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Vol. 11
1989

Revue de
l'**A**ssociation de
Linguistique des
Provinces
Atlantiques

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JOURNAL OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION
REVUE DE L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES

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JAPLA/RALPA is a publication of the APLA published
in a volume of one number in the spring of each year.

JAPLA/RALPA est une publication de l'ALPA qui paraît
une fois par an au printemps.

Subscriptions

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS / RÉMERCIEMENTS

We gratefully acknowledge
the financial assistance and
typing services provided by
Memorial University of
Newfoundland.

Nous sommes reconnaissants à
l'Université Memorial de
Terre-Neuve de son aide
financière, ainsi de nous
avoir permis de nous prévaloir
de son secrétariat.

We extend special thanks to our typists
Anne-Marie White and Denise Porter.

DEVIATION ET SIMPLIFICATION LINGUISTIQUE DANS LE FRANCAIS BRUXELLOIS

Terry J. Nadasdi
University of Windsor

RESUME

L'évolution d'une langue, surtout en région bilingue, s'explique souvent par des influences interlinguistiques. On trouve de telles explications dans Le Français de Bruxelles de Hugo Baetens Beardsmore. Toutefois, nous estimons que bien des écarts que l'on trouve à Bruxelles sont plutôt le résultat d'une simplification linguistique. Dans cet article, nous reprenons plusieurs catégories où Baetens Beardsmore postule des influences externes et proposons à leur place des explications qui favorisent des facteurs internes à la langue française elle-même.

1. Introduction

Le dialecte français que l'on parle à Bruxelles connaît bien des emplois qui l'écartent du français standard. Hugo Baetens Beardsmore, auteur de Le Français de Bruxelles, attribue bon nombre de ces anomalies à des facteurs externes, c'est-à-dire, à l'influence du flamand. Signalons que cet article ne se donne pas pour but la critique de ce livre méritoire auquel nous ferons souvent référence. Nous voulons souligner plutôt le fait que bien des divergences dialectales se produisent indépendamment des facteurs externes. Il s'agit dans de nombreux cas d'une simplification linguistique de la part des locuteurs, ces derniers voulant réduire la tâche langagière sans que cela entraîne des changements fonctionnels. Ainsi, on trouve souvent dans le langage populaire l'élimination des exceptions, la régularisation des paradigmes et la conformité des catégories marquées avec les catégories non marquées correspondantes. Afin de mettre en cause l'hypothèse de l'influence externe, nous démontrerons que les mêmes types d'écarts attribués au contact du français bruxellois avec le flamand existent dans l'ancien français ainsi que dans d'autres dialectes du français contemporain. Nous examinerons aussi, à cette même fin, d'autres dialectes français afin de voir si elles ont connu la même évolution qu'a subie le français de Bruxelles. Nous croyons que ces analogies nous permettront de démontrer les faiblesses de l'explication externe.

Donnons d'abord quelques précisions sur la nature de la simplification linguistique d'un dialecte. Ce phénomène existe depuis toujours dans la langue française. On en trouve de multiples exemples à travers les diverses étapes qui séparent le français du latin vulgaire. Par exemple, Caput (1972:67) note qu'en ancien français 'un effort de régularisation des conjugaisons verbales, à toutes leurs formes, tend vers un modèle unique - parallèlement au développement systématique des formes composées et surcomposées.' C'est cette tendance vers la simplification qui a facilité la chute du genre neutre et la quasi-disparition du passé simple dans la langue parlée contemporaine.

Dans cette simplification on distingue notamment le caractère économique de la langue. Avant de parler d'influence externe, il faut considérer le fait qu'une langue et très particulièrement un dialecte oral tend à être aussi économique que possible (cf. Martinet 1964). C'est-à-dire que les interlocuteurs transmettent leur message en faisant le moindre effort possible; ils peuvent omettre certains éléments du message si, ainsi faisant, ils ne changent pas son sens. Martinet (1964:94) explique l'importance de l'aspect économique d'une langue en disant:

L'évolution linguistique en général peut être conçue comme régie par l'antinomie permanente des besoins communicatifs et expressifs de l'homme et de sa tendance à réduire au minimum son activité mentale et physique.

C'est surtout dans le domaine de la phonétique que l'on trouve des explications issues des théories de l'économie linguistique. Toutefois, nous estimons cette théorie pertinente pour expliquer les changements dans d'autres catégories.

