Actes du

Troisième Colloque Annuel

de

L'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques

Université Sainte-Anne, Pointe-de-l'Eglise, 7 et 8 décembre 1979

Papers from

The Third Annual Meeting

of the

Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association

Université Ste. Anne, Church Point, Decembre 7, 8, 1979

Rédacteur/Editor Moshé Starets, CREF, Université Ste. Anne

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Outre les communications imprimées dans les présents actes, les communications suivantes furent aussi présentées au troisième colloque de APLA/PLPA.

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

Smith Drew, St. John Regional Vocational College.
Phonology of St. John County, New Brunswick

George Patterson, Mount St. Vincent University.
Morphophonology of *je* in Meteghan.

Pierre M. Gérin, Université de Moncton
Les locutions conjonctives *combien que*, *combien*, *même que* et *commême que* dans l'usance franco-acadienne.

INTERGROUP CONTACTS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION*

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The question I would like to address today is "How can intergroup contacts influence and eventually boost second language acquisition"; in other words, how can the second language teacher make use of intergroup contacts in order to improve second language acquisition? The past two decades have seen an important increase in the amount of research on the psychological variables affecting second language acquisition and bilingualism. The pioneer work of Gardner and Lambert (1959) pointing to the relevance of attitudinal and motivational factors or variables in the process of second language acquisition is at the basis of the development of the theoretical foundation of a social

* I am grateful to Dr Michel Blanc and to Dr. Denise Deshaies for their useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

psychology of second language acquisition (see Gardner, Glicksman and Smythe, 1978 and Clement and Hamers, 1979). If the importance of aptitude as a relevant variable in second language acquisition remains unquestioned, as the work of Carroll and his collagues (Carroll, 1962, 1963, Carroll & Sapon, 1959) has made clear, the research of the past twenty years points to the equally important role played by attitudes and motivation in acquiring a second language.

This set of socio-psychological variables is of particular importance for the educator and the second language teacher because, unlike aptitude, some of these variables like e.g. the attitudes can be influenced and changed in a rather short time and through fairly simple means. The fact that we deal with a highly manipulative set of variables has necessary called for a number of innovations in approaches to second language programs, one of them being the introduction of inter-ethnic exchange programs. This set of variables seems to have an intermediary role in second language acquisition: an increased motivation to learn a second language and more positive attitudes towards the second language and culture will entitle the learner to make a maximum use of his aptitudes.

The attitudinal correlates of second language acquisition have been investigated at length by Gardner & Lambert (1972) and by the Language Research Group of the University of Western Ontario. From this rather powerful research, it appears that the attitude of the student towards learning a second language, the attitude towards

members of the cultural group using that language and motivation to learn the second language are relevant factors for the level of competence to be reached in second language. As far as motivation is concerned, Gardner and Lambert made a fundamental distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation. By integrative motivation is meant a desire to learn a second language in order to be integrated to a certain degree into different cultural aspects of the target group. The instrumental motivation, on the other hand, is the desire to learn a second language for practical reasons, like for example, in order to obtain a better job. Generally speaking, but not always, students demonstrating strong integrative motivations are the more successful in second language learning.

Gardner (1978) has put forward the assumption that "since language is an integral part of culture, the acquisition of a second language will depend upon the individual's desire to make aspects of another culture part of his own behavioral repertoire" (Gardner, Gliksman and Smythe, 1978). Attitudes would thus influence the learner's level of motivation to learn a second language and differences in motivation will in turn determine how successful someone will learn a second language.

However attitudes are not likely to influence motivation only, but might equally intervene in another parallel socio-psychological process, namely in creating or in eliminating anxiety. According to

Gardner (1978) motivation is not the only socio-psychological factor to influence the level of competence; anxiety felt in using the second language will have an adverse effect on the level of competence, this independently from the motivation. Gardner thus proposes the existence of two parallel processes, one based on the role played by attitudes (towards the second language and the target group) and motivation, the other based on the degree of discomfort a student feels towards a situation calling for the use of a second language. These two processes will influence the competence reached in different manners, according to the social setting in which the learning takes place; for example, in one of his studies Gardner has demonstrated that motivation is the best predictor of the competence to be reached in French in unilingual settings (e.g. London, Ontario), whereas anxiety is more likely to play an important role in bilingual settings (e.g. Montreal).

How exactly the two processes interact with each other is not clear yet. Whereas a study by Gardner and Smythe (1975) conducted with anglophone students of French as a second language shows the two processes as rather independent, a number of studies conducted with francophone students of English as a second language (Clement, Gardner & Smythe, 1977) seems to point the other way. Their results show that, whereas motivation is favorably affected by positive attitudes towards the target language and the target group, it is also negatively affected by a high level of anxiety and a lack of confidence in oneself.

This psycho-sociological model has further been elaborated by Clément (see Clément & Hamers, 1979, for more details). Whatever the fundamental issue of the question, it appears that positive attitudes, a low level of anxiety and a high degree of self-confidence are relevant factors in determining the level of competence to be reached in a second language. The language teacher might thus be interested in different ways of boosting positive attitudes, of reducing the level of anxiety in situations calling for the use of the second language and in increasing the self-confidence of the learner.

One approach used to intervene on these processes is the use of inter-ethnic contacts. It is generally accepted by most of the scholars interested in the problem of second language learning that inter-ethnic contacts are relevant to second language acquisition, that is, successful second language acquisition will be facilitated through contacts with members of the target group. The relations between attitudes and contacts are not clear yet, but it seems that if the amount of inter-ethnic contacts will in the first place depend on the initial attitudes, the contacts will in turn affect these attitudes. Reviewing the litterature on inter-ethnic encounters and attitudes, Amir (1969) has come to the conclusion that both are closely linked, the contact intensifying the initial attitude and the initial attitude being of decisive influence on the outcome of the contact.

This conclusion has found experimental support in a number of studies concerning the role of contacts in problems of second language

acquisition. In one study, Gardner, Kirby, Smythe, Dumas, Zelman, Bramwell (1972) evaluated the attitudes and motivation to learn French of grade 8 children, before and after a four day excursion to Quebec City; they found an increase of positive attitudes towards French Canadians as well as an increase of the integrative motivation. In a similar study, Clement, Gardner & Smythe (1977) divided the participants into a high-frequency of contacts group and a low-frequency of contacts group. On the pre-test scores, the high-frequency of contacts group expressed more positive attitudes towards French Canadians and toward learning French, showed greater interest in foreign languages, expressed a higher degree of integrative motivation, were more ready to expend effort to learn French and felt they were receiving more support from their parents in their attempt to learn French than did the low-frequency of contacts group. These differences were increased on the post-test scores, demonstrating that already present positive attitudes had been enhanced by a higher frequency of contacts. Whereas initial negative attitudes had also been reinforced by the contacts, a similar effect was also found in another study by Desrochers and Gardner (1978).

On the strength of these results, Gardner, Glicksman and Smythe (1978) have advanced the assumption that the relationship between attitudes and motivation and inter-ethnic contact is indeed bidirectional. Attitudes and motivation influence the decision to initiate contact, and the outcome of this contact will in turn influence these attitudes

and motives. Therefore an initial positive attitude will promote the seeking of inter-ethnic contacts; a pleasant experience of inter-ethnic contacts will in its turn enhance the attitudes. Frequency and quality of contacts would intervene in the overall motivational process by reducing the anxiety component and by increasing the level of self-confidence (Clément & Hamers, 1979). By reducing anxiety and increasing the self-confidence the balance between these two basic processes will change and might become more positive, hence a change in attitudes might be expected. Pettigrew (1969), also suggested that inter-ethnic contacts would allow the student to recognize similarities in beliefs of members of both groups and therefore originate positive attitudes.

By assessing the important role played by attitudes and motivations in second language acquisition and the close relation between attitudes and inter-ethnic contacts, educators attempted to make use of these aspects in planning second language programs in the school curriculum.

The most popular way to intervene in the motivational process seems so far to have been the development of exchange programs favoring inter-ethnic contacts, at least in the province of Quebec. The evaluations of these exchange programs have however given contradictory results so far: for example, several researchers did not find a change of attitudes consecutive to an inter-ethnic exchange program (Tucker & Lambert, 1970; Reynolds, Flagg & Kennedy, 1974), others found a positive change (Gardner, Kirby, Smythe, Dumas, Zelman & Bramwell, 1974; Deshaies & Hamers, 1977, 1978) and one author even mentions a decrease of motiva-

tion (Mackay, 1973). These contradictory results might probably be attributed to the complexity of the socio-psychological processes at work during an inter-ethnic contact as well as to the numerous interpretations given by educators to an inter-ethnic contact program.

Before generalizing the inter-ethnic contact as a mean of second language training for a whole school population it becomes thus necessary to be more precise about the type of exchange program meant and to evaluate its impact on the attitudinal / motivational process involved.

The notion of inter-ethnic-contact itself does not seem to be clearly defined in the mind of educators; very often the term is used to designate any type of activity in which members of two cultural groups are at one time coming into contact with each other. This then includes all sorts of activities ranging from the lenghty type of encounters between individuals - like for example, when a francophone student from Quebec is going to live for three or six months with an anglophone family and to attend school in Toronto - to the short-term meeting between two groups of children - like when a francophone and an anglophone class meet for a few hours in order to participate in a commun visit of the Montreal Olympic site. Between these two different type of encounters there is an array of different contact-activities varying in length, organization, frequency of contacts and involvment of the children. It might as well be a two-day visit to Quebec City made in commun by an anglophone and a francophone group of school children as the creation of a joint exhibition which will extend over several months.

In a number of studies by Denise Deshaies & myself, 1977, 1978, 1979; Hamers & Deshaies, 1978) we did evaluate the attitudinal impact of one type of exchange programs, popular in the Quebec schoolsystem, asking ourselves questions about the impact at different ages, on boys vs girls, and on anglophone vs francophone children. In a first set of studies (see Hamers & Deshaies, 1978; in press) we did administer a battery of attitude tests to school populations of francophone and anglophone children in the metropolitan area of Montreal, some who had participated in an exchange program and others not. The type of exchange program evaluated here can be described as being likely to have the least effect on the student but were chosen because of their popularity with the teachers. This popularity can be explained for practical reasons: they are short, generally not exceeding one day, are not repeated and do not require a large amount of participation from the students and the teacher. Examples of these programs, would include a joint visit of the Montreal aquarium by a francophone and an anglophone class and an anglophone and a francophone class going out on a day's skiing. The ease of organizing this type of joint activities makes them the ones more liable to be generalized to the Province and thus to be accessible to the largest number of students.

In order to evaluate the impact of these short-term contacts on attitudes and motivation we did take a number of measures from pupils of different age groups who had either participated or not in one of these inter-ethnic exchanges. First, we did compare attitudes and moti-

vations of participants and non-participants at five age levels, covering elementary school and high school; I will refer to this as Experiment I. We also compared the effects of this type of structured and organized inter-ethnic contacts with those resulting in an informal way from the close neighbourhood of two groups and generated spontaneously by the children (Experiment II). In addition, we attempted to control if the changes in attitudes could really be attributed to the ethnic composition of the group or if more positive attitudes were not an artefact resulting from participating in pleasant activities (Experiment III).

The instruments we used in the three experiments were adapted from the attitude batteries developed by the research team of the University of Western Ontario and have been validated for the population of Quebec by Clement, Smythe & Gardner (1975). Two different test batteries adjusted to the age levels were used in Experiments I and II, as the more elaborated form could not be used with six and eight year old ones. Measures were obtained for the following scales: integrative motivation, instrumental motivation, attitudes towards the other cultural group, attitudes towards one's own cultural group, attitudes towards second language learning, attitudes towards the exchange programs and amount of satisfaction with the program (for those who had participated) or desire to take part in an exchange program (for those who had not participated in the program). Furthermore, we did ask a self evaluation as well as an evaluation by the teachers of the competence in second language of each pupil; in the third experiment, we also asked to evaluate

the personality of the co-participants (which were either from a similar or from a different cultural background) in the activity. All tests were administered during regular class-hours.

In Experiment I, the questionnaires were administered to 641 pupils of the Greater Montreal, divided in five age groups, namely elementary 1, 3 and 6 and secondary II and V. Half of these students had participated in an exchange program while the other had never taken part in any of these programs; half the students were from francophone schools with a large majority having French as their mothertongue, while the other half were from anglophone schools with English as their mothertongue. Responses of non-francophone and non-anglophone children were not included in the analysis.

As the questionnaires were different for the younger (elementary 1 and 3) and the older pupils (elementary 6, secondary II and V) two independent analysis were conducted. Using a statistical procedure, (analysis of variance) which permits to decide whether groups do differ significantly from each other or not in their ways of responding, we controlled the effect of age, cultural group, participation and sex in an exchange program.

The results might be summarized as follows: (1) for the younger children no effect of participation was observed except for the scale of attitudes towards the activities which are more positive after there has been participation; (2) eight year old children express more motiva-

tion both integrative ($F = 17.859$; $p < .001$) and instrumental ($F = 28.303$, $p < .001$), display more positive attitudes towards members of the target group ($F = 5.227$, $p < .022$) and have more positive views of exchange programs ($F = 15.385$, $p < .001$) than do younger children. This general tendency to give more positive answers to attitude questionnaires might probably be attributed to the difference of age; indeed Lambert and Klineberg (1967) concluded that between the ages of six and ten there is a favorable evolution in the perception of foreign people; they attribute this evolution to a more realistic conception of the social world.

Girls do generally view exchange programs more favorably than boys ($F = 4.422$, $p < .035$) but participation seems to influence boys more than girls (interaction between sex and participation, $F = 4.413$, $p < .030$). The participation in these short term activities does not seem to have any effect on the perception teachers have of the competence in second language, for both expression and comprehension. At this age competence is rated as very poor but eight years old ones are viewed as acquiring more second language outside the school context than do six year old ones ($F = 16.729$, $p < .001$).

For the older students (elementary 6, secondary II and V), a different picture emerges from the analysis. To our surprise, participation in short-term inter-ethnic contacts does have a favorable effect on five scales, namely integrative motivation ($F = 5.084$, $p < .025$), instrumental

motivation ($F = 3.867$, $p < .050$), attitudes towards members of the target group ($F = 7.781$, $p < .006$), attitudes towards second language learning ($F = 15.855$, $p < .000$) and the desire to participate ($F = 22.723$, $p < .000$); however participation has an adverse effect on the attitude towards the exchange program itself ($F = 7.412$, $p < .007$).

It is worth noticing that integrative and instrumental motivation and attitudes towards the target group will become less favorable with age, between 12 and 17 years. This finding is again congruent with the Lambert and Klineberg theory on cultural identity calling for a relative stability at the end of childhood whereas adolescence would be a less stable period. One interesting result points to the fact that the impact of participation seems to be the largest at the age when integrative motivation is the lowest (interaction between age and participation, $F = 5.278$, $p < .022$).

Some sex differences did also appear in this study: the difference between boys and girls as far as the integrative motivation is concerned, is much larger in the anglophone group than in the francophone group (sex X group interaction, $F = 8.225$, $p < .004$), the anglophone boys displaying the lowest integrative motive. This seems also to be the case for attitudes towards learning a second language which are more favorable in girls than in boys ($F = 16.871$, $p < .000$) with a more noticeable sex difference in the anglophone group (interaction between sex and group, $F = 5.340$, $p < .021$). Girls also express a higher desire to participate than boys ($F = 4.556$, $p < .034$) this being again more marked in the anglophone group.

In summary then, from this first experiment it might be concluded that:

(1) there is a variation in the attitudes towards second language and towards the target group as well as in the motivations towards second language learning according to age; these attitudes and motivations can be influenced even by short-term exchange programs;

(2) in younger children, participation in a short-term activity will not affect motivations or attitudes towards the target group, but will affect positively the attitudes towards the inter-ethnic contacts themselves. It is thus possible that participation in a short-term activity will to a certain extent prepare a change of attitudes and motivations. One has also to keep in mind that the lack of more precise measuring tools for these age group might be responsable for the absence of observable differences;

(3) short-term exchange programs do have positive effects on attitudes and motivations between the ages of 12 and 17 years;

(4) strong motivations and favorable attitudes seem to peak around the age of 12 and will decrease during adolescence, regardless of the participation in short-term exchange programs;

(5) when boy/girl differences do show up, girls appear generally to express more positive views than boys; furthermore these boy / girl

differences are more marked in the anglophone groups, the anglophone boy expressing the least positive attitudes.

Experiment II was designed to compare the contact of the formal, structured, short-time exchange program to another type of inter-ethnic contact, namely the ones that will occur spontaneously when the locations of the schools favor informal and frequent contacts between the two cultural groups. In this study, we did compare 60 first and third graders coming from twin-schools (a francophone and anglophone school which share the same buildings or playgrounds) with 220 children coming from isolated schools; none of these children had ever participated in an organized exchange program. All grade 6 children from the twin schools (N = 60) had participated in organized exchanges, and their responses are compared with those of 6 graders from isolated schools who had also participated in similar programs (N = 102).

In the twin-schools, children share commun buildings and a commun playground; this then allows them to meet each other frequently and to control to what extent they are going to have mutual contacts; the teachers do not intervene in order to organize a joint activity and the children decide about the type and the amount of inter-ethnic contacts they are going to have.

We then measured the attitudes and motivations of the children attending the twin-schools, both anglophone and francophone and compared them with those obtained from the children attending the isolated schools.

The analysis of the results shows that:

(1) integrative motivation is higher in the twin schools at all age levels (respectively $F = 4.926$, $p < .003$ for the younger children and $F = 3.20$, $p < .025$ for the sixth-graders and instrumental motivation is more pronounced in the younger children in the twin schools than in the isolated schools ($F = 9.640$, $p < .001$).

(2) all children display more positive attitudes towards members of the target-group in the twin schools ($F = 8.133$, $p < .001$ and $F = 4.525$, $p < .005$ respectively).

(3) the younger children in the twin schools have also more positive attitudes towards their own cultural group ($F = 2.815$, $p < .039$) with the anglophones having more positive views of their own group than the francophones;

(4) the pupils of the twin schools have more positive views of second language learning than children from isolated schools ($F = 4.219$, $p < .006$ and $F = 2.709$, $p < .047$ respectively);

(5) the exchange programs are also viewed as more benefitting by the students of the twin schools ($F = 5.574$, $p < .001$ and $F = 10.135$, $p < .001$ respectively);

(6) sixth - graders of twin schools have expressed a higher degree of satisfaction with their participation in an exchange program than have their peers of isolated schools ($F = 19.908$, $p < .001$);

(7) finally it appeared on a number of measures that girls showed generally more positive attitudes than boys, and that the boy / girl differences are more pronounced in the anglophone groups, this regardless of the fact that they attend a twin school or an isolated school (four interactions between group and sex reach a statistical significance level).

Generally speaking, the competence in second language of the children in the twin schools were estimated superior to that of the children in isolated schools. Some variation was observed between the anglophone and the francophone children, often linked to sex or to age, but no general trend was evident here. Thus, if attending a twin school will have positive effects on motivational / attitudinal variables in second language acquisition, this effect will not have the same amplitude according to cultural group membership and sex.

However, the most important result of this Experiment II is the superiority of a setting promoting informal inter-ethnic contacts over formal ones in influencing attitudes and motivations, this at all age levels. Before discussing the impact of these findings on exchange programs we will first discuss the results of a third experi-

ment (Experiment III) in which we tried to separate the effect a rather pleasant activity can have on responses to attitude scales from the effect of the ethnic composition of the participating groups.

In order to control the effect of ethnicity separately from activity, a small additional experiment was set up in which we controlled the changes of attitudes occurring after an activity, in one case when this activity has been conducted jointly with a different ethnic group (mixed groups) and in the other case with a group of the same ethnic origin (non mixed groups). Three anglophone grade 6 classes and three francophone grade 6 classes participated in the Experiment.

The activity was similar in all cases, i.e. a two day trip to Quebec City. Of the three classes, two would have a joint activity together whereas the third one would be paired with a class of the other cultural group for the same activity. Instruments were the same as the ones used in the former experiments but students were tested before and after the activity; in the post-test session, a questionnaire on the activity as well as an evaluation of the co-participants was added. The post-test was taken immediately after the activity. A statistical procedure, called covariance, allows to compare groups even when they are initially different, the statistics introducing a readjustment in the design. In the present case, this allowed us to compare the results of the two groups (mixed versus non-mixed) on the post-test even when the two groups had not answered in an identical way during the pretest.

The results indicate that after participation, mixed groups show more integrative motivation for second language learning than non-mixed groups ($F = 6.775$, $p < .011$). Generally speaking instrumental motivation diminishes at the post-test, but significantly less for the mixed groups than for the non-mixed groups ($F = 8.61$, $p < .004$). This change in motivation is however more evident with the francophones than with the anglophones (as shown by significant interactions between cultural group and mixing in both cases). Attitudes towards learning the second language does not seem to be affected by the ethnic composition of the participant group and the activity is viewed more favorably when done with members of the same cultural group. In spite of rather negative result, i.e. it is more useful and pleasant to have a joint activity with members of one's own cultural group and they make more friends in which case they ask to meet them again, it seems clear that the mixed activity will favorably affect the motivational components involved in second language learning. The change in motivation may thus be attributed to the existence of inter-ethnic contacts during the activity and not to the mere fact that it is measured immediately after a rather pleasant activity has taken place.

What may we now conclude from these first sets of evaluation of exchange programs?

First, there is an evident evolution of attitudes and motivations with age, this independently from the presence of inter-ethnic contacts. The attitudinal / motivational component involved in second language acquisition will evolve positively by between 6 and 12 years of age

but its evolution will change its direction with the onset of adolescence. As already discussed these findings fit nicely with the Lambert & Klineberg (1967) theory on perception of foreign people and the stability of cultural identity. It might be that the end of childhood, when attitudes will be more positive for developmental reasons is also the age at which education can make a maximum use of inter-ethnic contacts. However, the finding that participation in an exchange programme will still affect positively the attitudinal / motivational process throughout adolescence seems to indicate that even inter-ethnic contacts remain an important mean of intervention beyond the end of childhood. Perhaps the most crucial question raised by these findings is whether it is of greater importance to modify attitudes when they are not highly favorable in order to avoid that they should become negative or if on the other hand one should make use of what seems to be a peak in the developmental aspect of attitudes? A larger body of evidence on the developmental evolution of the attitudinal process is required in order to formulate recommendations as to what is the optimal age for introducing the inter-ethnic contacts as an integral part of a second language curriculum.

The absence of positive effects of participation on attitudes and motivations at an earlier age however does not mean that inter-ethnic contacts will not intervene at all before the age of 12. We did find a positive effect of participation on the perception of the inter-ethnic contact activities. This might be the very first step in creating an initial positive attitude. Madelaine Cook (1969) argues that if second

language programs do intend to make use of the attitudinal / motivational component, it is of importance that one should proceed stepwise in order to render attitudes more positive. This make sense if one considers that the building of positive attitudes is viewed by psychologists as a step-by-step chain-process.

Initial positive attitudes seem robe crucial for the success of an inter-ethnic exchange program: Gardner et al (Gardner, Kirby, Smythe, Dumas, Zellman & Bramwell, 1972) and Cziko and Lambert (1976) do give evidence that with adolescents only those with initial positive attitudes will benefit from those inter-ethnic exchanges. However, if negative attitudes are present before the start of the exchange programs, one should proceed step-wise in changing them before introducing the students to the reality of the inter-ethnic encounter. Therefore, it is important to start an exchange program with initial attitudes that are already positive. The assumption that a more positive view of a joint activity is a first step to more positive attitudes towards a cultural/linguistic entity has still to be tested before one can arrive to more definite conclusions about the optimal age for encouraging inter-ethnic exchanges.

The change in attitudes towards the exchange programs themselves, observed with the younger children, might be an expression of a reduction of anxiety following participation in the inter-ethnic program: if this is the case, then inter-ethnic contacts should be encouraged at an early age, before second language training is introduced and be

kept up throughout the curriculum. This, however, is still an assumption and should first be done on an experimental basis.

The most important finding of our research is however obtained from the data of the twin-schools. Indeed, the setting of the twin schools promoting a certain type of inter-ethnic contacts seems to boost the attitudinal / motivational component much more than does a more organized type of inter-ethnic contact and might thus be useful as a model for planning exchange programs. A number of specialists (including Clément, Gardner & Smythe, 1975 and Allport, 1954) suggested that it is not the mere occurrence of the inter-ethnic contact that will be relevant, but rather what happens during the contact. For example, Clément, Gardner and Smythe (1975) mentioned that during short, little structured contacts, only the attitudes of those students who seek actively the contacts will benefit from the contacts. In a similar vein, Amir (1969), Brein & David (1971) and Wrightsman (1972) all insist on the quality of the exchange. Our results with the twin schools go in the same direction and do entitle us to advance a number of assumptions concerning the criteria which should be observed in organizing inter-ethnic exchanges. In a study actually under analysis (Hamers & Deshaies, in preparation) we are trying to locate a few of the important criteria that would be relevant in optimizing an exchange program. These results then will hopefully help the educator to decide how to make the most of inter-ethnic contacts.

From our third experiment, it appears that the considered activities are generally liked by the students, independently from the ethnic composition of the group. Thus by combining a pleasant experience with inter-ethnic contacts one seems to be able to influence the motivational / attitudinal component involved in second language. However, the finding that the effect of mixed ethnicities was more powerful with the anglophone than with the francophone students points to the danger of ignoring the socio-cultural setting in which the exchange program takes place and to the importance of the socio-psychological context.

In conclusion, then education can make use of inter-ethnic exchange programs as a pedagogical tool to boost second language acquisition, but there is a need for a more precise description of the concept of inter-ethnic contacts as well as of the circumstances which will make them the most effective. More precision is equally needed about the role played by the inter-ethnic contacts in the socio-psychological processes. Is the inter-ethnic contact introducing essentially a reduction of anxiety, as proposed by Clément and Hamers (1979), or, as Lambert (1963) suggested, does it allow an individual to adopt various aspects of behaviour which characterize the members of the target group? Most probably both mechanisms function at the same time. Only additional research on the psycho-sociological aspects of second language acquisition will answer these questions and will enable educators to use inter-ethnic contacts as an integral part of a second language curriculum with increased confidence.

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The [s] pronunciation of /z/ in Maritimes English

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In this talk I should like to call attention to a characteristic of Maritimes speech which, as far as I know, has not been accorded special examination in the literature on Canadian English. The feature which I have repeatedly observed in the Maritimes, is the [s] pronunciation of /z/ in words such as position, opposition, exposition, present (verb), represent, presume, result, reserve, deserve, desire, examine, example, executive, exist, observe. Politicians Flora MacDonald & Allan MacEachen are both Cape Bretoners and typical s-pronouncers.

Not apparently connected to the [s] for /z/ mentioned above is Canadian [s] pronunciation of /z/ in citizen. This word is recorded in Webster's Third New International Dictionary with -zn as the general pronunciation, & -sn as a less common alternative, but ['sɪtɪsn] seems to be more common among Canadians generally, without being restricted to the Maritimes; in contrast, the [s] in position, result, etc. is relatively uncommon, and recorded only with /z/ in Webster's. S for z in citizen may well reflect assimilation to preceding

t, with intervocalic voicing to d resisted in this case, though such voicing is normal in North American English. Non-voicing would represent a careful pronunciation of t, but why this careful pronunciation should become widespread is not clear. Could it be due to early schooling?

Disaster with intervocalic s instead of z is another case in point. I have heard it on occasion from American speakers, and it is in fact recorded in Webster's as a minority pronunciation. It may well be current in the Atlantic provinces, but is recorded by the Gage Canadian Dictionary only with /z/; so too are the other words we are concerned with here, citizen, position, result, exact, etc. in the Gage dictionary.

Finally, one of the most striking s pronunciations of z, that which occurs in because, is indicated as sub-standard in Webster's. My impression is that it is characteristic of New York speech, but I do not know whether it correlates in the Maritimes with [s] in examine, result, etc. (I subsequently found out that in Newfoundland speech it does: see below under final devoicing).

DISCUSSION

In the ensuing discussion, much light was thrown on the pronunciation in question. George Patterson drew attention to a passing reference to it in Henry Alexander's Story of our Language (Thomas Nelson, 1940). Here is the reference

(p. 217, Dolphin Books Edition, 1962):

> Among the Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of Nova Scotia a similar influence of non-English speech habits can be detected. Such speakers often have difficulty in pronouncing the "voiced" sounds of v, z, etc., and substitute for them the corresponding "breathed" sounds f, s, etc.

Terry Pratt remarked on the pronunciation of results as [ri'sʌlts], heard on TV on elections night in P.E.I. Harold Paddock pointed out that this pronunciation occurs only before a stressed vowel; intervocalic /z/ in words such as easy, reason, razor is therefore presumably maintained in Maritimes speech. Prof. Paddock claimed that devoicing of /z/ occurs in initial & final positions too in Newfoundland (see below). I can confirm this for Nova Scotia: on a recent occasion I was directed to Zeller's, pronounced quite distinctly as if it were Seller's, in the shopping centre in Yarmouth (N.S.). Prof. Paddock has been kind enough to write to me giving more details on the phenomenon in Newfoundland. He states as follows:

> Your observations of [s] for /z/ is part of the much larger problem of widespread variation in the voicing/devoicing of obstruents (i.e. stops, fricatives, and affricates) in Modern English. The voicing patterns from southern (and especially southwestern) England and from the Gaelic (Scots and Irish) areas of the British Isles have probably given rise to most of the non-standard voicing/devoicing found in the four Atlantic provinces of Canada.

To summarize the rest of Prof. Paddock's comments, here are

some examples he has provided of voicing/devoicing of obstruents, drawn from data for the Dialect Mapping of Newfoundland (readers should look particularly at map P 12 when it is published):

Initial voicing: [v] in fist, file, fir, far
[z] in same, see/seen, say
[ð] in thin, think
Initial devoicing: [f] in very, vapour, Victoria, Valentine
[s] in zero, parking zone, Zeller's
Medial voicing: in nephew, December, places, southeast, nothing
Medial devoicing: [s] in deserters, was'nt, diesel, desire, existed, exactly, houses
Final devoicing: [f] in sleeve, shore
[s] in because, wolfs, hoofs, calfs, ourselfs

Terry Gordon also wrote to me providing further confirmation of [s] for /z/ in the Atlantic provinces. He has kindly given me permission to quote from his letter: when he first arrived in Halifax, he heard the pronunciation [prɪnsɪs $lad_{ʒ}$], which he took to be the Princess Lodge, only to discover later that it was the Prince's Lodge. Prof. Gordon also points out another reference to Henry Alexander (Queen's Quarterly 47, 1940, p. 38-47), as well as the earliest notice he has found of the [s] for /z/ feature, in

Lighthall, W. Douw. "Canadian English" Week (Toronto), 16 August 1889, p. 581-3 (item #398 in the Avis/Kinloch bibliography). Finally, he poses the question as to what happens to maintain the distinction between president & precedent. According to the rule regarding stress pointed out by Paddock (see above), one would expect the president ≠ precedent distinction to be maintained. Another such minimal pair would be denizen ≠ Dennison. Though the stress rule does undoubtedly work for two-syllable words, can we be absolutely sure it applies to initially stressed three-syllable words like the ones just cited? This is a question which we feel could bear further investigation.

In conclusion, I should like to thank members of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association for their very lively & informative discussion of the topic; in particular, I must acknowledge the expert contribution of Prof. Harold Paddock of Memorial University, Newfoundland.

The Survey of Prince Edward Island English: A Progress Report

A paper delivered to the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association
December 7, 1979

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The "Survey of Prince Edward Island English" is a rather grandiose umbrella term for a number of quasi-independent studies. One has just begun, and others are in planning, some of which will be student projects. In a sense, the Survey got underway some years ago with Constance Cullen's short item on seven unusual P.E.I. words, "Dialect Research on Prince Edward Island" (The English Quarterly, IV: 3[1971], 52-53). Another noteworthy candidate for my umbrella is the P.E.I. section of the Survey of Canadian English (first published in The English Quarterly, V: 3[1972], 47-104).

These early studies were valuable, but much remains to do. Everyone knows there is something to P.E.I. dialect. Islanders away from home are often spotted by their voices, and "foreigners" on the Island are similarly recognized by theirs. Though long aware of these facts and determined one day to probe further, I have begun in earnest only this year, thanks in part to the warm encouragement of my chairman today, Murray Kinloch.

What I am doing is this: if my strength holds I intend to look, or direct others to look, at all levels of language on Prince Edward Island-phonological, grammatical, lexical--in different but co-related studies. I am beginning with the lexical end first. Within this area, my

procedure has been to use a postal questionnaire, which will be followed by field interviews at a later date. (I am aware of some of the drawbacks of a postal questionnaire--can you believe what informants tell you? Is the sample representative?--but as a preliminary step this technique has been shown to be very useful, as in the Linguistic Survey of Scotland.) My postal questionnaire has two stages, a pilot project with a small number of informants--which is what I am reporting on today--and a larger random sample to be taken next summer, from which I will hope for 500-1,000 returns. The scope of this sample will partly be determined by the availability of grant money.

The questionnaire I have handed out today, then, has been prepared for the pilot project only. It will be modified for the larger study according to what emerges. The last page of the form, as you can see, requests personal information from the informants, ~~like~~ as in "What is your highest grade or level reached in schooling?" This brings me to say something about who participated in this pilot project. It happened that I had enough money last summer from the Senate Research Committee of U.P.E.I. to reproduce, mail out, and have mailed back about 200 questionnaires. Moreover I had learned that, scattered nicely across the Island, were 50 Senior Citizen Clubs. Older people are often the subjects of dialect surveys, at least of the relic kind, as you know. I reasoned that if each club president received one questionnaire, and also if he or she supplied the names of three other club members willing to participate, together they would add up to my 200 mailings. Under this scheme the questionnaires went out in October. They are still coming back. By last week, my assistant had fifty-one returns

punched into the computer; this is my data to date, a small part of which I will have time to report on today.

I will now give a profile of these fifty-one interim informants, based on the biographical details they gave on the last page of the questionnaire. They are scattered across the Island, though the west is a little under-represented; there are 13 in Prince County (west) right up to Tignish, 20 in King's County (east) right up to East Point, and 18 in Queen's County (central) of whom 8 are in Charlottetown. If we take the main town in each county--Summerside, Montague, and Charlottetown--as an "urban" area, we have 40 rural informants and 11 urbanites. This proportion is reasonably representative. The male-female proportion, unfortunately, is not, for there are 36 women to only 15 men. A high number of the women (11 of the first 39 counted) are school teachers, whose names were supplied in the first instance, possibly, because they are "experts" on English. These, of course, don't make the most natural informants, and they may skew the results a bit.

