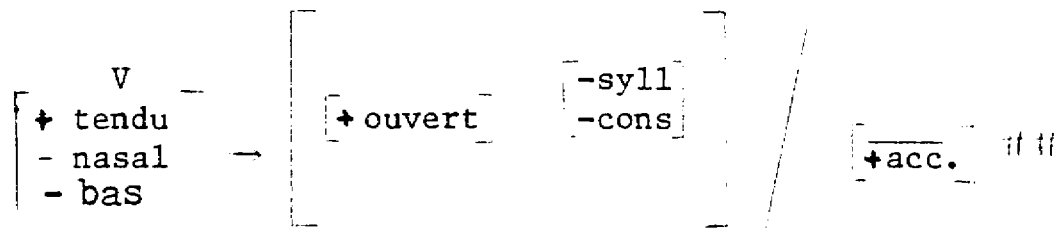
En regard des faits énumérés ci-dessus, une analyse recourant à un trait de "tension" peut aisément rendre compte des contradictions apparentes en 1V et V. On peut grouper toutes les voyelles diphtongables en marquant d'un trait [+tendu] la classe des voyelles hautes toujours diphtonguées /i,y,u/, des mi-fermées /e,ø,o/ et des nasales /ẽ,ã,õ/; toutes les autres voyelles du système, c'est-à-dire la classe des mi-ouvertes et des ouvertes seront marquées [-tendu] et de ce fait ne seront pas sujettes à la diphtongaison.

Le système vocalique de Petit-Ruisseau

	+tendu	i	y	u	
	-tendu	I	Y	U	+haut
	+tendu	e	o	o ã +tendu	-haut
	-tendu	ɛ	œ	ɔ	
-bas	+tendu	ẽ			
+bas	-tendu	a		a +tendu ã +tendu	
			-post	+post	
		-rond	+rond		

Nous pouvons alors regrouper sous une même règle la diph-
tongaison des voyelles orales en syllabe accentuée libre et entravée:

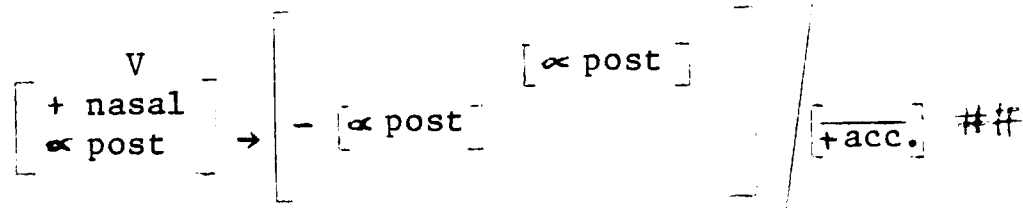
(19) Diphthongaison des orales (3^{ième} version)



La règle (19) répond aux faits 1,111,1V,V,V1. Nous devons maintenant régler le cas des diphtongues nasales.

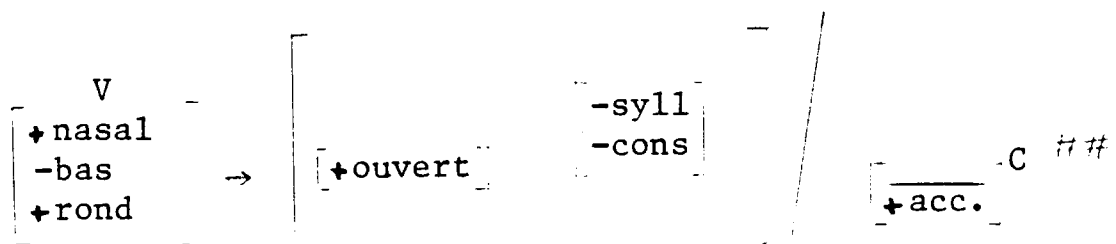
Nous avons vu qu'en raison de leur forme phonétique particulière, ces diphtongues en syllabe accentuée libre doivent être traitées par une règle indépendante. Il s'agit de la règle (7) que nous rappelons pour plus de commodité.

(7) Diphtongaison des nasales (2^{ième} version)



Mais il nous faut encore rendre compte du / \tilde{o} / en syllabe accentuée entravée. Compte tenu de la réalisation phonétique de cette voyelle nasale diphtonguée en syllabe entravée, notre première idée serait de l'inclure dans la règle (19) Diphtongaison des voyelles orales. Ceci s'avère impossible en raison de l'input de la règle (19) qui s'écrit [+tendu], [-nasal]. Or, afin d'inclure / \tilde{o} /, il nous faudrait modifier l'input, soit en précisant [+tendu], [-bas] (/i,y,u,e, \emptyset ,o, \tilde{e} , \tilde{o} /). Pour exclure / \tilde{e} /, comme il se doit, il faudrait spécifier le trait [+rond]. Mais cela excluerait à tort les voyelles /i,e/. Il est donc impossible d'exclure / \tilde{e} / sans exclure d'un même coup /i,e/. Il nous faut donc envisager une règle spéciale de diphtongaison du / \tilde{o} / que nous avons signalé plus tôt, soit la règle (12).

(12) Diphtongaison de / \tilde{o} /



Ainsi la grammaire des locuteurs du parler de Petit-Ruisseau comprendra 3 règles, non-ordonnées, en ce qui concerne la diphtongaison des nasales et orales en syllabe accentuée:

- 1) R.(19), qui assure la diphtongaison des voyelles orales tendues en syllabe libre et entravée.
- 2) R.(7), qui assure la diphtongaison des nasales en syllabe libre.
- 3) R.(12), qui assure la diphtongaison de /õ/ en syllabe entravée.

Dérivations morphologiques

	'vin'	'honte'	'lit'	'vent'	'chante'	'bête'	'dort'	'lait'
R.(7)	v _{ɛ̃} ^j	-	-	v _{ɛ̃} ^w	-	-	-	-
R.(12)	-	h _{ɛ̃} ^w t	-	-	-	-	-	-
R.(19)	-	-	li ^j	-	-	bɛjt	dɔ ^w r	-
R.A.P.*	vɔn	-	-	-	-	-	-	læ
F.S.*	[vɔn]	[h _{ɛ̃} ^w t]	[li ^j]	[v _{ɛ̃} ^w]	[ʃã:t]	[bɛjt]	[dɔ ^w r]	[læ]

*R.A.P. Règles d'ajustements phonétiques

*F.S. Formes de surface

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Bailey Waves in the GVS (Great Vowel Shift):
 Evidence from the LAE (Linguistic Atlas of England)
 Harold Paddock
 with mapping assistance by Marian Atkinson
 Memorial University of Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

The publication of the Linguistic Atlas of England in 1978 now enables us to test Bailey's wave theory with general evidence for the whole of England. This new evidence strongly supports Bailey's theory, for we find that the most advanced variants of a variable (located at the presumed origin of a wave) tend to be surrounded by "layers" of successively less advanced variants as we move away from the origin towards the "front" of the wave. Bailey's theory enables us to reach conclusions about the diachrony of the Great Vowel Shift which are based solely on synchronic evidence.