2. Les adjectifs possessifs

Examinons d'abord le chapitre dans lequel Baetens Beardsmore décrit la syntaxe et la morphologie du français bruxellois. Dans ce chapitre, l'auteur (1929:139) note un emploi curieux des adjectifs possessifs, lequel il attribue à l'influence du flamand:

Pourtant, la régularité de ces constructions à Bruxelles et leur répartition marquée dans le nord du domaine français, posent le problème d'une possible interférence inter-linguistique.

Ou encore:

En flamand, l'emploi de l'adjectif possessif dans les conditions dont nous venons de parler est tout à fait régulier; de ce fait, l'usage flamand peut influencer l'emploi pléonastique des possessifs dans le français parlé du Bruxellois.

Et finalement (1929:140):

A Bruxelles ... ces emplois pléonastiques sont presque la règle dans le parler populaire, ce qui permet de croire à une influence beaucoup plus forte que les facteurs internes.

L'auteur donne les exemples suivants pour soutenir son argument (1929:140):

elle me frotte mon dos - elle me frotte le dos
elle a mal à son foie - elle a mal au foie

En examinant d'autres dialectes, on constate que le français de Bruxelles n'est pas le seul à manifester de tels traits grammaticaux qui ne correspondent pas à ceux du français normatif. Par exemple, Hull (1955:56) nous signale que dans le français du sud de l'Ontario, 'the possessives may be used in cases where they would be avoided in standard French, as with parts of the body.'

Dans une école en Gaspésie, au Québec, on a noté sur une pancarte d'instruction la phrase Je brosse mes dents tous les jours. Si une telle phrase se trouve dans une institution d'enseignement, il semble plausible que la fréquence de cette tournure en Gaspésie ne soit pas moins élevée qu'à Bruxelles.

Certains dialectes de France se servent également du pronom possessif avec les noms des membres du corps. Par exemple, dans le patois boulonnais on constate que 'Le possessif s'emploie devant les parties du corps: / y a du màa a s teèt/, /Je lavé me moë .../' (Haigneré 1969:37). En gascon, qui n'est pas un dialecte français mais plutôt un registre du provençal, on trouve encore l'adjectif possessif devant les noms indiquant les parties du corps:

Le gascon ne remplace pas l'adjectif possessif par l'article, lorsqu'il s'agit d'une chose inséparable de la personne. Ainsi, tandis que le français dit: il m'a fait mal au pied, on dira en gascon: qué m'a heyt maw awmé pè (Lanusse 1956:387).

Baetens Beardsmore prend bien soin de dire qu'un tel phénomène aurait pu se produire sans l'influence flamande. Mais ce qui l'incite à soupçonner une influence externe est que même si d'autres variétés du français connaissent ce phénomène, leur taux de fréquence n'est pas aussi élevé que celui que l'on trouve à Bruxelles. Toutefois, le fait que ce phénomène soit plus répandu dans une région que dans une autre ne suffit pas pour l'attribuer à une influence externe. Il est peu étonnant qu'un dialecte évolue plus vite ou différemment qu'un autre. Il est peu probable que les facteurs internes produisent simultanément les mêmes types de changements dans toute la francophonie; on n'a qu'à considérer les énormes différences, au niveau de la prononciation, du lexique et de la syntaxe, qui existent entre les divers dialectes français à travers le monde.

L'emploi de l'adjectif possessif à Bruxelles est analogue à certains usages en ancien français. Par exemple, Darmesteter (1890:401) nous note que:

On supprime l'adjectif possessif dans la langue actuelle quand l'idée possessive est déjà clairement exprimée: il s'est coupé le doigt. Au XVII^e siècle encore, comme dans l'ancienne langue, on n'hésitait pas à employer dans ce cas l'adjectif possessif; mais il est à remarquer que le verbe pronominal était alors remplacé par un verbe simple: il frotte ses mains ... une feuille de laurier dans sa bouche ...

Le langage populaire du siècle présent en France connaît exactement le même emploi que l'on trouve à Bruxelles, c'est-à-dire qu'en langue populaire, on dit: tu lui a fait mal à son épaule, tu me tires mes cheveux, il lui a marché sur ses pieds (Bauche 1928:99). Il nous semble probable que l'exemple cité par Baetens Beardsmore, soit elle me frotte mon dos, constitue une mise en relief de la phrase de base elle frotte mon dos.

En décrivant l'emploi des adjectifs possessifs à Bruxelles, Baetens Beardsmore (1929:140) cite la phrase suivante:

il lave ses mains - il se lave les mains.