To continue the profile, each informant was assigned to an ethnic group on the basis of information supplied about parents, grandparents, and emigration of ancestors. By this reckoning there are 19 Scots, 11 Irish, 6 Scots and Irish mixed, 6 French, 1 English, and 8 unknowns. (The last group shows again a drawback of postal questionnaires: not everyone will fill in the blanks as requested.) On the question of "Native Language," 5 of the 51 give "French," the rest "English." In age--a factor not differentiated here, but useful for comparison with the larger study to come--the informants range from 61 to 85. Lastly there are the differences in social class. Informants have been

assigned to one of three classes by a formula based on occupation and education. The numbers are "Working Class" 16, "Middle Class" 20, and "Border Class" (somewhere in between) 14. From lack of information, one person was unassignable.

With this profile in place, What about the results? I intend here to demonstrate briefly two different sections of the questionnaire. With the figures that follow I ask that you keep in mind the particular nature of the sample, as just outlined previously. These figures are certainly not representative of P.E.I. as a whole; they are merely suggestive. Moreover they themselves can change as more returns come in.

The first section I will deal with is called "People" and comes from Part Two of the questionnaire, the multiple choice part. The questions about "People" are:

1. People related by blood
   - A. my family
   - B. my folks
   - C. my kin
   - D. my kinfolks
   - E. my people
   - F. my relations
   - G. my relatives
   - H. other_____

2. Of children
   - A. brought up
   - B. fetched up
   - C. raised
   - D. reared
   - E. other_____

3. Woman who helps at childbirth
   - A. godmother
   - B. granny
   - C. granny doctor
   - D. granny woman
   - E. midwife
   - F. other_____

4. Vehicle for small baby
   - A. baby buggy
   - B. baby cab
   - C. baby carriage
   - D. baby coach
   - E. pram
   - F. other_____

5. Movement of a baby prior to walking

A. crawling
B. creeping
C. other_____

6. A child _____ his mother

A. looks like
B. features
C. resembles
D. favours
E. takes after
F. other_____

7. A hobgoblin to threaten children with

A. bad man
B. booger man
C. boogey man
D. clavers
E. boccan
F. plat-eye
G. bawken
H. other_____

8. Child who tells on classmates

A. tattler
B. snitcher
C. news-toter
D. tattle-tale
E. tell-tale
F. squealer
G. other_____

9. To be absent from school

A. be out
B. play hookey
C. play truant
D. skip class
E. skip school
F. skip off from school
G. jig school
H. other_____

10. John used to _____ Mary

A. court
B. go with
C. go out with
D. keep company with
E. spark with
F. woo
G. sit up with
H. other_____

11. Woman whose husband is dead

A. widow
B. widow woman
C. widow lady
D. other_____

12. Become ill

A. be taken sick
B. get sick
C. take sick
D. other_____

13. Become ill with a cold

A. catch a cold
B. catch cold
C. get a cold
D. take a cold
E. take cold
F. other_____

14. Sick _____

A. at his stomach
B. in his stomach
C. to his stomach
D. of his stomach
E. with his stomach
F. stomach-sick
G. other_____

15. Suddenly feeling weak

A. blacking out
B. fainting
C. having a fainting spell
D. having a faintish spell
E. losing oneself
F. swooning
G. taking a turn
H. other_____

16. Fatigued

A. all in
B. bushed
C. fagged out
D. petered out
E. played out
F. tuckered out
G. worn out
H. other_____

17. Doing little unimportant things

A. puttering (around)
B. frittering
C. fiddling
D. footering (around)
E. piddling (around)
F. foothering (around)
G. futsing (around)
H. other_____

18. Work quickly with much energy

A. fooster
B. fustle
C. fuss
D. bustle
E. other_____

19. An untidy person

A. tacky
B. messy
C. sloppy
D. slouchy
E. dowdy
F. gommy
G. clarty
H. other_____

20. Careless, dirty, or untidy woman

A. clart
B. bag
C. slouch
D. sloven
E. dowdy
F. gommy
G. throughother
H. spleach
I. other_____

21. He got sort of _____

A. het up
B. angry
C. owly
D. riled
E. roiled
F. wrathy
G. mad
H. ugly
I. other_____

22. Obstinate

A. bull-headed
B. contrary
C. headstrong
D. ornery
E. owly
F. pig-headed
G. mulish
H. stubborn
I. other_____

23. Stupid or silly person

A. gawk
B. gommie
C. gomerel
D. gom
E. ass
F. dope
G. other_____

24. A name for a rustic

A. backwoodsman
B. country jake
C. countryman
D. hayseed
E. hick
F. yokel
G. yahoo
H. redneck
I. other_____

25. Where some people live supposedly	A. the sticks B. the backwoods C. the country D. forty miles from (the middle of) nowhere	E. the backroad F. the boondocks G. other_____	
26. Someone not from the Island is	A. a foreigner B. from away C. an outsider	D. from outside E. Other_____	
27. Someone from New Brunswick is	A. from across B. from the other side	C. from away D. other_____	

Given these questions and those like them in seven other sections of the multiple choice part, informants were asked to circle the word or words they ordinarily use. Note that the percentages I will report on can add up to more than 100% and the absolute numbers to more than 51, because informants were free to pick more than one answer.

Let us take just two of the external variables and examine which of the above questions seem to show divided usage in some significant way. I begin with the variable of region. The numbers at the left, following, refer to the question numbers above.

2. Reared is chosen by 35% (17), of whom 1 is in Tignish, and a few are in Charlottetown, while the rest are concentrated in the east. We might compare these figures to Nora Rowe's thesis, "A Linguistic Study of the Lake Ainslie Area of Inverness County, Nova Scotia" (Louisiana State University in New Orleans, 1968): in this nearby area only 1 of 15 used reared (p. 56).

3. Surprisingly, 21% choose granny, which according to Hans Kurath's Word Geography of the Eastern United States (Ann Arbor: University

of Michigan Press, 1949), p. 77, is not heard north of Pennyslvania in the U.S. Possibly my informants mean literally "grandmother." In any case, none of the 21% are in the western third of P.E.I., which is why I mention the word here.

4. Five of the 10 speakers who say pram live in Charlottetown. (Incidentally, baby buggy received only 1 vote, versus 48 for baby carriage. This fits in with Kurath's report (op. cit., p. 77) that the former term is stronger west of the Alleghanies. James Polson's 1969 thesis "A linguistic Questionnaire for British Columbia: A Plan for a Postal Survey of Dialectal Variation in B.C., With an Account of Recent Research" (U.B.C.) finds baby carriage and baby buggy running equally in the Okanagan Valley (p. 66). Similarly Harold Allen reports them equal in five records along the border from Lake Superior to eastern Saskatchewan. See his "Canadian-American Differences along the Middle Border," in J. K. Chambers, ed. Canadian English: Origins and Structures [Toronto: Methuen, 1975], p. 104.)

11. Three of the four informants who give widow-woman come from Charlottetown.

14. Sick "at" his stomach appears to be more favoured in western P.E.I., since 42% of the informants there ~~chose~~ choose it, and only 14% elsewhere do. The overall percentage is 23%, which is rather high considering Kurath's observation that the at phrase is southern and midland, very rare in New England. (op. cit, p. 78) Consider also that all

but one of Wannamaker's 21 informants in Nova Scotia chose to in 1965. (reported in chapter three of his thesis, "The Language of King's County, N.S.," University of Michigan). On the other hand, Avis reports 40% for at in Ontario from a survey done in the 1950's (quoted by Polson, p. 58), while even Kurath observed it in southern New England. Note that the preferred choice among my informants on P.E.I. is still, as expected, sick "to", at 63%.

15. Taking a turn is wholly restricted to the east end of the Island: 8 of 20 people in King's County in this sample recognize it and no one else does.

21. Owly is a term found more to the east of Charlottetown (9 users) than to the west (2 users).

These questions are all that stick out for region in this section of the multiple choice part of the questionnaire. Two very tentative predictions can be put forward, to be tested in the other seven sections, with all informants in. First, there probably are significant differences by region in the choice of ordinary words within P.E.I. Second, those regions are, from east to west (i) everything east of Charlottetown and the line of the Hillsborough River; (ii) Charlottetown itself; (iii) the area between Charlottetown and Summerside; (iv) everything west of Summerside.

The second external variable I will apply to this section is sex. Again I will select suggestive questions from those tested in the "People" section above:

6. Although it does not sound (to me) like a male term, favours is chosen by 13% of the men and by none of the women.

10. More interesting, court is also a male term here by 47% to 14%. The female favourite is go with (58% versus 27%).

14. Stomach-sick is a choice of 14% of the women and none of the men.

16. Women choose all in 20% more than men, while men choose bushed 20% more than women. In the Survey of Canadian English, they are equal on bushed; see M. H. Seargill, Modern Canadian English Usage (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), p. 123.

17. Footering or foothering is used by 3 women and no men. This word comes from Cullen's study. She found it unknown outside Kinkora, Queen's County. My 3 informants are from Charlottetown and King's County.

18. Men fuss (53% versus 19%), while women bustle (78% versus 27%).

21. More men choose owly (40% to 14%) but more women choose het up and angry (both 39% to 13%).

22. Twelve women and only 1 man choose contrary; 8 woman and only 1 man choose head-strong. (Basically women just make far more choices here.)

26. The term foreigner is rather more male (53%) than female (36%). And it is surprising that from away, which I would have said is universal Islandese is far more used in this sample by women (61% versus 33%).

It is interesting that in the next question, only 1 man and 1 woman ordinarily use from away for a New Brunswicker. This tends to confirm the impression that there are negative connotations to this expression that one would not wish to apply to ~~(friendly)~~ neighbours.

Some tentative conclusions on the sex variable, again to be tested further, are: (i) ~~(a)~~ women, given the chance, display a wider vocabulary than men; (ii) ~~(b)~~ it cannot always be presumed that a certain word "fits" better with one sex; (iii) ~~(c)~~ there is a difference in male and female speech in the choice of ordinary words.

For my second demonstration of the questionnaire, I will leave the multiple choice part, and turn to Part One, which is a list of 225 unusual words and expressions thought to have some currency on the Island. Confronted with this list in a column on the left; informants were asked of each word "Have you heard this word on P.E.I.?" and "Do you use it?" There is also space for "Comment, if any." Here, for illustration are the words listed on the first page of this part of the questionnaire:

aboiteau	boccan	crackie
bannock	bogan	crackler
barachois	calyans	crottle
beal	ceilidh	crunnicks
bearins	clart	cuddy
bicken	coggly	dotey
blatherskite	crackerhopper	

I have a small difficulty in reporting on the results for these words today. So far, the computer has produced answers only for the question "Have you heard this word on P.E.I.? and not for "Do you use it"? So at this time I still have no real idea of how widely any of these words is used, let alone by what sort of person. Even if 90% report hearing a word, they could all, in theory, have heard it from the same itinerant fellow! So, except to establish that a word does in fact exist on P.E.I., this question is not very useful. Nevertheless it is all I have to go on for the moment.

Time permits the examination of only a few words, which should, however, be enough to give the flavour of my investigations in this area. Here they are:

1. barachois: These are salt ponds cut off from the sea by a bar of sand. Some place names have also been formed from this word. The Dictionary of Canadianisms calls the term "Maritimes," and it is to test this contention that the word is included here, especially since it is to be an entry in the Newfoundland dictionary. And in fact 24% of my informants, mostly in the west end of the Island, have heard it. The word is, of course, French in origin, and is reported on here by 4 of the 5 native French speakers. Thus, although The Dictionary of Canadianisms give no P.E.I. citation, one could readily be found here.

2. bicken: An Island-born colleague tells me this word is used for 'penis.' I have seen it in no dictionary. It is attested on my questionnaire by 3 speakers none of whom volunteer a comment.

Apparently the word is quite well known on Cape Breton, and is thought to be Gaelic. It certainly merits further investigation here.

3. boccan: This Gaelic word meaning 'boogey-man' was suggested to me by one of many helpful "pre-informants." It is neither in the OED nor in the EDD, yet has been heard by, again, 24% of these informants, three quarters of whom live in the east. Note, however, that in the multiple choice section, alongside other choices this word received only 1 vote (see question 7 above), from a "border-class" man in the far eastern tip. At any rate the word exists on P.E.I.

4. ceilidh: This word for a social occasion, often with (Scottish) music and dance, has gained new life recently from a television show. Cullen reports that 75% of her informants in a Scots-settled area knew the word and that the percentage fell off in the other non-Scots communities. However 80% of my informants have heard the term and they are scattered in all parts of the Island. The word is possibly now more active than when Cullen did her study.

5. coggly: My first source on this word, another "pre-informant," told me it meant 'rough' and was used of the sea. However various dictionaries and my postal informants agree it means 'unsteady' or 'wobbly,' like a table with one short leg. Nine people in this study, from scattered parts of the Island, report hearing this word on P.E.I. It is gratifying that five of them are Scots, since the word is Scots in origin--as my chairman today can attest.

6. crackerhopper: Ruth McConnell in Our Own Voice (Toronto: Gage, 1978)--that excellent text on Canadian English--assigns this word (for 'grasshopper') to the Maritimes and to Ontario. However, not one of my informants on P.E.I. has heard it. If it is true that the word does not, in fact, exist here, this is a useful reminder that P.E.I. cannot always be lumped, linguistically or otherwise, with the rest of the Maritimes without proof -

7. crottle: This is a kind of lichen used for dye. The OED traces the word to Gaelic crotal. Again it appears on my questionnaire from a "pre-informant." Among the informants it is heard by 12%, one of whom supplies a definition.

8. crunnicks: This word for 'kindling' is here because the Dictionary of Canadianisms and others ascribe it to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, but not (directly) to P.E.I. My investigation has so far turned up one inhabitant of Murray River, P.E.I., who claims to have heard the word here. Possibly a small amendment to the Dictionary of Canadianisms is in the offing.

These examples are intended to give some sort of idea, then, of the work that is being done with this section of the questionnaire in particular. To conclude my remarks in general, I await the full results with great interest, and I am anxious to get on to the next phase and beyond, especially to field work. But this is where the Survey of Prince Edward Island English stands in mid-December, 1979.

Note: At the time of writing up this report for publication (June, 1980), the pilot project is just completed, with 72 returns analyzed in full.

THE VOWEL PHONEMES OF HALIFAX, N.S., AND GENERAL CANADIAN ENGLISH

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At the end of his article, "Canadian English and its Relation to Eighteenth Century American Speech," Bloomfield (1948:66-67) gives the phonetic transcriptions of forty-three words in a column headed 'Maritime (Halifax)'. The transcriptions were not made by Bloomfield himself, and he expresses doubts about the accuracy of some of them (1948:66).[2] Since they use both the symbol [ɪ] and the symbol [ʊ], these transcriptions seem to use the phonetic symbols of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada.[3] Also, since the transcriptions record two forms for the word greasy, one with [s] and, surprisingly, one with [z], they appear to record the speech of at least two informants. The transcriptions make no use of minimal pairs, but it is possible to discover something of the vowel phonemes of a Halifax idiolect of the 1940s from them none the less.

The checked vowels of this idiolect are shown by the phonetypes of grease [gris], hiccup [ˈhɪkəp], fatality [fəˈtælɪtɪ], aseptic [æˈsɛptɪk], aunt [ænt], of [əv] (possibly unstressed), mock [mɑk], boss [bɔs], yoke [jok], cushion [ˈkʊʃən], beauty [bjutɪ], wife [wʌɪf], and house [hʌʊs]. Since this list includes no minimal pairs, the phonemic allocation of these phonetypes must rest on the phonetic dissimilarities among them, but for most of them it is nevertheless fairly certain. The only difficulties are in the phonemic signific-

ances of [ɑ] and [ɔ]. It is obvious that the [æ] of aunt must represent an allophone of /æ/ and that the [o] of yoke must represent an allophone of /o/; the symbols [ɑ] and [ɔ] must therefore represent allophones of two phonemes somewhere between /æ/ and /o/. The symbol [ɑ] is used for the vowel of mock, moth, nominative, swath, waft, wasp, and what.[4] The symbol [ɔ] is used for boss, chocolate, and doll. The question is: how much rounding is to be given to the sounds that this symbol represents? It is difficult to believe that [ɔ] could have represented a fully rounded phonetic [ɔ]. However, [ɔ] must have represented a vowel with some degree of rounding and hence it has been taken to represent the allophones of a phoneme in the area of /ɒ/. The symbol [ɑ] is thus left to represent a phoneme whose allophones occupy the space from those of /æ/ back to those of the low back rounded phoneme /ɒ/. Since it must thus be a low central vowel, it may be appropriately symbolized by /ɑ/. The checked vowel phonemes in the Halifax idiolect transcribed in Bloomfield's article may hence be represented as /i ɪ e ɛ æ ə ɑ ɒ o ʊ u a a /.

Since Bloomfield gives no words containing vowels in free position, there is no way of telling which of the checked vowel phonemes occurred in free position also.

Bloomfield gives five words which show vowels before /r/; they are sirup [ˈsɪrəp], persist [ˈpɜˠsɪst], march [mɑrtʃ], horror [hɑrrər], and gourd [gɔrd]. Obviously they attest to the occurrence before /r/ of the phonemes /ɪ ə ɑ ɒ/.

The next idiolect described in this paper is a 'standard' idiolect from the city of Halifax, N.S. Although born in Pictou, N.S., the informant for this idiolect moved to Halifax at the age of seven and had been there continuously until 1968, when his idiolect was recorded, at which time he was twenty-three years old. The informant was a graduate of St. Mary's University. His father, a native of Halifax, was a B.A. and an M.D., and his mother, a native of Saskatoon, was an R.N. (A more purely Haligonian informant speaking a standard dialect proved oddly difficult to find.) The data on which the

description of this informant's idiolect is based are taken from a taperecording made in Halifax, N.S., on 27th June 1968, over the questionnaire in Davis and Davis 1969.

The responses elicited by this questionnaire provide a number of words which help to identify the vowel phonemes occurring in checked position in this idiolect; these are beat [biⁱ̌tʰ], bit [bɪt˺], bet [bɛtʰ], bat [bæ˅˃ᵊ̂t], butt [bɐ˄˃ᵉ˅˃t] boat [boᵘ̬tʰ]; wail [we˅ᵊ̂ɫ], wool [wʊ˂˄ᵁ̌ɫ]; pull [pʰʊ˅ᵓ̂ɫ], pool [pʰu˅ᵁ̌ɫ]; hod [hɑ˂˄ᵊd], hide [ha˃ᴵd]; math [ma˄˂ᵊ̂θ], mouth [mɐ˄˃ᵁ̂θ]; bald [bɑ·ᵉɫd], boiled [bɔᴵ̌ɫd]. Obviously, the phonetypes in these words identify respectively the phonemes /i ɪ ɛ æ ə o; e ʊ; ʊ u; ɑ aɪ; æ aʊ; ɑ ɔɪ/. With each phoneme written only once and with all rewritten in a more 'conventional' order, these phonemes are /i ɪ e ɛ æ ə ɑ o ʊ u aɪ aʊ ɔɪ/ It is interesting to note that in pre-voiceless position /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ show the high onsets typical of these phonemes in Canadian speech;[6] however, the most important feature of the checked vowel phonemes of this Halifax Standard idiolect is that no allophone of /ɑ/ is rounded.

Some of the free vowel phonemes of this idiolect are shown by the responses three [θ⊥rᴵi˅ⁱ, stay [ste˅ᴵ̌], know [no˅˂ᵁ], two [tʰᵁu˅], by [ba˃ᴵ], cow [kʰa˃ᵁ˅˂]; these phonemes are /i e o u aɪ aʊ/. Although it does not appear in the record, it is difficult to believe that the word boy did not exist in this idiolect, and it is difficult to believe that it did not have /ɔɪ/ as its phoneme.[7] Hence this phoneme will be added to the list of phonemes already given for the free position, but with a cautionary asterisk. The list of free vowel phonemes for the Halifax Standard idiolect should thus be revised to read /i e o u aɪ aʊ *ɔɪ/. Even so, the list may be incomplete; there is nothing in the Davis and Davis 1969 questionnaire to check on the existence of /æ/, /ɑ/, or both in free position.

Before intervocalic /r/, the Halifax Standard idiolect shows stirrup [stɪ˃r̥ə], Mary [mɛ^ɪ̞rɪ̞i˅], merry [mɛ̃˅˃rɪ̞], married [mæ^˃rɪd], sari [sɑ˃rɪ^], sorry [sɔ˅ə˃rɪi], respectively /ɪ e ɛ æ ɑ ɔ/. However, since there is no minimal pair to distinguish /ɔ/ from /o/ in this position, the totality of vowel phonemes of the Halifax Standard idiolect will be more economically described if the pre-/r/ vowel phonemes are aligned more closely with the checked vowel phonemes and rewritten as /ɪ e ɛ æ ɑ o/. Before preconsonantal /r/, the idiolect shows beard [bɪiɪ̞rd], sermon [sɛ˃rmɪn], hard [ha^˃r̥d], third [θɜ·rd], furniture [fʌ˅˂rnɪčɜ^r], forty [fɔ˅rt̬i˅], tired [tʰɑ^ɪ̞rd], respectively /i ɛ æ ə (=[ɜ~ʌ]) o aɪ/. In this position, the informant shows a slight difference between horse and hoarse, the first having [ɔə] while the second has [ɔ^ə]; in morning and mourning, however, the informant has [ɔə] and [ɔ˅ə] respectively, thus reversing the distribution of the phonetypes [ɔ] and [ɔ˅]. Because of this, it seems that [ɔ] and [ɔ˅] are in free variation before /r/ in this idiolect, and need not be allocated to different phonemes. Before final /r/, the words ear [i˅˃ɪr], chair [čɛ^ɪ̞r], far [fa^˃r], four [fɔ^ə˃r], show /i ɛ æ o/ respectively. The diphthongs /aʊ/ and /ɔɪ/ do not appear in any pre-/r/ position in this idiolect; between /aʊ/ and a following /r/, an epenthetic /ə/ appears, while /ɔɪ/ before /r/ is not elicited in the questionnaire.

The vowel phonemes of the two idiolects, so far as it has been possible to discover them, may now be listed and compared with each other; it will also be possible to compare the vowel phonemes of these two idiolects, in some respects, with the phonemes of General Canadian English, the dialect which Avis 1973a located in and west of Ontario. For the reader's convenience, the vowel phonemes of the Halifax idiolects are tabulated as follows:

Halifax: Bloomfield

Checked	/i ɪ e ɛ æ ə ɑ[1] ɒ[2] o ʊ u aɪ aʊ /
Free	No evidence
Before /r/	
Intervocalic	/ /
Preconsonantal	/ ɪ /
Final	/ ə ɑ[1] ɒ[2] /

Halifax: Standard

Checked	/i ɪ e ɛ æ ə ɒ[1] o ʊ u aɪ aʊ ɔɪ /
Free	/i e o u aɪ aʊ *ɔɪ /
Before /r/	
Intervocalic	/ ɪ e ɛ æ ɒ[1] o /
Preconsonantal	/i ɛ æ ə o aɪ /
Final	/i ɛ æ o /

1. Rounded
2. Unrounded

To consider the checked vowel phonemes first, it is noticeable that neither of the Halifax idiolects shows any trace of the phoneme /a/ found in one version of General Canadian English. Of this phoneme, Avis (1973a:64, fn.21) says:

> 'Although the phoneme /a/ is part of my idiolect, it is by no means common in general Canadian English nowadays. I personally have a contrast between <u>balm</u>

/bam/ and bomb /bɑm/, both of which differ from bam /bæm/ and bum /bəm/.'

Wherever those speakers of General Canadian English who have the phoneme /a/ got it from, they seem not to have got it from the emigrant sons of Halifax.

In their checked vowel phonemes, the two Halifax idiolects differ also from each other. The rounded vowel /ɒ/ shown by the idiolect transcribed in Bloomfield 1948 does not appear in the later Standard idiolect, which shows no checked vowel phoneme at all between unrounded /ɑ/ and rounded /o/. On this point, Avis (1973a:64) remarks:

> 'Most Canadians . . . no longer make a distinction between /ɔ/ and /ɑ/ in such pairs as caught and cot, naughty and knotty, which have contrasting vowels in most varieties of American and British English. In General Canadian, in fact, all such words have the phoneme /ɑ/, which may vary environmentally from [ɑˀ] back to [ɒ], none of which are characterized by rounding.'

Whether or not he actually did distinguish caught from cot, the informant for the idiolect in Bloomfield 1948 certainly had the phonemic ability to do so, although the low and mid back rounded phoneme in his idiolect has been written as /ɒ/ rather than as /ɔ/ for reasons given above. The Halifax Standard informant, on the other hand, made no distinction between caught and cot; each had [ɑᵊ] as its phonetype. Since the informant favored phonetypes in the area of [ɑ] rather than in that of [ɑ], the symbol /ɑ/ has been used for his phoneme in this area. Despite the difference in symbolization between Avis's /ɑ/ and the /ɑ/ used herein, both represent the same phoneme, and the Halifax Standard idiolect, with its loss of a rounded vowel in the low and mid back area, has moved away from the idiolect recorded in Bloomfield 1948 to align itself with General Canadian English.

It is much to be regretted that Bloomfield gave so

little information on free vowel phonemes and on the vowel phonemes before /r/. From the meager information available, it is simply impossible to tell whether or not this idiolect distinguished between /ɔ/ and /o/ before /r/. The very slight difference between horse and hoarse in the Halifax Standard idiolect may be a reflex of a distinction once common but lost by the late 60s. However, with its absence of a rounded vowel before /r/ between /ɑ/ and /o/, the Halifax Standard idiolect again aligns itself with General Canadian English, of which Avis, in the continuation of the quotation given above, says (1973a:64):

> 'Accordingly, [ɔ] occurs only in such words as door [dɔr] and horse (and hoarse) [hɔrs], that is, before /r/. . . This being the case, [ɔ], . . . may be grouped under the phoneme /o/, so that door may be transcribed [dor]. . .'

Finally, it should be noted that the Halifax Standard idiolect preserves the integrity of /e/, /ɛ/, and /æ/ before /r/. In this regard, this idiolect differs from General Canadian English, of which Avis (1973b:113) says:

> 'Few Canadians of my generation, for example, distinguished Mary from merry, both having /ɛ/, and in this matter we stand four-square with our children. We did, however, distinguish merry from marry and hairy from Harry, having /ɛ/ in the first of each pair and /æ/ in the second. It seems clear that this contrast is breaking down among younger Canadians, for many of whom Mary, merry, and marry all have the same phoneme, namely, /ɛ/.'

In this respect, then, the Halifax Standard idiolect is closer to the older form of General Canadian English.

To sum up, then: the Halifax Standard idiolect differs from General Canadian English in preserving the distinctions among /e/, /ɛ/, and /æ/ before /r/. It resembles

General Canadian English, however, in having only an unrounded checked vowel between /æ/ and /o/, and in using [ɔ] only as an allophone of /o/ before /r/. It is at least a possible hypothesis that this idiolect thus shows an attempt to approximate a Maritime speech to that of the more populous, more influential, and wealthier provinces of Ontario and the west.

FOOTNOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was delivered to the Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association, Université Sainte-Anne, Church Point, N.S., 7th and 8th December 1979.

2. His doubts are not ill--founded; the transcription of horror as [hɑrrər], with its intervocalic [rr] scarcely inspires confidence.

3. This is fully described in Kurath 1973:122-46.

4. For swath and waft, the transcription gives also forms with [æ].

5. This word is used here in the sense in which it is used by Davis and Davis 1969. It applies to the speech of a college graduate who speaks the prestige dialect of his area. (It does not, of course, imply that such a dialect is in any way more authoritative or better than any other.)

6. On this point, see Gregg 1973, Chambers 1973, and Picard 1977.

7. A taperecording in the author's possession, made by a native of North Sydney, N.S., has boy as /bɑɪ/; there was, however, some emigration from Newfoundland to North Sydney, which may account for this.

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A Preliminary Study of Anglicisms in Newfoundland French

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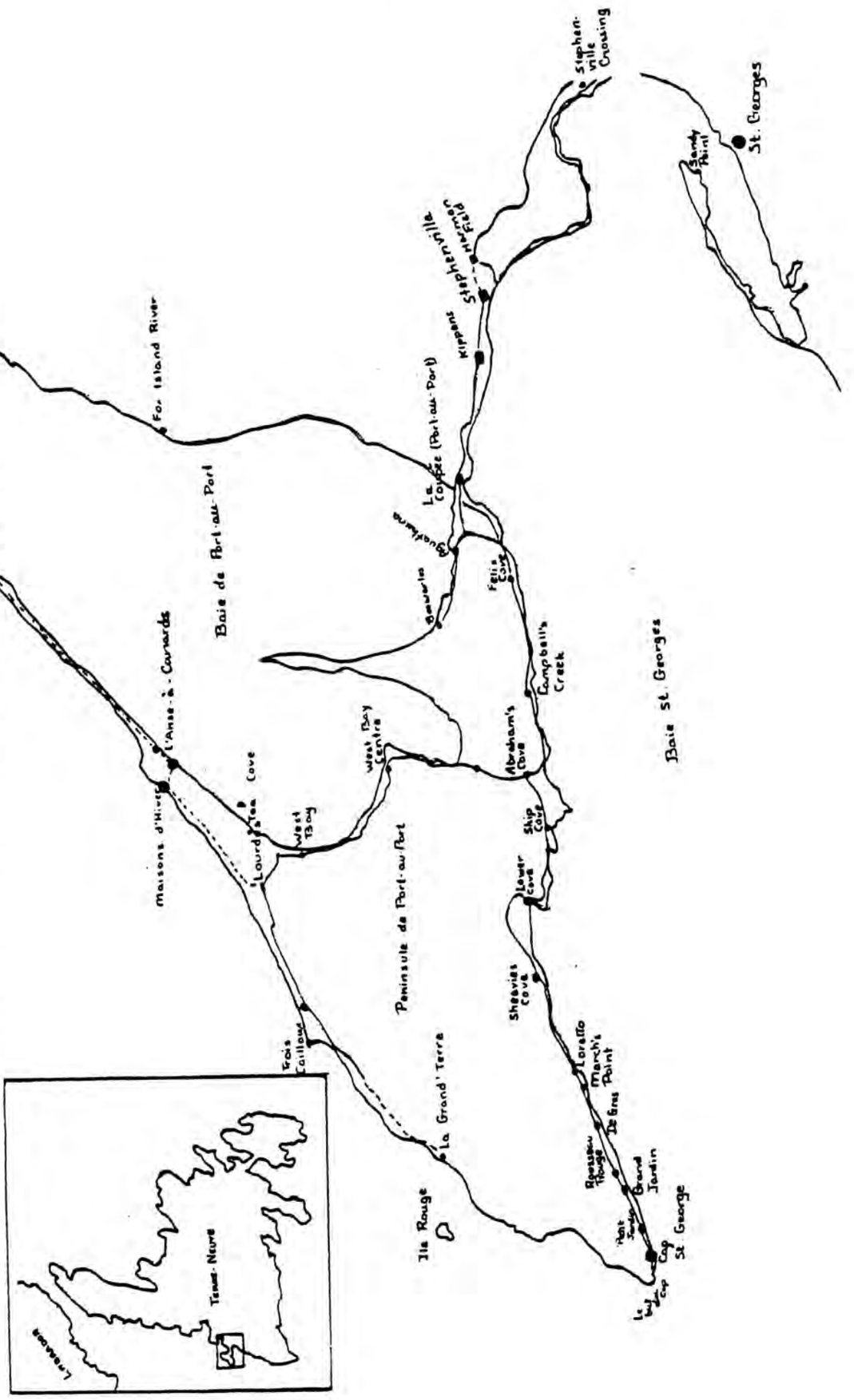
A Preliminary Study of Anglicisms in Newfoundland French

In this article are presented the results and analyses of a preliminary study into the use of anglicisms in the Acadian French dialect of the Bay St. George area of Newfoundland.

In a sample of sixteen speakers the use of anglicisms was found to correlate with age and sex. Both the frequency with which anglicisms were employed and the relative frequency of different types of anglicisms were determined.

It was found that anglicisms comprised approximately 1% of speech. Use of anglicisms was found to be inversely proportional to age, with the exception of younger female speakers who tended to use fewer anglicisms.

The Stephenville - Port-au-Port Peninsula area of Newfoundland



Nfld. French is a variety of Acadian French spoken in the Bay St. George area of Newfoundland. Until very recently, French Newfoundlanders had been isolated from other francophones since the turn of the century and most of them cannot read or write French. They have been surrounded by English Newfoundlanders since the 1930s. All who continue to speak French also speak English. In this preliminary study of anglicisms in Newfoundland French, the extent to which the dialect has been influenced by contact with English, and the question of which sociolinguistic groups within the speech community are most affected by external pressures, have been investigated.

The dependent variable was the percentage of anglicisms found in the speech of the informants. The independent variables were age and sex. Other sociolinguistic variables such as religion and socio-economic class were not controlled since they are the same for all informants. As for education, the speakers in the youngest age group have all gone to high school.

The sample consisted of sixteen speakers, equally divided according to sex and divided into four age groups. There were eight cells, each with two speakers. For each speaker approximately one half hour of tape recorded speech was analyzed. Of these speech samples, four were recorded by Dr. Gerald Thomas, Folklore Department, Memorial University, three by Dr. John Hewson, Linguistics Department, Memorial University and eleven by me. One speech sample was a combination of two tapes, one made by Dr. Hewson and one by me.

Of these sixteen tapes, twelve consisted totally of dialogue, two of narration and two of narration and dialogue combined. One narration was by a middle-aged male speaker and the other was by a young female speaker. Therefore the effects of possible differences in the percentage of anglicisms between dialogue and narration have been minimized but not excluded entirely.

Six of the informants are natives of Cap St. Georges, four of Maisons d'Hiver and six of L'Anse-à-Canards. Maisons d'Hiver and L'Anse-à-Canards are essentially the same community, since less than one half mile by road separates them. These communities are all located on the Port-au-Port peninsula.