1. Introduction

The distinction between "tree" (Stammbaum) and "wave" (Wellentheorie) models of diachronic differentiation has its origin in the theories of the Neogrammarians. The "tree" or particle model was generally adopted in structural linguistics because, as Weinreich et al. (1968:152) point out, Saussure retained "the Stammbaum which postulates the mutual independence of particular innovations." However, in 1973 Charles-James N. Bailey revived the "wave" or continuum model of linguistic innovation as being more suited to the facts of intrasystemic innovation and to his aim of developing polylectal and social dialect studies. In section 4.2 of his Variation and Linguistic Theory (1973) Bailey provided a major illustration of the areal application of his wave theory by using the reflexes of Middle English [i:] found by the

survey of English Dialects (hereunder SED) in the northern counties of England. These reflexes had already been plotted on more traditional dialect maps by Kolb (1966) and Bailey's replotting clearly showed the superiority of his dynamic wave model.

Despite this superiority, one sees too few applications of Bailey's wave model in current areal studies. Perhaps one of the reasons for this neglect is Bailey's dense, polysyllabic, and somewhat turgid style coupled with his complex formalism which is meant to incorporate some of the subtler constraints on linguistic variation. However, the basic ideas of Bailey's wave theory are quite simple, as can be seen in the excellent summary by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:73-8).

The publication of the Linguistic Atlas of England (Orton et al. 1978; hereunder LAE) allows us to test Bailey's wave theory for the whole of (rural) England. This paper will consider the reflexes of the two middle English tense or long high vowels [i:] and [u:]. We note here that these are the reflexes found among older (and usually male) rural speakers by the SED in the middle of the twentieth century. This had led to some negative reviews of the LAE but provides exactly the kind of conservative data which is of maximum help in our attempts to determine the diachronic shape of the Great Vowel Shift (hereunder GVS) from purely synchronic evidence.

2. An Adjacency Principle

Bailey's wave theory states that the most advanced variant of a variable should be located at the presumed geographical origin of a wave of innovations, and that the most advanced variant should be surrounded by "layers" of successively less advanced variants

as we move away from the origin towards the "front" of the wave. This means that if England contains dialects which preserve the Middle English vowel [i:] or [u:] unchanged, such dialects are likely to be most distant from the geographical origin of the GVS. It also means that if successive reflexes spread geographically at the same speed, we should find that reflexes (vowel variants) which are phonetically and genetically adjacent to each other will also be geographically adjacent to each other. These two facts should enable us to decide in many cases both the phonetic and geographical directions of change in the Great Vowel Shift.

For example, in Fig. 1 we have plotted idealized waves for the main reflexes of ME [i:]. We assume that the most advanced variants are the low monophthongs [a:] and [ɑ:] located on the border between the Midlands and the North of England. From this area of wave origin it appears that the reflexes of ME [i:] took two different phonetic and geographical directions. To the north, the sequence of changes seems to be down the front of the vowel space along the phonetic route [i:] > *[ei] > [ɛi] > [æi] > [ai] > [a:]. The asterisk on [ei] indicates that this is the only variant which was unattested in the LAE. Our idealized waves indicate that we might find it in Lowland Scotland if it has not been overwhelmed there by opposing "Scottish" waves. To the south, the successive innovations appear to be non-front vowels in the sequence [i:] > [əi] > [ʌi] > [ɔi] > [ai] > [ɑ:]. When we compare the idealized waves in Fig. 1 with the "real waves" in Fig. 2 there is surprisingly strong agreement. For example, if one moves northwards from the Isle of Wight to the area of origin one crosses each of the four southern innovations [əi, ʌi, ɔi, ai] which separate Modern English [ɑ:] from Middle English [i:]. In addition, nowhere in Fig. 2 do we find a most advanced variant,

[ɑ:] or [a:], adjacent to a least advanced variant, [əi] or [ɛi]. Whatever "anomalies" one finds in Fig. 2 can be explained by different rates of spread for different innovations.

How are we to explain the phonetic difference between the front-vowel waves spreading northwards and the non-front-vowel waves spreading southwards? Bailey's work (1973:86-98) on the northern England reflexes of ME [i:] provides us with a clue. Bailey's map (1973:87) of northern England shows a large area in the north of England in which a common reflex of ME [e:] (in geese, etc.) is [əi]. If this reflex existed at the relevant historical period it would explain the fronted vowels in the North as an avoidance of (or rejection of) homophony between words such as bite (from ME [i:]) and beet (from ME [e:]). It is in fact possible that [əi] was an early reflex of ME [e:] in the North because we know that the fronting of the OE long vowel /a:/ (in words such as stān 'stone') in northern dialects led to a severe overcrowding of the front-vowel space in such dialects. Thus the concepts of phonological space and paradigmatic contrasts (e.g., functional load) can explain the phonetic divergence between northern and southern reflexes of ME [i:] (cf. Martinet 1952 and 1955).

Our idealized waves for the reflexes of ME [u:] (see Fig. 3) show a different pattern of "anomalies". There seems to have been no northern blocking of the first two primary waves, i.e., the variants [əu] and [au]. However, the third wave, [æu], seems to have spread only southwards while the fourth wave, [ɛu], seems to have spread only south-eastwards. It is noteworthy that the two latter waves both involved fronting of the first element of the diphthong in non-northern geographical areas where the reflexes of ME [i:] were diphthongs with back or central initial elements. It

appears then that this non-northern fronting of reflexes of ME [u:] served to keep them maximally distinct phonetically from reflexes of ME [i:]. This tendency to maximize the phonetic contrast between the two extreme diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ by backing /ay/ to [ai] and fronting /aw/ to [æu] or [ɛu] has been noted by other writers, such as Labov (1966:540). In fact, Labov's work shows us that we ought to study the whole system of long vowels in any dialect which gave rise to a new reflex of ME [i:] or [u:].

3. Conclusions

The reader will have noted that the Cornwall-Devon peninsula has been left blank on Figs. 2 and 4. This is because we have overlapping waves (see Bailey 1973:99-101) of competing variants in this area because the Cornish, as they gave up their own Celtic language, learnt a more standard variety of English than that spoken by their neighbours in the West Country (see Wakelin 1972:16). In particular, they adopted more advanced reflexes of ME [i:] and [u:] next to an area where some of their least advanced variants still persisted. This helps explain the "violations" of the adjacency principle found for south-western England in the LAE. It also helps explain the wide variations found in Newfoundland in the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ because most English settlers in Newfoundland came from the West Country of England.