Dans cet exemple, il est possible que le caractère économique de la langue soit responsable. Il est peu étonnant que les Français bruxellois emploient le pronom possessif pour remplacer la formule 'pronom réfléchi + article défini,' qui est plus complexe. Il est vrai que la longueur d'une phrase ne reflète pas toujours l'effort nécessaire pour la produire. Martinet (1969:195) nous indique cela en disant que:

Il est probablement plus facile d'exprimer deux fois le même signifié (monter en haut ou ma soeur elle est partie) plutôt que d'ordonner ses énoncés de telle manière qu'il n'y ait jamais de répétition.

Toutefois, en ce qui concerne les deux phrases citées ci-dessus, la forme française, il se lave les mains, n'est pas plus réductrice que celle des Bruxellois il lave ses mains. La seule différence est que la phrase du français standard contient plus de formes et plus de syllabes. Donc, il est fort vraisemblable que ce sont plutôt des forces internes de la langue française qui sont responsables de cette simplification.

3. Les pronoms personnels

Un autre domaine où l'auteur postule une influence externe est celui du genre des pronoms personnels (Baetens Beardsmore 1929:149, 150):

... le français bruxellois tend à réduire la distinction entre il/elle, ils/elles ... dans le parler des bilingues, il n'est pas exclu que le flamand ait une influence additionnelle sur cette tendance.
e.g. Quand ils (les femmes) me disent quelque chose...

En considérant les autres variétés de français, on constate que ce phénomène n'est pas unique au français de Bruxelles. Bauche (1928:109) note le même emploi dans le français populaire de France, par exemple, 'les vieilles femmes, ils sont (ou il est) toujours à causer.' On trouve ce même phénomène dans le français de l'Ile-aux-Coudres. Dans sa grammaire de ce dialecte, Seuten (1975:177) remarque '... elle(s) forme marquée de il(s).'

Starets (1986:530, 532) note en acadien l'emploi d'une seule forme pour les deux genres:

'i' /i/ pronom personnel sujet, féminin, 3^e personne /'elle,' /l/, pronom personnel. sujet, féminin, 3^e personne:

Une waterfall (...) i est bout rinque
deux pieds de haute.
(Une chute d'eau (...) elle est

haute d'à peu près seulement deux
pieds.)

'i' /i/, pronom personnel, sujet, féminin, 6^e
personne /'elles' /l/, pronom personnel sujet,
féminin, 6^e personne (c-à-d 3^e personne du
pluriel):

(L)eurs mères, i travaillant à la
Brownie. (Leurs mères elles
travaillent aux Jeannettes.)

Le manque de distinction entre le masculin et le féminin est
très répandu dans certaines régions de l'Amérique du Nord. Dans
leur grammaire du français de la Louisiane, Conwell et Juilland
(1963:145, 167) notent que:

Gender distinctions appear to be almost
completely lost in the plural paradigm, e.g.,
/elles/ voulaient être cuisinières /ivule et
kɥizinjer/.

Ce syncrétisme ne se limite pas aux régions où le français
entre en contact avec une langue non romane. Certains dialectes
de France ont la même forme pronominale pour les deux genres. Par
exemple, dans le dialecte français de Valromy on trouve la phrase
suivante: les vaches, ils mangent (Ahlborn 1946:122). Dans le
français du pays Blaisois, on trouve parfois la même forme pour le
masculin et le féminin de la troisième personne du pluriel: 'la
forme *il* peut exprimer le masculin et le féminin lorsqu'elle est
suivie d'une voyelle' (Thibault 1970:9). Le parler de Bournois
connaît aussi un tel syncrétisme:

Les pronoms 'elle,' 'elles,' sujets, s'élident
presque totalement et se réduisent à 'l': l'ost
malate, elle est malade ... il en est de même
de 'il' devant une voyelle: l'ai meuri, il est
mort (Roussey 1894:46).

Certains chercheurs attribuent cette absence de distinction à un
syncrétisme par analogie basé sur le modèle de l'article défini
pluriel qui n'indique pas le genre (cf. Cassano 1978:159).

L'ancien français connaissait également des confusions entre
la forme masculine et la forme féminine. Par exemple, dans son
livre sur l'évolution de la langue française, Pope (1934:324) note
que

In the course of the thirteenth century 'lui' was often reduced to 'li,' and consequently the masculine and feminine forms were confused.

D'autres langues romanes connaissent aussi des usages non standard des pronoms personnels. Par exemple, en décrivant l'espagnol de Pasiega, Penny (1964:156) affirme:

En el dativo el masculino singular es siempre /lə/, pero en el femenino hay cierta confusión. Por un lado se dice: /alamáðrənoləðjéinlimózé/ 'no le dieron ...'

Donc, le fait qu'une telle confusion puisse exister dans une autre langue romane démontre que toute langue de ce même groupe est susceptible de connaître la même confusion.