It had originally been intended to include speakers from St. Georges, a once predominately francophone community in Bay St. Georges. However, it was suggested that since francophones from the Stephenville-St. Georges area had been in contact with English Newfoundlanders much earlier than were the francophones of the Port-au-Port peninsula, their speech might include more anglicisms. Thus their inclusion would have added an extraneous element to the study.

A comparison of speech samples of three male speakers in the 70-85 age group (one from Cap St. GEorges, one from Maisons d'Hiver and one from St. Georges) confirmed this opinion. However, their does not seem to be a significant difference in the use of anglicisms related to geographical location on the Port-au-Port peninsula itself. Therefore it was decided to include speakers from both Cap St. Georges and L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver.

The method of classification of anglicisms is an adaptation of those methods used by Colpron (1971) and Darbelnet (1976) in their studies of anglicisms in Québécois. Anglicisms have here been classified in the following manner:

1. A phonetic anglicism is a word which exists in both English and French. The pronunciation in the French dialect is the same as that of the English spoken in the area. Two examples of phonetic anglicisms are les decorations [dɛkəréyšən] and electric [iylɛ́ktrIk].
2. Lexical anglicisms are of two types. (1) Direct borrowings are English words borrowed with no phonological or morphological changes, such as le truck. (2) The second type of lexical borrowing is morphologically assimilated borrowings, such as kicker (to kick), where a grammatical morpheme has been added to the English word, and venir back (to come back) where an English word is grammatically incorporated in a French construction.
3. The third category of anglicism is calques, borrowed word arrangements, of which there are two types. (1) Collocational calques are combinations of two or more words which taken separately are acceptable French words, but together are not acceptable. An example in Nfld. French is Il avont tenu ça aller which is a calque on the English "they kept that going" or French "Ils l'ont gardé." (2) Syntactic calques borrow elements of English syntax. For example, Nfld.

French êt intéressé dans (S.F. "s'intéresser à") is a claque on the English "to be interested in."

All of the anglicisms found in this study can be placed in one of the above mentioned categories.

The frequency with which anglicisms occurred and the relative frequency of each type of anglicism was then calculated. The results for each speaker is shown in Chart I of the Appendix, which also includes results for the St. Georges speaker mentioned earlier. Chart II shows the percentage of anglicisms per speaker, grouped according to age and sex, including and excluding repetitions. In Chart III the percentages are averaged for each cell.

The results indicate a tendancy on the part of male speakers for the percentage of anglicisms employed to decrease with age: the older speakers used fewer anglicisms than the younger speakers. However, although female speakers in the 40-55 age group used more anglicisms than the female speakers in the 55-70 age group and they in turn used more anglicisms than female speakers in the 70-85 age group, female speakers in the 25-40 age group employed the least number of anglicisms in the survey.

While young male speakers used the most anglicisms, young female speakers used the least. A possible explanation for this occurrence is that young female speakers may be identifying with the oldest female age group and copying their speech patterns. Younger women may be becoming aware of the infiltration of their dialect by anglicisms and may be making a conscious effort to avoid them. Since it has been shown that women are more apt to be flexible in their speech habits than men, the younger female group may be adapting to the recent prise de conscience on the part of French Newfoundlanders. They have become aware of the importance of preserving their culture and their language.

Chart IV shows the percentage of anglicisms per age group. If one ignores the youngest age group, one notices a steady decrease in the percentage of anglicis as age decreases. Chart V shows the percentage of anglicisms according to sex, including and excluding the youngest age group. Excluding the youngest age group, it appears that female speakers in the survey used slightly more anglicisms than male speakers. This is an illusion based on the fact that repetitions of the same anglicism were included.

It was then found that the average percentage of anglicisms including both sexes and all age groups was 1.41% including repetitions and 1%

excluding repetitions. If we exclude the youngest age group, the figures are 1.34% including repetitions and 1% excluding repetitions.

Chart VI divides the anglicisms used per speaker into the linguistic categories mentioned earlier. Chart VII gives the percentages of different types of anglicisms used. The results show that the most commonly used anglicisms were direct borrowings, followed by collocational calques.

The results of this study can be accepted only tentatively until they are confirmed with additional data. It may be that the results here were unduly influenced by the following:

1. The sample, consisting of sixteen speakers, was possibly too small for significant results to be obtained.

2. The uneven distribution of dialogue and narration throughout the sample may have influenced the results. Narration could contain fewer anglicisms than dialogue sonce the story-teller has learned the conte from older speakers who might use fewer anglicisms. Ideally the sample should consist totally of narration or of an even distribution of both.

3. The topics of conversation for each tape may have varied with respect to the number of technical words required. Many technical words pertaining to modern inventions would of necessity be anglicisms, since French Newfoundlanders have long been isolated from other francophones. Some examples of this type are le vacuum cleaneur and le car.

4. Detailed biographical data for each informant would be needed to account for possible outside influences upon their speech, such as time spent away from the community. Only biographical data for those informants interviewed by me has been considered in this study.

5. The tapes used were made by three different interviewers. It is possible that an informant felt more comfortable with one interviwer than with another. The more uncomfortable one feels, the more likely one is to use 'careful speech.' It seems that careful speech would contain fewer anglicisms. The interview situation itself may have prompted the use of more careful speech.

6. The conclusion that the French of Cap St. Georges does not differ significantly from L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver French in terms of the number of anglicisms employed is based upon history of settlement and my own knowledge of the dialect. Nfld. French is not a homogeneous dialect and dialectal variation is conditioned by linguistic and sociolinguistic factors. It may be that the controls placed upon extraneous variables were not strong enough in this study.

Whether the results are significant or not will have to be proven by a further study which will be more controlled and use a larger sample. The results found here are encouraging in that they exhibit a move towards preservation of the dialect on the part of young female speakers. It is possible that other age groups and male speakers will follow them. Newfoundland French, despite years of incredible pressure exerted upon it by English, has survived It is encouraging that, if French Newfoundlanders are apologetic about their language, it is never because it is French, but because they think it is <u>moitché français-moitché anglais</u>.

APPENDIX

CHART I – Results for each speaker

CELL	INFT.	Interviewer	Type of recording	# of words	# of ang. +rep.	#of ang. -rep.	% of ang. +rep.	% of ang. -rep.
MALE	1. Maisons d'Hiver	R.K.	dial.	2157	20	18	.93	.8
70-85	2. Cap St. Georges	J.H.	dial.	3494	33	24	.95	.687
MALE	3. L'Anse-à-Canards	R.K.	nar.	3762	46	32	1.2	.85
55-70	4. Cap St. Georges	G.T.	dial.	2509	30	29	1.19	1.16
MALE	5. Cap St. Georges	G.T.	dial/nar.	5503	105	79	1.91	1.44
40-55	6. Cap St. Georges	G.T.	dial/nar.	3184	22	22	.69	.69
MALE	7. L'Anse-à-Canards	R.K.	dial.	1530	44	25	2.88	1.63
25-40	8. Cap St. Georges	G.T.	dial.	2559	37	31	1.45	1.21
FEMALE	9. Maisons d'Hiver	R.K.	dial.	3989	50	38	1.3	.96
70-85	10. Cap St. Georges	R.K./J.H.	dial.	1264	15	12	1.19	.95
FEMALE	11. L'Anse-à-Canards	R.K.	dial.	3330	27	23	.89	.69
55-70	12. L'Anse-à-Canards	R.K.	dial.	4045	58	40	1.43	1
FEMALE	13. Maisons d'Hiver	R.K.	dial.	1472	34	19	2.31	1.3
40-55	14. Maisons d'Hiver	R.K.	dial.	2109	33	21	1.67	1.56
FEMALE	15. L'Anse-à-Canards	R.K.	nar.	2444	25	13	1.02	.53
25-40	16. L'Anse-à-Canards	R.K.	dial.	915	9	8	.98	.87
MALE 70-85	St. Georges	J.H.	dial.	2280	57	38	2.5	1.67

ang. = anglicisms
dial. = dialogue
nar. = narration
inft. = informant
rep. = repetitions

CHART II - % of Anglicisms per speaker

Age Group	Male (+R/-R)	Female (+R/-R)
70-85	1. .93/.8 2. .95/.69	9. 1.3/.96 10. 1.19/.95
55-70	3. 1.2/.85 4. 1.19/1.16	11. .81/.69 12. 1.43/1
40-55	5. 1.91/1.44 6. .69/.69	13. 2.31/1.3 14. 1.67/1.56
25-40	7. 2.88/1.63 8. 1.45/1.21	15. 1.02/.53 16. .98/.87

+R = including repetitions
-R = excluding repetitions

CHART III - % of Anglicisms per cell

Age Group	Male	Female
70-85	.94/.745	1.25/.96
55-70	1.2/1.01	1.53/.85
40-55	1.3/1.07	1.94/1.5
25-40	2.17/1.42	1/.7

CHART IV - % of Anglicisms per age group

Age Group	
70-85 55-70 40-55 25-40	1.05/.85 1.37/.93 1.62/1.23 1.56/1.06

CHART V - % of Anglicisms for each sex

	Male	Female
incl. 25-40	1.4/1.06	1.43/1
excl. 25-40	1.15/.94	1.57/1

CHART VI - Results according to types of anglicisms

Speaker	# of ang. (-rep.)	# of phon. ang.	# of lex. ang. direct borrow.	# of lex. ang. morph. assim.	# of collocational calques	# of syntagmatic calques
1.	18	-	6	-	1	11
2.	24	2	13	2	2	5
3.	32	-	16	6	3	7
4.	29	1	19	1	1	7
5.	79	-	55	15	3	6
6.	22	1	6	3	4	8
7.	25	-	17	1	2	5
8.	31	5	20	-	3	3
9.	38	2	23	6	-	7
10.	12	-	6	-	-	6
11.	23	-	9	3	2	9
12.	40	2	35	1	-	2
13.	19	1	15	1	-	2
14.	21	-	18	1	1	1
15.	13	-	6	1	2	4
16.	8	-	4	-	1	3

CHART VII - % of types of anglicisms

Total # of anglicisms (- repetitions)	434
Total # of anglicisms - men	260
Total # of anglicisms - women	174
% of phonetic anglicisms	3.2%
% of phonetic anglicisms - men	3.5%
% of phonetic anglicisms - women	2.9%
% of direct borrowings	62%
% of direct borrowings - men	59%
% of direct borrowing - women	67%
% of morphologically assimilated lexical ang.	9.5%
% " " " " " - men	10.8%
% " " " " " - women	7.5%
% of syntactic calques	5.5%
% " " " - men	7.3%
% " " " - women	2.9%
% of collocational calques	19.8%
% " " " - men	20%
% " " " - women	19.5%

A POST-BAILEY PARADOX IN NEWFOUNDLAND ENGLISH PHONOLOGY

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Contents

0. Summary

A key principle of variationists such as C.-J. N. Bailey and R.W. Fasold states that phonological change proceeds via variable rules from HEAVIER (i.e. more phonetically favourable) environments to LIGHTER (i.e. less phonetically favourable) environments. The extensive mixing of "clear" /l/ Irish dialects with "dark" /l/ English dialects in Newfoundland generally supports this principle, for in most such mixed lects "clear" (palatalized) allophones of postvocalic /l/ are most frequent after high-front (palatal) vowels. However, our Preliminary Dialect Mapping of Newfoundland reveals a minority of such mixed lects with exactly the opposite distribution. However, this apparent anomaly arises from our exclusive use of articulatory features. If we allow features based on perception, we see that our minority lects could originate naturally enough through the acquisition of "dark" or "clear" allophones in the LIGHTER environments where they are most perceptible, rather than in the HEAVIER environments where they are least perceptible. Perhaps such unusual acquisition results from abnormally conscious efforts to assimilate linguistically. In any case such minority lects throw light on the possible origins of the controversial class of rules called flip-flop rules (or exchange rules, or switching rules) in generative phonology.

1. Bailey's Theory of Natural Variants

A key principle of the variation theory proposed by C.-J. N. Bailey (1973, etc.) is that phonological changes proceed via variable rules from HEAVIER (i.e. phonetically more favourable) environments to LIGHTER (i.e. phonetically less favourable) environments to produce the effect of a kind of wave motion. However, strong arguments have been advanced, especially by Derek Bickerton (1971, 1973), against variable rules. In defending the use of variable rules in Bailey's wave model, Ralph W. Fasold (1975:28) provides the following summary of how rules advance or retreat:

> Language changes as speakers increase output frequency of a rule in heavier environments first, then in progressively lighter environments. In cases of rule inhibition, language changes as speakers decrease output frequency in lighter environments first, then in progressively heavier environments.

2. Describing Some Natural Variants

The extensive mixing of English dialects with other dialects in Newfoundland provides us with an excellent opportunity to test this hypothesis on the post-vocalic allophones of the liquid consonant /l/. The English settlers, mostly from south-western England, brought two "dark" (i.e. velarized or retracted) allophones of /l/ - one being a "dark" lateral contoid, the other being a range of "dark" vocoids or semi-vowels. Most of the non-English settlers, however, have provided "clear" contoid (lateral) allophones of post-vocalic /l/, for they were mostly south-eastern Irish whose English, whether learned in Ireland or Newfoundland, contained only "clear" allophones of /l/.

The Irish settled mainly on the Avalon Peninsula where they are concentrated mainly in the Dialect Area D2 (see maps). However, they are also mixed with other settlers, mostly English, in the two adjacent Transition Areas TA1 and TA2 (see maps). Other clear allophones of post-vocalic /l/ derive from Highland Scots and French settlers in Dialect Area D4 on the west coast of Newfoundland.

These facts have emerged from our Preliminary Dialect Mapping of Newfoundland based on 72 coastal communities (see maps as well as Paddock, 1977 and forthcoming).

Bailey's principle of environment WEIGHT (as stated in section 1 above) is generally supported by our data from those 26 communities in which we found mixtures of both "clear" and "dark" post-vocalic /l/. Thus in 23 of those communities our informant or informants tended to have the highest frequency of "clear" (palatalized) allophones after "clear" high-front (palatal) vowels. If we use Bailey's two implicational coefficients for phonological distinctive features (Bailey, 1973:52), we can write the following implicational variable rule (1) which satisfies the apparently natural allophony found in the above 23 communities:

$$(1)\quad /l/ \rightarrow (\ l\ ) \,/\, \left[\begin{matrix} \supset^{V}\text{Height} \\ \subset \text{Backness} \end{matrix} \right] \text{———}$$

The above assimilation-type rule implies that if "clear" allophones are advancing in a mixed lect they are acquired earliest after high-front vowels but latest after low-back vowels. Bailey's $\supset$ coefficient means that more Height on the vowel encourages palatalization, whereas his $\subset$ coefficient means that less Backness on the vowel also encourages palatalization.

If "clear" allophones are retreating in a mixed lect, then "dark" allophones must be advancing. If we assume that the opposite values of

the above two constraining features would encourage the acquisition of "dark" allophones, then we can write an implicational variable rule in which the values of the features have been switched either by placing a minus sign in front of Bailey's implicational coefficients, as in (2) below, or by reversing their directions of "more" and "less", as in rule (3) below (cf. Bailey, 1973:53).

(2) /l/ → ([ɫ]) / [V -⊃ Height, -⊂ Backness] ——

(3) /l/ → ([ɫ]) / [V ⊂ Height, ⊃ Backness] ——

Since all three above assimilation-type rules are equivalent to one another, any one of them describes equally well the mixed lects found in the 23 communities with "natural" allophony. For example, in community C2 we found one lect with "clear" allophones only after high-front vowels and another lect with "dark" allophones only after mid-back and low vowels.

3. "Unnatural" Variants Caused by Distinctive Features

We now face the problem of describing the three mixed "clear-dark" lects having apparently unnatural allophony. Since these three lects have "clear" allophones only after phonemically low-back vowels, one might be tempted to account for them by the addition of flip-flop versions of the above three (equivalent) rules. From a sociolinguistic point of view one might justify such a description by postulating that the speakers who acquired the flip-flop rule were trying to make themselves sound as different as possible from the typical users of "clear/dark" allophony.

However, our information about the speakers of the three anomalous lects suggests a rather different theory. It appears that they had been exposed as adults to majority lects with an allophony different from that of their own native lects. This probably led to unusually

conscious attempts to acquire a new allophony. Such conscious efforts to conform linguistically would naturally lead to the acquisition of "dark" or "clear" allophones in the LIGHTER environments where they are most perceptible, rather than in the HEAVIER ones where they are least perceptible. This indicates that Bailey's principle of environment weights based on articulatory distinctive features is not applicable in all situations, and that perceptual distinctions sometimes override articulatory ones. In particular, the fact that perceptual distinctiveness (encouraging dissimilation) is opposed to articulatory assimilation can sometimes lead to apparently "unnatural" allophony. This gives the illusion that an assimilation rule has been switched to a dissimilation rule.

The evidence in this section indicates that our judgements of phonological naturalness need to be refined. For example, we must be more critical of proposed distinctive feature systems (cf. Ladefoged, 1971:91-111). But, more importantly, we must try to specify which stage of the speech chain (articulatory, auditory, etc.) provides the most relevant correlates for naturalness in any given instance (cf. Fry, 1956:170).

4. Light Thrown on Exchange Rules

We noted above that the effect observed in the minority mixed lects is the same as if an exchange rule (employing a minus alpha notation) had been applied to the allophony of the majority mixed lects. However, we hypothesized above that the real genesis of the phenomenon was in fact something quite different from an exchange rule (also called a switching or flip-flop rule).

This is true not only of our minor example from Newfoundland English but also of the two major exchange phenomena found in the history of English; namely the effects of the Great Vowel shift on Modern English

morphophonemic alternations and the effects of ablaut on the Old English strong verb. Relics of the latter are still seen in Modern English "strong" or irregular verbs for which McCawley (1974:67) proposes a minor vowel height exchange rule for the distinctive feature Low.

Exchange rules therefore do not explain the causes of natural sound changes that might give rise to flip-flop phenomena, but are merely as-if devices to describe the results of such changes. Because they involve a clash between articulatory and perceptual features, I suggest that phonetically motivated switching phenomena (such as those described above for Newfoundland English) are diachronically unstable and therefore not likely to persist or become widespread in any unified phonological system. It is more difficult to predict what would happen if groups became totally separated physically through migration or socially through antagonism. But if total separation occurred the need to describe a unified phonological system would disappear.

Of course we would not expect the above switched sounds to persist in Newfoundland English because they are merely allophones whose articulatory unnaturalness and minority status should guarantee their extinction. No doubt switched phonemes would have better chances of survival. But it seems that true phonological switching of phonemes has never been demonstrated in natural languages. All proposed instances of phoneme switching rules appear to have historical origins which did not involve genuine exchange rules. Because they operate on a small finite set of distinctive features, other types of sound changes can however produce the illusion of exchange rules which switch phonemes.

It appears that all cases of proposed phoneme exchange rules have a morpholexical rather than a phonetic or purely phonological motivation. Anderson (1974:95-97) therefore cast doubt on every proposed

exchange rule which he could find in the literature, including that most famous (or infamous) exchange rule proposed by Chomsky and Halle (1968:187) for their synchronic analogue of the Great Vowel Shift (cf. McCawley, 1974:65-68). Another major exchange rule might be proposed in the description of the Old English strong verb, but such grammatical features as Past Tense (and perhaps Strong Verb) are needed in the triggering environment of the rule. This indicates that it too should be stated as a morpholexical rule, rather than a true phonological rule which would operate "regardless of the identity of the particular morphemes involved" (Anderson, 1974:96).

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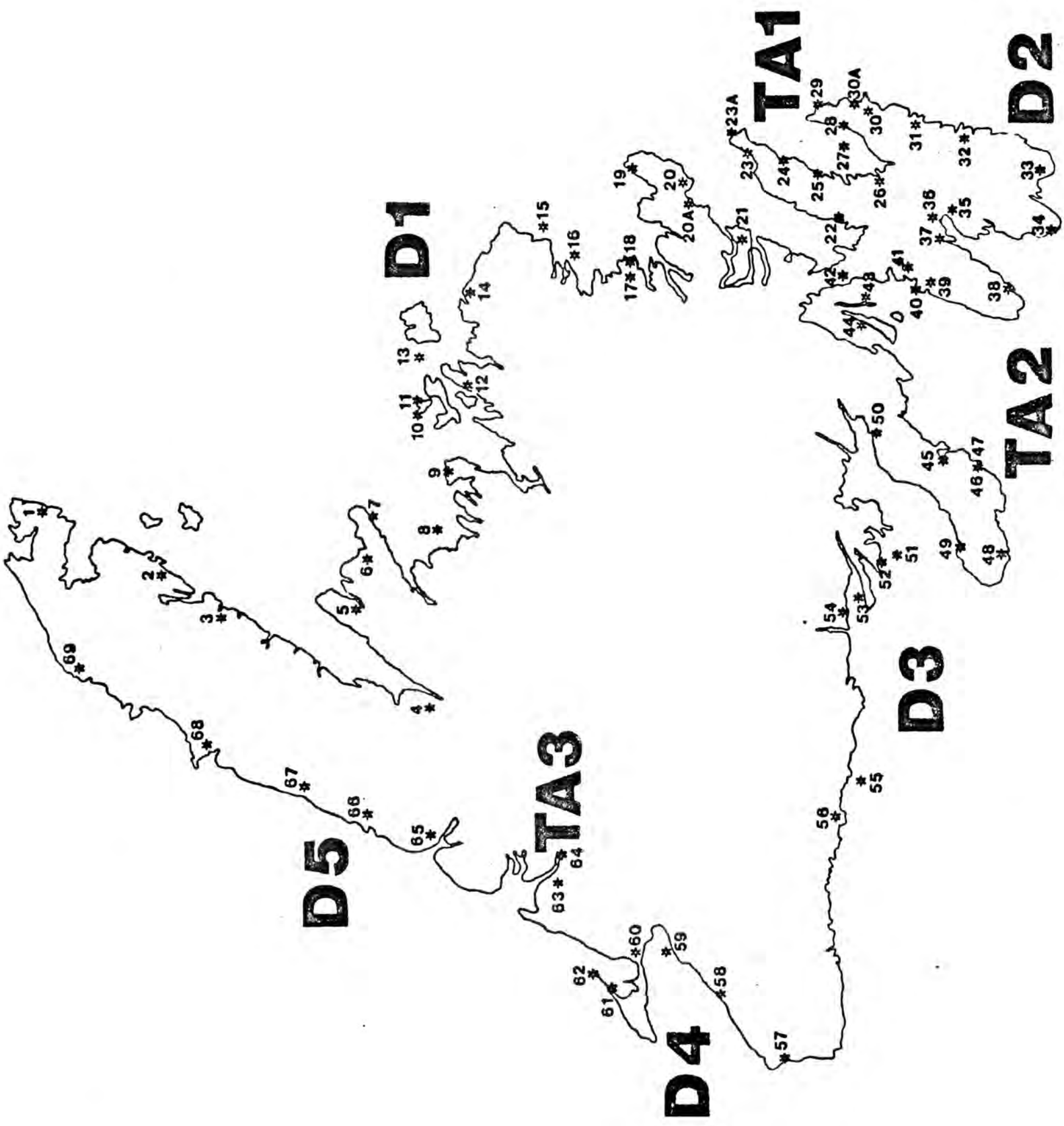
Appendix I

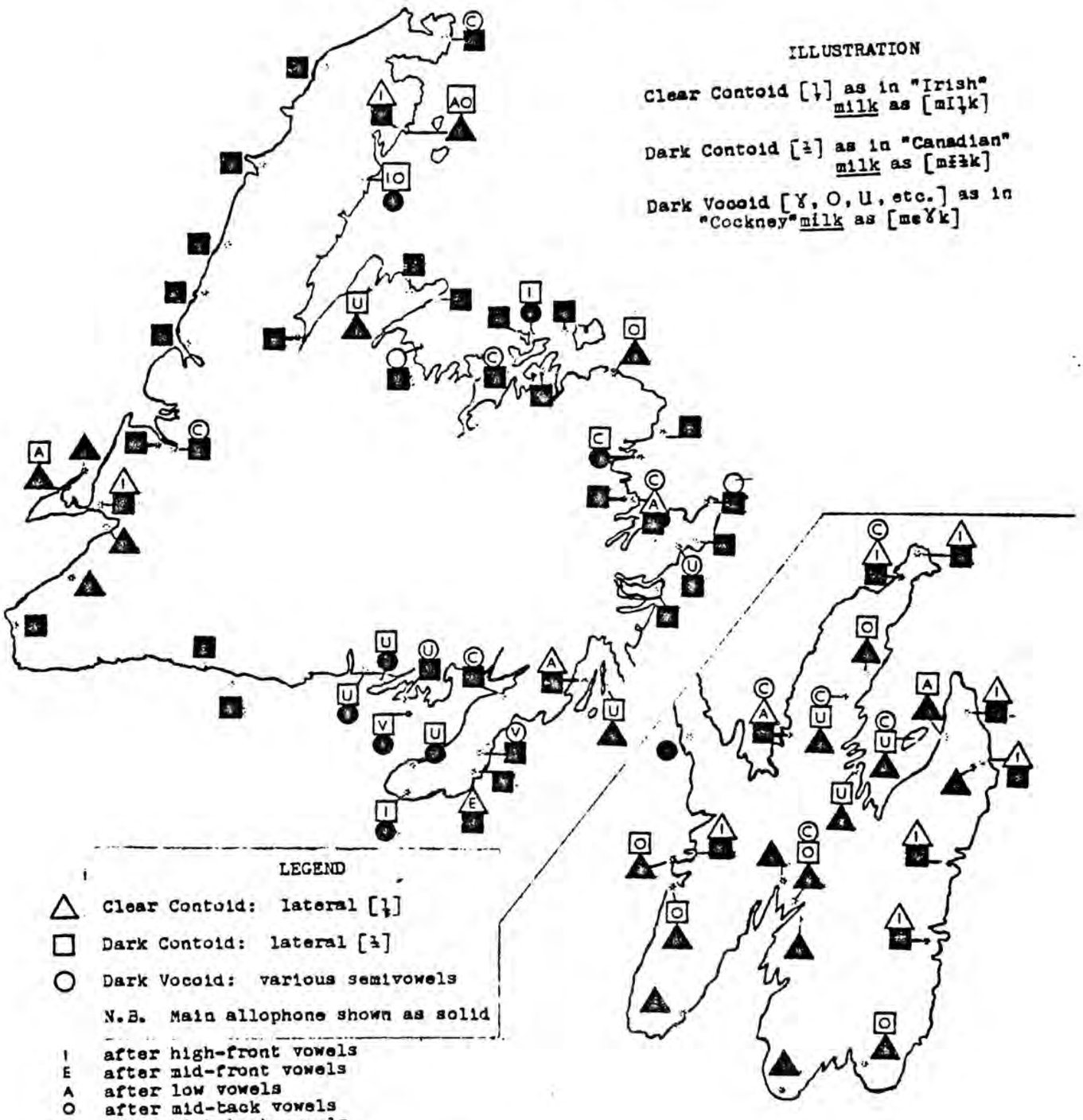
Locations of the 72 Primary Communities



Appendix II

MAP P10
ALLOPHONES OF POSTVOCALIC L

(The pronunciation of /l/ after vowels)



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The use of they with indefinite singular antecedent

If we were to paraphrase Iago's famous dictum (who steals my purse steals trash) into modern idiom, we would probably have to say "if anyone steals my purse, they steal trash." The use of they with indefinite pronoun as antecedent is making inroads as a highly favored formula. As with many favored expressions, it used to be regarded with suspicion by usage handbooks, and planted in correction exercises for prompt elimination. So, for example, in the Harbrace College Handbook, 3rd edition, p. 81: If anyone thinks they can solve the problem, they should be permitted to try. Happily, the Canadian Edition, 1979, says that usage varies on this point. Yet again, as with many favored and suspect expressions, this locution is not new at all.

The Shorter Oxford Dictionary notes the use of they with reference to singular nouns made universal by every, any, no, etc., or applicable to either sex (= 'he or she') as early as 1526.

The questions which may be asked in this connection are at least these three: 1. how strong indeed is the preference in favor of they in such locutions, 2. to what extent is either a grammatical or semantic notion of plurality attached to the pronoun they, and 3. does uncertainty about the sex of the person referred to, or the need to conceal the sex, play an important part in the choice of the pronoun.

The following sections will consider constructions with several of the common indefinite pronouns.

I. Person - Somebody

This pattern is illustrated by the Shorter Oxford Dictionary with a quotation from Lord Chesterfield: If a person is born of a gloomy temper .. they cannot help it. This can be seen sometimes in Dickens and often in Agatha Christie. In Bleak House, Pan Classics, p. 771 we have:

1. Whenever a person says that they are as innocent as can be in all concerning money, look well after your own money, for they are dead certain to collect it, if they can. (Dickens)[1]
2. My idea is to take each person on that list and consider them guilty until they are proved innocent. (Christie)
3. He said you could hypnotize a person and bring their memory back. (Christie)
4. (Miss Marple speaks) Possibility One . . . The person who saw it didn't realise what they had seen. (Christie)

This discourse is followed in the same sequence with:

5. Somebody saw what happened and has held their tongue deliberately. (Christie)[2]

We have here instances similar to S.O.D.'s notion of singular nouns made universal, in 1 and 3; inclusion of either sex in 2, 4, and 5. Of these, 5 is the most striking, as the verb is used in the singular and their together with the singular of 'tongue' stresses the fact that their has very little of the force of 'plurality' in it. In 2, with each person the sense of plurality is the strongest.

II. Anyone, Anybody, Each One, Everyone else

Instances showing inclusion of either sex:

6. If Grandcourt cared to keep any one under his power, he saw them out of the corners of his long narrow eyes, and if they went behind him, he had a constructive process by which he knew what they were doing there. (George Eliot)[3]

This use has not only the force of referring to either sex, but also has the force of plurality, or rather, of the insistence that such occurrences were many, and many persons were put under the process, on successive occasions. Still, one cannot insist on the analysis 'one at a time, but many in the repeated process' because Grandcourt has also an uncanny ability of observing two at a time, especially if they are one male, one female, and the female his own wife.

Instances of universal application:

7. My mother, who could not imagine anyone's voluntarily making a public spectacle of themselves, was profoundly shocked by this revelation. (Margaret Laurence)[4]

One notices here the contrast between the genteel use of the possessive with gerund (anyone's making) with the ungenteel themselves.

8. It had been a miserable party, each of the three believing themselves most miserable. (Austen)[5]

9. I got this theory, see, that anybody can do anything at all, anything, if they really set their minds to it. (Margaret Laurence)[6]

Here their minds provides an interesting contract with their tongue in 5. The last instance of the larger context shows that while Vanessa had asked whether she, (a girl) could become a traveller, her cousin Chris gave an answer in such a way as to allow girls into the formulation of his theory,

but since his own future was still in question, he was really thinking of himself mainly when he gave an answer. This is an example of anyone-their referring mainly to the speaker himself, in the sense of anyone - even a fellow like me.

They used in the construction with anyone can function without appearing in the same sentence as the antecedent.

10. For Nanuk, the respite came too late. He had become increasingly suspicious of everyone except the family, and anyone who approached the front gate when he was in the yard was met in the same way, with the low warning growl. If they attempted to open the gate, he would stand there, posed and bristling, waiting for their next move. Their next move became predictable. Whoever it happened to be would quietly close the gate and go away. Then they would phone my mother. Sometimes grandfather Connor would answer the phone. They would tell him about Nanuk, and he would rant at my mother. (Margaret Laurence)[7]

This instance is both 'universal' or at least 'multiple' in that various people tried the gate on various occasions. It is possible also that the would-be intruders sometimes came in twos and threes.

A somewhat different situation occurs in the following words of Gwendolyn Harleth to Dandiel Deronda:

11. "But you have not wronged any one, or spoiled their lives," said Gwendolyn hastily. (George Eliot)[8]

We have her not only their to contend with, (it may be 'universal' but it seems hardly plural) bit lives as well, which comes in the plural in the same fashion as minds in 9.

12. If anybody wanted to find out, they could always put it down to Lafferty brothers. (Another World, TV Series Aug., 1979)

Everyone else may also enter a construction with they, their.

13. Everyone else lost their parking spaces, had to stay inside their houses, couldn't mow their lawns. (MacLean's, August 6, 1979, p. 10) This is a quoted sentence, representing colloquial speech. Here everyone else stands in contrast with two households which were warned about a forthcoming disturbance, and includes all other households in the neighbourhood. The notion of plurality is evident.

III. Nobody, Nobody else, No one

14. Nobody bothers him unless they know he is disposed to be talked to; and I am told he is very comfortable indeed. (Dickens)[9]

Here Dickens speaks of himself jocularly in the third person singular. Along with the jocular tone, comes the form they which would have perhaps been avoided in more formal style. 'Nobody,' like the other pronouns discussed here, can be construed as either singular or plural, and admits here both sexes.

But as against this example from the letters, one might look at the following sample from Daniel Deronda. Gwendolyn Harleth is perplexed by her mother's perpetual unhappiness, and says:

15. But you should be happy yourself . . .

Can nobody be happy after they are quite young?[10]

Gwendolyn's whole preoccupation in this scene has to do with the fate of women, and therefore her use of they rather than she shows that the understood gender of the antecedent is not a decisive factor, and they has not been chosen for the same reasons as in 14 above.

An example from Martin Chuzzlewit also merits attention. The mode is mixed, for Jonas is making a marriage proposal, therefore the occasion is formal. But since Jonas customarily uses an informal low-class form of speech, he does so here, too. He is speaking in earnest, and yet is not entirely free of his customary grim humor, expressed, to say the least, in the fact that he is proposing to Merry, but he is addressing his words to Charity.

16. Nobody else can tell her how hard I tried to get to know you better . . .; can they?

Having repeated nobody three times during his statement Jonas hardly could have finished his sentence in any other way. In fact, this construction, with they occuring in the tag-question shows most clearly how strongly entrenched the construction with they has become.

No one enters into similar patterns as nobody.

17. . . . for I was put off by my brother Roderick who was now two years old with wavy hair, and everyone said what a beautiful child. I was twelve, and no one in their right mind would have said what a beautiful child. . . (Margaret Laurence)[12]

IV Who, he that, he

Both the relative and the interrogative who enter into constructions with they. It takes the rather snobbish Mrs. Forrester from Tempest-Tost, to produce a sequence with he - him, but then she thinks she is quoting a proverbial saying.