Another major point which requires discussion is the fact that London is far from the main origins of the waves of innovation for the reflexes of both ME [i:] and ME [u:]. In both cases the evidence points to the north Midlands as the main geographical origin. Samuels (1972:165-70) discusses the problem of explaining the predominance of Midland influence on standard and London English which

dates at least as far back as the fourteenth century. Samuels concludes that the reasons for this powerful influence were both functional (the Midland dialects were naturally the most widely intelligible ones in England) and demographic (the migrations to London were mainly from the Midlands after the late fourteenth century). To this we can add that with the industrial revolution the Midlands acquired a position of economic predominance in the country. In fact, there developed an urban axis in England stretching diagonally across the Midlands from London to Liverpool via Birmingham and Manchester. It is noteworthy that most new reflexes of ME [i:] and [u:] not only originated along this urban axis but also spread out along it much faster (i.e. further) than along the rural axis of England which stretches from the south-west to the north-east.

But we should never forget the purely linguistic pressures for change. Thus it is perhaps significant that the main origin for [u:] reflexes lies further south than that for [i:] reflexes. This could reflect the fact that in non-northern dialects the back vowels were more crowded because OE long /a:/ had retracted and then raised as a back vowel, whereas in northern dialects OE long /a:/ had fronted and then raised as a front vowel. This would put more pressure for change on [i:] in the North, but more on [u:] in the South.

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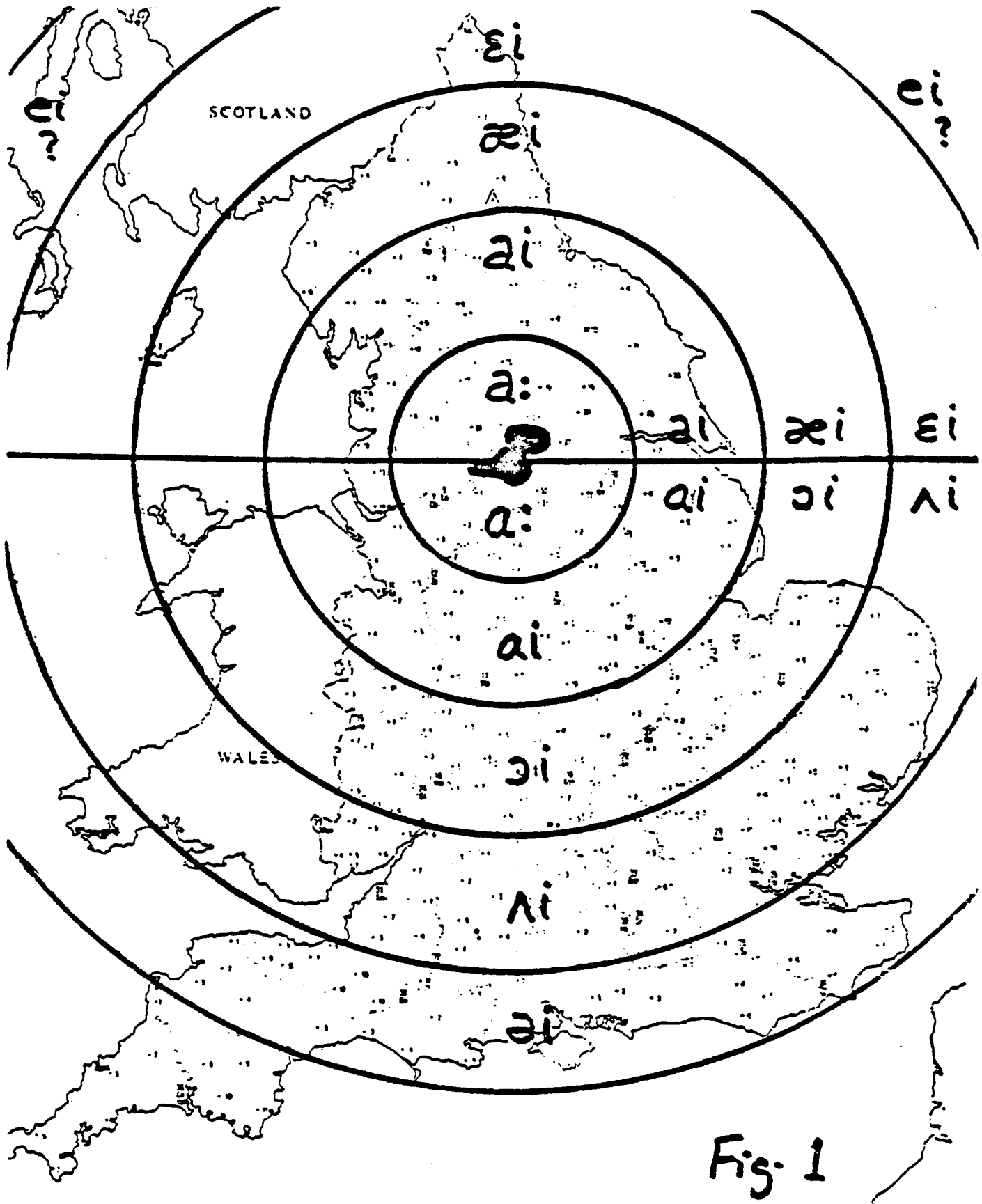
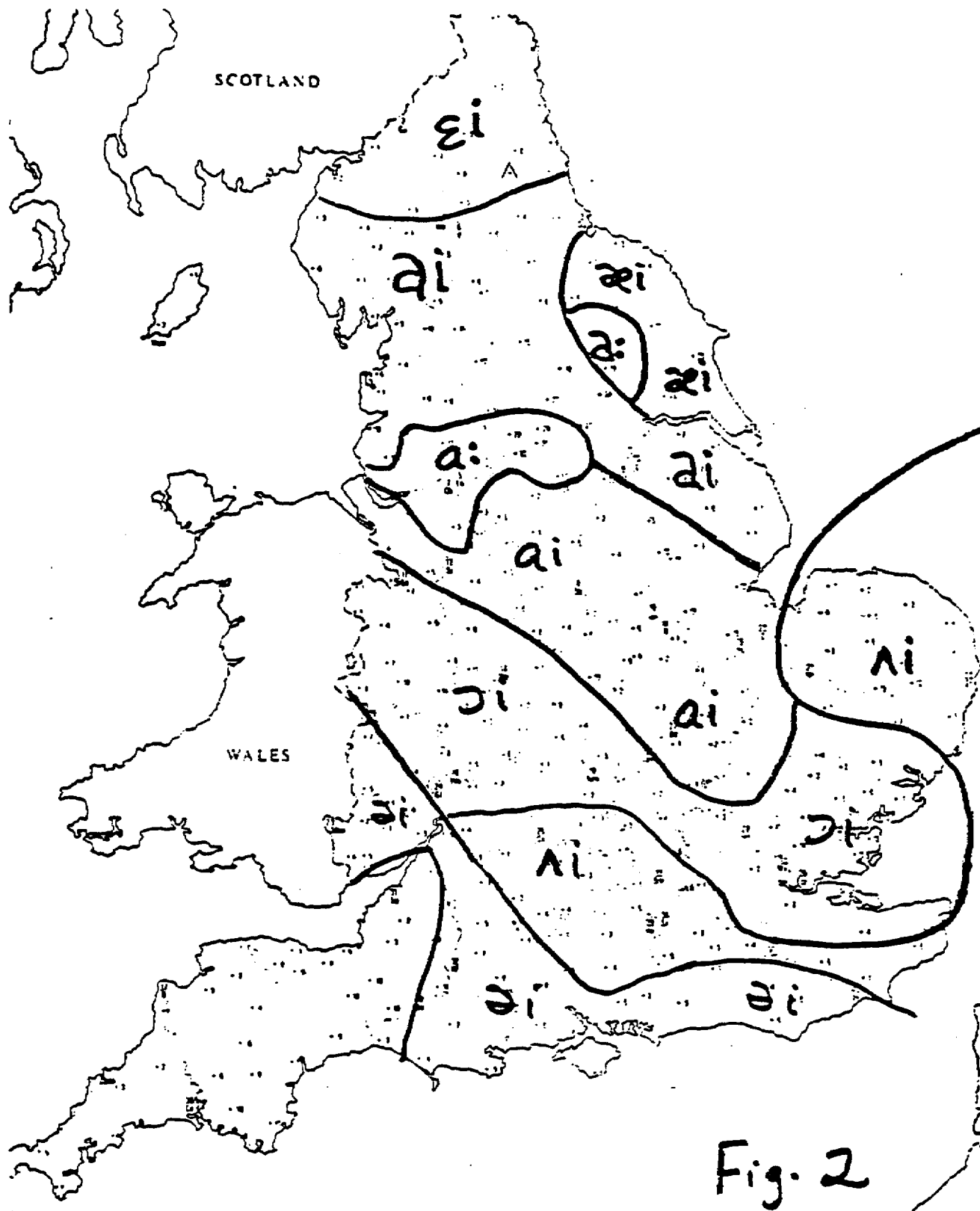