Dans Le français populaire de Guiraud, on trouve encore des exemples où un pronom masculin remplace un pronom féminin, par exemple, ma soeur il chante (Guiraud 1969:40). Dans cet exemple, on a affaire à une forme marquée, le féminin, qui cède sa place à une forme non marquée, le masculin, ce dernier étant le genre dominant. Dans le cas des pronoms personnels, il s'agit d'un emploi existant à un certain niveau de langue, soit populaire, où les locuteurs ne ressentent pas le besoin de nuancer entre les deux genres. Cela est peu étonnant si l'on considère le fait que les pronoms nous et vous n'ont qu'une forme pour les deux genres. L'emploi d'une seule forme pronominale pour les deux genres au singulier ainsi qu'au pluriel peut aussi s'expliquer par le caractère économique de la langue, a fortiori que le contexte écarte normalement toute possibilité d'ambiguïté.

4. Le genre des noms

Baetens Beardsmore attribue aussi à l'influence du flamand le fait que le genre de certains substantifs en français bruxellois diffère de celui des genres correspondants du français standard. Il explique cela ainsi (1929:112):

On pourrait peut-être expliquer ces différences par une des raisons précitées et qui semblent gouverner tous les français populaires. Mais étant donné que ce changement de genre s'opère dans des cas où cela ne se produit pas en France, on peut également supposer que le degré de francisation du témoin joue un rôle dans la confusion des genres.

Ou encore,

Chez les Bruxellois autochtones qui manient le français sans difficulté, les confusions de genre sont rares, mais pas tout à fait absentes. On peut rencontrer des exemples de 'photo' ou 'forêt' au masculin. e.g. 'Tu veux un photo.' Dans cet exemple, le genre aurait pu être influencé par une interférence interlinguistique, puisque le flamand brabançon dirait /ø̃n fɔ̃tɔ̃/.

Il nous semble tout à fait normal qu'un mot qui se termine par le phonème /o/ soit considéré comme étant masculin, car plus de 95% des substantifs dont le phonème final est /o/ sont du masculin (Juilland 1965:251-264). De plus, le e muet du mot photographie, qui indique normalement un mot féminin, n'est plus présent. On voit un cas analogue dans l'exemple d' auto/automobile, auto connaissant également le genre masculin dans bien des dialectes. Il nous semble également normal que le mot forêt soit considéré comme masculin, la grande majorité des mots terminant par /ɛ/ étant aussi du masculin (Juilland 1965: 145-153).

Dans beaucoup de régions de la francophonie, on constate que le genre des substantifs varie souvent. Par exemple, en acadien on trouve:

Nombre de noms en français acadien se distinguent de leurs équivalents en français standard par le genre grammatical ... 'auto' ... 'endroit' ... 'grange' ... 'période'... 'personne' ... 'poison' ... 'serpent'(...) (Starets 1986:499-502).

Certains dialectes de France comprennent beaucoup de mots dont le genre ne correspond pas à celui du français normatif. Par exemple, dans le patois boulonnais, boutique, dent, faim, idée, fatigue, prison et règle sont masculins alors que argent, éclair, orage et foudre sont féminins (Haigneré 1969:27). Il est à noter que même les mots qui commencent par une consonne, par opposition à ceux qui commencent par une voyelle dont l'article n'indique donc pas le genre, sont susceptibles de changer de genre. En parlant des mots commençant par une voyelle qui ont subi un changement de genre, Guiraud (1969:31-32) dit:

en l'absence d'explication de ce phénomène, j'en verrais volontiers l'origine dans une prononciation archaïque qui dénasalise l'article un, lorsque l'u se trouve placé entre deux voyelles, et donc devant un mot à initiale

vocalique; d'où l'opposition un lainage (avec u dénasalisé), et un orage (avec u oral + n) prononcé comme une orange. Cette tendance à féminiser les mots à initiale vocalique peut même atteindre des paroxytons et on rencontre une opéra, de la belle argent.

Parmi les autres dialectes français qui comprennent des mots dont le genre diffère de leurs correspondants du français normatif sont le meusien (Labourasse 1970:41), le bournois (Roussey 1894:41), le normand (Moisy 1969:53) et le français de Pléchâtel (Dottin et Langouët 1970:118). Il est probable qu'un bon nombre d'autres dialectes comprend des écarts de genre par rapport au français normatif.

Même ceux qui parlent le français dit 'normatif' donnent à certains mots un genre contraire à celui que l'on trouve dans les dictionnaires. Ceci se vérifie lorsqu'on consulte une grammaire prescriptive telle que Ne dites pas ... Mais dites dans laquelle l'auteur signale un bon nombre d'anomalies de genre qui sont bien répandues:

e.g. 'une éclair sinueuse' ... 'de belles légumes' ... (Le Gal 1966:54,87).