18. He that knows not and knows not that he knows not - avoid him; he that knows not and knows that he knows not - uh, wait a minute - uh, instruct him; he that knows and knows that he knows - cleave into him. That's the way we feel about you.[13]

This rigmarole is being addressed to Miss Rich, a female; so in spite of the formality of he that the semantic content is at least inclusive of both sexes and plural in the sense that Miss Rich and other select persons belong in the same category.

If he that indeed smacks of an archaic aphorism, whoever-he still represents a widely accepted form in a variety of speaking modes. This sample from the New York Times dealing with a mysterious bomb placed on Brooklyn Bridge sounds natural:

19. Whoever did it knew exactly what he was doing. (N.Y. Times, Friday, August 3, 1979)

The police officer speaking here does not know the identity of the offender and certainly not his (their?) sex. But he can still function as inclusive and multiple in the context.

It is from Agatha Christie (The Cat Among the Pigeons) that I shall cull the next they uttered in similar conditions to the preceding:

20. And then . . . I was determined that this time I would see who it was and what they were doing.

And possibly a little more rich in implications is the following, from an ad in the Halifax Mail-Star, April 7, 1976:

21. WHO HAS LOST THEIR "BOUNCE" YOU OR YOUR MATTRESS?

It is not often that their functions to include the masc., the fem., and the neuter gender. Also, this is more markedly than in any other of my exmples non-plural, because only one agent is allowed by the divisive or. Because of the inclusion of the third gender, his could not have been used in place of their in this case.

The strength of the construction with they can be well appreciated in the following from a 9 year old: (The Mail Star, May 11, 1979 in The Mayflower section "According to Children")

V Noun-antecedent

22. A spaceman wants to go to the moon because he can be popular and if they're lucky they can land in L.A. and meet Cheryl Teigs (sic) or Farrah Foucett (sic) like I always wanted to do.

And from a 1977 freshman essay:

23. I feel it is time English Canada elected a government which will put their foot down to Quebec to disallow such radical ideas as Bill 121.

VI Zero-antecedent

24. One night at 3 a.m., I got a call telling me my store was being broken into, but they wouldn't tell me who was calling. (MacLean's, August, 13, 1979, p. 22)

VII Conclusions

To evaluate the preference for they in the constructions noted above, one might note that the speakers ranged from the very young (age 9, in 22) through the young and enthusiastic (Vanessa in A Bird in the House, Gwendolyn Harleth) to the mature (Christie's fictious Charles Cartwright, Charles Dickens in his letter), to the old (the fictitious Miss Marple). The circumstances are mostly informal, except for Jonas' proposal, and George Eliot's use of it in narration as in 6. In another sense they is widely distributed, in that it and its derivatives functions as subject, object, possessive and reflexive. Another way of looking at preference, would be to see whether this construction is optional or obligatory. In section I. with Person, I think all the uses of they are optional, and if he, him, his were used, they would have passed unnoticed by readers.

In section II, sentence 6 he/him would run together with he referring to Grandcourt, and would create a cumbersome set of pronouns.

The remaining sentences could perhaps pass with he/him, except 13, where everyone else does indicate plural number.

In section III, 17 with no one could easily come as "No one in his right mind", but 14 would have the same problem as 6, where he could then refer either to the would-be intruders, or Dickens himself. The whole play of referring to himself in the 3rd person, which he had done for several sentences prior to this would run afoul. 15 requires they because he would be quite wrong, as Gwendolyn is thinking about women only. 16 requires they because, addressed to a woman, the pronoun must include women. In section IV 20 could perhaps function as "who it was and what he was doing" but 21, with three genders, makes they obligatory.

In the light of the above examples, the preference and need for they appears very strong. The instances with obligatory uses (obligatory in the sense that the use of any other pronoun would require complete recasting) shows that they is sometimes the only form to use. It is indeed the strongest possiblilty for the tag-question transformation as in 16.

On the other hand the instances with the optional choice of they confirm that they is the more powerful of the two main competing constructions (they-he).

The optional choice is strengthened by implied plurality (instances 2, 6, 10, 13) universality (3, 7, 12) and sometimes influenced by the desire to admit both sexes (2, 4, 5, 6, 8,9,10, 11, 12) and three genders (21), and by the need to avoid cumbersome construction (6, 14). In 23 their is probalby also the result of an uncertainty about the gender of

the Canadian government - a question the Government itself might wish to put "their" minds to.

The strongest instance of the power of *they* seems to me to come in 22, where the antecedent is *A spaceman*, whose sex and non-plurality is beyond doubt, yet the mere notion that the statement covers this and other spacemen, tips the scale in favor of *they*.

In the light of the above, it appears that *they* is the basic and preferred pronoun, and it is the constructions with *he* that will appear under more limited circumstances.

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2. Agatha Christie. Three Act Tragedy. The Green Edition, First published in 1936.

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4. Margaret Laurence. A Bird in the House. New Canadian Library, p. 98.

5. Jane Austen. Mansfield Park. Penguin, 1975, p. 435.

6. Laurence. p. 139.

7. Laurence. p. 171.

8. George Eliot. Daniel Deronda. Bk.V Chp 36, p. 339.

9. Charles Dickens. Letters I p. 535 ed. Walter Dexter The Nonesuch Edition, London 1937- 1938 as quoted in Dickens, A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Martin Price, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967, p. 103.

10. George Eliot. Daniel Deronda. Bk.I Chp 3. p. 18.

11. Charles Dickens. Martin Chuzzlewitt. The New Oxford Illustrated Dickens. Chp. XX p. 335.

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THE PLACE-NAME ACADIE RECONSIDERED

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The branch of linguistics, known as etymology is at best an inexact science. At its best it is speculative, at its worst it is pure hyperbole. Take for example, the French adjective 'ouvrable' as seen in Paris shop windows. The adjective does not come from the French verb 'ouvrir'; it is generally agreed (by professional linguists) that its origin is found in the classical Latin noun, opus meaning 'work'. 'Folk'-etymology is amusing, but usually wrong.

The linguistic origin of the place-name ACADIE OR ACADIA has been examined by several scholars, most notably W. F. Ganong, and Clément Cormier. It is apparent that neither of these men are, or were, 'professional etymologists.'

Ganong was a relentless sifter of historical documents, who published his findings in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1915 to 1917. Cormier, apparently following Ganong's research, published his article in Onamastica no. 31, 1966.

The Two Possible Etymons for Acadie

There are many place-names in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia which have the suffix 'cadie' or 'quoddy' coming from an Amerindian source,either Micmac or Malecite. It is tempting to propose a languages

in contact etymology here, stating that early settlers noting the many native place-names ending in - acadie would interpret the morpheme-suffix to be the name of the complete geographic area. Ganong (IX, 1915, 445) disagrees with this etymology, but it is noteworthy that native place-names such as Tracadie, Shubenacadie, Passamoquoddy co-exist in the region which the French were to name Acadie.

The second argument for the origin of the place-name is found in historical documents, treaties and maps, where the name Acadie can be traced to, in various spellings. The argument used by Ganong and Cormier is that Acadie comes from the pen of the explorer Verrazzano who in 1524 named an area apparently south of New York, 'Archadia' because of the beauty of the trees. The name Archadia was translated into French, and appeared written in the commission of the Sieur de Monts as LA Cadie in 1603.

There are certain difficulties inherent in each explanation for the origin of the place-name Acadie. The most striking linguistic problem to resolve is that of the R grapheme/phoneme. It is claimed by Ganong that the Micmac language does not have an R sound, which he uses as evidence to disprove the Indian origin of the place name.

However, he does not explain how or why the R disappeared in the accepted French versions of the original Italian. One possible explanation is the fairly common dropping of R in consonant groups in sixteenth century French, but this usually caused lengthening of the vowel, which is not the case in the modern pronunciation of Acadie.

Conclusion

It is obvious that much research has to be done to clear up the etymology of Acadie. There are historical gaps in the documented evidence, and there are linguistic gaps which are raised, Ganong (IX, 1915, 447) as to how the spoken form of one or two languages are recorded by writers such as Champlain and the Sieur de Monts. Is it possible that the two apparently contradictory etymologies are in fact, complementary, or is there another more convincing argument yet to be found?

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THE ENGLISH OF ACADIANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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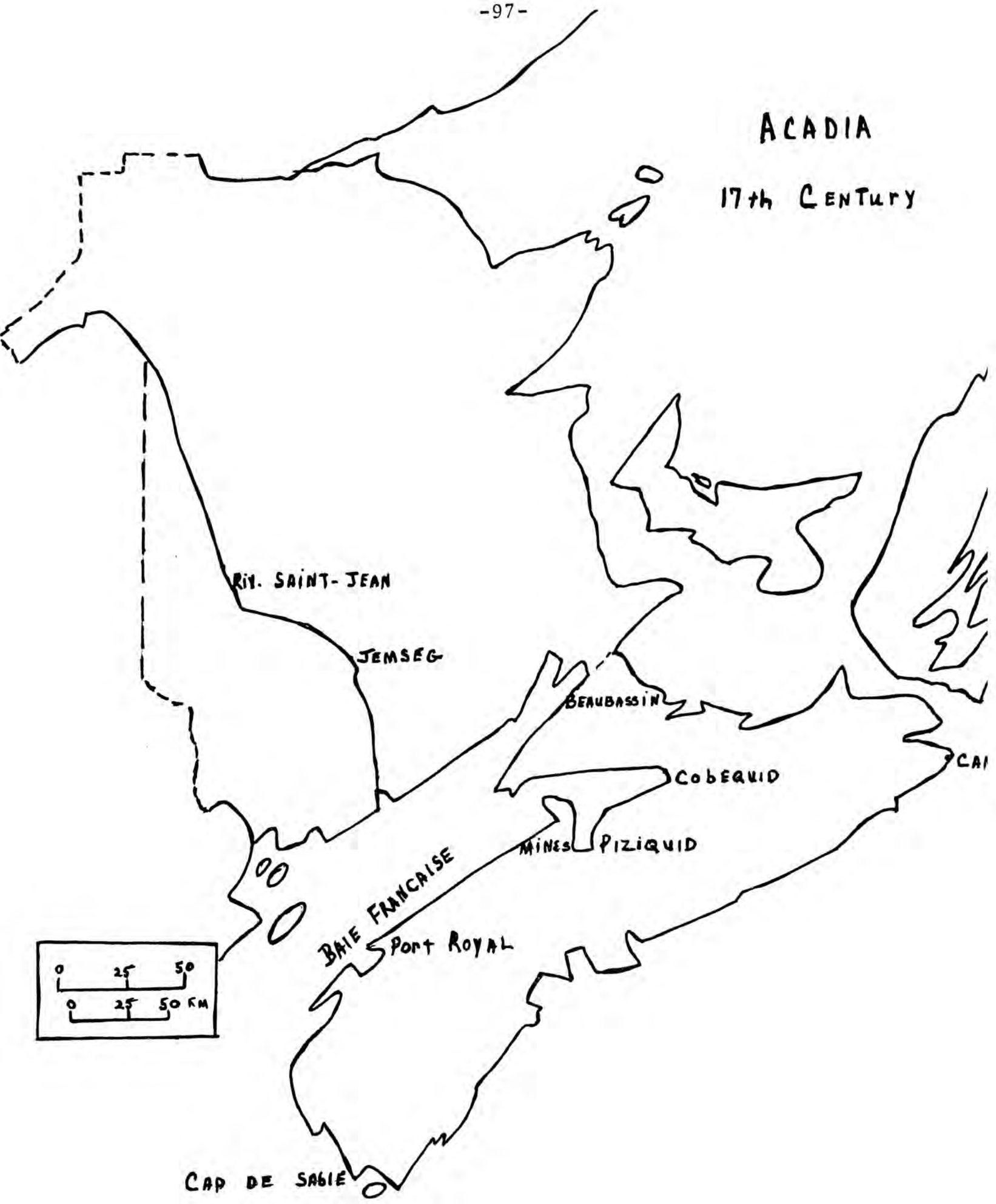
ACADIA
17th CENTURY
Riv. SAINT-JEAN
JEMSEG
BEAUBASSIN
COBEQUID
MINES
PIZIQUID
BAIE FRANCAISE
PORT ROYAL
CAP DE SABLE
0 25 50
0 25 50 KM

In this paper it shall be attempted, through an analyses of letters, to demonstrate that a group of Acadians in the 17th century, possessed a functional command of 17th century written English.

For the purpose of this paper, it is understood that the 17th century anglophones to be found in Acadia were one, - those settlers of Saxon, Irish and Scottish origins who made attempts at permanent settlement; and two - the New Englanders in particular the Boston merchant class whose presence in Acadia was intermittent. The Acadians of permanent settlement included settlers of French origin, and those anglophones assimilated into the Acadian identity through intermarriage.

Photostats of original letters were obtained from the Boston Archives. The letters show that there existed a linguistic interrelationship between the Acadians and Bostonians in the 17th century. This intergroup communication was the result of the evolution of a number of historic events summarized as follows.

The geographic boundaries of the Acadia to which France laid claim in the 16th century were not clearly defined. Acadia encompassed some 55,000 square kilometers extending from the Gulf of St. Laurence south, along the Atlantic Ocean.

In 1621, England under King James, granted the peninsula between the Gulf of St. Laurence and the Atlantic Ocean to

Sir William Alexander. Alexander's ambition to see part of the New World called New Scotland, had been realized. New Scotland included the present provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as well as that portion of Quebec which borders the St. Laurence at Gaspé. However, despite these grants, it was not until 1626 that seventy Scottish colonists represented a serious attempt at settlement.

In 1629 Acadia, through the interplay of European politics, once more became a French possession. The English settlers remained in Acadia until 1632. Their displacement was effected when Isaac Razilly landed with 300 French settlers. These in addition to the residual anglophone settlers constituted the beginning of continued French permanent colonization in Acadia. The anglophone names of Mellanson and Cassie can be traced to this period of Acadian history.

Hostilities between New Englanders and Acadians started in 1613 when Samuel Argall of Virginia attacked and destroyed the Jesuit mission of St. Sauver and the Port Royal settlement. In addition to this, the Plymouth settlement began to rival with the French fish trade on the Atlantic coast.

During the French possession of Acadia from 1632 to 1654, an interior power struggle among Nicolas Denys, Charles d'Aulnay, and Charles Latour permitted the entry of New England economic power into Acadia.

Charles Latour was the key figure in getting the Boston merchants to act as agents in supplying his post with English

merchandise. This was a violation of loyalty to the French crown. When d'Aulnay intercepted the first English cargo, he was congratulated on his loyalty; however, France did not reward him with a cargo of much needed supplies. This lack on France's part, of making it a priority to supply the needs of the Acadian colonists, led them to turn to Boston.

Sedgewick took Port Royal in 1654.

From 1657 to 1667, the New Englanders had control of Nova Scotia. A structure of economic exchange developed between the Acadians and the Bostonians. This for the most part did not affect the established Acadian way of life.

In 1667, the Treaty of Breda once more gave Acadia back to the French. As a consequence, trade between Boston and Acadia was declared illegal. Despite this 17th century prohibition, trade with Boston continued. This situation resulted in the formation of a new group, middlemen, within the Acadian social structure. The middlemen were vital to the Acadian economy since they kept the population supplied with necessary goods for survival.

During this time, the Bostonians continued to send fishing vessels into the Acadian fishing zone. The French government decided to put an end to Boston economic control of Acadia. At the same time, Frontenac, the governor of Quebec, began to view at what was happening in Acadia with apprehension. However, his interest in Acadia came too late. Intercolonial war broke out, and in 1690, William Phipps

annexed Port Royal to Massachussetts.

Between 1690 and 1697, a shuttle war took place between the Bostonians and the Acadians.

The Acadians were helped by military reinforcements from Quebec. The Indians also sided with the Acadians. By the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, Acadia was once more given back to France; however, this was of short duration. In 1710, English conquest of Acadia was final.

In all these events, the Acadian people were victims of circumstances beyond their control. The middlemen who were the group of Acadians acting as trade agents between the Boston merchants and the Acadian people, played an important role during this period.

Under cover, they continued to trade with Boston in time of war. They were sent to Boston supposedly as officials charged with the exchange of prisoners, and they returned to Acadia with supplies for their people. The middlemen, in addition to keeping the people supplied with necessities, also acted as couriers for Boston and Acadian administrative officials. Their free movement between Acadia and Boston was relatively unquestioned; this made them useful informers on both sides.

Charles Mellanson worked for the Boston governor Stoughton. Charles Mellanson's ancestry could be traced to the first Scottish settlers in New Scotland.

Mellanson corresponded with Governor Stoughton of Boston. The clause structure of Mellanson's letter obtained from the Boston Archives, shows that he was in command of the written standard of 17th century English. A syntactic and lexical study would show however, that his use of English was subject to interferences from French. Another letter which will be examined is one written by Henri Brunett. The linguistic performance of his letter leads one to conclude that he also, as Charles Mellanson, was using English as a second language.

The first letter which will be analyzed, serves as a model of an English official letter of the day. It is a letter from Lieutenant Governor Stoughton of Boston to the Acadian Charles Mellanson. The next two will serve as sample letters written by Acadians. The one is a letter by Henri Brunett to Mr. Foyer (Fr?yer)[1]; the other is by Charles Mellanson to Governor Stoughton.

The treatment of the letters deals neither with orthography nor punctuation. The comments will be limited to a discussion of the reference and clause structures found in the letters.

An analysis of the reference structure was undertaken by dividing the text into topics; example, Topic A, B, etc. and then, breaking down the topics into propositions.

The following is a letter by Stoughton to Mellanson, Boston 6:6:96.

M^r Charles Mellanson

I rec^d. yo^?r. of the 5^th of February last ? Cap^t. Gooch who hath had the good fortune to retake a Sloop of considerable value which was before taken by the French Shallop & another Shallop that they had also taken, which I hope hath discouraged their makeing any further Attempts, The Sloop Dragon Cap^t. Guion Comander being also taken by Cap^t. Eme? at their first coming upon this Coast before they had gotten any Prize. Who with his Company are here in Custody, and I doubt not but the Inhabitants of Port Royal will now be able to throw off the pretended Jurisdiction of any of his Ma^ty Enemies.

This comes by M^r Alden who is going for a Loading of wheat by whom you will receive a Comission to be Captain of the Militia at Port Royal and also for some Justices of the Peace there not doubting of your Loyalty & fidelity to his Ma^th. and of your care & diligence to preserve all his Subjects in those parts under good order & government I am

Your Loving Friend
W^m. Stoughton

Topic A - Propositions:

1. Stoughton received letter of Feb. 5 ? Capt. Gooch
2. Capt. Gooch retook sloop of considerable value

3. Sloop had been taken by French shallop
4. Capt. Gooch retook another shallop
5. Stoughton hopes this had discouraged French from making further attempts

Since an analysis of clause structure concerns the basic question of what is a possible English sentence, the next step in the analysis is to correlate the propositions of a topic to the way they take written form in the letter by means of clauses. Stoughton's letter shows frequent use of subordinate clauses. Contemporary written English is also more complex in clause structure than spoken English.

To determine what is a possible English sentence, it is essential to examine the interaction of clause combination in a sentence. Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartik in A Grammar of Contemporary English, offer a structural representation of English sentence complexity and comprehensibility[2]. Focus is not on the type of subordination, but rather on factors of order; that is initial, medial and final placement of subordinate clauses. Each clause may be graphically represented as a triangle. Three main types of subordination may be distinguished as follows: Note - M stands for Main, and S for subordinate.

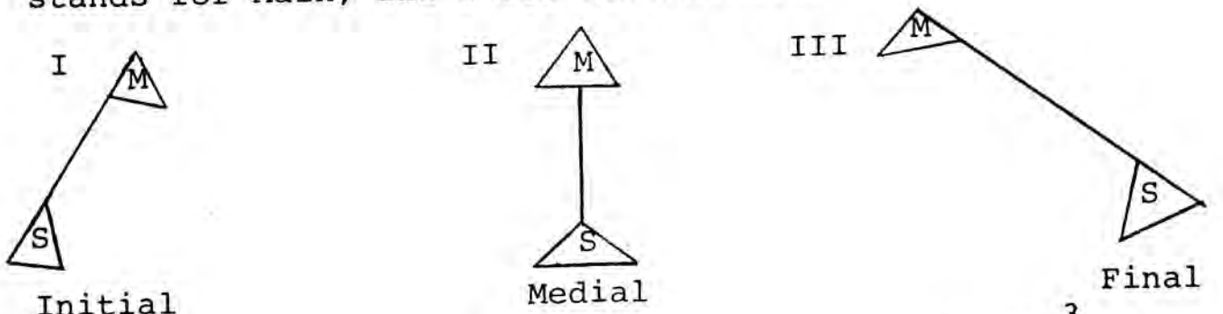

Fig. 1: Placement of subordinate clauses[3]

The three types of inclusion relations between constituents represented in Fig. 1 are:

- left or initial branching
- medial branching
- right or final branching

For example:

Left Branching: Initial subordinate clause
If it is sunny, we shall go on a picnic.

Medial branching: We shall go, if it is sunny, on a picnic.

Final or right branching: We shall go on a picnic if it is sunny.

The symbols  as used in Svartik, indicate coordination[4].

English has a right-tending structure, and the greatest depth of subordination is reached in the final part of the sentence.

Medial Branching causes most of the difficulties of comprehension whereas considerable left branching is possible in the noun phrase.

The pattern of clauses in a sentence tends to favour final subordination. Final subordination can be used if initial subordination, except directly within the independent clause, is ruled out[5].

When there are two or more clauses in a complex sentence, as in the sequence of three clauses, for example, the first independent and the other two dependent, it is possible

for ambiguities to arise through various alternative analyses. Ambiguity can also arise with two coordinated clauses followed or preceded by an independent clause. The question is, does the final subordinate clause belong to the second of the coordinate clauses or to both together? A further ambiguity arises in the succession of the three clauses in which the first is independent, the second subordinate, and the third coordinate. The ambiguity concerns the status of the last clause, is it coordinated to the main or to the subordinate clause?

Contemporary English to avoid ambiguity uses:

1. altering the order of clauses
2. using punctuation to mark the major clause boundary
3. using intonation in spoken English and finally
4. using ellipted elements such as <u>that</u> in written English[6]

When we come to the examination of the 17th century letters, we are faced with an additional problem in determining clause structure. A general lack of punctuation makes sentence boundary minimal. The analysis of clause structure, therefore, has to go beyond the sentence to the topic reference. This being so, the starting point is not the sentence, but rather the topic. The head triangle represents a topic and not a sentence as in Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartik[7]. The placement of subordinate clauses however, follows the principles of branching.

Stoughton's letter (see page 6) contains two paragraphs. Each paragraph has two topics. Topic A of paragraph I reads as follows:

I received your letter of the 5th of February last ? Capt. Gooch who hath had the good fortune to retake a Sloop of considerable value which was before taken by the French Shallop & another Shallop that they had also taken, which I hope hath discouraged their makeing any further Attempts.

The propositions of Topic A are to be found on page 6. The clause constituents are as follows:

1. I received your letter of the 5th of February last ? Capt. Gooch
2. who hath the good fortune
3. to retake a sloop of considerable value
4. which was
5. before taken by a French shallop
6. and also another shallop
7. that they have also taken
8. which I hope
9. hath discouraged their making any further attempt

The clause structure can be diagrammed as follows:

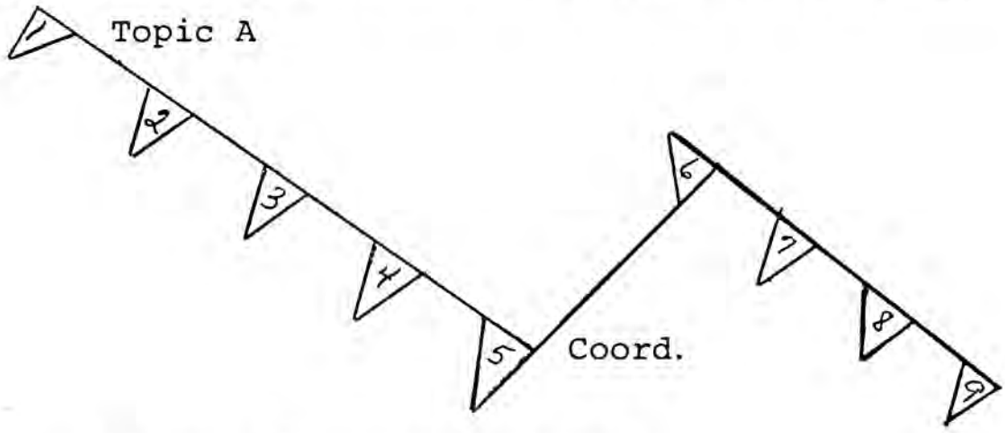

Fig. 2: Stoughton's letter
Clause structure of Topic A

The diagram shows a right-tending structure. However, the coordination between 5 and 6 is ambiguous. Should the coordination be between 5 and 6 which is:

- before taken by the French Shallop and another Shallop

or, between 3 and 6 which is:

- to retake a Sloop of considerable value and another Shallop

The next letter to be considered is Charles Mellanson to Lt. Governor Stoughton relative to French Privateers at Port Royal 2:5:96.

Honored Sir:

Sir this with my humble respects to your honneur & to acquaint your honneur that the french priveters hath wintered at port Royall & doe pretend to take possestion of this Country against our wills for they Expect more forse this spring as m^{r} gough & m^{r} aldin Can inform your honneur for if y^{e} french should take port royall againe it would be very bad for many of us as well as for new england if Cap^{t} Em$^{?}$ had been heere last fall he had taken them all & other vessells that Came from Johns for provissions there was a frenchman of war at Capsables Last fall She Came from newfoundland She had thurty guns & two hundr^{d}. men expecting to take Engleshmen but found none so they went for france again if I doe know any news more I shall informe your honneur by abraham boudrot & my brother in Law for they doe hope to goe to Boston this

spring with two vessell the one laden with wheat & y^{e} other with Colls & will inform your honneur how all things doth pas.

Topic A of the letter reads:

Sir this with my humble respects to your honneur & to acquaint your honneur that the french priveters hath wintered at port Royal & doe pretend to take possession of this Country against our wills for they Expect more forse this spring as m^{r} gough & m^{r} aldin Can inform your honneur.

The propositions of Topic A are:

1. Mellanson offers humble respects to Stoughton
2. he wishes to let Stoughton know
3. that French privateers had wintered at Port Royal
4. and that they want to take possession of the country against the will of the people
5. the privateers expect reinforcements in the spring
6. Mr. Gough and Mr. Aldin can confirm this information

The clause constituents are as follows:

1. Sir this with my humble respects to your honneur
2. and to acquaint your honneur
3. that the french priveters hath wintered at port Royall
4. and doe pretend
5. to take possession of this country against our wills

The clause structure can be diagrammed as follows:

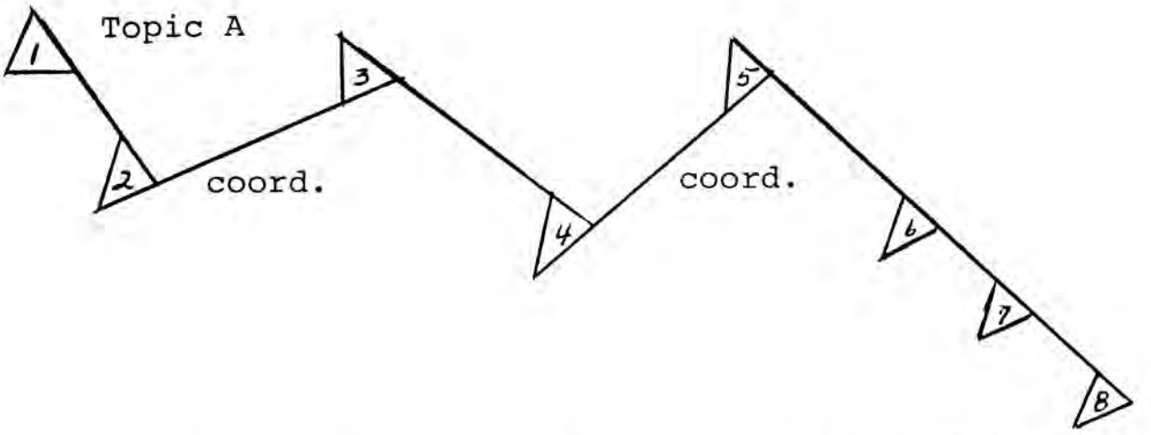

Fig. 3: Mellanson's letter to Stoughton
Clause structure of Topic A

Topic A of Mellanson's letter has a right-tending structure. The coordinations between 2 and 2; between 4 and 5, are not ambiguous. They are as follows:

2 and 3 - Sir this with my humble respects to your honneur and to acquaint your honneur

4 and 5 - that the french priveters hath wintered at port Royall and doe pretend

The last letter to be examined is H. Brunett's letter to Mr. Foyer (Fryer?) describing conditions in the Penobscot and Kenebec regions 1:3:76.

S^{r}

I have Beene Sensibly Affected with the Losse of your sonne, together with the takeinge of yo^{re}? Ketch As to the Latter I offer you my service to Endeavour the Regaininge of it from the Indians As also of the prisoners which they have,

If you doe designe it, ? mee to Knowe it, I may bee heere about a month I am goeinge to penobscott With mons^{r}. de marson who is heere with mee Who hath the command of our Coasts untill mons^{r} Chambly shall Arrive, hee hath dispached away A connu for the river of Kenebeck - With french, to know in what Estate the Indians Keepe your Said prisoners, and what they doe with your vessells, wherefore at the ? penobscott wee shall have full Intelligence of said matters, I Assure you s^{r} that I am

Yo^{r} humble servant

H - Brunett

In comparison to the letters written by Stoughton and Mellanson, Brunett's letter is structurally less complex. Sentence boundary is obvious even if not specifically indicated by punctuation.

Topic C of the letter reads:

---- hee hath dispached away A connu for the river of Kenebeck - With french, to know in what Estate the Indians Keepe your Said prisoners, and what they doe with your vessells, wherefore at the ? penobscott wee shall have full Intelligence of said matters, I Assure you s^{r} that I am.

The propositions are:

1. Mr. Marson sent a canoe with French to the Kenebec River

2. The French are to find out
3. in what condition the Indians are keeping the prisoners
4. and what they are doing with Mr. Foyer's vessels
5. information about this will be available at the ? penobscott
6. Brunett avows loyalty to Mr. Foyer

The constituents of the clause structure are:

1. hee hath dispached away a connu for the river Kenebeck with French
2. to know
3. in what estate the Indians keepe your said
4. and what they do with your vessells
5. wherefore at the penobscott we shall have full intelligence of said matters
6. I assure you sir
7. that I am

The clause structure can be diagrammed as:

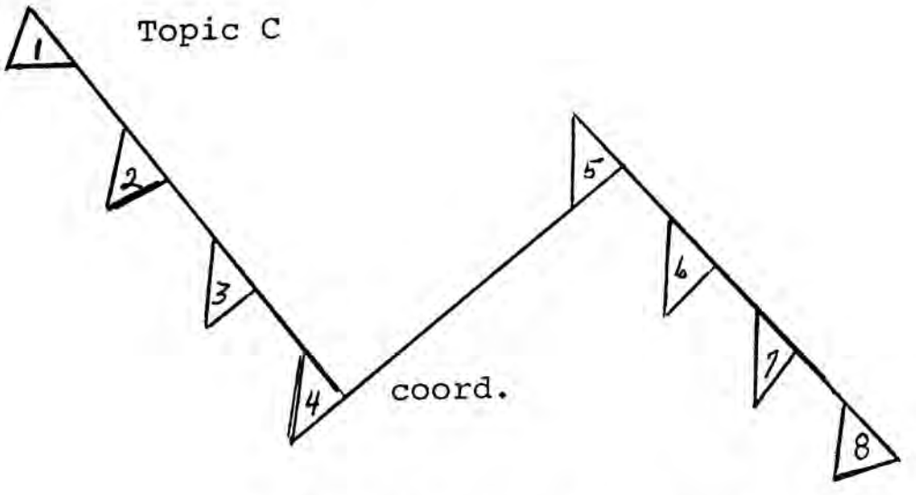

Fig. 4: Brunett's letter to Mr. Foyer
Clause structure of Topic C

Brunett's letter also has a right-tending structure with a non-ambiguous coordination between 4 and 5 which is:

- in what estate the Indians keepe your said prisoners and what they do with your vessells -

The brief examination of the letters written by Charles Mellanson and Henri Brunett indicates that the Acadians in their interaction with the Bostonians, were not limited to the using of a trade jargon. There was present in Acadian in the 17th century, knowledge of structured written English. However, this knowledge was subject to interferences from the French language since it was used and maintained by Acadians whose anglophone ancestors had become assimilated into the Acadian culture.

FOOTNOTES

1. The spelling of names in the letters is not consistent. In Stoughton's letter, there is mention of a Mr. Alden; in Mellanson's letter, we find the spelling aldin with a small a. Names of places and rivers are subject to the same inconsistency. In Henri Brunett's letter Kenebec is spelt Kenebeck.

2. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, Svartik, 1972, p. 790, 11.80 - combining subordination devices within a sentence.

3. Op. cit. p. 792, Fig. 11.2 - placement of subordinate clauses.

4. Op. cit. p. 796, Fig. 11.7 - coordination

5. Op. cit. p. 793, 11.82 - right - tending structure

6. Op. cit. p. 796, 11.84; 797, 11.85 - constructional ambiguity within sentence structure and avoiding ambiguity.

7. Op. cit. p. 792, Fig. 11.3 - structure of a sentence.

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NOUVEL APERCU LINGUISTIQUE SUR L'ORIGINE DU TERME SAGOUINE EN ACADIE

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Aujourd'hui, le terme acadien "SAGOUINE" est presque devenu un mot de tous les jours. Il connaît actuellement un développement et une expansion assez rapide grâce à la popularité croissante de son auteur, Antonine Maillet. Le livre, une pièce pour une femme seule, a été publié pour la première fois en 1971. Depuis lors, la "SAGOUINE" a apparu sur la scène dans plusieurs pays, notamment le Canada, la France, la Suisse, la Belgique et le Monaco. Maintenant la "SAGOUINE" est traduite en anglais et elle fait la tournée des théâtres au Canada.

Mais que veut dire le terme "SAGOUINE" au fond? D'où vient-il? Comment s'emploi-t-il à travers les siècles? Est-il un terme scientifique, savant ou populaire? De plus, comment ce terme est-il entré dans le parler acadien?