Fig. 1

Idealized Waves for Reflexes of ME [i]
 Front variants spreading northwards
 De-fronted variants spreading southwards



Real Waves for Reflexes of ME [i]
 Mean ranges based on six maps in LAE:
 Ph maps 103 ice, 104 knife, 105 white
 106 five, 107 Friday, 108 time

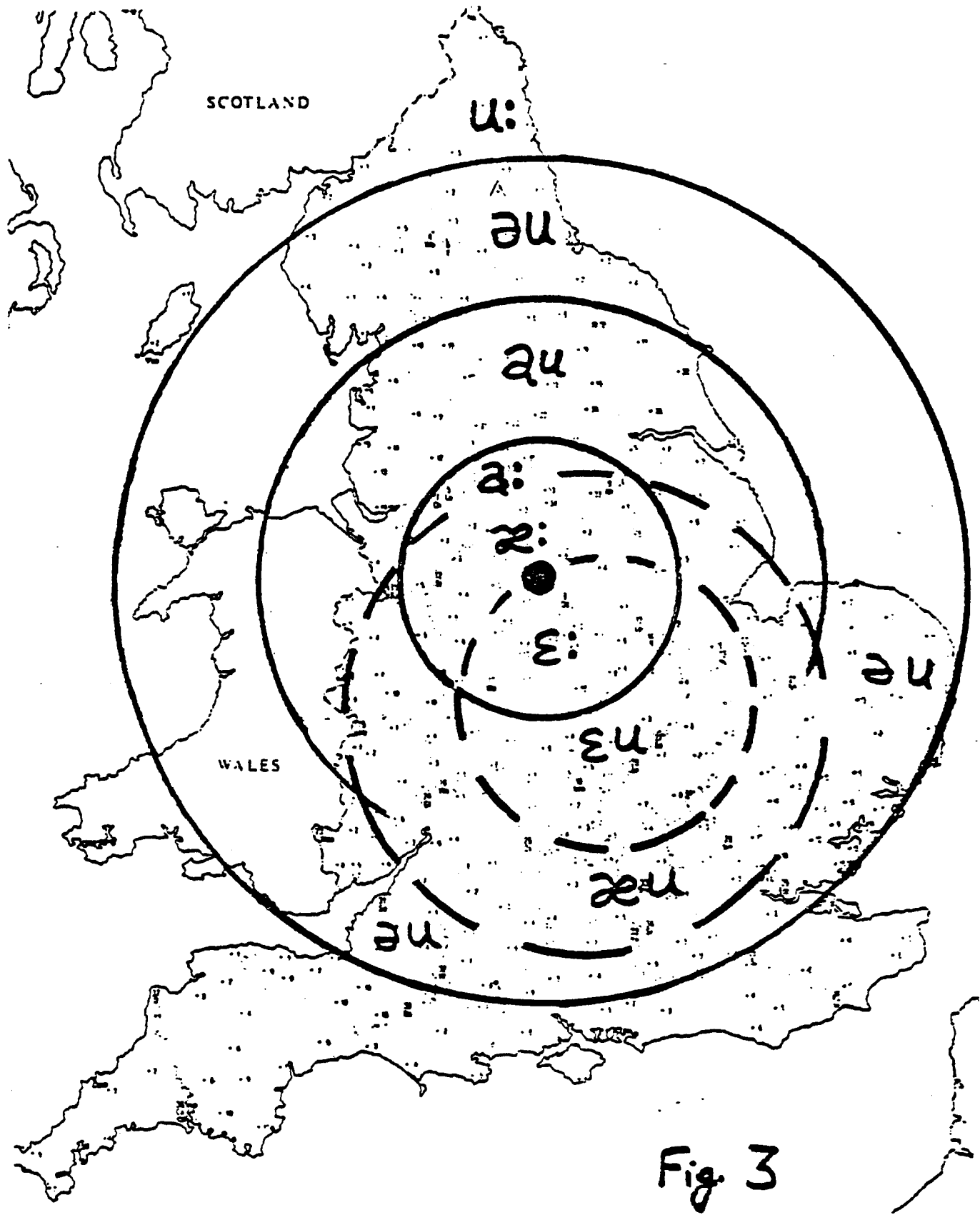


Fig 3
Idealized Waves for Reflexes of ME [ū]
Solid lines for primary waves
Broken lines for secondary waves