On peut conclure que les divergences de genre sont très répandues en France. Signalons que c'est plutôt dans le français populaire que l'on les trouve.

D'après Ahlborn (1946:18), les variations de genre remontent jusqu'à l'époque du latin vulgaire:

Si l'on se rappelle d'autre part que le patois est souvent resté fidèle au genre étymologique, alors que le français l'a modifié ('aigle,' 'ongle'), que pour beaucoup de mots le français a longtemps hésité entre les deux genres ('horloge,' 'orge,' 'affaire') et que ce flottement remonte souvent au latin vulgaire ('sel,' 'serpent,' 'lièvre,' 'dimanche,' 'sable'), on comprendra mieux les nombreuses divergences de genre qu'on constate entre les mots patois et les formes françaises correspondantes.

La vacillation en genre a été constatée par Pope (1934:305) dans le français de différentes époques:

... in Old French the traditionally feminine words espie, ost, pape, profete, prison were often made masculine; in Middle French personne and rien began to assume masculine gender under the influence of their meaning; affaire, alarme, eschange, prestige, were sometimes made feminine under the influence of their terminations and frisson, poison, soupçon masculine.

Le problème de genre ne se limite pas aux diverses variétés de français. L'espagnol connaît le même phénomène. Uridales (1965:159) l'a remarqué dans l'espagnol de Villacidayo:

Hay algunos sustantivos que tienen distinto género que en el español actual. Se oyen en masculino: el corriente ... color se oía antes en femenino.

L'espagnol de Pasiëga offre encore des exemples de divergences de genre: 'In cuanto al género de varios sustantivos, hay discrepancia entre el habla de los Montes de Pas y la lengua oficial' (Penny 1964:97).

La raison pour laquelle Baetens Beardsmore postule une influence flamande sur le genre est que les exemples de divergences qu'il a trouvés à Bruxelles ne se trouvent nulle part en France. Mais ce critère semble peu probant. On vient de constater que le genre en français est peu stable. Alors il nous semble donc permis de suggérer que même si le français de Bruxelles n'était pas en contact avec le flamand, de telles vacillations de genre auraient pu se produire.

5. La diphtongaison

Un autre domaine où Baetens Beardsmore suggère l'influence flamande est celui des diphtongues. Le premier exemple qu'il nous cite (1929:61) concerne le [i] court:

vie /vi:/	vie /vi/
(français de Bruxelles)	(français normatif)

Cet allongement conduit par la suite, surtout parmi le peuple, à diphtonguer en position finale ouverte.

L'auteur est convaincu qu'un tel phénomène ne peut être que le résultat d'une influence externe:

La diphtongaison est sans aucun doute due à l'influence du substrat flamand, car les voyelles du flamand local sont souvent diphtonguées d'une façon très prononcée.

Pour soutenir son argument Baetens Beardsmore (1929:61) donne l'exemple suivant:

/e a pari^j ty tɛ fɛ pa ãgɔle^j/
Et à Paris, tu te fais pas engueuler?

Toutefois, le français de Bruxelles n'est pas la seule variété de français qui connaisse une diphtongaison très prononcée. On trouve ce même phénomène dans le français de Windsor, Ontario. D'après Hull (1955:34),

When long, the mid vowels vary considerably in sound, /e:/ is pronounced /è:/, /é:/, /èj/, /éj /, or /aj/, depending in part, on the amount of stress ... the nasal vowels are long in all positions, tending to dipthongize even when unstressed or in absolute final.

Donc, certaines diphtongues du français de Windsor se réalisent dans exactement le même environnement que décrit Baetens Beardsmore, c'est-à-dire, en position finale.

Dans une étude de la phonologie du français canadien, Léon (1968:66) nous fournit encore des exemples de diphtongaison dans les environnements semblables à ceux que décrit Baetens Beardsmore, par exemple, /ɛɪ/ ... en syllabe ouverte accentuée. Le français acadien connaît aussi la diphtongaison dû à un accent prononcé. Dans une étude de ce dialecte on a noté quelques cas de diphtongaison résultant de la fracture des voyelles nasales accentuées, en syllabe ouverte (Lucci 1972:71).

Il n'est pas surprenant que les voyelles aiguës se diphtonguent en français bruxellois. Walker (1984:67) nous rappelle que cette tendance est tout à fait normale dans le français canadien. A cet égard, l'auteur nous cite les exemples suivants: i - Ij, ü - Üq, u - Uw, e - ej.