Pour répondre à toutes ces questions, il a fallu consacrer un chapitre sur chaque sujet. Cette étude est donc divisée en cinq parties. La portée de celle-ci se concentre essentiellement sur l'expansion sémantique du terme "SAGOUINE" à travers les siècles. Mais elle traite aussi les questions générales que le lecteur, qui lit "LA SAGOUINE" pour la prem-

ière fois, pourrait bien se poser. Cette étude se veut donc universelle. Elle n'est pas destinée uniquement aux linguistes. Tout d'abord parce que le terme acadien "SAGOUINE" ne se limite pas aux seuls confins de l'Acadie. Au contraire, ce terme se repand à travers le globe. En effet, cette étude va parcourir trois continents, quatre langues et plusieurs anciens textes dans trois domaines différents: la linguistique, l'histoire et la science naturelle. Ceci dit, cette étude éspère montrer la richesse de la langue acadienne dans toute sa diversité, sa souplesse, sinon sa tradition folklorique. La "SAGOUINE" n'est qu'un exemple parmi plusieurs termes acadiens qui s'offrent à une riche découverte folklorique.

Disons, par voie d'introduction, que le terme "SAGOUINE" se divise en deux parties: le sens propre du terme et le sens figuratif du terme. Ce que cette étude se propose d'examiner, c'est le sens figuratif du terme "SAGOUIN". Mais avant d'aborder le sujet du sens figuratif du terme, jettons un coup d'oeil sur le sens propre du terme. Dans tous les textes, le "SAGOUIN", au sens propre, est le nom d'une sorte de petit singe aboricole qui se trouve au Brésil. Le "SAGOUIN" est donc un singe du nouveau monde de la famille CEBIDAE (voir l'explication à la fin du texte) dont il y a six espèces que l'on connaisse. Selon Buffon, les six espèces de

"SAGOUINS" sont les suivantes:

1. le Saki
2. le Tamarin
3. le Saïmiri
4. le Marmoset
5. l'Ouistiti
6. l'Uakari

Tous ces termes, comme le terme "SAGOUIN", sont d'origine américaine. Ils signifient tous le petit singe aboricole qui se trouve au Brésil. N'oublions pas que le sens propre du terme ne change pratiquement pas à travers les siècles. C'est plutôt le sens figuratif qui se transforme une fois que le terme se trouve transplanté dans un nouveau milieu. Le fait aussi que le terme soit d'origine américaine va beaucoup contribuer à l'expansion sémantique comme nous verrons dans les chapitres à suivre. En examinant chaque stade du développement, étape par étape, il sera possible de mieux comprendre et de mieux apprécier l'usage du terme "SAGOUINE" en Acadie aujourd'hui.

I SAGOUINE: UN TERME DU NOUVEAU MONDE

Le terme "SAGOUINE" est d'origine américaine. Au sens propre, il signifie un petit singe aboricole qui vit dans la jungle du Brésil. Le dictionnaire OXFORD nous apprend que ce mot doit son existence aux indiens du Brésil, en particulier les TUPI et les GUARANI. Pour la plupart, ces deux tribus vivent de la chasse et la pêche primitives. Ils occupent le long des fleuves dans la forêt dense là où les singes sont manifestes. M. de la Condamine, dans ses Memoires de l'Academie en 1745, nous apprend que les singes (les sagouins) sont le gibier le plus ordinaire et le plus du goût de ces indiens. En général, les indiens appellaient ces singes des "SAÏ". Les indiens du nord, les TUPI, avaient employé le terme "SAHY, ÇAHY". Les indiens du sud, les GUARANI, avaient employé le terme "SAGUI, ÇAGUI". Les deux termes sont synonyms pour designer la même chose - la seule différence étant que chaque terme provient d'une région géographique différente. (Voir la carte no. 1) Mais cette différence de prononciation et d'ortographe peut s'expliquer par un phenomène assez rare qui s'appelle la palatalisation. C'est un phenomène par lequel un phonème, dont l'articulation se trouve reportée dans la région du palais dur, subi une modification. Dans ce cas, le SAHY > SAGUI, les TUPI étant de la région du palais doux et les GUARANI étant de la

CARTE n° 1

Les indiens du nord, les TUPI, disaient "SAHY, CAHY".
Les indiens du sud, les GUARANI, disaient "SAGUI, CAGUI".
Les deux termes sont synonymes pour designer la même chose - le petit singe aboricole du Brésil. Ici s'opère le phenomène de la palatalisation. Le phonème HY > GUI.

région du palais dur. Le phonème "HY" avait subi une modification gutterale lorsqu'il s'est trouvé transplanté dans la région du palais dur chez les GUARANI. Donc, le "HY" >"GUI".

La prochaine étape du développement est simple. Comment ce mot indien "SAGUI" est-il entré dans les langues européenes? La réponse en est simple aussi - par contact entre les indiens et les européens. Mais il faut peut-être examiner de plus près dans quelles circonstances et vers quelle époque ces contacts ont eu lieu. D'abord parce que les dictionnaires ne sont pas très précis sur ce point. Deuxièment parce qu'une petite historique des premiers contacts européens peut nous aider à mieux comprenre et à apprécier l'évolution du terme en question. Dans quelle langue le terme "SAGUI" est-il entré le premier - le Français ou le Portugais? Probablement le Portugais parce que le même mot existe toujours en Portugais et en Brésileiro contemporains. Peut-être est-il que ce terme est une survivance ou un archaïsme dans ces deux langues. Ce terme s'écrit de la même façon dans les deux langues "SAGUI" et aussi avec un "m" post-tonique "SAGUIM". En Français la transformation est plus marquée. Le "SAGUI" >"SAGOUIN". Il y a changement radical du deuxième phonème "GUI" qui se transforme en "GOUIN". Ce phenomène peut s'expliquer par le processus de diphtongaison. C'est un processus par lequel un monophtong, après une certaine période du temps, se transforme en diphtong. Ainsi, le monophtong "GUI"

s'est transformé eventuellement en diphtong "GOUIN". On voit la longue voyelle "i" qui se transforme en diphtong; elle se divise effectivement en deux voyelles où la longue voyelle s'arrange autrement.

Mais quelles sont exactement les circonstances dans lesquelles toutes ces transformations ont eu lieu? Peut-être les tentatives d'expansion coloniale Portugaises et Françaises au début du 16^{e} siècle peuvent-elles nous fournir une réponse.

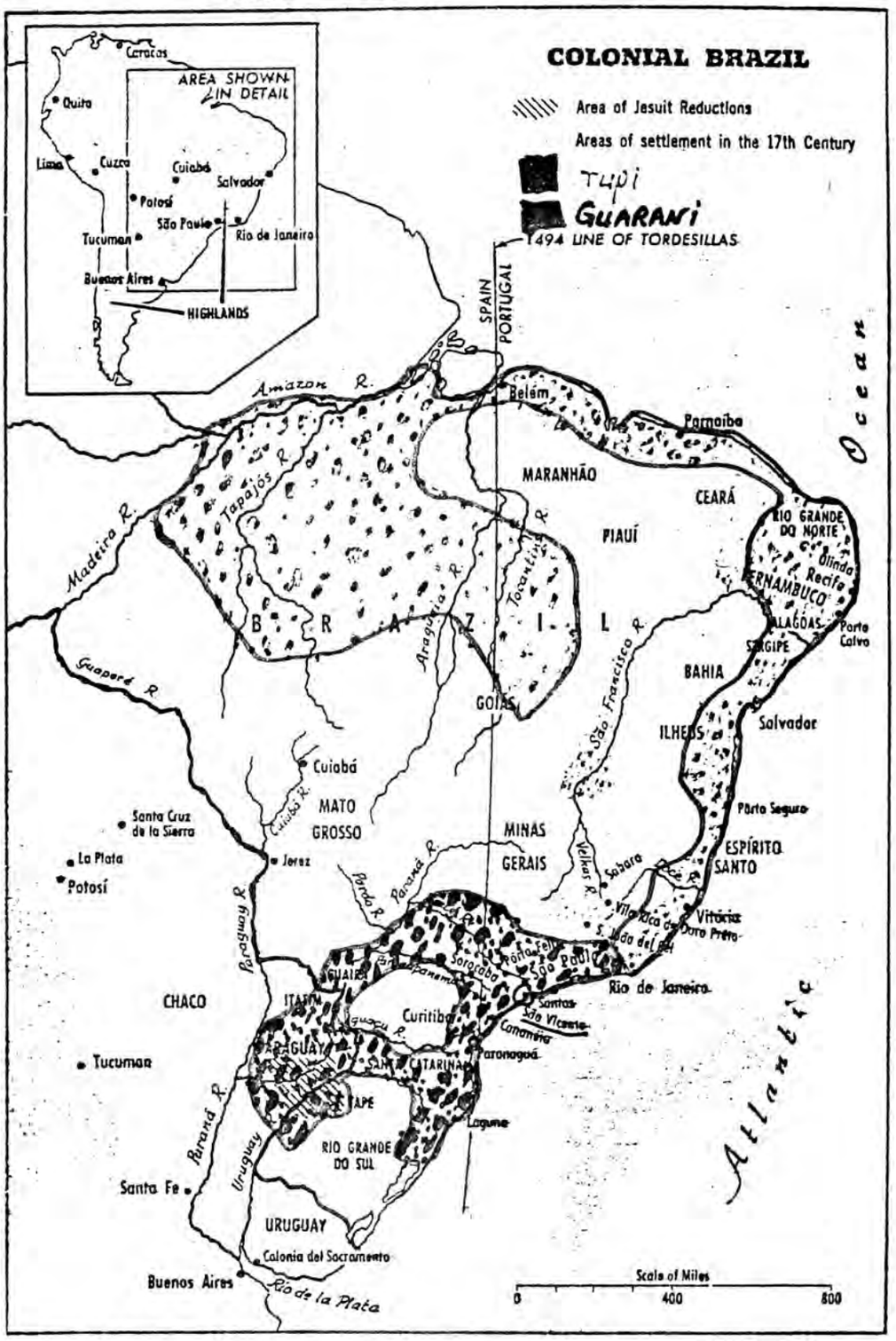
QUELQUES THEORIES SUR L'ARRIVEE DU SAGOUIN DANS LE VIEUX MONDE. LES PREMIERS CONTACTS EUROPEENS

Le 22 avril, 1500, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, explorateur et navigateur portugais, prend possession du Brésil au nom du roi João III de Portugal. Cependant, la France ne reconnaissait pas ce fait historique, ayant reclamé qu'un navigateur français au nom de Jean Cousin avait découvert le Brésil vers la même époque. Cet désaccord entre la France et le Portugal signalait le commencement d'une course effrenée entre ces deux nations pour explorer, exploiter et coloniser le Brésil. Il existait à l'époque un riche commerce du bois entre le Brésil et le Portugal. Chaque année il y avait une centaine de navires portugais qui partaient du Brésil avec des cargaisons du bois

et d'autres produits exotiques destinés pour Lisbonne. Or, les Français, jaloux des Portugais, voulaient eux aussi faire le commerce du bois. C'était alors que les "pirates" français avaient commencé à menacer les navires portugais à l'entrée et à la sortie des ports du Brésil. Le problème des "pirates" s'est aggravé à tel point que le roi João III du Portugal s'est vu obligé d'envoyer la flotte de la marine portugaise, quatre fois entre 1516 et 1530, pour faire chasser toutes les forces ennemies (les Français) des eaux brésiliennes. Mais malgré plusieurs tentatives, les Portugais n'ont pas réussi à balayer les Français de la région, les Français étant trop rusés. Le roi François I^{er} de France était alors déterminé à remplacer les Portugais au Brésil. Il ne voulait pas céder le contrôle du nouveau monde aux mains des Espagnols ou des Portugais. Ceci dit nous pouvons constater qu'il y avait beaucoup d'échanges entre le vieux monde et le nouveau monde, les navires portugais et français ayant fait la traversée atlantique plusieurs fois à cet époque. Il est encore plus intéressant de voir comment les Européens ont pris les premiers contacts avec les indiens du nouveau monde. Les premiers contacts avec les "sauvages" ne furent pas très faciles. Sachant que les indiens étaient guerriers, primitifs et sauvages, les européens avaient décidé d'envoyer des "DEGREDADOS". C'étaient des exilés que les euro-

péens avait laissé abandonnés sur les côtes dans l'espoir qu'ils puissent s'intégrer dans la vie indienne pour servir plus tard comme interprètes. Beaucoup de "degredados" ont trouvé la mort entre les mains des indiens. Mais plusieurs d'autres ont survécu pour rendre un service indispensable au premiers colonisateurs européens notamment à BAHIA et à SAO PAULO, les deux premières colonies (voir la carte n° 2). Quelques-uns de ces "degredados" sont devenus des figures légendaires. Mais il n'en reste pas moins que ces exilés ont pu aider dans le développement economique des nouvelles colonies. A BAHIA, chez les TUPI, et à SÃO PAULO, chez les GUARANI, ces "degredados" ont aussi contribué au développement du terme "SAGOUINE" comme nous verrons plus tard. Aussi, les Français et les Portugais ont pu s'infiltrer si loin dans la jungle primitive par le moyen des "degredados" que même les indiens avaient appris à distinguer les deux groupes. Ils les appellaient soit les "BARBES NOIRES" (Portugais) ou les "BARBES BLONDES" (Français de Normandie). Dans ces circonstances il est possible d'imaginer comment les "degredados" ont appris l'existence du petit singe "SAHY" ou "SAGUI", selon la région, BAHIA = SAHY ou SÃO PAULO = SAGUI. Ensuite ils ont adopté ce mot dans leurs vocabulaires respectifs. En Portugais le mot "SAGUI" > "SAGUÏ, SAGUÏM". En Français, "SAGUI" > "SAGOUIN, SAGOIN".

CARTE nº 2



Les "degredados" ont facilité le contact et la communication avec les indiens dans les deux premières colonies: à BAHIA (chez les TUPI) et à SAO PAULO (chez les GUARANI). Les "degredados se composaient de deux groupes: les "BARBES NOIRES" (Portugal) et les "BARBES BLONDES" (NORMANDIE).

COMMENT LE SAGOUIN FAIT SON ENTREE EN EUROPE

Comme nous avons vu, les Français et les Portugais avaient établi, à l'aide des "degredados", des petites colonies européenes parmi les TUPI et les GUARANI dans le but surtout de faire le commerce du bois. N'oublions pas qu'avant la fin du 16^{e} siècle, il y avait une centaine de navires par année qui partaient du Brésil avec des cargaisons du bois et d'autres produits en destination de la France et le Portugal. Parmi ces nouveaux produits exotiques exportés vers le vieux monde on peut citer deux (voir la liste AU TABLEAU I) qui concerne directement le sagouin: le tamarin et l'ouistiti. Il est tout à fait possible d'imaginer comment ces deux petits sagouins se sont glissés à bord, soit comme compagnon de voyage etant donné leur nature badine, soit comme curiosité du nouveau monde pour introduire dans les cours des rois François I^{er} et Joao III. Ainsi, lorsque ces navires sont rentrés au vieux continent, ils ont déchargés non seulement leur cargaison du bois mais aussi toute leur cargaison de toutes les nouvelles richesses du nouveau continent (voir la PLANCHE N° I).

Aussi, peut-être est-il que quelques-uns de ces marins français ou portugais faisaient le commerce des "SAGOUINS" à côté du commerce du bois car, comme nous verrons dans le chapitre suivant il y avait des "SAGOUINS" à vendre dans les grandes villes d'Europe au 16^{e} siècle.

 TABLEAU I

§ 30. — Langues américaines. (94 mots)

Les langues indigènes de l'*Amérique* nous ont donné beaucoup plus de mots que celles de l'Afrique, et cela s'explique : on sait en effet que la civilisation vient à peine d'entamer le continent noir, tandis que depuis quatre siècles le nouveau monde, découvert par Christophe Colomb, a été exploré, colonisé et exploité à l'envi par toutes les nations européennes. Beaucoup de mots d'origine américaine nous sont venus par l'intermédiaire de l'espagnol. et même tel mot espagnol, comme *chinche* par exemple, n'est enregistré dans les dictionnaires français que comme nom d'un objet, d'un produit américain. On ne relèvera ici que les mots qui paraissent réellement appartenir aux idiomes indigènes de l'Amérique.

LISTE DES MOTS D'ORIGINE AMÉRICAINE

acajou,	caouane[1],	coumarou,	lama (quadrupède),	palissandre,	simarouba,
agami,	caoutchouc,	coumier,	lamantin,	quinquina,	tamandua,
agouti,	caracara,	curare,	maïs,	papaye,	tamanoir,
al (paresseux),	caragne,	gaïac,	mammée,	patate,	tamarin (singe), *
ajoupa,	carbet,	goyave,	manioc,	pécari,	tangara,
alpaca,	caribou,	guano,	manitou,	pétun,	tapioca,
ananas,	cassave,	hamac,	margay,	pian,	tapir,
ara,	chocolat,	hévée,	maringouin,	pirogue,	tapirer,
aralia,	coati,	icaque,	maté,	pite,	tatou,
avocat (fruit),	cobaye,	igname,	nopal,	ratanhia,	tomahawk,
boucan,	colibri,	iguane,	ocelot,	rocou,	tomate,
cabiai,	condor,	ipécacuana,	ouistiti, *	sapajou,	toucan,
cacao,	copal,	jaguar,	ouragan,	sapote,	unau,
cacique,	copayer,	kamichi,	paca,	sarigue,	vigogne,
caïman,	coüinga,	karata,	pagaie,	sassafras,	yucca[1].
canot,	cougouar,	kinkajou,			

* VOIR PLANCHE N° I

Parmi les produits exotiques du nouveau monde qui sont introduits en Europe à cet époque et qui se trouvent sur la liste ci-haut, on peut citer deux: le tamarin et l'ouistiti, qui concerne directement le "SAGOUIN". Cette liste est fournie par A. Hatzfeld dans son "Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française depuis le Commencement du XVIII^{e} siècle Jusqu'à Nos Jours. Librairie Ch. Delgrave - Paris 1888. Introduction §30.

Examinons maintenant le "SAGOUIN" dans le vieux continent après son entrée et les pièces justificatives qui prouvent son existence là-bas au début du 16^{e} siècle.

Parmi les premiers "sagouins" connus en Europe, on note le Tamarin et l'Ouistiti, qui figurent sur la liste au Tableau I. Sur cette planche, on voit les deux "sagouins" en question. Elle date du 1751, par l'Académie des Sciences à Paris.

LE SAGOUIN DANS LE VIEUX CONTINENT

UN TERME POPULAIRE

Le premier indice que le petit sagouin, le singe du nouveau monde, ait existé au vieux continent se trouve dans un ancien texte du 16^{e} siècle. Le "SAGOUIN" a fait son apparition en Europe dans une gravure en bois qui servait de couverture pour un petit pamphlet. Ce pamphlet était publié à Paris en 1537. (voir LA PLANCHE n° II) C'est une chose curieuse comment, à cette époque, un petit singe du nouveau monde ait pu apparaître sur la scène à Paris. Néamoins, ce pamphlet est un important document linguistique et historique. La date est très importante parce que c'est une époque où le français est encore en train de se former et se créer. Le français est alors inondé d'une multitude de nouveaux termes de l'étranger. Rappelons que l'Académie Française ne fut pas encore fondée. Elle fut fondée en 1635 mais elle n'a publié son premier dictionnaire de langue française qu'en 1694. C'est donc une langue en transition, une langue qui est en train de se développer et qui cherche une direction. Un nouveau terme, "SAGOUIN" vient s'y introduire. Comment le français de l'époque va-t-il accepter et façonner ce nouveau terme? Une fois transplanté dans un nouveau milieu,

PLANCHE II

LE VALET

DE MAROT CONTRE
SAGON,
Cum Commento.

On les vend a Paris en la Rue ſainct Iacques pres ſainct Benoiſt, en la bouticque de Iehan Morin, pres les troys Couronnes dargent.

1537.

Titre du pamphlet de 1537.

Ce petit bois fit son apparition à Paris en 1537. C'est un important document linguistique et historique. D'un côté, il prouve l'existence du terme dans la langue française déjà au début du 16^{e} siècle. Deuxièmement, il prouve l'existence du petit singe du nouveau monde dans le vieux continent.

Or, ce n'est qu'au XVI^{e} siècle que la langue française est devenue la langue légale du royaume, à l'exclusion du latin. L'ordonnance de Villers-Cottercts, rendu en 1539 par François I^{er}, statue que "tous les arrêts... soient prononcés... en langage français maternel et non autrement."

ce terme va commencer à prendre un autre sens, un sens figuré. Suivons l'evolution du mot en commençant avec l'auteur.

L'auteur, Clément Marot (1496-1544) est un ami de François Rabelais. Marot, poète, répliquant à une attaque contre lui, avait écrit une série de pamphlets satiriques critiquant son adversaire. Ces pamphlets, 37 au total, sont publiés dans un recueil poétique du 16^{e} siècle. Ils sont pleins de mots vulgaires et grossiers et ils sont écrits d'un style de diatribe ou libelle. Son adversaire s'appellait François SAGON. Dans l'esprit du temps, Marot voulait critiquer son adversaire en attaquant le caractère et l'honneur de celui-ci. Comment mieux détruire son ennemi que par affaiblissant son honneur. Dans cet ordre d'idée, Marot l'avait comparé à un singe. Le vers suivant est tiré du même pamphlet intitulé: "Le Valet de Marot contre Sagon":

"Or, des bestes que j'ai susdites,
Sagon, tu n'es des plus petites,
Combien que Sagon soit un mot
Et le nom d'un petit marmot."

Le marmot dont il parle ici n'est rien d'autre que le petit "SAGOUIN" qu'on voit sur le titre du pamphlet. On voit aussi Frippelippes battant le petit "SAGOUIN". Frippelippes, c'était Marot lui-même qui avait pris le nom de son valet pour avoir le droit de parler comme un valet (de parler grossièrement). Le

"SAGOUIN" n'est rien d'autre qu'une caricature de son adversaire, François SAGON.

Marot avait employé ce jeu de mots dans d'autres pamphlets aussi:

"Sus, avant, sus, villaine beste;
Sagouyn ne fais plus la moue
Veis - tu jamais chien tost bridant
Sagouyn, gardes à ton maîstre."

et encore:

"Zon dessus l'oeil
Zon sur le groin
Zon sur le dos du sagouyn."

Pourquoi Marot avait-il choisi le terme "SAGOUIN" pour décrire et par là, détruire son adversaire? Peut-être l'a-t-il choisi par contamination (homonimité) avec le nom de SAGON. Peut-être aussi l'avait-il choisi parce que c'était un mot populaire, un mot qui circulait dans les rues. Il voulait faire du mal à son ennemi en employant un terme qui n'était pas hautement littéraire qu'on trouvait alors dans les textes d'Erasme. Il voulait employer un terme grossier et vulgaire pour décrire son adversaire. Rapellons que le ton et le style du pamphlet sont grossiers! Il avait même changer son nom pour avoir le droit de parler grossièrement! Oui, il voulait choisir un terme qui soit conforme à l'idée de la grossièreté. Il a trouvé toutes ces

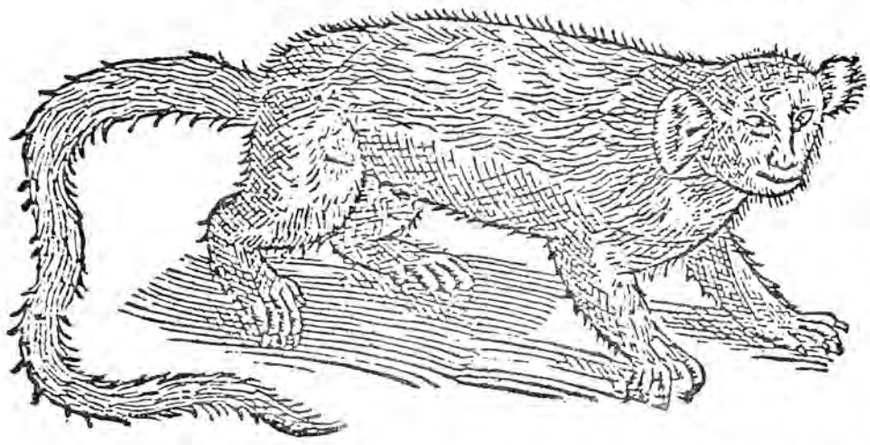
connotations dans le terme "SAGOUIN". Rapellons qu'au 16e siècle, le singe représentait le mal - le démon. On ne savait pas très bien comment expliquer l'existence du singe. Le singe était encore une nouveauté qui ressemblait beaucoup à l'homme - surtout les mauvais traits de l'homme. On n'était pas encore à l'age de la lumière ni accoutumé aux idées de l'evolution de Darwin (1859).

Soixante - dix ans plus tard, en 1607 en Angleterre et en Belgique, le petit "SAGOUIN" fait une deuxième apparition qui semble confirmer l'existence du "SAGOUIN" en France. En effet, un scientifique anglais au nom d'Edward Topsell a publié un croquis d'un "SAGOIN" avec une description assez détaillé dans son livre "A Historie of Four Footed Beastes" (voir LA PLANCHE n° III).

D'après sa description, nous sommes amenés à croire que ces petits singes, "SAGOINS", se vendaient dans la rue des grandes villes et centres commerciaux parce qu'il nous dit qu'il y avait un "SAGOIN" qui s'est vendu au prix de cinquante couronnes à Anvers. On voit aussi une certaine confusion quant à la taille exacte de l'animal ce qui indique qu'il y a différentes espèces dont il en a l'intuition. Mais on ne savait pas trop comment le classifier dans l'echelle de l'evolution. Nous savons par ailleurs que les gens de l'époque ont

PLANCHE n° III

Of the SAGOIN, *called Galeopithecus.*



This figure of the *Sagoin*, I receiued of *Peter cordenberg*, a verylearned Apothecary of *Antwerpe*, which is three times as bigasmy pictur

and *Iohn cay* that famous Engliſh Doctor hath aduertiſed me, that it no way reſembleth the *Sagoin* it ſelfe, which is not much greater than a Rat, a little conny, or a young Hedg hog: for he had ſeene ſeuerall ones of that bigneſſe, of a gryſeld colour, a neate beard, and ſomewhat aſh-coloured, a tayle like a Rat, but hayry; the feet of a Squirrell, the face almoſt like a Martine, or Satyre, a round eare but very ſhort and open, the hayre blacke at the root, and white at the end, and in other conditions like a Munkey. They are much ſet by among women, and by the *Braſilians* where they are bred and called *Sagoines*, it being very propable that they are conceiued by a ſmall Ape and a Weaſell, for in that countrey by reaſon of the heat thereof, there are many ſuch vnnaturall commixtions. *It* is a nimble, liuely, and quicke ſpirited beaſt, but fearefull; it will eate white-bread, apples, ſweet-grapes, dried in the ſunne, figges, or peares. There was one of them at *Antwerpe* ſolde for fifty crownes: in France they call a *Sagoni* a little beaſt not much bigger than a Squirrell, and not able to endure any cold. Some other affirme that a Sagoin is a bearded creature, but without a taile, of an aſh-colour, not much bigger then a fiſle, but of this beaſt there is not any author writeth more then is already rehearſed.

The qualitie.

Colour

Partes

Procreation of Sagoines

Their meate.

The price of a Sagoin

En 1607, Edward Topsell nous donne ce petit croquis du "SAGOIN" dans son livre, "A Historie of Four Footed Beastes". Sa description confirme l'existence du "SAGOIN" en France, en Angleterre et en Belgique.

Le "Martine" est un singe qui se trouve en Ethiopie et en Arabie Saoudite. Le "Satyre" est un singe qui se trouve en Inde. Les deux sont des singes de l'ancien monde.

commencé à apprivoiser les "SAGOINS" et ils en ont fait des animaux domestiqués. L' "Encyclopaedia Britannica" nous confirme que les "SAGOINS" étaient domestiqués depuis le début du 17^{e} siècle.

Quelques années plus tard en 1611, un autre britanique au nom de Randle Cotgrave donne une description assez différente du "SAGOIN" dans son livre, "Dictionary of the French and English Tongues". Selon lui, un "SAGOIN" ou "SAGOUIN" en français voulait dire:

> "a little marmoset; and thence, a little cracksrope, slipstring, knauish wag, or unhappy lad."

Sa definition d'un marmoset à l'époque était, au sens figuratif:

> "a lewd flatterer, or vicious fellow; especially the base flatterer of a Prince who to feed his master's humor, applauds and imitates his foulest vices." (voir planche n° 4)

Déjà nous voyons le commencement du processus de l'expansion sémantique du terme "SAGOIN". C'est le processus par lequel un terme, qui se trouve transplanté dans un nouveau milieu, subi une transformation du sens. Ici, le sens du terme se transforme sous l'influence de la cour britanique. Le "SAGOIN" devient tout d'un coup un petit garçon malheureux. Le "MARMOSET" devient une personne dont le comportement suscite

MARMOSET, SMALLEST OF THE LIVING MONKEYS, IS ABOUT THE SIZE OF A SQUIRREL. THIS PARTICULAR SPECIES IS FOUND ONLY IN BRAZIL.

Déjà en 1611, par un mélange curieux de synonymes, le terme "sagouin" commence à subir une transformation de sens sous l'influence du terme "marmouset". Selon Randle Cotgrave, ce terme signifiait "une personne vicieuse dont le comportement suscite l'aversion ou le mépris."

l'aversion, le mépris. On constate donc deux nouveaux sens qui viennent de s'ajouter au terme, et ça à peine 70 ans après Clément Marot. Encore en 1675, un autre britannique au nom de Widerhold avait employé le terme "SAGOIN" au sens d'une personne malpropre ou désordonnée.

Enfin, ce que nous pouvons en conclure c'est que lorsque le nouveau terme "SAGOUIN" s'est introduit au début du 16^{e} siècle, il a commencé à subir une transformation, une évolution sémantique sous l'influence d'un nouveau milieu. C'est une transformation qui s'est effectuée par voie de la transmission orale. C'est la transmission orale du terme "SAGOUIN" qui a permis le développement populaire de nouveaux sens de celui-ci. Sans doute aussi le terme "SAGOUIN" s'est-il trouvé devant les termes latins "SAGI", "SAGUM" et "SAGA" mais ces termes, qui sont tombés en désuétude depuis longtemps, ne semblent avoir aucun rapport avec ce dernier. Le terme "SAGI" ou "SAGUM" signifiait à l'origine un revêtement militaire que les soldats romains portaient en guerre. Par extention, en ancien français, ce terme deviendrait une vielle robe ou sarpillière. Le terme "SAGA" signifiait devineuse ou sorcière.[1]

Passons maintenant aux usages du terme "SAGOUIN" en français entre le 18^{e} et le 20^{e} siècles, où le processus de l'expansion sémantique continue à ajouter un nouveau sens au terme.

1. W. VON WARTBURG, (FRANZOISISCHES ETYMOLOISCHES WÖRTERBURG. BASEL 1964 VOL II) CONSIDÈRE LA FORME SAGOUIN COMME UNE ALTERATION DE L'ANCIEN FRANÇAIS "SAGANE".

III. - L'EVOLUTION DU TERME "SAGOUIN" ET SON EXPANSION SEMANTIQUE

Nous avons vu dans les chapitres précédents comment le sens figuratif d'un terme vient s'ajouter au sens propre du même terme pour donner un nouveau sens au mot. Or, le processus d'expansion sémantique est plus rapide lorsqu'il s'agit d'un terme populaire. La transmission orale va accélerer ce processus. Nous allons montrer en forme schématique, par le moyen de quelques exemples tirés des auteurs, comment ce nouveau sens figuratif du terme "SAGOUIN" a évolué dans le temps.

D'abord pour faciliter la tache, nous reproduisons une liste d'auteurs chez qui on peut trouver le terme "SAGOUIN" en usage - avec les dates approximatives de l'usage du terme. (TABLEAU 2) Ensuite nous reproduisons un inventaire de synonymes du terme qui correspondent à l'usage du terme chez ces auteurs. Tous les auteurs avait employé le terme "SAGOUIN" au sens figuratif et ce faisant, ils en ont ajouté un nouveau sens.

Ce nouveau sens figuratif du terme s'est repandu si vite et si complètement qu'il a même gagné sa place dans l'illustre Académie Française. En effet en 1874, l'Académie a jugé que le terme méritait une place dans son prestigieux dictionnaire.

TABLEAU 2

LISTE D'AUTEURS			SYNONYMES
Clément Marot	(1537)	-	"singe"
Edward Topsell	(1607)	-	"
Randle Cotgrave	(1611)	-	petit garçon malheureux
- Widerhold	(1675)	-	personne désordonnée dont le comportement suscite l'aversion, le mépris
Gilles Ménage	(1675)	-	personne malpropre, négligente
Evariste Ghérardi	(1700)	-	débauché de profession
		-	sac à vin (ivrogne)
Marc A. Legrand	(1700)	-	preneurs de tabac
		-	diseur de rien
M. de la Condamine	(1735)	-	singe appellé "sahuins"
Georges Buffon	(1751)	-	singe dont il y a 6 espèces
Académie Française	(1878)	-	homme ou femme malpropre
Victor Margeuritte	(1890)	-	sale, salaud
		-	sacripant
François Mauriac	(1900)	-	margoulin
		-	gredin
Albert Camus	(1900)	-	forban
		-	souillon
Raymond Queneaux	(1900)	-	dégoûtant
		-	cochon
Ecole des Arts et Metiers (AIX)	(1929)	-	étudiant en droit ou en lettres (terme argotique)
Géo Sandry et	(1957)		du sens pop. "ouvrier ignare"
Marcel Carrère	"gouine"	-	lesbienne (terme argotique)
Harrap's FREN-ENG	(1971)	-	dirty slovenly individual
Guillemaut et	(1970)		slut
Mignard	"gouine"	-	femme de mauvaise vie, coureuse
		-	prostituée de la plus vile espèce

APPARITION DE LA SAGOUINE EN ACADIE

Des ~~variétés~~ VARIANTES du terme "SAGOUIN" existe dans plusieurs dialects de la France, notamment dans le Saintongois, le Nivernais et le Normand. Il en va de même en Acadie. En voici des exemples qui sont en usage actuellement:

REGION	/	TERME	/	SIGNIFICATION
Saintonge	-	sagant	-	personne malpropre, négligente
Nivernais	-	sâga	-	femme sans ordre, economie ou esprit de conduite
Normandie	-	sagot	-	personne malpropre, peu soucieuse des vêtements
Québec	-	sagon	-	homme malpropre
Acadie	-	sagouillon	-	femme mal fagotée
BOURGOGNE	-	[redacted]gouine	-	femme de mauvaise vie, coureuse

D'où est venu le terme "SAGOUINE" en Acadie? C'est une question qu'il faut peut-être poser à l'auteur. Mais nous pouvons tout de même avancer quelques théories. Il est difficile de déterminer exactement à quel moment le terme "SAGOUINE" est entrer dans le parler acadien. Il y a deux possibilités.