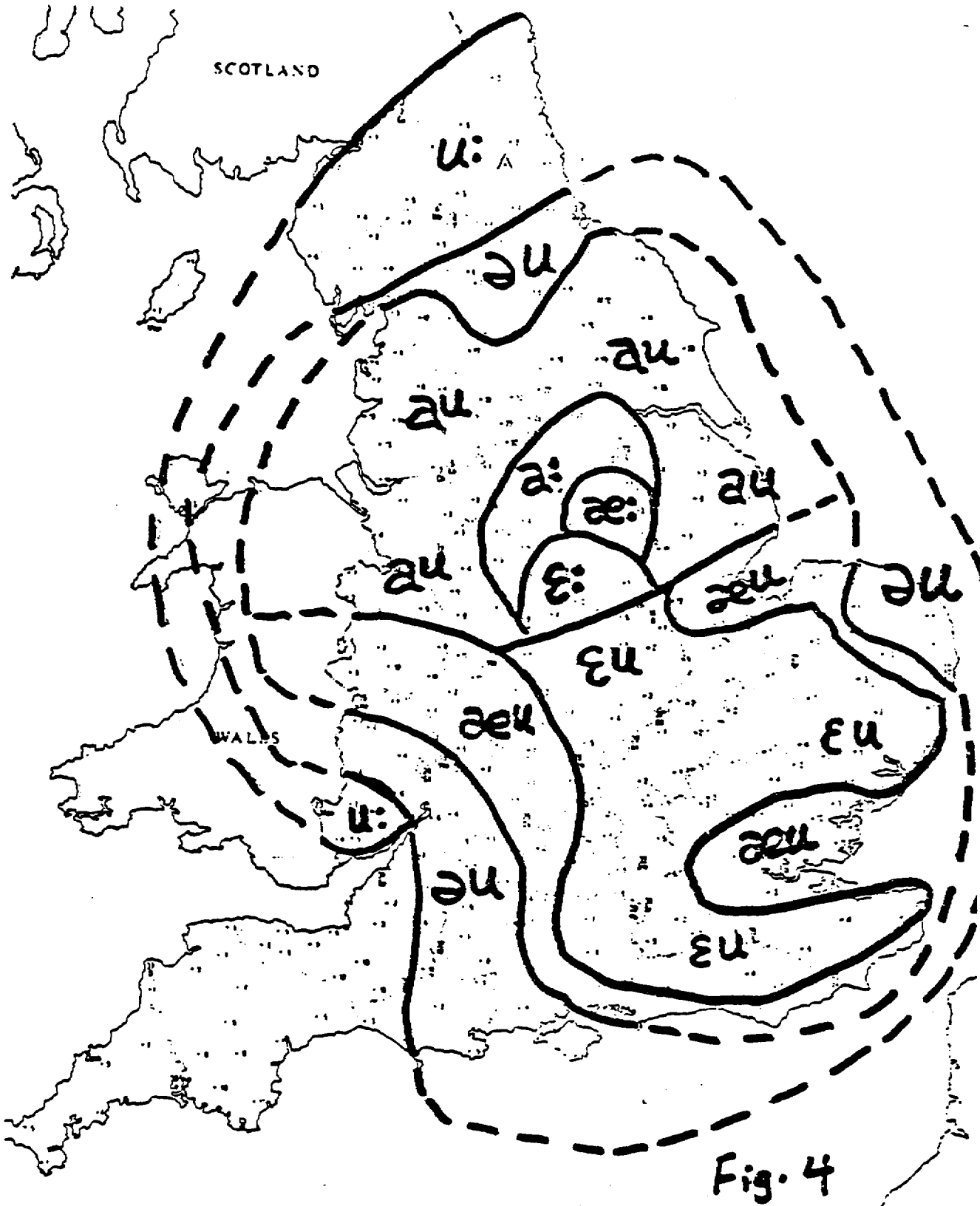


Fig. 4

Real Waves for Reflexes of ME [u̯]
 Mean ranges based on five maps in LAE:
 Ph maps 149 house, 150 louse, 151 snout,
 152 clouds, 154 cow

English Loanwords in Japanese: Phonetic Observations

Laszlo Szabo
University of New Brunswick

ABSTRACT

Japan is a highly industrialized, modern society, and it need surprise no one that a very large part of the vocabulary of modern life has been borrowed from English. Even though the number of borrowed words is very high, the phonetic structure of Japanese has not been influenced significantly by English. Japanese has strict rules which allow only certain types of syllables. This is one of the most striking differences between English and Japanese. The number of syllables usually changes when a word is borrowed from English. In English, there are consonant clusters. Most of these consonant combinations are impossible in Japanese. How are these differences embodied in the loanwords? These and similar questions are investigated in this paper, and a number of selective examples are demonstrated to support the statements.

Japanese is an Altaic language. It is not related to Chinese. But as a result of geographical and historical facts, there are surprisingly many Chinese loanwords in Japanese, including such basic elements of the language as the numerals.

Even though the anglophone influence is much newer than the Chinese contacts, one can make almost the same statement about the high number of English loanwords in Japanese. Japan is nowadays a highly industrialized country. The new culture has developed on the basis of mainly English speaking influence. No wonder that the vocabulary of the new culture, industry, city life, sport, food and clothing is in a very large portion English.

The two phonetic structures, English and Japanese, are very

different from each other, and they have not become more similar to each other in spite of the large borrowing. The Japanese language has preserved its own phonetic peculiarities, and the English loanwords went through many very large phonetic changes.

It happens seldom that an English loanword sounds the same or almost the same in Japanese. However, there are a few examples for that exceptional phenomenon, for instance English pen which is pen in Japanese. It sounds a little different in Japanese, because the final n is pronounced as a nasalized vowel in Japanese, and the initial p does not have any aspiration in the loanword. But these count for small differences, compared with other loanwords.

One of the striking differences between English and Japanese is this: the number of syllables is higher in the Japanese words than in the same words in the lending language. A one syllable English word can have two, three or more syllables in Japanese, e.g. pool > pu-u-ru; straw > su-to-ro-o. Ice-cream will have seven syllables: a-i-su-ku-ri-i-mu.

Most Japanese syllables consist either of a single vowel or one consonant plus one vowel, e.g. pu-ro-gu-ra-mu from English program.