Gendron (1966:61) nous signale que la diphtongue /ej/ se trouve partout au Québec et au Nouveau Brunswick. L'auteur considère la possibilité d'une influence de l'anglais, mais il affirme que la tendance à diphtonguer existe bel et bien dans le parler canadien lui-même, dans des régions rurales éloignées de la frontière linguistique et où l'influence de l'adstrat anglo-américain est

totalement exclue. L'auteur nous signale qu'il s'agit d'une prononciation ancienne, devenue vulgaire et laissée au peuple par la 'bonne' société qui ne l'accepte plus. La diphtongaison est donc en même temps un phénomène linguistique et un phénomène social.

Baetens Beardsmore (1929:76) croit que la diphtongaison du français bruxellois est surtout dû à l'accent tonique marqué du flamand:

Les voyelles ont une tendance à être allongées sous l'effet de l'accent tonique plus marqué qu'en France, probablement dû au substrat flamand.

Il est à noter qu'un bon nombre des diphtongues que cite l'auteur se réalisent à la fin d'un groupe rythmique ou à la dernière syllabe d'un mot isolé, c'est-à-dire l'endroit où se réalise l'accent tonique du français normatif:

e.g. /e a pari^j ty tɛ fɛ pa ɔ̃gɔle^j/
Et à Paris, tu te fais pas engueuler? (1929:61)

/a wi^j sɛ sɔ̃ de faʁɔ^j pur lɛ fœ^j/
Ah oui, ce sont des fagots pour le feu (1929:73)

/pa pur lɛ metje^j mɛ pur le bɔ̃ɪnz adres/
Pas pour le métier, mais pour les bonnes adresses (1929:71)

Si l'accent flamand, qui tombe sur le radical du mot, était complètement responsable de la diphtongaison en français bruxellois, pourquoi est-ce qu'un si grand nombre de ces diphtongues se trouve sur le dernier mot d'un groupe rythmique? Encore ici, il semble très plausible que les facteurs internes de la langue française jouent un rôle important dans la diphtongaison du français bruxellois.

La langue française a toujours connu le phénomène de la diphtongaison. Il est vrai que le français dit 'standard' ne comprend pas de diphtongues. Néanmoins, certains linguistes sont de l'avis que les mots tels que paille /pa:j/ et maille /ma:j/ comprennent une diphtongue alors que d'autres disent qu'il s'agit d'une voyelle suivie d'une semi-voyelle dans deux syllabes distinctes (cf. Pottier 1973:110). De toute manière, ce phénomène est si répandu en France et ailleurs dans la francophonie qu'il est peu étonnant que le français bruxellois le connaisse aussi.

6. Le subjonctif

Un dernier phénomène attribué à la présence du flamand est l'emploi de l'indicatif là où le français normatif emploierait le subjonctif.

Du fait que le subjonctif soit exprimé par d'autres modes en flamand bruxellois, il est fort possible que le français des bilingues du peuple montre une tendance à éviter ce mode à cause d'une interférence interlinguistique ... Puisque ce sont plutôt les Flamands et les Bruxellois bilingues populaires qui tendent à remplacer le subjonctif, il est permis d'y voir au moins l'influence convergente du néerlandais ...

Pour appuyer cela Baetens Beardsmore (1929:179, 180) propose les exemples suivants:

Qu'il se met dans le fauteuil et qu'il nous foute la paix.

Je vais vous les emballer deux fois deux, pour que ça ne peut mal.

Et elle (la reine) était huit jours claquée avant que le public ne le sait.

Il faut noter d'abord que l'auteur ne précise pas ce qu'il entend par 'bilingue du peuple.' Alors, pour cette étude on considère qu'il veut dire tous les bilingues à Bruxelles, y compris ceux qui sont de langue maternelle française.

Les confusions entre le subjonctif et l'indicatif existent partout dans la francophonie. Cela est vrai pour la langue contemporaine aussi bien que pour la langue d'autrefois. Dans la ville de Windsor, Ontario, Hull (1955:58) a noté que 'the present subjunctive is subject to many irregularities.' Un autre dialecte canadien qui remplace le subjonctif par d'autres modes est celui de l'Ile-aux-Coudres où le subjonctif est souvent remplacé par le conditionnel (par exemple 'faudrait que je les ferais répéter,' cité par Seutin 1975:302).