Puisque ce terme existe dans le Saintongois en France, il est fort possible que ce terme soit venu en Acadie par l'intermédiaire des immigrants saintongois qui ont débarqué sur les côtes d'Acadie au début du 17^{e} siècle. Nous savons par ailleurs que ce terme existait déjà en France depuis le début du 16^{e} siècle (1537).

Il faut signaler aussi la possibilité que ce terme soit venu par l'intermédiaire des commercants acadiens dans les Iles Caraïbes. Il faut se rappeller que les Acadiens ont traffiqué pendant plus d'un siècle avec les Antilles, d'où ils obtenaient du rhum et de la mélasse. C'est ainsi que les termes indiens d'Amérique du sud, "BOUCANE" et "DORÉ", sont entrés dans le parler acadien. Or, le terme "SAGOUINE" est d'origine américaine aussi.

Que veut dire le terme "SAGOUINE" en Acadie? Lorsqu'il s'emploi au feminin, on peut dire qu'il représente un amalgamme de tous les synonymes mentionnés ci-dessus: une femme malpropre, négligente, sans ordre, economie ou esprit de conduite, peu soucieuse des vêtements, mal fagotée. Ici, il faut ouvrir une parenthèse pour discuter de l'influence du terme "SCOUINE" sur le terme "SAGOUINE".

En 1903, Albert Laberge, un auteur québécois de l'école naturaliste, avait publié un roman intitulé "LA SCOUINE". La "SCOUINE" était le nom donné au personnage principal du roman, une fille malpropre qui avait l'habitude de pisser au lit et qui portait par conséquent une odeur fort désagréable. La relation entre cette fille et la vielle femme est incertaine. Mais il est certain que les deux termes se ressemblent beaucoup. D'abord, l'idée de la crasse est là, comme chez la "SAGOUINE". En plus, ces deux termes, si on les prononce rapidement, se

ressemblent beaucoup dans la phonétique et dans la structure morphologique. Y a-t-il une relation linguistique entre ces deux termes? C'est très probable. La "SCOUINE" est devenu, par faute de prononciation, la "SAGOUINE" ou vice-versa.

CONCLUSION

Au 16^{e} siècle, l'état de la langue française était encore assez flou, caracterisé par une instabilité lexicale et une grande liberté de l'usager, surtout pour les traits regionaux, les termes populaires. Comme on peut voir chez Rabelais, les "mots du terroir" avaient encore une valeur stylistique. Clément Marot avait employé un terme populaire, le "SAGOUIN", pour créer un certain effet stylistique. Depuis, l'evolution et l'expansion du terme n'ont cessé d'accroître. La transmission du terme par la voie orale a contribué au développement du terme et a donné naissance à toutes sortes de variations du terme, notamment dans les dialects regionaux de la France. Son emploi en Acadie représente un amalgamme de plusieurs sens du terme et témoigne d'un rich passé historique et folklorique.

On peut dire donc qu'au début, le terme "SAGOUIN" était un terme populaire. C'était un mot d'origine américaine

nouvellement transplanté dans le vieux continent. Sans doute ce fait a-t-il contribué à la confusion du terme dans les trois langues où se trouve ce terme: le portugais, le français et l'anglais. Il est certain que le terme "SAGOUIN" signifie, dans toutes ces langues, une sorte de petit singe qui se trouve au Brésil. Mais ce qui est moins certain, c'est de savoir de quelle espèce de singe s'agit-il exactement. Au fur et à mésur que ce terme se développait au 17^{e} et au 18^{e} siècles dans le vieux continent, il semble qu'il y a eu confusion sur la définition exacte du sagouin. Les uns affirmaient que les sagouins ne comprennent que les singes à queue non-prenante tandis que les autres affirmaient que les sagouins ont aussi la queue prenante. Il est intéressant de noter que le terme en portugais et en anglais se réfère aux singes à queue prenantes alors que le terme en français signifie le contraire.

Dans le cadre de cette incertitude scientifique et par contamination avec le terme "marmouset", le terme "sagouin" a évolué très rapidement au sens figuré pour devenir un terme associé presque exclusivement à l'idée d'une personne malpropre, désordonnée ou négligente. Ceci est évident surtout en Acadie où, à cause de l'isolement et à cause du fait qu'il n'existe pas de vrais sagouins là-bas, le mot a dû se développer exclusivement par transmission orale au sens figuré et familier.

Interrogée sur la signification du mot "SAGOUINE", Antonine Maillet a dit:

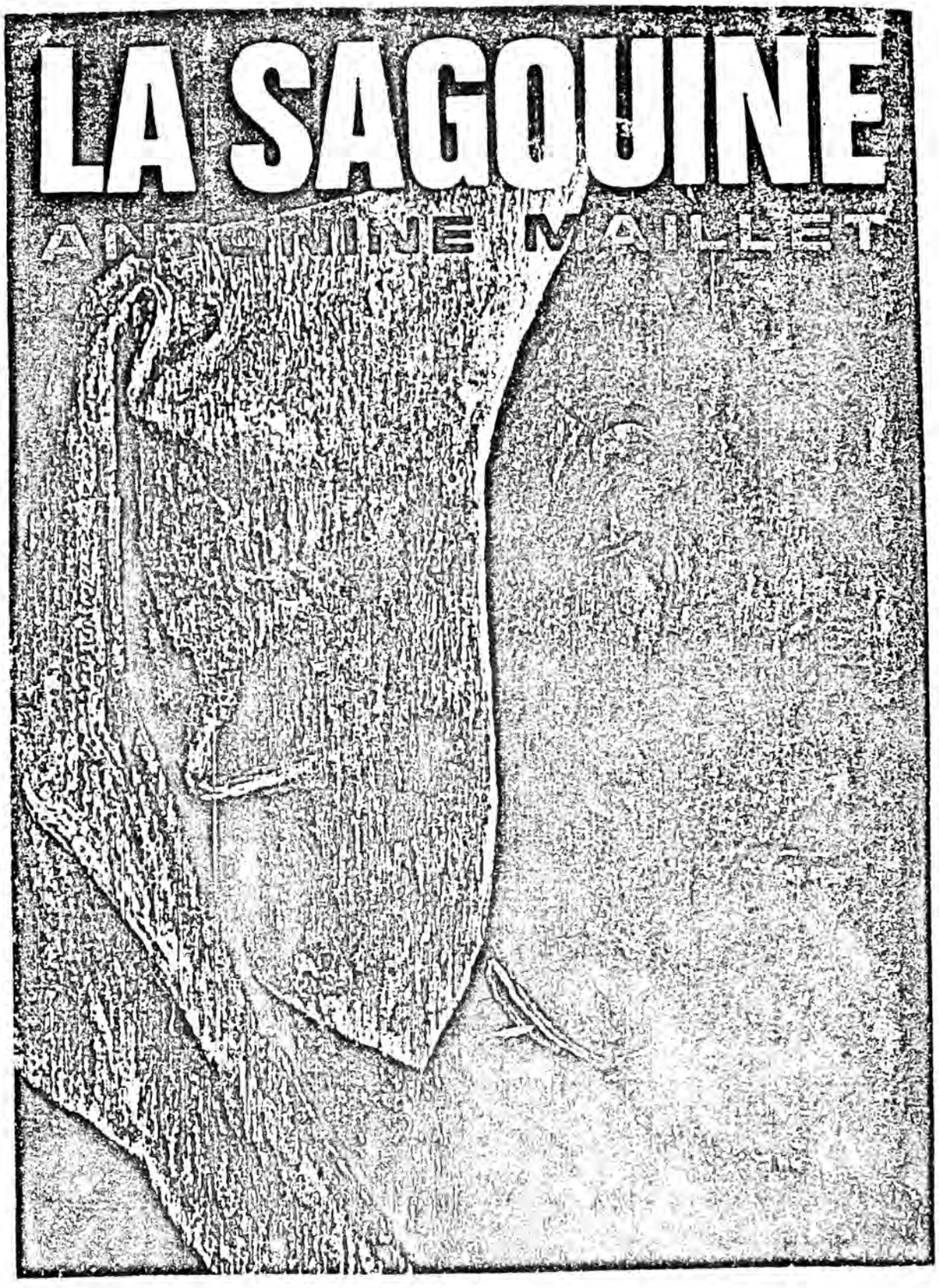
> "En acadien, le mot 'Sagouine' signifie malpropre, non au sens moral du terme mais au sens physique. A la limite cependant, l'equivalent le plus juste serait le mot 'salope'". [1]

A cela, l'actrice Viola Léger ajoute un sens plus élargi qui contredit en quelque sorte l'aveu d'Antonine Maillet:

> "Oui, Sagouine peut vouloir dire 'salope', 'prostituée' et bien d'autres mots du genre". [2]

En Acadie donc le mot "SAGOUINE" a conservé le sens populaire du terme. C'est ce sens de "femme malpropre" qui est enregistré dans le dictionnaire de l'Académie Française. Plus important, ce terme en Acadie se rattache à des termes identiques ou analogues dans divers dialectes de la France qui portent aujourd'hui le même sens du terme. En termes liguistiques, s'il faut classifier ce terme dans une catégorie lexicale, il faut dire que ce terme appartient à la catégorie des régionalismes. En termes littéraires, peut-être que ce terme signalera-t-il le commencement d'un nouveau genre littéraire?

1. A. Maillet, La Presse. Montréal. 14 Oct. 1972. P.C4
2. V. Léger—dans un interview avec Louiselle Tremblay dans dans la Sagouine, publication du Théâtre du Rideau Vert Sept. 1973



"Ils m'appelont la Sagouine, ouais. Et je pense, ma grand foi, que si ma défunte mère vivait, a' pourrait pus se souvenir de mon nom de baptême, yelle non plus".

(La Sagouine ... P. 92)

LES SAGOUINS

Il y a six espèces de sagouins qui existent toutes au Brésil. Elles ont toutes la queue non-prennante. C'est à dire qu'elles ne s'en servent ni pour se suspendre ni pour saisir aucune chose. Le Saki est la plus grande espèce et l'ouistiti est la plus petite espèce de sagouin que l'on connaisse.

SAGOUIN

CLASSIFICATION

ORDRE	:	PRIMATES
FAMILLE	:	CEBIDAE (Amérique du sud)
SOUS FAMILLE	:	CALLITHRICIDAE

ESPECES		GENUS
SAKI	-	PITHECIA/CHIROPOTES
TAMARIN	-	SAGUINUS/LEONTOCEBUS
SQUIRREL MONKEY	-	SAIMIRI/SCIUREUS
MARMOSET	-	LEONTOPITHECUS
OUISTITI	-	CEBULLA PYGMAEA
UAKARI	-	CACAJAO

TABLEAU COMPARATIF DES SINGES

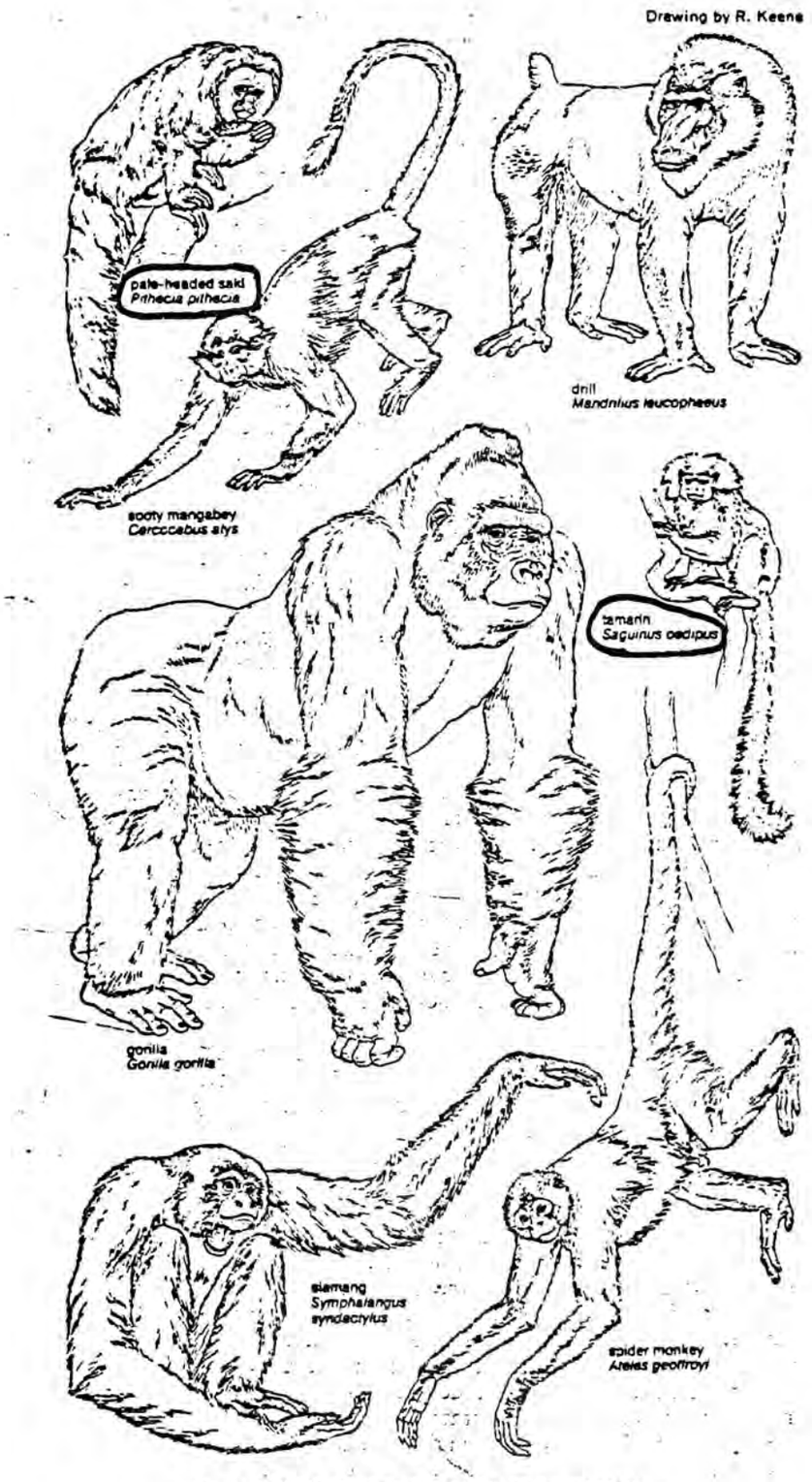


Figure 2: Body plans of representative anthropoids.

Pale-faced saki (*Pithecia pithecia*)

SAKI, sak'ē, any of several South American medium-sized monkeys that have a long bushy nonprehensile tail and long hair that usually forms a beard on the chin and a ruff around the face. The monkeys have a somewhat humanlike face with a sad expression and humanlike legs and hands. They usually may be found in forests along the banks of rivers, feeding on fruits, other plant matter, and small animals.

Sakis are scientifically classified into two genera, *Pithecia* and *Chiropotes*, within the family Cebidae.

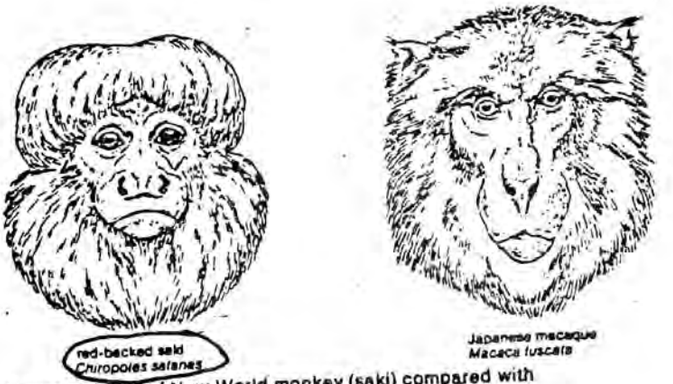
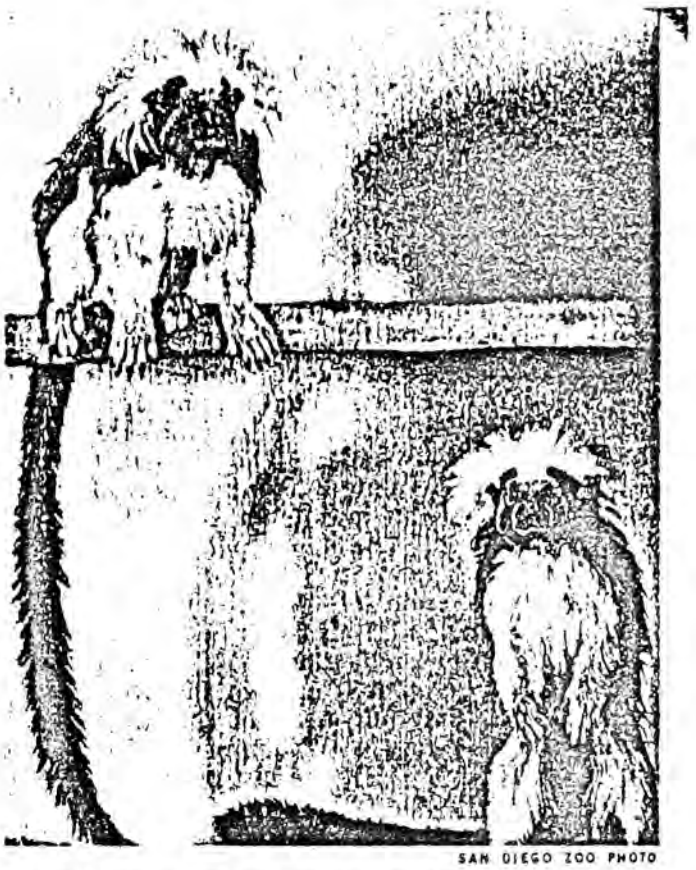


Figure 6: Head of New World monkey (saki) compared with head of Old World monkey (macaque).
Drawing by R. Kasne



SAN DIEGO ZOO PHOTO

Tamarins, or cottontop marmosets (*Saguinus oedipus*)

TAMARIN, tam'ə-rən, a small monkeylike primate of the marmoset family (Callithricidae), native to forested areas in Panama and South America. The true tamarins (*Saguinus*) comprise 21 to 22 species found from eastern Panama and northern South America south through the Amazon region. The three species of golden lion tamarins (*Leontideus*) are restricted to southeastern Brazil.

True tamarins range from about 7 to 12 inches (18–30 cm) in head and body length, plus a somewhat longer tail. Golden lion tamarins range from 6½ to 14 inches (16.5–35.5 cm) or more in head and body length, plus a tail of approximately the same length. Body weights commonly vary between ½ and 1¼ pounds (225–570 grams).

True tamarins are black, brown, or dark red; or dark brown above and white below; or with yellowish brown hindquarters and white forequarters. A moustache, crest, or contrasting color marking may be present. Golden lion tamarins have long silky coats, which form a lionlike mane around the head and shoulders. Their coat color may be either a uniform reddish gold, or it may be black, with gold markings on the head, limbs, and tail.

The tamarin's diet may include fruit, insects, and lizards. Laboratory studies indicate that the family group is the basic social unit. Gestation lasts about 5 months (140–150 days); the female bears one, usually two, or occasionally three young. The male parent plays a major role in rearing the young. Tamarins have lived to more than 10 years of age in captivity.

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Primate Laboratory, State University of New York

ouistiti à pinceaux du Brésil

OUISTITI [wistiti] n. m. (onomatop. tirée du cri de l'animal). Petit singe d'Amérique, à la queue touffue.

— ENCYCL. Les *ouistitis* servent de type à la famille des hapalidés. Ces charmants petits animaux (de la grosseur du poing) sont les plus primitifs parmi les primates. Arboricoles, ils montent aux arbres comme des chats, en se servant de leurs griffes. Ils ont une épaisse fourrure soyeuse. Leur tête est ronde; leurs grandes oreilles sont frangées de longs poils blancs et noirs, d'où le nom d'*ouistitis à pinceaux* (*Hapale jacchus*) donné à une espèce du Brésil. Ils vivent bien en captivité en Europe.

squirrel monkey (*Saimiri*), arboreal monkey, family Cebidae, the most common primate in riverside forests of Central America, the Guianas, and the Amazon Basin. There are at least two species. Squirrel monkeys associate in groups, sometimes of several hun-

Squirrel monkeys (*Saimiri sciureus*)
Shelly Grossman—W.C.I

dred. They are attractive animals 25–40 centimetres (10–16 inches) long, with a heavy, nonprehensile 37–47-centimetre tail.

They have small, expressive faces; large eyes; large, generally tufted ears; and short, soft fur. Their muzzles are dark, their faces white, and their tail tips black. Colour is gray- to olive-green with whitish underparts and yellow or orange arms, hands, and feet. Common squirrel monkeys (*S. sciureus*) generally have olive or grayish crowns, while red-backed squirrel monkeys (*S. oerstedii*) have black crowns and reddish backs.

Squirrel monkeys are active during the day and troop single file after a leader along constantly used pathways in the trees. They sleep huddled together on branches, tails wrapped around their bodies. They are omnivorous and eat fruit, insects, and small animals. They bear single young after gestation of about 5½ to 6 months. The young cling to the back of either the male or the female. Squirrel monkeys are delicate and susceptible to cold but are good laboratory animals and also make clean, affectionate, and gentle pets with a penchant for playing with hair. They may live ten years or more in captivity and seem to do best when kept with others of their kind.

·endangered status and legal protection 7:812c

Squirrel monkeys are found in northern South America.
ARTHUR W. AMBLER, FROM NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY

SQUIRREL MONKEY, a small, long-legged monkey very common in South America. Except for some long-lived large individuals, most squirrel monkey are about the size of a squirrel. They usually have long, club-shaped, nonprehensile tails. Their fur is generally soft and short and is usually a mixture of brown, gold, green, and yellow. The face is usually white and the nose black.

Large troupes of squirrel monkeys are found along the Orinoco and Amazon waterways and in adjacent areas. They are mainly arboreal and diurnal and feed on insects and fruits. A single young is born after a gestation period of 140 to 180 days.

Squirrel monkeys make up the genus *Saimiri* of the family Cebidae, order Primates.

marmoset, broadly, any of the small, long-tailed, South American monkeys of the family Callitrichidae. Marmosets are squirrel-like tree dwellers and move in a quick, jerky manner. They are active during the day; live in small groups; and, as an aid to scampering along branches, have claws on all digits except the big toe. Unlike other American primates, they lack the last (third) molar teeth in both jaws.

Marmosets have been kept as pets since the early 17th century, but they require some care to remain healthy. They are primarily insect eaters but take fruit as well as other small animals. The gestation period is about 145 days, and the females generally bear twins.

Marmosets fall into two groups: those with short lower canines (short-tusked) are commonly called marmosets, and those with relatively long lower canines (long-tusked) are known as tamarins.

Pygmy marmosets (*Cebuella pygmaea*) are the smallest members of the family. Their head and body are about 14 cm (6 in.) long, the tail somewhat longer. Adults weigh only about 90 g (3 oz), whereas other members of the family attain weights of up to 1 kg (2.2 lb). Marmosets of the genus *Callithrix* are more common. These animals are about 15–25 cm long, excluding their 25–40-cm tails. Their fur is dense and silky and generally forms tufts on the ears. Colour varies among the eight species from white to reddish or blackish, and it may be grizzled or otherwise marked, as with rings on the tail.

About 25 species of tamarins are placed in the genera *Leontopithecus* (*Leontidleus* of some authorities) and *Saguinus*. Tamarins are about 20–35 cm long, excluding the 30–40-cm tail. One of the most striking forms is the golden lion tamarin or marmoset (*L. rosalia*), which has a thick, lionlike mane; black face; and long, silky, golden fur. Another species, the emperor tamarin (*S. imperator*), has long, grizzled, gray fur; a reddish tail; and long white moustaches. The three species of *Leontopithecus* are all listed as critically endangered in the *Red Data Book*.

Goeldie's marmoset (*Callimico goeldii*) is a small, rare, black monkey of the upper Amazon. It is generally placed with the Callitrichidae (sometimes as the subfamily Callimiconinae), but certain of its features are like those of the other New World monkeys (family Cebidae).

Depending on the authority, tamarins and marmosets may be placed in various different genera. These are shown in the accompanying table.

·traits, behaviour, and classification 14:10145

Golden marmosets (*Callithrix chrysoleuca*)
R Van Nostrand—Photo Researchers

MARMOSET, mär'mə-set, any of a group of New World monkeys that includes the smallest of all monkeys. Both the true marmosets (*Callithrix*) and the true tamarins (*Saguinus* or *Leontocebus*) belong to this group. Marmosets range in size from a small rat to large squirrel, or even somewhat larger. Their head-body length is 6 to 12 inches (15–30 cm), and their tails, which can be used for grasping, are about 7 to 16.5 inches (18–42 cm) long. They have round heads with large ears that are usually naked but sometimes ornamented with tufts or fringes of stiff hairs. Their body fur is silky and sometimes conspicuously colored. Some marmosets have manes of hair on the head, shoulders, or back.

Short-limbed marmosets are chiefly climbers, but the long-limbed species are also good jumpers. Only the big toes have the broad flat nails characteristic of higher primates; the other toes and fingers have long claws. Embryological evidence indicates that the claws are

PHOTO BY RON GARRISON/SAN DIEGO ZOO

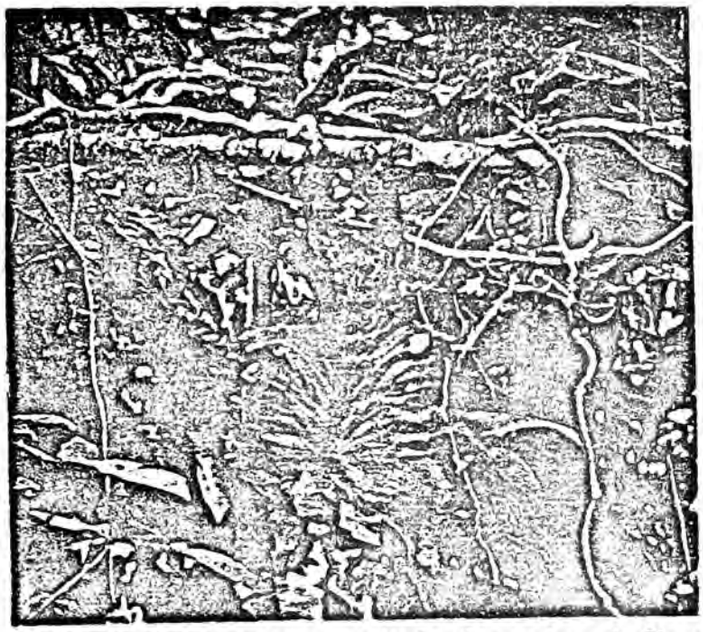
The golden lion marmoset (*Leontideus rosalia*) is named after the striking golden color of its fur and mane.

not a primitive trait, as in tarsiers and lemurs, but have evolved from typical primate nails—probably as an adaptation to their niche in the forest ecosystem.

In a sense, marmosets have hands where the feet should be since the feet have opposable big toes and can grasp like the hands of man and other higher primates. Their thumbs, on the contrary, are not opposable.

Marmosets live in the rain forests of South America. They prefer the highest branches of the trees. Their diet includes both plant materials and small animals. Marmosets usually bear twins, and the young are cared for by both parents and by other members of the troop.

Marmosets make up the primate family Callithricidae.



AN INVERTED UAKARI hangs by its feet from a branch. Since little is known of its habits, no one can say what this animal is doing, but uakaris are known to sometimes walk upright.

NEW WORLD MONKEYS

The Mysterious Uakari

One of the rarest of the New World monkeys is the uakari, a cat-sized creature with a short, nonprehensile tail. It lives only in a few isolated areas along the banks of large Amazonian rivers and has adapted to life in the highest tree branches, rarely if ever descending to the ground. Uakaris are hunted by Indians of the area; adults are eaten, but young ones are usually kept as pets.

Short of tail and with sparse, unkempt hair, they move slowly in the trees. Their facial expression seems to be one of constant sorrow—but their emotions are betrayed by the color of the bare skin on their heads and faces. It is normally a rosy pink, but in times of excitement or anger it flushes to crimson.

uakari (*Cacajao*), diurnal monkey, family Cebidae, is the only short-tailed American monkey. Uakaris are about 35–50 centimetres (14–20 inches) long excluding their 15–20-centimetres tails. They have bare faces, which become flushed in excitement, and long, shaggy fur. Colour in the three species is grayish with a pink face, reddish with a bright scarlet face, and brownish with a black face. Uakaris are rare and are confined to certain forest ranges along the Amazon River. They are said to live in small groups and are found among

Red uakari (*Cacajao rubicundus*)
Tierbilder Okapia, Frankfurt am Main

the higher branches. They are quadrupedal and feed on nuts, fruit, and vegetation. Uakaris are captured by the Indians; the young are kept as pets, and the adults are eaten. In general, uakaris do not do well in captivity. All three species are listed as critically endangered in the *Red Data Book*.

THE UAKARI...

Despite their surprizing habit of emitting what sounds like hysterical laughter when annoyed, these creatures actually are reputed to make delightful pets when they are taken young - so loyal to their owners that if deserted they refuse all food and ultimately pine away.

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Remarques sur le mode de certaines propositions subordonnées complétives introduites par "que" dans l'usance franco-acadienne.

Pierre Gérin, Mount Saint Vincent University

Dans leur Essai de Grammaire de la Langue française (1911-1950, t. I, ch. 111), Damourette et Pichon font observer que, dans les différentes régions de France, les dialectes ou les patois locaux exercent une influence spécifique sur le français qu'on y parle. Ainsi, à côté du provençal classique ou patoisant, il y a un "français de Marseille" ou, selon la terminologie de nos auteurs, un "français en usance à Marseille". Ce phénomène linguistique, observé dans la République une et fortement centralisée qu'est la France, ne doit-il pas se trouver encore plus marqué dans une Acadie à qui les circonstances historiques, douloureuses par ailleurs, ont épargné la férule des grammairiens de l'Hexagone et la lutte menée délibérément par les divers régimes français contre les dialectes et les patois? Les recherches que je poursuis dans ce domaine révèlent précisément un lien étroit d'une part entre le passé et le présent, d'autre part entre le français d'Acadie et le français populaire de France ou "français avancé", pour reprendre l'expression non-péjorative d'Henri Frei (La Grammaire des Fautes, 1929, p. 36).

Dans cette courte communication, je me limite à l'étude de quelques propositions subordonnées complétives introduites par que, dans lesquelles un auteur franco-acadien, écrivant en français commun, emploie le mode indicatif ou le conditionnel alors que les puristes de l'Académie exigeraient le subjonctif. Je n'examine ni la question de la concordance des temps ni celle du ne dit explétif. Je m'en tiens strictement à l'étude du mode. Dans chaque cas considéré, ou au moins dans chaque série de cas, à côté de l'usance franco-acadienne, je m'efforce de présenter un exemple du parler franco-acadien, un exemple du français préclassique et un exemple du français populaire. Il aurait été intéressant d'établir des comparaisons avec l'usance québécoise, mais cela nous aurait entraînés beaucoup trop loin. Les exemples

de l'usance acadienne sont généralement tirés de l'Evangéline, quotidien de Moncton, du Petit Courrier, devenu le Courrier en 1978, hebdomadaire de Yarmouth. Leur rôle même de journal exige un niveau de langue commun; la diversité des sujets et, partant, des auteurs d'articles, la participation des lecteurs, les commentaires et les interviews d'homme politiques, d'hommes d'affaires ou d'artistes, le nombre de numéros dépouillés entre 1972 et aujourd'hui, permettent de distinguer la fantaisie individuelle de l'usance. Les dialogues de Félix Thibodeau, Dans note temps avec Marc et Philippe, Dans note temps avec Mélonie et Philomène (Le (Petit) Courrier, 1975-1979), les Lettres de Marichette (L'Evangéline, 1895-1898) fournissent les références franco-acadiennes. Les références préclassiques et populaires proviennent des dictionnaires, des grammaires et des ouvrages de Littré, Huguet, Grevisse, Brunot et Bruneau, Nyrop, Haase, Marcel Cohen, Pierre Guiraud, etc. ... et de divers auteurs.

Enfin, je précise que si, dans les exemples que nous allons étudier, les Acadiens n'usent pas du subjonctif, ce n'est point le fait de quelque ignorance. Car les parlers franco-acadiens connaissent parfaitement ce mode qui a d'ailleurs chez eux des formes qui s'écartent parfois sensiblement de celles du français commun, ainsi que le notent Geddes (Study of an Acadian-French Dialect spoken on the north shore of the Baie-des-Chaleurs, pp. 130-159, 1908) et Louise Després-Péronnet (Modalités nominales et verbales dans le parler franco-acadien de la région du Sud-Est du Nouveau-Brunswick, thèse de maîtrise ès arts (en français) pp. 83-88, juin 1975).

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Dans le français commun, tel qu'il a été fixé par les doctes et par les grands écrivains du XVIIe siècle et leurs successeurs, la réparti-

tion des modes, indicatif ou conditionnel en fonction de futur dans le passé, d'une part, et subjonctif, d'autre part, est relativement récente selon Brunot et Bruneau (Précis de Grammaire historique de la langue française, 1949, par. 690, pp. 543-544). La Grammaire Larousse du Français contemporain (1964, p. 112, par. 164) la note ainsi:

> "L'indicatif est employé quand la principale affirme l'existence du fait qui est signalé par la subordonnée (domaine du probable et du certain); par là même, la subordonnée garde une relative indépendance et passe facilement à une construction juxtaposée: Je dis qu'il ment. - Je dis: il ment. Le subjonctif s'utilise quand la principale ne va pas jusqu'à une telle affirmation (domaine de ce qui n'est que possible) ou, s'il est évident que le fait existe, quand la principale met au premier plan les réactions du sujet (domaine de l'appréciation); par là même, la subordonnée est étroitement dépendante de la principale."