Many English loanwords are nouns, e.g. taipuraitaa 'type-writer'. Some of them are used with the Japanese verb suru 'to do', e.g. taipu-suru 'to type' (i.e. to do the typing'); mikkusu-suru 'to mix' ('to do the mixing'); misu-suru 'to miss' ('to do the missing').

Generally speaking, English loanwords in Japanese are longer than the original English words. The opposite of this statement is true only in the cases of words one part of which was simply left out, e.g. koora 'coca-cola'. In this case not the first

part of coca-cola is used (not like in the English short version coke), but the second part.

The number of possible combinations of vowels and consonants is a lot lower in Japanese than in English. In other words: there are fewer vowels and consonants in the borrowing language than in the lending language. For instance, there is no ö, no shwa or any similar sound in Japanese. The missing vowel must be replaced by something else. This is how we get ragubii for rugby, Meruborun for the name of the Australian city Melbourn, chikin for chicken, orenji for orange, and dezaato for dessert.

One of the most typical changes is this: the English word ends in a consonant, the Japanese word ends in u, o or i.

When is this additional final vowel an u, an o or an i? It depends on the final consonant of the English word. (One of these vowels appears at the end of almost each loanword, except for the words which end in English in a vowel or n.)

After p, s, m, r, f, and ts, the vowel u is added in the Japanese words. E.g. teepu 'tape', suupu 'soup', Furansu 'France', juusu 'juice', supootsu 'sports', teeburu 'table', guramu 'gram', biifu 'beef'.

If the English word ends in a k, in most cases the same final u appears in the Japanese word, e.g. miruku 'milk', fooku 'fork', pikunikku 'picnic'. But in the case of 'cake', an i is added in Japanese: keeki.

A final i is added on a regular basis if the English word ends in ch or j. E.g. benchi 'bench', machi 'matches, (one) match' (from the singular form of the English word), sandoichi 'sandwich', orenji 'orange'.

If the English word ends in a dental stop, t or d, a final o

is added to it in Japanese, e.g. sukaato 'skirt', sukeeto-boodo 'skate board', jyazu-bando 'jazz band'. On the basis of Japanese phonology, it is easy to explain why it is not an u, joining t or d. In original Japanese words, there is no t + u or d + u combination without palatalization. Japanese t + u sounds tsu, Japanese d + u sounds dyu. When the Japanese speaker borrowed the word skirt, probably, he might have found it with tsu far too much of a change, and pronounced it with a final o. However, I found words which had been borrowed with a final syllable tsu instead of to, e.g. suutsu 'suit'.

The other very characteristic change is this: In English, two or even three consonants can follow each other without any vowel between those consonants. This is impossible in Japanese. (Except for the words where the first one of these consonants is an n.) In Japanese, a vowel must be added between the two consonants, if there is none in the English word.

We can formulate more or less the same rule as we did for the final vowel. Unless the first of the two consonants is n, t or d, the vowel u will be added after the first consonant to dissolve the consonant cluster. E.g. kurasu 'class', gurando 'ground', supuun 'spoon', kuriketto 'cricket'. The same u is there also after a g in puroguramu 'program'. But after English ng (ŋ), the additional vowel is i in the Japanese word, e.g. igirisu 'English' or 'England'. Sometimes, an i appears after k, e.g. tekisuto 'textbook' (from English text).

If the first of the two consonants is n in English, there is no additional vowel in Japanese: Rondon 'London'.

If the first component of the English consonant cluster is a dental stop (t or d), an o will follow this dental stop in the

Japanese word. E.g. ueetoresu 'waitress', torakku 'truck', Oosutoraria 'Australia', Shidonii 'Sidney'.

In the combination sw, w is not there in the Japanese word: seeta 'sweater'.

There are no diphthongs in Japanese. The word knife is one syllable in English. In the Japanese naifu, a and i are two separate vowels, and they belong to two separate syllables. Another example: saikuringu 'cycling'. The vowels a + u in burausu 'blouse', and the vowels a + o in taoru 'towel', belong to two different syllables. The English diphthongal allophones of long vowels become ordinary long oo and long ee etc. in Japanese. E.g. booto 'boat', teeburu 'table', geemu 'game'. These long vowels count for two syllables in Japanese.

English long ā is a long aa also in the Japanese word, but it counts for two syllables. E.g. Kuraaku 'Clark'.

English long ī is a long ii in the Japanese word, but it is considered to be two syllables in Japanese. E.g. miito-pai 'meat-pie'.

The same is true about the long ō and the long ū. E.g. rekoodo 'record', boorupen 'ballpen', puuru 'pool', nyuusu 'news'.

Short vowels in the non-first syllables of several English words become long vowels in Japanese (and they count for two syllables). E.g. Piitaa 'Peter', karee-raisu 'rice curry', hambaagaa 'hamburger', burandee 'brandy', takushii 'taxi', chokoreeto 'chocolate', sooseeji 'sausage', koohii 'coffee'.

The opposite of this happens very seldom, namely: the vowel sounds long in English, and it is short in Japanese: damu 'dam', kyampu 'camp'.

Since the most important difference between English and

Japanese is in the number of syllables, we had to study the vowels in a more detailed manner than the consonants. More briefly, now we are going to look at the consonants in the loanwords.

In many words, p, t, k, b, d, g, s and ch are more or less the same in English and in the Japanese words. (We neglect now such phonetic differences as the stronger aspiration in the voiceless stops in English, etc.). E.g. teepu 'tape', basu 'bus'.

There are no interdental fricatives in Japanese. The th in Kathy will be replaced by postalveolar sh: Kyashii. Another example: Doroshii 'Dorothy'.

There are no labio-dental fricatives in Japanese. The f of the English words is replaced in two different ways: In the words fooku 'fork' and naifu 'knife', there is a voiceless bilabial fricative in the Japanese words, instead of a voiceless dento-labial fricative. In hankachi 'handkerchief', the f disappeared.

The v of the English words has become b in the Japanese words erebeetaa 'elevator', banira 'vanilla', doraibu 'drive' etc.

One of the difficult points of Japanese phonology is the question of the flap r. It is something between the English r, the English l and the English d. There is no l in Japanese. Whether there is an r or an l in the English word, it would be just logical to expect a flap in Japanese. But it is not so simple. It depends very much on the position.

English r becomes a flap if it is in syllable initial position in the Japanese word. E.g. taipuraitaa 'typewriter', esukareetaa 'escalator', Amerika 'America', beesubooru 'baseball', San Furanshisuko 'San Francisco'.

The same is true about English l in syllable initial position. E.g. kara terebi 'color television set'.

English final r (following a vowel) is completely silent in Japanese. E.g. supootsu-kaa 'sports car', gitaa 'guitar'.

The same is true about the English r following a long vowel, preceding a consonant. E.g. kooto 'court', depaato 'department'.