Dans divers dialectes français on remplace le subjonctif par l'indicatif. Par exemple, dans leur étude sur le parler de Pléchâtel, Dottin et Langouët (1970:58) notent que 'le subjonctif est en voie de disparition. Le présent du subjonctif est souvent remplacé par le présent de l'indicatif.' Un autre exemple serait

le subjonctif du patois boulonnais qui se rapproche beaucoup de l'indicatif: 'le subjonctif présente la forme du présent de l'indicatif en ajoutant /ɛ/ à toutes les personnes' (Haigneré 1969:52). Dans le patois boulonnais, on trouve encore un écart du français normatif parce que dans ce dialecte, le verbe falloir au conditionnel appelle le conditionnel, non le subjonctif: / i foroa k j iroa / (il faudrait que j'aïlle) (Haigneré 1969:53).

Le français d'autrefois nous fournit également des exemples où l'on emploie l'indicatif au lieu du subjonctif. Par exemple, au dix-septième siècle on trouve des phrases telles que 'Le sang enivre le soldat, jusqu'à ce que ce Grand Prince calma les courages émus' (Brunot et Bruneau 1949:548). Caput (1972:67) constate également l'affaiblissement du subjonctif de l'ancien français. Il note que 'le conditionnel se développe aux dépens du subjonctif ... au lieu de "si le bailli fût ici, je m'en plaindisse à lui" on aura "si le bailli était ici, je m'en plaindrais à lui"'.

Il est évident que l'indicatif remplace souvent le subjonctif en France car les grammaires prescriptives traitent souvent de cette 'erreur.' Par exemple, dans La Grammaire des fautes de Frei on voit (1979:199) que

L'indicatif tend à triompher du subjonctif: Il
est pas là > Quoiqu'il est pas là; On ne sait
pas pourquoi > Sans qu'on sait pourquoi.

Guiraud (1969:23) confirme cette tendance en affirmant que 'les formes du subjonctif tendent à se confondre avec celles de l'indicatif.

Dans d'autres langues romanes on note que le subjonctif s'affaiblit. Par exemple, dans son étude sur le portugais brésilien, Thomas (1969:137) écrit : 'As in many other Western languages, there is a considerable tendency to reduce the application of the subjunctive, and it is less used in BF (brasileiro falado) than in the literary language.' Dans le dialecte espagnol de Pasiega, on voit encore un affaiblissement du subjonctif:

El imperfecto de subjuntivo en -se no se emplea
casi nunca. Aun el tiempo en -ra puede
sustituirse por el presente de subjuntivo ...
No existe el futuro de subjuntivo (Penny
1964:158).

On voit davantage de variation entre le subjonctif et l'indicatif dans l'espagnol de l'Amérique où l'on trouve 'las formas

del subjuntivo terminadas en "ra" con significación de tiempos del indicativo' (Blanch 1968:56).

De toute évidence, le subjonctif s'affaiblit en français ainsi que dans les autres langues romanes. Il s'agit plutôt d'un affaiblissement de l'emploi sémantique. Cela est probablement dû au fait que la proposition précédente exprime déjà la volition. Il se peut également que certains locuteurs ne distinguent pas entre l'indicatif et le présent du subjonctif à cause du fait que bon nombre de verbes, surtout ceux qui se terminent en er, ont la même forme pour ces deux modes, par exemple, je chante/que je chante, elle mange/qu'elle mange etc. Cette explication nous semble encore plus probable si l'on considère le fait que Beatens Beardsmore ne cite pas d'exemple avec la première personne du pluriel, c'est-à-dire, là où les verbes en er distinguent toujours entre le subjonctif et l'indicatif, par exemple, nous mangeons, que nous mangions, nous apprécions/que nous apprécions etc. Vu que l'affaiblissement du subjonctif est si répandu, il est tout à fait normal que le français de Bruxelles connaisse ce phénomène sans influence externe.

7. Conclusion

Disons, pour conclure, que la simplification linguistique à Bruxelles nous semble tout à fait normale. Toute langue peut évoluer et changer sans influence externe. Il existe un rapport direct entre cette évolution et la tendance à réduire la tâche du locuteur. Signalons que cette tendance se manifeste surtout dans le langage non soutenu. Il est également à noter que les modifications qui en résultent n'entraînent pas de changements de sens et ne causent aucune ambiguïté. On trouve aussi des divergences dialectales qui ne sont pas issues de l'aspect économique de la langue, mais qui proviennent d'autres facteurs internes. Nous avons essayé de relever certains de ces éléments. Tout de même, nous ne prétendons pas pouvoir en dresser une liste exhaustive et définitive. Pour le moment il faudrait se contenter de simples hypothèses. Toutefois, il nous semble évident que dans les catégories traitées ci-dessus, l'explication par l'influence externe est peu justifiée. Avant de considérer la possibilité d'une influence externe, il faut passer à l'examen minutieux d'autres dialectes, pour savoir s'ils connaissent les mêmes anomalies dites issues d'influences externes.