Aujourd'hui, en français commun, on trouve donc le subjonctif dans une proposition subordonnée complétant un verbe (ou une locution verbale ou adverbiale, ou un nom) de doute, de souhait et de volonté, de sentiment. Mais on constate beaucoup plus de liberté dans l'usance franco-acadienne ainsi que dans les parlers franco-acadiens, dans le français préclassique et dans le français populaire.

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Propositions complétant un mot ou une locution exprimant un doute.-

Selon Littré (p. 272, art douter), le verbe douter suivi de que veut toujours le subjonctif: "Je doute que cela soit vrai". Mais il note plus loin, qu'à la forme négative, il peut être suivi du futur de l'indicatif, s'il s'agit d'une action qui n'est pas encore faite: "Je ne doute pas qu'il fera

tout ce qu'il pourra".

Or, dans l'Evangéline du 28 août 1974, le journaliste Paul-Emile Richard écrit: "Je doute qu'un tel comité pourra être plus efficace que le conciliateur (...)" Je n'ai pas d'exemple préclassique de douter que (à la forme positive) construit avec l'indicatif. Mais, dans leur Précis de Syntaxe du Français contemporain (1958, p. 224, par. 419), Wartburg et Zumthor notent qu'au lieu du subjonctif, après les verbes marquant l'incertitude ou la négation, le langage populaire emploie volontiers le futur de l'indicatif: "Je doute qu'il viendra". Grevisse, dans son Bon Usage (1975, par. 999, note 1) relève chez Mauriac cette construction qu'il qualifie d'"insolite": "Pour la première fois le monde incroyant commence à douter que l'Eglise tiendra." La Grammaire historique de la Langue française de Kr. Nyrop (1930, T. VI, p. 277) donne une excellente explication de cet emploi:

> "Le subjonctif n'a pas de futur. Dans le cas où un auteur désire indiquer de la manière la plus claire qu'il s'agit de quelque chose qui doit arriver, nous voyons qu'il recourt soit au futur de l'indicatif soit au conditionnel (futur dans le passé). C'est là un phénomène rare, mais qu'il importe tout de même de constater".

Le verbe nier peut faire l'objet de remarques semblables. Littré (art nier, pp. 733-734) note que ce verbe se construit avec le subjonctif: "il nie qu'il se soit trouvé dans cette maison", "je ne puis pas nier qu'il n'y ait eu des Pères de l'Eglise qui ont condamné la comédie (...)" Cependant Georges et Robert Le Bidois (1971, Syntaxe du français moderne, t. II, p. 335, par.1287) citent ces vers où Racine construit le verbe nier à la forme négative avec le mode indicatif: "Je ne vous nierai point, Seigneur, que ses soupirs M'ont daigné quelquefois expliquer ses désirs" (Britannicus, vv. 553-554). La justification est aisée:

> "C'est qu'en réalité, rien n'est moins négatif, au fond, que cette déclaration de la "candide Junie"; seule, la pudeur l'empêche de lui donner une forme plus nettement affirmative".

En franco-acadien, je n'ai pas d'exemple de nier (à la forme positive) construit avec l'indicatif. Mais ce tour n'est point rare dans l'usance acadienne. On lit dans l'Evangéline du 2 octobre 1975, sous la plume du journaliste Jean Couturier: "Il a cependant nié que le ministère des Services sociaux s'apprêtait à prendre le contrôle du centre pour le louer, par la suite, au centre culturel". Remarquons l'ambiguïté créée par l'emploi de l'indicatif dans ce cas: l'auteur de l'article semble souligner la réalité objective du fait nié (voir Wartburg et Zumthor, op. cit., p. 235, par. 446).

Grevisse (op. cit., 1975, par. 997, pp. 1117-1118) note qu'on met le subjonctif dans la proposition substantive (c.-à-d. complétive) après les locutions et les verbes impersonnels qui marquent la possibilité, l'impossibilité, le doute, comme il est possible, il se peut. Ici nous trouvons de nombreuses infractions à cette "règle". Joe Acadien (qui se pique d'user du langage populaire de Clare) écrit dans le Petit Courrier du 27 décembre 1974: "Est-il possible qu'Hydro-Clare va régler ses problèmes?" M. Ouellet, ministre de la Jeunesse du N.-B., ne s'exprime pas autrement: "Cest bien possible que nous ajouterons des détails sur la formule de l'année prochaine" (L'Evangéline, 12 septembre 1975). On trouve de même l'indicatif, dans l'usance franco-acadienne, après: il se peut que, il y a une possibilité que. Remarquons que le français littéraire est moins strict que ne le laisse supposer Grevisse: "Est-il possible que vous serez toujours embéguiné de vos apothicaires et de vos médecins?" lit-on dans le Malade imaginaire de Molière, III.3 (cité par Littré, art. possible, p. 173). Voltaire lui-même a cru pouvoir écrire dans un poème: "Mais il se pourrait bien aussi Que je fais trop d'honneur aux anges" (Stances,

III, cité par Littré, art. pouvoir, p. 256). Ferdinand Brunot trouve un tour analogue dans l'exclamation populaire moderne: "Est-il Dieu possible que c'est vous?" (1965, La Pensée et la Langue, p. 532, note 3).

De ces quelques exemples, il ressort que, dans le choix du mode du verbe de la proposition subordonnée complétant un verbe ou une locution exprimant le doute, l'usance franco-acadienne est proche de l'usage populaire français, mais le lien avec la tradition préclassique n'est pas toujours des plus évidents.

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Propositions complétant un mot ou une locution exprimant un souhait ou une volonté.

Selon la Grammaire Larousse (1964, p. 112, par. 164) les verbes de souhait et de volonté (désirer, permettre, tolérer, défendre, auxquels Grevisse (op.cit., 1975, p. 113, par. 1000) ajoute attendre et s'attendre) se construisent avec le subjonctif parce que, "envisageant l'avenir, ils comportent nécessairement une marge d'incertitude." Mais il s'en faut que cette construction soit toujours employée ici.

Les Franco-Acadiens usent parfois de l'indicatif après les verbes de volonté: "Je veux que vous repensez à ce détail" (Me Georges Chiasson, L'Evangéline, 10 mars 1975). Marichette écrivait de même: "(...) j'voulons que vous disez dans vote journal que "Marichette" a changé de place" (Lettre du 28 février 1895). Le français préclassique et même classique n'ignorait pas complètement cet usage. Georges et Robert Le Bidois (op. cit., 1971, pp. 353-354, par. 1313) le relèvent et le commentent en ces termes:

> "Jusqu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle, permettre, (et parfois même vouloir, pris dans un certain sens), se faisaient, dans la subordonnée, suivre d'un simple

> indicatif: "Le ciel permit qu'un saule se trouva" (La Fontaine, Fables, I, 19); cf: "L'homme n'est ni ange ni bête, et le malheur veut que qui veut faire l'ange fait la bête" (Pascal, Pensées, VI, 358). On explique ces indicatifs en disant qu'il n'y a point là "de vraies subordinations, mais des formules usées, presque des périphrases équivalentes à des verbes" (Thérive dans les Nouvelles Littéraires, 6 octobre 1934). L'explication est ingénieuse. On ne peut nier cependant qu'il ne se trouve bien une subordonnée, et avec le verbe à l'indicatif, dans cette phrase de Bossuet: "Dieu permettra peut-être que l'union se rétablira" (Sermon, Char. frat. 2)."

Brunot (1905-1937, Histoire de la Langue française des origines à 1900, T. III, p. 571) est beaucoup plus affirmatif encore: Au début du XVIIe siècle, dit-il, "On trouve souvent l'indicatif après mander, ordonner dans les actes officiels, c'est un archaïsme administratif. En 1632, Oudin remarquait: 'je mettray ordre que vous serez payé' ne se dit guères" (Cr. 198)" Selon Marcel Cohen (1965, Le Subjonctif en français contemporain, pp. 80-82), cet usage, qui consiste au fond à annuler le pléonasme grammatical en employant l'indicatif au lieu du subjonctif dans la subordonnée, est la marque de certains parlers français provinciaux; on le trouve notamment chez les Bretons, mais aussi chez les Picards et même chez les Algérois: "Je ne veux pas que tu viens avec nous autres" (Alger, 1908).

De même la série de souhait (souhaiter que, formuler (pour former) le souhait que, souhaitable que) se construit fréquemment avec l'indicatif en Acadie: "Le Dr. Michaud a dit souhaiter que d'autres groupes surgiront avec un projet semblable (...)" (Paul-Arthur Landry, L'Evangéline, 7 août 1979). Haase (1965, Syntaxe française du XVIIe siècle, pp. 188-189, par. 76) cite plusieurs cas où les verbes de désir ou de volonté ne sont pas suivis

du subjonctif, mais de l'indicatif: c'est qu'alors le verbe, au sens primitif duquel s'attachait une idée de désir ou de volonté, avait perdu cette signification et n'exprimait plus que le simple accomplissement, comme dans cette phrase des Mémoires de La Rochefoucauld (II, 220): "Mme de Ch. désirait que M. le prince de Conti épousât sa fille, qu'après la chute du cardinal on mît M. de Châteauneuf dans la place de premier ministre, et que, cela étant, on donnerait à Monsieur le Prince le gouvernement de Guyenne". Dans l'incise "cela étant", une affirmation se substitue au désir et entraîne le conditionnel en fonction de futur dans le passé de "on donnerait".

Le français populaire n'ignore pas non plus cette construction. Dans Papillon (1972, p. 435), Henri Charrière écrit: "Souhaitons que je ne servirai pas de plat du jour aux requins de Royale dans des conditions pareilles." Cependant, le tour est relativement rare: Pierre Guiraud note que le français populaire utilise encore le subjonctif dans les propositions volitives et désidératives - et dans celles-là seulement (Le Français populaire, 1965, p. 37).

Ainsi, dans l'usance franco-acadienne, les propositions subordonnées complétant un verbe exprimant le souhait ou la volonté, construites avec l'indicatif, trouvent quelques précédents dans l'usage préclassique. Elles représentent peut-être aussi une survivance d'un parler régional, probablement breton, et semblent constituer un état du français plus avancé encore que le français populaire resté plus traditionnel sur ce point.

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Propositions complétant un mot ou une locution exprimant un sentiment.

Selon Grevisse (op. cit., 1975, p. 1136, par. 1001)

> "après les verbes qui expriment un sentiment, un mouvement de l'âme: joie, douleur, surprise, crainte, regret, etc., on met généralement le subjonctif dans la subordonnée substantive. Le subjonctif s'emploie de même après des noms ou des adjectifs tels que: crainte, indignation, peur, regret, aise, heureux, triste, affligé, désolé, étonné, fâché, irrité, honteux, ravi, surpris, etc..."

Mais il en va tout autrement en Acadie. Les parlers franco-acadiens usent volontiers de l'indicatif: "J'su fier que notre couverture est encore bounne pour tcheutes années" (Félix Thibodeau, Dans note temps avec Marc et Philippe, le Courrier, 12 avril 1979). L'usance franco-acadienne suit allègrement: "Je suis très heureux que le Conseil a accepté le budget présenté" (Guy LeBlanc, cité par l'Evangéline, 2 décembre 1974). La langue préclassique abonde en exemples de cette construction: "C'est une chose admirable que jamais auteur canonique ne s'est servi de la nature pour prouver Dieu" (Pascal, Pensées, I, 313, cité par Haase, 1965, op. cit., p. 193, par.78). On la trouve encore, plus rarement, chez Racine: "Hippolyte est heureux qu'aux dépens de vos jours/ Vous-même en expirant appuyez ses discours" (Phèdre, III, 3, vv 875-876). Ferdinand Brunot et Charles Bruneau (1949, op. cit., p. 544, par.691) expliquent qu'au XVIIe siècle le sens des verbes et expressions verbales n'était pas absolument déterminé, alors que la valeur des modes était encore bien sentie: "s'étonner exprime le sentiment de la surprise (subjonctif), mais signifie aussi constater avec surprise un fait réel (indicatif).", "le sens de craindre, très atténué, se rapproche du sens actuel de croire, supposer, avec un sentiment d'inquiétude." Le tour est fréquent en français populaire: "Vous avez la chance que j'avais un rapport à terminer et que je suis revenu au bureau après le dîner" (Simenon, La disparition d'Odile, 1971, p. 113). Il est perçu

comme faisant très français avancé. Voyez plutôt le titre du roman de Christine Rochefort: Encore heureux qu'on va vers l'été (1975). Il arrive même qu'on le rencontre chez des écrivains modernes plus traditionnalistes. Nyrop cite cette phrase de Kessel: "Il eut peur que les minutes précieuses qu'il avait à passer avec Mary allaient s'émietter dans cet insoutenable silence". Dans son commentaire, le grammairien fait preuve de largeur de vue: cette construction "est irrégulière, à s'en tenir à la syntaxe officielle, mais cette irrégularité n'a, selon nous, rien de choquant" 1936, op. cit., p. 314, par. 307).

De ces différentes observations sur la construction des verbes de sentiment, il ressort que l'usance franco-acadienne, bien moins mécanique que le français commun, se situe directement dans la tradition du dix-septième siècle commençant, et ne se différencie guère du français populaire de France.

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La double construction

Si le sens l'emporte sur la rigidité grammaticale, l'on conçoit que deux subordonnées complétives coordonnées puissent être à deux modes différents. C'est ainsi que Marichette n'hésitait pas devant une telle asymétrie: "Je finis ma lettre parce que j'ai peur qu'elle sera trop longue et que vous n'ayez pas le temps de la lire" (L'Evangéline, 14 février 1895). Tout naturellement, l'avocat R. Alain Deveau lui emboîte le pas: "(...) je suggère que vos lettres de références s'il en désire de vous, soient satisfaisantes et que ces lettres ne réflèteront pas vos fausses accusations (...)" (Le petit Courrier, 16 décembre 1976). Nous avons déjà rencontré cette double construction à l'époque préclassique, sous la plume de La Rochefoucauld. Elle

n'est pas injustifiable. Frei (1929, op. cit., p. 229) remarque que la coordination asymétrique dans la subordination est courante de nos jours dans le français avancé. L'usance acadienne, là encore, est conforme à la tradition et à l'évolution de la langue.

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Le Solécisme tourangeau

Alors que jusqu'ici nous avons vu l'indicatif (ou le conditionnel en fonction de futur dans le passé) remplacer le subjonctif, nous allons maintenant étudier le cas où c'est le conditionnel - en tant que mode - qui remplace le subjonctif. Dans le Petit Courrier du 26 mai 1977, nous lisons sous la plume d'Edith Tufts: "(...) la soeur Alma Boudreau de Saulnierville souhaitait que chacune profiterait au maximum des nouvelles idées émises pour découvrir une plus forte confiance en elle-même." Dans le Guide du bon langage (1954), Albert Dauzat note cette construction pour la condamner: "Dans la Touraine, l'Anjou, le Poitou ... on remplace au passé le subjonctif par le conditionnel: "Il faudrait que j'irais". Ce "solécisme tourangeau", dénoncé déjà en 1821 par Desgranges dans son Petit dictionnaire du peuple, tend malheureusement à gagner du terrain". Le franco-acadien connaît évidemment cette construction: "M. Véritas, Kerjé, voudrait que je mettrait mon vieux Pite dans l'ombre pour sauver la réputation de l'Evangéline" Marichette, (Lettre du 30 octobre 1895). Grevisse (1975, op. cit., par. 1013, p. 1219) fait observer que ce tour est aussi fréquemment employé dans le peuple en Belgique et à Paris. Ferdinand Brunot (1965, op. cit., p. 518) cite une phrase du romancier populaire Eugène Sue: "Tiens, tu mériterais que je serais ta mère". Ce "solécisme" est un des rares éléments syntaxiques qui rattachent

les parlers franco-acadiens et l'usance franco-acadienne à un français régional.

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Ainsi, l'usance franco-acadienne, dans la ligne générale d'évolution de la langue, se révèle parfois passablement éloignée du français préclassique mais proche du français populaire dans la syntaxe des propositions complétant les verbes et expressions de doute, - assez éloignée du français populaire, mais dans la tradition du français préclassique et de certains parlers régionaux, particulièrement du breton, dans la syntaxe des propositions complétant les verbes et expressions de volonté, - proche à la fois du français préclassique et du français populaire dans la syntaxe des propositions complétant les verbes et expressions de sentiment. Qu'en conclure? Ces observations sur un point de syntaxe caractéristique permettent de nuancer dans une certaine mesure l'impression donnée par l'étude du vocabulaire et de la morphologie du franco-acadien, d'une étroite relation entre les parlers franco-acadiens d'une part et, d'autre part, le français préclassique et les parlers régionaux de la France de l'Ouest et du Centre-Ouest. Mis à part le "solécisme tourangeau" et peut-être l'emploi breton de l'indicatif dans les propositions volitives, les usances franco-acadiennes observées font ressortir, sur un point précis, celui des complétives par que, une étroite parenté entre la syntaxe du français d'Acadie et celle du français populaire de France, celle-là paraissant d'ailleurs à certains égards encore plus avancée que celle-ci. Mais seules des recherches systématiques plus étendues pourront confirmer - ou infirmer - les premiers résultats de cette modeste étude.

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Les cas grammaticaux du substantif français

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Il est normal, chez les grammairiens français, de dire qu'il n'y a que deux catégories du substantif français, le genre et le nombre. Cette tradition est appuyée par l'accord de l'adjectif: le fait que l'adjectif tire ses marques de genre et de nombre du substantif auquel il se rapporte, et n'a pas d'autre marque.

Il faut dire, en plus, que les systèmes de genre et de nombre du substantif français remontent aux systèmes du latin. Pour la plupart, le masculin représente le masculin et le neutre du latin, et le féminin latin est devenu le féminin français. Le système du nombre est également, à peu de choses près, celui du latin.

On sait cependant, pour ce qui est du substantif latin, qu'il y avait cinq déclinaisons, chacune avec un système de cinq cas fonctionnels, et qu'il ne reste rien en français moderne ni des déclinaisons ni des cas du latin classique. Le système de cinq cas est réduit en deux cas en ancien français (appelés cas sujet et cas régime) et les deux cas de l'ancien français ont tout à fait disparu en français moderne, ne laissant que des traces dont seul le linguiste est conscient: du latin homo/hominem nous avons on, pronom indéfini, ancien cas sujet, et homme, substantif, ancien cas régime; du latin senior/seniorem nous avons sire, ancien cas sujet, et seigneur, ancien cas régime, et ainsi de suite.

Mais quand on cherche les marques de nombre et de genre dans le substantif français, on trouve que le substantif lui-même a perdu toute marque de genre et de nombre autant que toute marque de cas, à part quelques irrégularités comme animal/animaux, et prince/princesse, etc. Normalement, en effet, c'est l'article, indéfini ou défini, qui marque le genre et le nombre du substantif en français moderne.

On accepte, cependant, en linguistique romane, que le roumain moderne tout comme l'ancien français a gardé des vestiges de l'ancienne déclinaison latine. Pour ce qui est du roumain il ne s'agit pas d'un contraste entre cas sujet et cas régime, parce que le nominatif et l'accusatif se sont confondus. En roumain le datif et l'ablatif se sont confondus en plus avec le génitif; il en résulte deux cas en roumain moderne, un nominatif-accusatif et un génitif-datif.

On note, cependant, en ce qui concerne la morphologie du substantif, que le nom lui-même en roumain, bien qu'il porte les marques du cas et du genre, ne porte pas les marques du cas, sauf au singulier du féminin:

(1)	Féminin	Masculin
N.A. Sing.	o casă une maison	un domn un monsieur
G.D. Sing.	unei case de, à une maison	unui domn de, à un monsieur
N.A. Pl.	case des maisons	domni des messieurs
G.D. Pl.	case à des maisons, etc.	domni à des messieurs, etc.

On note, en revanche, que les deux cas roumains sont partout marqués par les articles défini et indéfini. L'article défini, en plus, est postposé, et ressemble, en conséquence, à une inflexion:

(2)	Féminin	Masculin
N.A. Sing.	casa la maison	domnul le monsieur
G.D. Sing.	casei de, à la maison	domnului au, du monsieur
N.A. Pl.	casele les maisons	domnii les messieurs
G.D. Pl.	caselor aux, des maisons	domnilor aux, des messieurs

Le fait de postposer l'article, cependant, n'en fait pas une inflexion. Avec les noms propres masculins, par exemple, l'article est antéposé en Roumain:

(3)

N.A. Sing.	Petru Pierre
G.D. Sing.	lui Petru à, de Pierre

Ici on est en face d'un phénomène assez connu: quand les petits mots grammaticaux sont antéposés on les traite de mots séparés; quand ils sont postposés on les traite de suffixes. Les pronoms clitiques précèdent l'infinitif en français, par exemple, tandis qu'en italien et en espagnol on en fait des suffixes:

(4)	français	italien	espagnol
	se décider	decidersi	decidirse

On pourrait même dire qu'en français les pronoms clitiques sont antéposés, sauf pour l'impératif affirmatif, où on en fait des suffixes:

(5) se décider mais décide-toi

Le fait que l'article défini en roumain est normalement un suffixe, mais devient un mot indépendant s'il est antéposé démontre qu'il n'est pas une simple désinence de cas, mais un article normal, tout comme l'article défini du français.

Or, de deux choses l'une. Ou on accepte que le substantif roumain n'a pas de cas, à part les restes dans le singulier féminin, ou bien il faut accepter qu'il y a des cas dans le substantif français, étant donné les cas typiques au et du de l'article défini français.

Les cas flexionnelles des langues indo-européennes, par exemple, marquent normalement un cumul de signifiés. La désinence -os du latin marque à la fois le masculin, le pluriel et l'accusatif, tous les trois par une seule désinence indivisible. Pareillement l'article génitif du, également indivisible, marque le défini, le masculin, le singulier et le génitif.

En plus, il faut admettre que les cas du substantif roumain ne sont plus pareils au cas du latin. Seul le nominatif-accusatif peut suivre une préposition, par exemple. Les seules exceptions sont, comme en français d'ailleurs, les prépositions composées:

(6)	roumain	français
	dedesubtul pamântului	au dessous de la terre
	de-a-lungul râului	le long du fleuve

En plus, les adjectifs roumains ne portent pas les marques du cas comme le font les adjectifs latins. Et l'article roumain se joint à l'adjectif s'il est antéposé, non au substantif:

(7)	roumain	français
	mamele bune	les mères bonnes
	bunele mame	les bonnes mères

Il est évident, en effet, que l'article roumain, tout comme l'article français, appartient au syntagme nominal et non simplement au substantif seul.

Les grammaires traditionnelles du français nous indiquent que les prépositions à et de ne sont pas des prépositions comme les autres. Il y a quatre qualités qui les mettent à part.

Premièrement, elles forment des contractions avec l'article au singulier masculin et au pluriel. Ce sont les seules prépositions du français à se comporter ainsi.

Deuxièmement, ce sont des prépositions qu'il faut répéter pour chaque nouveau syntagme nominal. On peut dire

(8) pour mon père et ma mère

tandis qu'il est nécessaire de répéter les prépositions à et de et de dire

(9) à mon père et à ma mère
de mon père et de ma mère

Il est normal, dans une langue à cas flexionnelles, que la fonction de tout substantif soit marqué. Si on ne répète pas à et de dans les exemples (9) le cas du deuxième substantif serait le cas neutre qui ne porte pas de marque, et non pas le génitif ou datif requis.

Troisièmement, seuls les syntagmes nominaux construits avec à et de ont un emploi adjectival autant qu'un emploi adverbial. C'est à dire que tout substantif en français devient normalement un adverbe quand une préposition lui est antéposé; seuls les syntagmes construits avec à et de peuvent fonctionner ou comme adverbes, ou comme adjectifs. En anglais on dit

(10) The man with the white beard
The table in the kitchen

tandis qu'en français il faut dire

(11) L'homme à la barbe blanche
La table de la cuisine

Vu que l'adjectif, de par sa morphologie, appartient à la catégorie du substantif, on peut dire que la fonction normale de la préposition en français est de changer le substantif en adverbe. Mais les syntagmes construits par à et de restent des substantifs et ne sont pas transformés en adverbes. Et la preuve, c'est que ces syntagmes peuvent fonctionner

aussi comme simples substantifs normaux:

(12) Il y a à boire et à manger dedans

(13) Il y a du pain et du vin dedans

En plus, on peut dire qu'il est normal de construire les infinitifs complétant un verbe ou un adjectif avec à et de. L'infinitif construit avec de a souvent un sens actif, celui construit avec à un sens passif:

(14) Il fait noir. Il est difficile de voir.

(15) Cette lettre est petite. Elle est difficile à voir.

Dans (14) le sujet a des difficultés. Dans l'exemple (15) c'est l'objet qui présente les difficultés.

Quatrièmement, les syntagmes construits avec à et de peuvent être remplacés par des pronoms. Quelle que soit la fonction du syntagme construit avec de, par exemple, on peut le remplacer par le pronom en si le syntaxe le permet:

(16) Nous avons du vin
Nous en avons

(17) Je reviens de Paris
J'en reviens

(18) J'ai envie de voyager
J'en ai envie

(19) Il avait le goût du luxe
Il en avait le goût

C'est à remarquer, par exemple, qu'il y a une richesse de cas dans le système du pronom personnel français. Et puisqu'il y a une correspondance entre certains des cas obliques du pronom personnel et certaines formes distinctives du substantif, il convient de traiter celles-ci comme les cas correspondants du substantif.

En résumé: on est justifié, en roumain, de dire qu'il y a deux cas du substantif. En suivant une argumentation tout à fait pareille, on est justifié de conclure que le substantif en français moderne présente une sémiologie de trois cas: un cas neutre, un cas génitif, et un cas datif.

La performance linguistique des élèves acadiens néo-écossais : recherches en cours

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Il serait sans doute intéressant et instructif de considérer tous les projets de recherches, en cours ou envisagés, lancés par le jeune et dynamique Centre de Recherches sur l'Enseignement du Français (CREF) de l'Université Sainte-Anne. Cependant, la tâche m'incombe d'esquisser un tableau des activités passées et futures du groupe de travail[1] constitué au sein du Centre en mars 1978, qui a entrepris une étude linguistique du dialecte franco-acadien parlé par les élèves acadiens de Nouvelle-Ecosse provenant de quatre régions différentes, en l'occurrence des régions de la Baie Sainte-Marie, de Pubnico, de Petit de Grat et de Chéticamp. Nous pensons qu'il est légitime de parler dans ce contexte non pas d'un seul dialecte acadien mais plutôt des quatre parlers acadiens des quatre régions différentes.[2]

Notre étude, qui se limite à une analyse de faits lexicaux et morphosyntaxiques, se veut surtout comparative, c'est-à-dire que nous voudrions comparer, à des fins pédagogiques (il faut insister sur ce fait) les divers parlers franco-acadiens néo-écossais avec le français dit standard ou international. L'objectif principal de l'étude consiste donc à repérer, à partir d'un corpus linguistique, et à

classer les écarts lexicaux et morphosyntaxiques entre le franco-acadien des élèves néo-écossais et le français standard.

En début de recherches, il nous a paru bien entendu essentiel d'établir un corpus oral de très bonne qualité. A ce stade, une étude pilote de petite envergure semblait tout indiquée, ayant les objectifs suivants (je cite un de nos premiers documents de travail):

1. Familiarisation avec la réalité linguistique qu'on allait étudier.
2. Identification des catégories des faits linguistiques qu'on pourrait trouver dans un corpus plus étendu.
3. Evaluation des méthodes d'étude et d'analyse que l'équipe se proposait d'utiliser.

Vingt-quatre très courts échantillons (d'environ cinq minutes chacun) ont été enregistrés, six dans chacune des quatre régions déjà signalées. Quant aux informateurs retenus, il y en avait deux de la cinquième année scolaire, deux de la troisième et deux de la première, avec un garçon et une fille de chaque année. Nous avons donc constitué un mini-corpus de cent vingt minutes. Ce corpus a d'abord fait l'objet d'une transcription minutieuse. Aucun des chercheurs n'étant d'origine acadienne, il a fallu faire appel à des locuteurs natifs des quatre régions chaque fois que la vérification de formes douteuses nous semblait nécessaire.

Cette étude pilote a fourni une documentation très riche

mais relativement fragmentaire, et une fois tous les écarts lexicaux et morphosyntaxiques relevés, les membres de l'équipe se sont rendu compte qu'il fallait réunir le plus vite possible un corpus beaucoup plus étendu avant de pouvoir effectuer une étude tant soit peu satisfaisante des quatre systèmes linguistiques visés. Ce deuxième corpus a été recueilli en mai/juin 1979 dans les mêmes régions, mais cette fois, tout en retenant les témoignages de vingt-quatre élèves de trois niveaux différents (c'est-à-dire en suivant le modèle du premier corpus), nous avons constitué un corpus à peu près quatre fois plus important. Nous possédons donc actuellement un deuxième corpus d'environ dix heures, ce qui représente des échantillons de vingt minutes par élève. Ce corpus, dont la transcription a été nécessairement beaucoup plus lente vu sa longueur (et là aussi nous avons fait appel à des locuteurs natifs chaque fois que c'était nécessaire), fait en ce moment l'objet de nos analyses.

Tous les écarts lexicaux de ce deuxième corpus ont été relevés et transcrits sur fiches. Une fiche typique comprend le lexème, sa catégorie grammaticale, sa transcription phonétique, sa traduction en français standard, la région (ou les régions) où il a été relevé avec le nombre d'occurrences et le ou les contextes.

Exemple:

bragger (se) v. [brage] se vanter Pubnico, une occurrence "Pis a' se braggait, cause qu' a' croyait qu'alle était belle."

Nous allons y incorporer les résultats de l'étude pilote et nous espérons pouvoir publier très prochainement un glossaire contenant tous les écarts lexicaux relevés dans les quatre régions. Nous pensons que ce document sera d'une grande utilité aux maîtres et maîtresses acadiens soucieux de faire acquérir à leurs élèves une bonne connaissance du français standard. Pour le moment, nous nous limitons à une étude synchronique, c'est-à-dire que l'explication de ces écarts nous semble nettement moins importante sur le plan pédagogique. Mais rien n'empêche, dans un deuxième temps, d'entreprendre des études diachroniques pour voir quelle est en acadien la part des anglicismes et celle des formes archaïques ou créées par analogie.

L'équipe passera ensuite à une étude morphosyntaxique, ceci en vue de découvrir quel est le système grammatical des quatre parlers. Nous ne pensons tout de même pas pouvoir compléter notre étude sans questionnaire supplémentaire, surtout afin de solliciter toutes les formes de tous les temps des verbes, c'est-à-dire afin de compléter nos tableaux de morphologie verbale. Tout au long de ces recherches, nous voudrions ne pas perdre de vue notre but principal qui est de fournir des documents pratiques et pédagogiquement utiles. En fin de parcours, au printemps de 1981, nous soumettrons nos résultats aux autorités scolaires néo-écossaises; nous souhaiterions contribuer ainsi au développement de méthodes de l'enseignement du français mieux adaptées aux besoins langagiers des enfants acadiens.

Voilà donc pour les idées maîtresses qui nous guident dans notre travail. J'aimerais clore mes remarques en passant au concret. Depuis le début de nos recherches je m'occupe de la région de Pubnico. L'échantillon du témoignage qui suit me paraît représentatif du parler acadien de cette région du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Ecosse. Le petit D.L., âgé de 11 ans, parle du travail de son père.

Echantillon du Corpus - Pubnico Ouest

[o i uv...i fɛzõ tu l tɑ̃ dy bwɑ. ɑ̃n a ki sõ fa d far, le gru, la. zœj i nɑ̃ fɛzõ pwɛ̃. s e pa ɛ̃ gro d mɛm e sa, d əlumənùm. zœj i fɛzõ rɛ̃k də bwɑ. i juzɛ̃õ lə məhɔgəni e sɑ. juzli i juzõ dy pɑ̃ɛn u dy, dy prùs u sʌmθiŋ pù fɛr...e de fwa i mɛtõ dy məhɔgəni sy la tʃi pù sa sɛj py fɔr ej, i mɛtõ de gru bim. ɑ̃ dɛ̃õ la, i plæŋkõ tùt prɛmje, dɛn apra i stimõ le plɑ̃ʃ pu k i pœvjõ le plɛje. le mɛtõ dɑ̃ d l ɔ ʃod, e apra i, i mɛtõ...i fɛzõ də l o bujir e i fɛzõ manjɛr kùm ỳn bwɛt. e i stikõ le plɑ̃ʃ ɑ̃ dɛ̃õ, s e ɛ̃n afɛr wɛj lɛ̃õ, la. e i stikõ le grɑ̃t plɑ̃ʃ ɑ̃ dɛ̃õ, sa vɛ̃ mùw. dɛn aprɛj i le plɛjõ la ʃɛjp dy kano e i le kluõ lɑ, e dɛn apra sa va far la bùn ʃɛjp e sɑ. i fɛzɛ̃õ tu sɔrt də kano e sɑ.]

(...comme, pour bâtir des canots, qu'est-ce que ça prend?)

O, i'ouv...i' faisont tout le temps du bois. En a qui sont faits de fer, les gros, là. Zeux, i' n'en faisont point. C'est point un gros de même, et ça, et d'aluminum. Zeux, i' faisont rinque de bois. I' usont le mahogany et ça. Usually, i' usont du pin ou du, du ~~pruss~~ prousse ou something pour faire...et des fois i, mettont du mahogany su' la tchie, pour que ça seye plus fort et i' mettont des gros beams. En dedans, là, i' plankont toute premier, den après i' steamont les planches pour qu'i' peuviont les pleyer. I' les mettont dans de l'eau chaude et après, i', i' mettont...i' faisont de l'eau bouillir et faisont manière comme une boîte. Et i' stickont les planches en dedans, c'est un' affaire way long, là. Et i' stickont les grandes planches en dedans, ça vint mou. Den après i' les pleyont la shape du canot et i' les clouont là, et den après ça va faire la bonne shape et ça. I' faisont tous sortes de canots et ça.

Je me permettrai de commenter très brièvement cet échantillon. Tout d'abord, il ne faudrait pas passer la phonétique[3] sous silence, en dépit du fait que notre équipe s'intéresse moins à la phonétique qu'au lexique et à la morphosyntaxe. Les quelques traits phonétiques dont je ferai mention se retrouvent pour la plupart dans les parlers des autres régions que nous sommes en train d'étudier.