English long o plus final r becomes short o plus short a in the Japanese word doa 'door'.

There are some changes which can be explained by the fact that the same changes happen in original Japanese words, too. Certain Japanese consonants change before i and u. A t always changes to ts before u. This happens in the loanwords when an u is added after an English t, e.g. katsuretsu 'cutlet'.

The English w is pronounced with much stronger work of the lips than the Japanese w. For this reason, when the Japanese pronounce the English name Wilson, they do not replace the English w by their own w, but they say a rounded high back vowel, an u. This English name sounds in Japanese: uiruson. Another example: ueetaa 'waiter'.

The English sh becomes s in the borrowed words, e.g. chokoreeto seeki 'chocolate shake'. We can explain this by the fact that sh exists in Japanese in certain positions, as a positional allophone of s. In shake it is in a position where it is supposed to be an s in Japanese.

We have to investigate briefly the question of long consonants. In Japanese, if a consonant is long, it takes twice longer time to pronounce it than a short consonant. In some loanwords, the English short consonants become long. E.g. futtobooru 'football', appuru pai 'apple pie', handobaggu 'handbag', kuriketto 'cricket', poketto 'pocket'.

This paper is just the beginning of a study. There are many

more English loanwords in Japanese, and they deserve further investigation.

The Use of the Locative Ending in Malecite

Laszlo Szabo
University of New Brunswick

ABSTRACT

The use of the locative is wide in Malecite. The internal and external locations are not equally common in the three dimensions: "moving to", "being there" and "moving away". The locative plural will be also studied (its limited use and its special meanings), as well as the possessed locative. What do the Malecites do when they want to express specific locations such as "under something", "near something", "on top of something" etc.? In these situations there is an additional adverb right before or right after the locative of the noun.

The ending of the locative is k in Malecite. It joins the stem of the noun, e.g. ōten 'town', stem: otēne-, locative: otēnek 'in the town'. The hiatus is dropped before this ending, e.g. əpəs 'tree', əpəsiyik 'trees', əpəsik 'at the tree'.

This ending joins mostly nouns. But it is there also in one particle of pronominal origin: iyik 'there'.

The ending k can join a special plural final, -ihkw-, while the w of this final gets vocalized before the locative ending, and the result is -ihkok. But the use of this kind of locative is restricted to a relatively small number of nouns, and it has, in most cases, a special meaning. For instance, the noun poskənīkən means 'coffin'. The locative plural is poskənīkənīhkok, literally 'in the coffins': but it is used when the Indians want to say 'at the graveyard' (i.e. at a place where there are many coffins).

The main topic of this study is this: I investigate what the

locative expresses, when the Malecite speakers use it. I have collected a number of sentences, and tried to find the rules when, in what context they use the locative.

The use of the locative is wide. I raise the question whether this ending is enough to express all situations of being at a place, in a place, on the surface of something, moving to something, moving to somebody, moving away etc. Is there any difference in Malecite between being at, moving to or moving away from? I shall try to distinguish between the following possible situations:

	internal	external
moving to		
being there		
moving away		

I shall also raise the question whether the locative brings out something all alone or together with one or another adverb.

With verbs of motion, such as going, putting somewhere, taking to a place, the single locative expresses without any additional words (adverbs) that the motion takes place into something, to a place, into the internal part of something. E.g. going:

otēnek n-təliphok 'I was going to town';

psiw kikkāhkapasīnen lāhkāpək 'All of us, we went to the cellar';

hauling:

maciyackwimāwal-yakw-te īmiyewikwāmək 'They hauled her to the church';

putting there:

'kisi-tepehlaniya / poskanīkanək 'They put her in the coffin';

tāmāwey k-pisēhtowan tōnək 'Tobacco you put in his mouth';

and even in the case of shooting into something or throwing, landing somewhere, the locative can be used:

ən kisi-peskikanen / nit waləkək 'And we shot into that den';

pēkəhsit apc wastəwīhkok 'It landed again in the snow'.

The motion can also be external, onto the surface of something, for instance just hitting it. This is not very common with single locative, but sometimes we meet sentences like this:

ən pəkəhsan yot təmhikənāhtək / əpəsik 'And it landed, this ax handle, on the log'.

The locative singular of a noun can express, all alone, that something happens inside, in the inner part of a building, in a town etc. E.g.

otēnek tək / totəpo 'Now he lives in town';

psiw nit / əl-lokhətiyekpən skōlək 'All that we did at school'.

The locative plural can also be used in a similar function. However, in examples for the locative plural in this function, there are animate nouns in the form of locative plural. The speaker does not mean it literally: 'in those persons'. The noun malīhkin means 'American'. The locative plural of this noun, malīhkinowīhkok does not mean 'in the Americans', but 'among the Americans', or just 'in America'. Similarly, skicinowīhkok means 'in the Indian village' or 'among the Indians'. In the same way, the locative plural of səmaknəhs 'soldier' will be səmaknəhswīhkok 'in the army camp'. Here is an example in a sentence:

kānowakēwīhkok nit api-nipowit 'Among the Caughnawagans, there he got married'.

The single locative of a noun can be used with verbs such as 'coming out', 'jumping out'. This is a motion out of the inner part of something. This function of the locative, even though it is not very common, exists both with the locative singular and plural.

Singular:

əlmi-notetkwāwa / pəhsyanhtēsik 'He went away, jumping out the window'.

Plural:

cel skwət sakhiye / siskwihkok 'Even fire was coming out from his eyes'.

Up to this point we have seen three major functions of the single locative, namely:

	<u>internal</u>
<u>moving into</u>	X
<u>being in</u>	X
<u>moving out</u>	X

Is a single locative used in all three dimensions of external location? No. I found examples for 'at' and 'to the surface' but not moving 'from the surface' (in other words: motion from an external location). With the function of external location, the verbs express actions such as 'standing there', 'making noise', 'working there' etc., and the locative is always singular. E.g.

nit cel / ci-lāhkālosnihikənək / sēhklətowok skitapiyik

'There, even, at a large fence, they were standing there, the men'.

We find locative with verbs of motion or transportation. The motion or transportation happens on something or along something:

macekpiptoniya / natowākənək 'They started to carry it up the steps';

tapākənək-ēhta / maciyackwimāwal-yakw-te 'On the wagon they hauled her'.

Somebody can grab or touch another person. The part of the body where he touches him, 'on what part' he grabs him, is a noun in locative. E.g.

yot-te n-tociphək̄w pīhtīnək̄ 'Right here it (a bear) grabbed me on my hand';

yot-te 'tociphal wīhkwek̄ 'Right there it grabbed it (i.e. a dog grabbed a bear) on the hind quarter';

ən 'samehlan wīhtnək̄ 'And he touched him on the nose'.