Notons premièrement la tendance à réaliser de façon relâchée les voyelles [i], [y] et [u] se trouvant dans une syllabe fermée par certaines consonnes sourdes et continues.

Exemples: une boîte [yn bwɛt]
toute premier [tut prɛmje]
du prousse [dy prùs]

Ensuite, la voyelle ouverte [ɔ] suivie d'une consonne nasale se réalise par la voyelle relâchée [ù] que nous venons de retrouver dans toute.

Exemples: la boune shape [la bùn ʃɛjp]
manière comme une boîte [manjɛr kùm yn bwɛt]

Nous retrouvons aussi dans cet échantillon un exemple de la palatalisation de [k] + voyelle antérieure, où [ki] devient [tʃi].

su' la tchie [sy la tʃi]

L'on aura également remarqué dans la transcription phonétique le phénomène de l'ouverture de la voyelle [ɛ] en [a]. Témoin les exemples suivants tirés de l'échantillon:

Den après ... [dɛn apra]
... faits de fer [fa d far]

Enfin, les voyelles nasales en position finale sont souvent diphtonguées. La neutralisation [ɑ̃] ~ [õ] est à noter.

Exemples: en dedans [ɑ̃ dɛ̃õ]
way long [wɛj lɛ̃õ]

Quant à la morphosyntaxe, l'échantillon nous fournit des données fragmentaires, mais nous y retrouvons plusieurs traits caractéristiques et frappants du parler acadien de Pubnico. En premier lieu, la désinence [õ] de la troisième personne du pluriel de l'indicatif présent saute aux yeux.[4] Témoin les deux exemples suivants:

"I' mettont [mɛtõ] le mahogany su' la tchie"

"I' plankont [plæŋkô] toute premier"

Si l'on permettait un jugement de valeur, il s'agirait là d'un écart fort utile. En effet, comment distinguer en français standard la troisième personne du singulier et la troisième personne du pluriel des verbes en -er -- "il parle [parl], ils parlent [parl] "? Aucune ambiguïté n'est possible en acadien: "il parle [parl], ils parlont [parlõ]".

Les deux occurrences au mode subjonctif des verbes être et pouvoir sont à noter:

"... pour que ça seye [sɛj] plus fort"

"... pour qu'i' peuviont [pœvjõ] les pleyer"

Le pronom tonique de la troisième personne du pluriel, eux [ø] en français standard, se réalise zeux [zœj] en acadien.

Exemple: "Zeux [zœj], i' n'en faisont point.

Quant à la négation, l'on retrouve presque partout point; nous n'avons point relevé beaucoup de pas dans notre corpus!

Les deux formes de l'adjectif tout au pluriel, tous [tu] et toutes [tut] n'en font qu'une en acadien. Peu importe si le nom est masculin ou féminin, l'on relève [tu]. Exemple de notre échantillon:

"... tous [tu] sortes de choses"

Les remarques précédentes intéressent la morphologie. Deux faits syntaxiques sont également à signaler. Tout d'abord, venir, au sens de "devenir", peut être suivi d'un adjectif en acadien.

"I' stickont les grandes planches en dedans; ça vint mou." (Egalement à noter est la morphologie de venir - vint [vɛ̃] plutôt que vient [vjɛ̃].)

Venir au sens de "devenir" serait d'ailleurs un archaïsme. Jean Séguy dit que "venir au sens de 'devenir' était très commun dans tout le Sud-Ouest de la France."[5] Et le Huguet donne: "L'homme par excessifs delices vient malade, et par le moyen travail se guarist."

Enfin, notons l'ordre des mots dans: "I' faisont de l'eau bouillir" plutôt que "i' faisont bouillir de l'eau." Il pourrait s'agir là d'un calque de la structure anglaise. De toute façon, nous reviendrons au problème de l'explication des écarts à une étape ultérieure des recherches.

Terminons nos commentaires de loin trop schématiques avec le lexique. Ici, l'origine des écarts semble être souvent plus facile à déceler. Je postule que les douze lexèmes qui suivent sont des anglicismes.

Acadien	Français Standard
le mahogany [mahɔgani]	l'acajou
un beam [bim]	un poutre
la shape [ʃɛjp]	la forme
l'aluminum [alumənùm]	l'aluminium
steamer [stime]	passer à la vapeur
sticker [stike]	mettre
planker [plæŋke]	poser les planches
user [juze]	utiliser
usually [juzli]	d'habitude
den [dɛn]	ensuite
way [wɛj] ("way long")	très
something [sʌmθiŋ]	quelque chose

Mais les écarts provenant du système français sont aussi assez fréquents (huit en tout):

Acadien	Français Standard
la tchie [tʃi]	la quille
un' affaire [afɛr]	une chose
un canot [kano]	un bateau
pleyer [pleje]	plier
premier [prɛmje] (adverbe)	d'abord
de même [də mɛm]	de la même façon, comme ça

rinque [vɛ̃k] seulement, rien ... que
manière comme [manjɛr kùm] de la même manière que

Quant au lexème prousse [prùs], qui veut dire "épinette" ou "épicéa", nous ignorons son origine. A-t-on laissé tomber la première consonne du mot anglais spruce? Où est-ce plutôt une corruption de pesse, qui veut dire "Norway spruce"? Rappelons une dernière fois que nous nous intéressons plus à la présence de ces mots en acadien qu'à leur explication - les recherches diachroniques viendront plus tard!

L'on dit toujours "en guise de conclusion". Les conclusions, nous n'y sommes pas encore; il s'agit bien de recherches en cours. Nous sommes persuadés que nous possédons un corpus riche et authentique et que nos résultats seront pédagogiquement utiles. Surtout, et je m'exprime de nouveau au nom de tous les membres de l'équipe de travail, cette étude est passionnante et nous avons hâte de la mener à bien.

B. Edward Gesner

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Notes en bas de page

[1] Il conviendrait d'indiquer que dans cet article, je me fais le porte-parole de cinq chercheurs du Centre de Recherches sur l'Enseignement du Français (CREF) de l'Université Saint-Anne. Il s'agit du Docteur Moshé Starets, Directeur du CREF, de l'Université Sainte-Anne; du Docteur Maurice Holder, également de l'Université Sainte-Anne; du Docteur Georges Patterson, de l'Université Mont. St. Vincent; du Docteur Robert Ryan, de l'Ecole Normale de Truro; et de moi-même, de l'Université Dalhousie.

[2] Les définitions suivantes de parler et de dialecte me semblent fort à propos: "Un parler local (est) un système linguistique oral, fonctionnant dans un point déterminé, couramment usité par le groupe humain qui habite ce point, et perçu par ses utilisateurs comme une entité différente de la langue centrale (c'est-à-dire du français, si l'on considère les parlers gallo-romans)... Pour les dialectologues, le mot (dialecte) recouvre ordinairement l'ensemble des parlers situés dans telle ou telle région ..." (André Lerond, "L'enquête dialectologique en territoire gallo-roman", Langages, 11, septembre 1978, p. 88)

[3] Pour la phonétique et la phonologie, l'on consultera avec profit Robert Ryan, Une description fonctionnelle du parler acadien de la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie (Nouvelle-Ecosse),

Canada: Phonologie et morphologie du verbe, Thèse de 3e cycle, Aix-en-Provence, 1979, pp. 52-174.

[4] Molière ne fait-il pas dire à Pierrot: "Je t'achète, sans reproche, des rubans à tous les marciers qui passont"? (Don Juan, Acte II, Scène I)

[5] Jean Séguy, Le français parlé à Toulouse, Toulouse, Pvivat, 1951, p. 65.

OBVIATION WITH AI VERBS IN THE MALECITE SENTENCES

by

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In May 1979 I gave a paper in Sakatoon, at the Meeting of the Canadian Linguistic Association : "L'obviatif dans les phrases malécites avec des verbes transitifs animés ". In that paper I discussed one of the main syntactic functions of the obviative, that is its use in sentences with animate objects, with transitive animate verbs. In the present paper, I would like to look at the obviation in sentences with animate intransitive (AI) verbs, where there is no object, but there can be two or more third persons involved.

I have to look at sentences with
1) AI independent indicative,
2) AI relative mode,
3) and with the conjunct of AI verbs.

To avoid misunderstanding, we have to say that plurality does not necessarily mean obviation . In a sentence like tali-wicewhtiniya 'they went together' two or more persons are acting, and this is a third person plural form of the verb. But this is just plurality, not obviation. Obviation is the involvement of two third

persons, either both expressed by separate nouns or pronouns, or the presence, the involvment of the other one is just understood.

Speaking about transitive animate verbs and sentences with them, we had to spend more time on the independent indicative than on the relative mode or the conjunct order because obviation was most common in sentences with TA independent indicative. Here we have to do it the other way around. Obviation exists but it is not common with AI independent indicative. But it can be there in the ending of an AI relative verb form, and the obviative ending is there in AI conjuncts more often than in any other forms of AI verbs.

There is one more difference between the use of the obviative with TA or AI verbs. In sentences with AI verbs we need our imagination to understand why the native speaker uses the obviative. The involvment of the other third person is not always so evident as with TA verbs.

The form of the AI independent indicative can be supplied with obviative ending if the other third person involved is possessed by a third person.

mec-te nət pəmawhsowol / kwəhsəl nət skīcin 'He is still, this one, he is alive, the son of this Indian'.

sowāhsin kēte niswīhtīcil mēhciniyil / miyawte flō / keti-xxxk ihik / nakā nīhtəl niswīhtīcil iya stēnli wikwəhskəl 'Even John's wife died just about the time the flu was going around, (and) this here, his wife, (the mother of) this Stanley, his mother'.

If the obviative ending -(ə)l is there in the form of the AI relative mode, it is before the relative mode marker n. E.g.

ꝑowātəmən təlnāꝑəm nit tlaꝑasīlin 'He wanted his relation to go there'.

ən-yakw nət / ēcən / niswīhtīcil sakhiyālin 'And then this agent's wife appeared '.

In other sentences the obviation is not marked in the AI relative mode, but only in the endings of nouns and pronouns, referring to the other third person involved. E.g.

ɔn-nət kisiniꝑowin / nīhtəl iyil / ꝑroksəl 'And that one married this here, Brooks.' (The English verb to marry somebody is transitive, but the Malecite verb nipowo 'he/she marries somebody', 'he/she gets married (with somebody)' is an animate intransitive verb.

nit-yakw peskōhs / wət skītap / nekwt tali-wicewhtiniya / yōhtəl ēhpīlīcil 'There, one (of them), this man, some time they went together with this woman'.

On the basis of those four sentences I quoted above with relative verbs, we could make one more observation: In the first two sentences the obviation is marked in the form of the relative verb, and in both cases the verb follows after the noun, indicating the other third person involved. In the last two sentences with relative verbs, the obviation is not marked in the form of the verb, and in both cases the verb is before the noun indicating the other third person involved. Probably, this is not just a coincidence. I noticed similar regularities

in marking or not marking some other grammatical phenomena in the forms of the verbs, depending on the word order.

When does the animate intransitive conjunct have the obviative ending ? An Indian girl had a baby from a white man. It was white, it took after the father. A Malecite speaker could say without obviation : ~~eci-ksi-wapēyit~~ eci-ksi-wapēyit 'It is so white '. But if the speaker wants to make a hint of the baby's father he would say : eci-ksi-wapēyilit 'It is so white'. The obviative can be used here because also somebody else is involved in the matter of the baby's colour, namely the baby's father. The obviative ending (ə)l is before the animate intransitive third person singular conjunct marker -it .

We need our imagination also for the following sentence. Here, there are not really two third persons involved, but only one. However, the speaker thinks of the others, imagines their problems. This is enough reason for obviation. It might be marked even twice : once in the AI conjunct (mēhcīnēlit in our sentence), then in the end of the pronominal subject (wēnil):

mēhcīnēlit wēnil / ma-wen kisāhkwəsīnowi 'Whoever died, no one could be kept (for a long time)'.

In the following sentences, the involvment of the two third persons is more evident :

n-təlnəməwolan / iyik kakənək weci-ksahālit 'And he pinned them up, there, over the door, where she could come in '.

pīliw wen kisi-wənakehsit / kweni-apsəkilhsəhsīlit / nicānəl 'If someone (i.e. a mother) got up shortly while it is small, her (new born) baby '.

I can present a sentence in which the AI conjunct with obviation ends in the enclitic of the past -həən. These endings follow each other like this : 1. obviative ending (ə)l , 2. third person singular AI conjunct marker -t, 3. the enclitic -həən :

etoci iyey / wələmāhtolithpən / niswīhtīcil 'He was so good, her husband '.

In all sentences I presented for AI conjunct with obviation, the end of the verb form was the complex l-i-t (plus enclitic in the last sentence above). In all my previous sentences with this complex, the other third person was singular. What happens if one of the two third persons involved is plural ? The following sentence answers this question, where there is a real plural marker -olht- before the ending of the obviative. (This real plural marker indicates more than two persons):

təkwtewakənəl təlmiptonēkəl / yet iyik / sistālən eyolhtīlit 'Her clothing she took with her there, to her sister's (place) where they (i.e. her sister and her family) were'.

If the AI conjunct is an object in the sentence and it depends on a transitive animate indicative verb, the AI conjunct is supplied with an extra obviative ending. The l in the complex lit is an obviative ending. The second l in the complex licil is a second obviative ending.(The t becomes a c before i.) E.g.

nəmiyāwal weckowi-nāhtəkāməlicil 'They saw her coming, swimming to the shore'.

ən-yakw welākwiwik-yakw / tēhpo-yakw notowāwal / ali-məte-wiwnōhsēlicil / iyik / kwəcəmiw 'And then, in the evening, they heard him while he was going around there, outside '.

If also the other third person involved is plural, the AI conjunct with plural obviative ending will have the suffix complex -olhtici, that is the real plural marker olht, the AI third person conjunct marker following a theme vowel (i+t), but with a change t>c before another theme vowel i. After the second i at the end of the word follows the zero ending of the obviative plural :

nit iyey / psiw-te nihiht / nəhka-təmikwsa / yohōht iyi kewolhtici 'There, all of them, all, he cut their throats, (i.e. the throats) of those who were sleeping '.

Finally, I would like to thank the American Philosophical Society for supporting my project "Spoken Malecite". This paper contains the results of a part of my research on that topic.

Vowel + Nasal Consonant Sequences in Common Slavic

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In this paper the complex of historical sound changes applying to sequences of vowel + nasal consonant in Common Slavic is analyzed in order to establish the phonetic and phonemic processes involved in the changes and to determine their relative chronological sequence. For the purposes of this study Common Slavic is defined as that proto-language which resulted from the first sound change evidenced by the Slavic languages but not shared by all other Indo-European languages, together with all later stages of that proto-language needed to account for its development into the language attested in the earliest Slavic written monuments. This definition allows a measure of dialectal diversity in late Common Slavic, since such diversity is apparent in the earliest surviving Slavic texts.

Common Slavic inherited from Indo-European many words containing original vowel + nasal consonant (V+N) sequences. These examples may be identified by comparing Slavic evidence with that supplied by the other source languages for the reconstruction of Indo-European. The precise nature of the Common Slavic vowel in such examples of V+N se-

quences is not always determinable from this comparison, however, since the merger of IE *o and *a took place uniformly in Common Slavic, and the words affected by this change sometimes lack unambiguous correspondences in the other Indo-European languages (e.g. Russian gustoj 'dense').[1] In Indo-European, V+N sequences were formed mainly from combinations of *$\breve{\bar{e}}$, *$\breve{\bar{a}}$, and *$\breve{\bar{o}}$ in combination with *m or *n; high vowel nasal diphthongs appeared only exceptionally, as the result of nasal infixation in the present stems of some verbs and, perhaps, as ancient borrowings from unknown sources.[2] The high vowel nasal diphthongs found in Common Slavic, in addition to the sources just mentioned, arose also from the development of IE *m_{o} and *n_{o} into sequences of high vowel + nasal consonant.

Innovations within Common Slavic produced new V+N sequences not found in Indo-European. In addition to purely phonological processes (e.g. the loss of dental and labial stops before nasal consonants), morphological innovations based on the generalization of case markers (e.g. the formation of new instrumental plural desinences for singular and plural o-stems, as well as for singular $\bar{a}$-stem nouns) and of the nasal infix (e.g. the Common Slavic -nϱ- suffix in Leskien class II verbs, corresponding to IE *-neu-/*-nou-) also occurred. Moreover, borrowings from neighbouring languages at various stages in the development of Common Slavic supplied new V+N sequences whose subsequent treatment varied according to the time of borrowing.

In order to explain certain correspondences between reconstructed Indo-European desinences and those of the earliest Slavic attestations,

the following sound change might be formulated:

(1) $\breve{o} > \breve{u}$ / ___ N(C)#

Such a change would account for the accusative singular and genitive plural of o-stem nouns and the first person singular aorist, in which IE *-o-m corresponds to Old Church Slavonic (OCS) -ъ; in conjunction with a later change, it would produce OCS -y from IE *-o-n-s in the accusative plural of o-stem nouns (presumably *-o-n-s > *-u-n-s > *-$\underset{\varsigma}{u}$-s -$\underset{\varsigma}{u}$ > -y). The correspondence IE *-o-m with OCS -ъ may be found in the genitive plural desinences of all Common Slavic substantival declensional types.

Change (1) may be related to a number of other changes affecting the final syllable of the Common Slavic word: in the nominative singular of o-stem nouns IE *-o-s corresponds to OCS -ъ; thus we might posit a change of the form:

(2) $\breve{o} > \breve{u}$ / ___ s#

as a possible sound change. The nominative singular of masculine n-stem nouns (a subclass of the C-stem nouns) has IE *-$\bar{o}$n corresponding to OCS -y; if we assume a development *-$\bar{o}$n > *-$\bar{u}$n > *-$\underset{\varsigma}{\bar{u}}$ > -y, then we might posit

(3) $\bar{o} > \bar{u}$ / ___N#

In the accusative plural of ā-stem nouns, the correspondence of IE *-ānṣ with OCS -y requires further explanation. We may not posit

(4) $\bar{a} > \bar{u}$ / ___ N(C)#

since such a change would also affect the accusative singular of the

$\bar{a}$-stem and give IE *-$\bar{a}$-m > *-$\bar{u}$-m which, presumably, would undergo the same subsequent development as the nominative singular of the masculine n-stems, yielding OCS -y, rather than the attested OCS -ǫ. Two possible solutions suggest themselves: if this ending underwent a shortening so that *-$\bar{a}$ns > *-$\breve{a}$ns, then a change of the form

(5) $\breve{a} > \breve{u}$ / ___ N(C)#

when coupled with the subsequent development posited for the accusative plural of o-stem nouns, would yield the required results. The motivation for such an unusual shortening, however, would remain to be explained. A second possible solution would posit the change

(6) $\bar{a} > \bar{u}$ / ___ N s #

This rule, while less general than (5), is to be preferred, since it is motivated by observations of the vowel-nasalization process in contemporary Slavic languages. In Czech, for example, vowels are phonetically nasalized when they precede a nasal consonant before sibilants, affricates, labials, alveodentals and velars. Before the labials p and b the explosion which is the primary characteristic of occlusives is very much weakened and may be replaced by a secondary feature as a distinguishing characteristic of the nasal consonant: a pause before the explosion of the p or b. But before sibilants even this secondary distinguishing feature disappears, resulting in what is essentially a nasal vowel + sibilant sequence.[3] If this situation in Czech is taken as representative of the early stages of the nasalization process, it would appear that vowel nasalization and subsequent elision of the nasal consonant take place first before sibilants and labial stops.

The fact that these changes all affect only final syllable peaks (independent of whether or not the nasal is in absolute word final position), would suggest that the prosodic contour of the word, rather than just the effects of the word boundary, is one of the conditioning factors for the changes. Shevelov suggests that at the time (1) took place Common Slavic may have had a fixed stress which could fall on endings only in monosyllabics.[4] It is not necessary, however, to adopt Shevelov's view that there was a lack of continuity between the Indo-European and Common Slavic accentual systems in order to preserve our assumption that it was the prosodic contour of the word and not just the proximity of the word boundary which conditioned the changes described in (1) through (6). Rather, if we base our work within the framework developed by Dybo and Illič-Svityč, we find that no words were ever consistently stressed on the inflectional ending throughout the history of the development of the Indo-European system into the Common Slavic one if they were affected by the changes under discussion.

A word could have been accented on one of the endings affected by these changes only if it originally belonged to the class of Indo-European mobilia. Within this group of possible words, those with non-apophonic long root vowels (e.g. *dhūmás) became barytones in Slavic and are thus eliminated from consideration. The neuter mobilia with short root vowels did become oxytone, but they failed to undergo the described changes: Skt. andám corresponds to OCS jędro, not jędrъ. Indo-European mobilia with long apophonic root vowels remained mobile, but did not stress those

endings in which the described changes occurred (examples such as Old Russian accusative plural lugí are clearly much later developments: the CS form was lǫgy)[5]. And, finally, Indo-European mobilia with short root vowels never stress the endings which underwent the changes under discussion (e.g. CS bosŏs; compare CSR bós, bóso, bosá)[6]. It is possible, therefore, to postulate that the changes described began in the Indo-European barytone paradigm and spread to the mobile paradigm whenever that paradigm ceased to accent the endings involved.

(3) and (4) raise the question of the relative chronology of the raising of back vowels before nasals in final syllables, and the merger of IE *a and *o. There is no direct evidence that *a and *o were ever separate within Common Slavic: even the earliest borrowings into Slavic (from Gothic, probably dating before 375 A.D.[7]) and loans from Slavic into other languages are far too late to be helpful; they show that the Slavs did not differentiate *o and *a. The merger of *a and *o is posited to account for correspondences between Common Slavic and Indo-European. However, indirect evidence is supplied by the development of $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{a}$ before word-final nasal consonants. The fact that $\bar{o}N\#>y$ whereas $\bar{a}N\#>ǫ$ would suggest that $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{a}$ were still distinct when these changes occurred. Since in Indo-European *a was a lower vowel than *o, it would seem reasonable to suppose that *o underwent early nasalization and raising but that *a underwent only nasalization, or perhaps nasalization and slight raising which might have contributed to the conditions for the merger of *o and *a.

The raising of back vowels before nasals is a fairly common phenomenon

in language: it is found later in the East Slavic languages with the change of CS ǫ to u, as well as in Haitian Creole and several other languages[8]. Change (2), however, does not seem to have a phonetic justification. We may note that after change (1) took place, the accusative singular of o-stems and u-stems became identical. This was the starting point of a long process which culminated in the merger of o-stem and u-stem nouns. Shevelov proposes a relatively late analogical change to account for the development of -o-s into -u: after change (1), the accusative singular of masculine o-stems and u-stems became identical; after the merger of *a and *o and the loss of word-final consonants (NB: the relative chronology of these changes remains unclear) the accusative singular masculine o-stem and u-stem, along with the nominative singular masculine u-stem had identical desinences, while the nominative singular masculine o-stem became identical with the nominative singular neuter o-stem (which, according to Shevelov, had been distinguishable from the masculine before the loss of word-final consonants: -o-m versus -o-d). In order to separate the masculine and neuter, the nominative u-stem desinence (which by this time was -u) was introduced into the o-stem paradigm, producing a symmetry in the relationship between the nominative and accusative desinences for the two declensional types.[9] This series of changes is posited to account for the relatively late merger of the two types: remnants of the u-stem as a separate declension exist even in OCS.[10]

This explanation seems reasonable in most respects. However, it

raises a question about the form of the neuter singular nominative o-stem desinence. The Indo-European desinence was *-o-m, but the reflex in OCS is -o. This implies that for some reason change (1) did not affect this desinence. The traditional explanation is to assume that the neuter o-stems acquired the pronominal ending -d (e.g. *tod > OCS to)[11]. This is not, however, the only possible explanation. Suppose, as was previously suggested, that change (1) took place only in unaccented final syllables. Then it would not affect those words which originally were IE neuter mobilia with short root vowels, for in such words the desinence in the nominative singular was always stressed throughout the history of the word. At this stage, presumably, there was an alternation in the desinence of neuter nominative singular o-stem nouns: accented endings retained the original form -o-m, while unaccented endings underwent (1) and became -u-m. This alternation was not very long-lived, since it meant that neuters with unaccented endings had the same form in the nominative singular as the masculines in the o-stem declension. Therefore the alternation was eliminated, by generalizing the gender-distinguishing desinence -o-m. With the loss of word-final consonants, the neuter desinence assumed its present form- One might expect that during the period preceding the generalization of the -o-m desinence there might be some tendency for neuters to become masculine or masculines to become neuter: it is possible that OCS <u>oblak</u> versus OR <u>oboloko</u> reflects such fluctuation. The scarcity of such examples

might be due to the short duration of the alternation, to the fact that masculine and neuter o-stems remained distinct in the nominative dual and plural, and to syntactic factors.

Thus we may conclude that the first changes affecting V+N sequences in Common Slavic occurred in the final syllable of the word. There are two distinct chronological layers involved: the boundary between them is defined by the merger of IE *a and *o into a single Common Slavic vowel, closer in quality to *a than to *o, which we shall designate â.

Reanalyzing (1) through (6), we find that the earliest sound change was conditioned by a nasal consonant in word-final position. Formally:

(7) $$\left.\begin{matrix} \breve{o} > \breve{u} \\ \bar{o} > \bar{u} \end{matrix}\right\} / \_\_ N\#$$

This change combines portions of (1) and (3), and is posited to explain the following correspondences between the reconstructed Indo-European desinences and those of the earliest attestations of Slavic: the accusative singular of o-stem nouns, the genitive plural of all Common Slavic substantival declensional types, and the first person singular aorist.

We know that this change occurred prior to the merger of IE *a and *o, because the reflexes of IE *a and *o in Common Slavic are different in the environment conditioning the change: the nominative singular of masculine n-stem nouns has IE *-ōn corresponding to OCS -y, whereas the accusative singular of ā-stem nouns has IE *-ā-m corresponding to OCS -ǫ.

The second layer of change may be expressed by the following formalization:

(8) $$\left.\begin{matrix} \breve{a} > \breve{u} \\ \bar{a} > \bar{u} \end{matrix}\right\} / \_\_ \text{ N s \#}$$

This change combines portions of (1) and (6), and is posited to explain the development of the accusative plural of o-stem and $\bar{a}$-stem nouns, as well as the nominative singular masculine of the present active participle.

Let us note here that fronting (umlaut, or the first delabialization, as Shevelov terms it) takes place after (7) but before (8). Let us examine the effect of this supposition on the problem areas discussed by Shevelov in his article "On Endings with Nasal Consonants after Palatal and Palatalized Consonants":

A. accusative singular of $j\bar{a}$-stems

B. accusative plural of jo-stems

C. accusative plural of $j\bar{a}$-stems

D. first person singular of Leskien class III verbs

E. first person singular of Leskien class IV verbs

F. third person plural of Leskien class III verbs

G. nominative singular masculine and neuter present active participle of class III verbs.[12]

In cases B, C, and G we are dealing with desinences which undergo change (8), while in cases A, D, and E the desinences undergo change (7). If fronting were to apply only to those cases which later underwent change

(8), these problem spots would become the results of regular phonetic laws. The solution we propose is this: fronting applies only to non-nasalized vowels, and occurs after the merger of IE *a and *o. The situation may be presented by the following series of rules:

(9) $\left.\begin{matrix} \breve{o} > \breve{u} \\ \bar{o} > \bar{u} \end{matrix}\right\} / \_\_ N\#$

(10) $\bar{a} > \bar{o} \ / \_\_ N\#$

(11) $V > [+\text{nasal}] \ / \_\_ N\#$

(12) $N > \emptyset \ / \_\_ \#$

We should note here that at this point the accusative singular of $\bar{a}$-stems is -ǫ, which must have differed phonemically from IE *a and *o, since it did not become â. The relative timing of the loss of the final nasal consonant is also open to question, and will be dealt with shortly in connection with compensatory lengthening.

(13) $\left.\begin{matrix} \breve{\bar{o}} \\ \breve{\bar{a}} \end{matrix}\right\} > \breve{\bar{a}}$

(14) $\breve{\bar{a}} > \breve{\bar{e}} \ / \ j \_\_$

(15) $\left.\begin{matrix} \breve{\bar{a}} > \breve{u} \\ \bar{\bar{a}} > \bar{u} \end{matrix}\right\} / \_\_ N\ s\#$

(16) $\breve{u} > \bar{u}$ / ___ N s #

(17) V > [+nasal] / ___ N s #

(18) N > ∅ / ___ s #

.
.
.

(19) s > ∅ / ___ #

At this point cases B, C, and G all have the desinence -ę (końę, čašę, and znaję respectively), while cases A, D, and E have the desinence -ǫ (čašǫ, znajǫ, and xoždǫ respectively). This leaves only case F to be explained by morphological levelling.

The first person singular present may show that change (9) belongs to the very earliest stages of Common Slavic development: the original Indo-European ending for the first person singular present tense was *-ō, so that change (9) must have already ceased to operate when Slavic changed this desinence to -ō-m, for otherwise the normal OCS first person singular present tense ending would have been *-y for class I verbs.

Change (16) assumes that u was compensatorily lengthened when N was elided before a consonant. In absolute word-final position this lengthening presumably did not occur when N was dropped. It is necessary to posit the elision of word-final N (12) as a change separate from the loss of N before word-final s (18) since otherwise the vowel in the accusative singular of ā-stem nouns would be only a positional variant of ō, occurring in the environment before a nasal; it would then undergo change

(13) (the merger of *a and *o) and, in the proper environment, the fronting change (14), giving rise to the non-attested form of the accusative singular *zemlję.

The nasality of the high vowel $\breve{\bar{u}}$ was a transitory feature which was quickly lost, yielding $\breve{u}$.

This analysis differs from traditional ones in three important aspects: it does not postulate that word-final nasals were lost only after short vowels, it posits the early development of a phonemically distinct nasal vowel in word-final position in the accusative singular of $\bar{a}$-stem nouns and in the first person singular of the present tense, and it requires the CS accentuation system to have been developed prior to the raising of pre-nasal vowels in unstressed final syllables. Thus nasal vowels did not arise in Common Slavic as the result of a single comprehensive sound change, but developed first at the end of the word.

The second major group of changes affecting V+N sequences in the Common Slavic period occurred independently of changes in the accentual system and was not confined to any particular syllable within the word. The end result of this group of changes was the elimination of nasal diphthongs from the language: V+N sequences in the environment before a consonant as functional diphthongs followed the general trend in Common Slavic towards monophthongization and gave rise to nasal vowels; in prevocalic position the V+N sequences were retained, but the syllable boundary was located in pre-nasal position, thus eliminating the diphthong.

Pre-consonantal position in this case does not include j. This is due to a change prior to the monophthongization of nasal diphthongs by which sequences of n+j are transformed into the palatal consonant ń. Since within Common Slavic the sequence n+j+C never occurred, ń does not participate in the monophthongization of nasal diphthongs.

Peculiarities may also be noted in the environment before another nasal consonant. In the case of -mn-, the m was generally dropped. Evidence for the cluster -nm- is limited to a single example: the development of the word 'imę' suggests that n was droped in this case. These changes probably occured fairly early, since they did not lead to the formation of nasal vowels, but there is nothing to preclude the assumption that they occurred at the same time as the formation of nasal vowels, with the environment for the development of nasal vowels limited to the position before non-nasal consonants. The case of geminated n is more complex. Before geminated n, e was in general lengthened when the first nasal was lost: and example of this would be OCS kamēnъ, meaning 'rocky', from the root kamen- plus the adjectival suffix -n-. Unfortunately the situation is obscured by the spread of the -en- form indicating 'made of'. Russian and Ukrainian forms in -an- appear to indicate that in East Slavic e was nasalized when the first nasal consonant was dropped, but it is possible that e became ē and was then nasalized secondarily. Shevelov and other scholars believe that -an- was originally used after j and hushers, then spread in the meaning 'made of a material'.[13]

Presumably nasalization and elision of nasal before a consonant produced four nasal vowels: the presence of $\underset{\smile}{i}$ distinct from $\underset{\smile}{e}$ is indicated by the reflexes of the first progressive palatalization, which took place after $\underset{\smile}{i}$ but not after $\underset{\smile}{e}$. This four-vowel situation did not last, however, and it seems most likely that the nasal high vowels, rather than losing their nasality, this time were lowered. Here we may recall that high nasal vowels are unstable since the articulation of a high vowel is incompatible with the lowered velum necessary for nasalization. Thus we come to the situation inherited by early East Slavic: two nasal vowels, one back and one front.

Summarizing these sound changes:

(20) $n > \acute{n} \; / \; \_\_\_ \; j$

(21) $j > \emptyset \; / \; \acute{n} \; \_\_\_$

(22) $m > \emptyset \; / \; \_\_\_ \; n$

(23) $n > \emptyset \; / \; \_\_\_ \; m$

(24) $e > \bar{e} \; / \; \_\_\_ \; nn$

(25) $n > \emptyset \; / \; \_\_\_ \; n$

(26) $V > [+\text{nasal}] \; / \; \_\_\_ \; NC$

(27) $N > \emptyset \; / \; \_\_\_ \; C$

(28) $\left.\begin{matrix} \underset{\smile}{i} \\ \underset{\smile}{u} \end{matrix}\right\} > [-\text{high}]$

NOTES

[1] Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic, p. 315, and Fasmer, Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka, volume I, p. 478.

[2] Meillet, Le Slave Commun, p. 64. Of course, if, as Meillet writes, "Il faut aussi tenir compte d'emprunts anciens à des langues inconnues", then we need to establish the characteristics of such unknown languages before we may assume Slavic borrowed words from them, and then the languages involved would no longer be unknown...

[3] Novotná, pp. 681-683.

[4] Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic, p. 156.

[5] Kolesov, p. 143.

[6] Kolesov, pp. 209-213; The Oxford Russian-English Dictionary, p. 39.

[7] Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic, p. 155.

[8] Ibid., p. 156.

[9] Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic p. 157.

[10] Lunt, Old Church Slavonic Grammar, pp. 46-47.

[11] Bräuer, Slavische Sprachwissenschaft, volume II, p. 63.

[12] Shevelov, "On Endings..." p. 51.

[13] Shevelov, A Prehistory of Slavic, p. 325.

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