In all our examples for the use of the single locative as adverb of place, we had nouns in locative form. The locative is a form almost exclusively for the noun inflection. However, there is an adverb, iyik 'there', which ends also in k and is used in similar functions. It must be the locative of a pronoun. (The other pronouns do not have any locative forms.) The particle iyik functions as an adverb of place. It can be used all alone, without a noun. E.g.

tətli wen ali-wiwniye / yot iyik / ewikīhtit 'Someone was going around here, where they lived';

ən-yakw macephaniya / yoktək̄ iyik 'And they took her away, those, to (the place)'.

This particle can be there right before the locative of a noun, just stressing the place of the motion or the location of the action. E.g.

kwəciye-al-te / iyik lamhkik 'She went straight, I think, to hell';

ən-yakw 'pisēhtoniya / iyik / təkwapəhsisək 'Then they put it in the small bag';

ən nit pīliw / 'peci-kinowēhtāhsin / iyik otēnek 'And here, a short time ago, he did notify (the people).

This particle (iyik) can be there before a locative plural. E.g.

nakā n-tələk̄wiphōken / iyik / malīhkinowīhk̄ok 'And I travel to the States'.

It can be there before place names. But the place names themselves never receive the locative ending in Malecite. Here is an example with a place name:

n nit mācahan pīhce / wāht iyik flōrəta 'And then he went away, long ago, away, to Florida'.

While place names never get a locative ending, other nouns almost always do get it if they express the place or destination of an action or motion. Very seldom, however, it is possible that the Malecite speaker will use a noun without locative ending, even though it expresses the place somebody goes to:

ən tlapasīnen kətək wikwam 'And we went to another home'.

But this could be counted as extraordinary, individual style. In the same way, if the locative is "overused", that, too, would not be the typical way of speaking. In the following sentence a person goes "to my mother's house". The locative ending is there both at the end of nikwəhsək 'to my mother', and wikowak 'to her house':

ən wət iya / elmi-yakw cəhsiyat / nikwəhsək wikowak 'And this here (i.e. somebody), as he came near my mother's house ...'.

What do the Malecites do if they want to modify the expression of location, for instance "under something", "near something", "on top of something" etc.? The locative is good to express all those locations, but normally there is an additional particle right before or right after the locative of the noun. There are no "prepositions" or "postpositions" in Malecite, but these particles (adverbs) are not very far from the Indoeuropean concept of "preposition" (or sometimes from the Fenno-Ugric concept of "postposition"). They are not separated from the noun by another word (except for the demonstrative yot 'this'). Some of these adverbs are always placed before the noun, others can be placed

before or after the noun. The noun is supplied with the locative ending.

Let us look at first at the prepositioned particles (adverbs).

The adverb sēhkiw, being placed before the locative of a noun, expresses "right in it":

sēhkiw kcihkok 'Right in the wooded area'.

The adverb wiwniw plus the locative of a noun means "around something". E.g.

etoci-nhsanahkwəpən / nit nēket / nit wiwniw wikwāmək

'It was so dangerous, there, at that time, there, around the house'.

The adverb milāwiw and the locative of a noun express "way out on something":

cipətok-əte / tāma milāwiw awhtik 'Maybe, somewhere out on

the road'.

The adverb lāmiw makes the meaning of the locative more specific in such a way that it distinguishes between "inessive" and "adessive", by stressing that the action happened inside, not outside:

stēhpāl-yakw / notowāwal wēnil / metemēhkwēlit / lāmiw / yot / poskənikənək 'As if they heard someone moaning inside of the coffin'.

If the adverb cimaciw is there before the locative of a noun, the two together express "from a place":

ən-yakw kəti-mācahan cimaciw wikowak 'And then he wanted to leave from their home'.

The adverb təhkiw is placed before the locative of a noun and it means "to", "up to something":

n-tətəkwapmā-te / cimaciw / wəniyakənək-əte / təhkiw maksənihkok 'I looked at her from the top of her head to her shoes'.

The adverb tēhsākwīw is placed before the locative of a noun, and the two together express "on top of something":

kispāstōnen / tēhsākwīw skwatək 'We dry them (i.e. pieces of red willow) on top of the fire'.

This adverb (tēhsākwīw) is the only one I found with locative plural:

nəhka-te / lamhkihpotoniya / yot espīhkamkw / tēhsākwīw / kəlhikənīhkok / təkwiw-te cəhslēwey 'On all of them they sprinkled this red willow on top of the traps, up to the last one'.

Some adverbs can be placed before or after the locative of a noun. They express the same meaning, whether they are pre- or postpositioned. One of these adverbs is nēkwīw 'under ...'.

nēkwīw before the locative:

pisatpēhsīnok yot nēkwīw əkwitənok 'Their heads were under the canoe'.

After the locative:

əlməhləkwiya / pkwəmik nēkwīw 'It floated away under the ice'.

The adverb kwihiw(-te) can be placed before or after the locative of a noun. It means "near something".

Prepositioned:

ən nit nacihton nīkən / kisākwew / skolhāwəhsək / wāhte kwihiw-te cīhkok 'And there he went and built a home up the hill by the schoolhouse, further away, near the woods'.

Postpositioned:

wət ēhpit / sēhket / awhtik-te / kwihiw 'This woman was standing on the roadside'.

The locative of a noun can be possessed. It is not very common with non-dependent nouns, but it is possible. Here is an

example:

kə́təwamhkihpōton / tēhsākwīw / iyik / kəlhiəkənnok 'I am going to sprinkle some of it on top, on our trap'.

Possession can be expressed by person prefixes and/or certain endings. The locative ending follows after all the rest of the endings, the way we saw it in the sentence I just quoted:

kəlhiəkənnok 'on the trap'.

A number of nouns are called "dependent nouns" in Algonquian Linguistics. These are always possessed. Most dependent nouns mean relatives or parts of the human body in Malecite. They must be possessed also if they are supplied with the locative ending. Earlier in this paper we met one of them: nikwəhsək 'to my mother'. Here is another example for the possessed locative of a dependent noun (in this case, the noun means a part of the human body):

tamā matnəsk kek-w-sey k-təlamhəkək 'If somewhere you are troubled by something in your stomach'.

Finally, after having studied the use of the locative in Malecite, I would like to mention another ending, which is phonetically and functionally similar to the locative ending. This is the ending -hk which expresses "at ..." or "to somebody's place". This is the only function of the ending -hk. It can join only names of persons or nouns, indicating persons. It cannot join any inanimate noun. Here is an example:

tēles / natlōhket iyik / cim-hkelihk 'Alice goes to work at Jim Kelly's'.