REMERCIEMENTS

Je voudrais exprimer ma gratitude à M. Paul V. Cassano et à M. Moshe Starets qui m'ont si aimablement fait part de leurs remarques et dont les suggestions m'ont été précieuses pour améliorer le fond et la forme de cet article. Je tiens aussi à remercier les deux appréciateurs anonymes de la revue.

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CONNECTIVES AS BOTH SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC LINKS IN CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES

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ABSTRACT

Children's (3 to 9 years old) use of the connectives so, because, and but during conversational narration was assessed. The function of each of these connectives for pragmatic versus semantic purposes was studied, and it was found that all are used to fulfill both roles. Specifically, the following pragmatic functions were revealed: (a) to mark the beginning of a narrative or component episode, (b) to change the focus from event recapitulation to listener-directed contextual remarks and vice versa, (c) to indicate that strict temporal succession is violated, and (d) to mark a narrative conclusion. Children show competence in using connectives pragmatically to regulate narrator-listener interaction and to move among the different levels of discourse that are found in conversational narration.

1. Introduction

A common approach to the study of connectives is a description of the meaning relationships that occur between connected clauses. A large body of research has studied children's production and comprehension of these semantic links between propositions, and explorations of children's acquisition have focused on how and when children understand that, for example, because and so assert causality, but requires antithesis, then entails temporal succession, and implies addition, and so on.

A problem with this approach has emerged, however. In spontaneous discourse, connectives sometimes serve pragmatic functions that are quite different from semantic ones (Eisenberg 1980, Gallagher & Craig 1987, Jisa 1987, Scott 1984, van Dijk 1979, 1981). van Dijk (1979:447) has contrasted these two functions of connectives in the following way: 'Whereas semantic connectives express relations between denoted facts, pragmatic connectives express relations between speech acts.'

Investigations of pragmatic use have focused on dialogue and the ways that individuals link their speech acts with those of their conversational partner. Children as well as adults use connectives as inter-speaker links; for example, Gallagher and Craig (1987) and Scott (1984) both found that connectives were consistently used pragmatically to link discourse across speakers in contexts that were socially demanding. These pragmatic connectives primarily expressed addition or contrast, and Gallagher and Craig further noted that they were most common when children were specifying play roles or personal identity.

None of the above studies has focused on pragmatic use of connectives in roles other than linkage between speaker turns. Of current concern is the question of how connectives are used for both semantic and pragmatic roles within extended child speech about a single topic, namely narratives about personal experience. In previous research, both semantic and pragmatic roles for the connective and have been investigated (Peterson & McCabe 1987, in press). When children of age 3 to 9 narrate, they frequently connect sentences with and when a range of semantic functions are involved, including causality, temporal succession, enablement, coordination and antithesis (Peterson & McCabe 1987). Early predictions suggested that although and would be used for a wide range of meanings by young children, older children should increasingly express causality by means of a causal connective such as so or because, temporal succession by a temporal connective like then, and antithesis by but. Thus, and should be increasingly reserved for coordination. However, use of and to express all of the above semantic functions was just as true for older children as it was for younger. Pragmatic roles for and were also investigated, and it was found that and is more commonly used when the child is producing thematically related speech and is associated with longer conversational turns (Peterson & McCabe in press). Thus, and seems to function as a generalized signal of cohesion between sentences in narratives.

Other connectives besides and are heavily used by children while narrating; the present research explores use of the causal connectives so and because and the adversative connective but within conversational narratives. Brown (1973) suggested that a major accomplishment of language acquisition is the ability of children to talk about the there-and-then, rather than exclusively about the here-and-now. Intra-conversational narratives provide an excellent corpus of such displaced conversation since events being described necessarily happened at another time and generally in another place. Narratives also involve extended turns at talk for the narrator, so that one can study the sorts of inter-sentential links that the speaker makes between related discourse sentences. Earlier research has convincingly demonstrated that children master appropriate semantic usage of many connectives (including the ones

studied here) by the preschool years (Bloom, Lahey, Hood, Lifter & Fiess 1980, Clancy, Jacobsen & Silva 1976, Eisenberg 1980, French & Nelson 1985, Hood, Lahey, Lifter & Bloom 1978), but it is unclear to what extent children understand the pragmatic roles that connectives can play within narration.

In the present research, both pragmatic and semantic usage of connectives are compared in the same narratives at a number of different ages, to assess whether competent use of connectives for semantic purposes precedes appropriate pragmatic use or whether both types of use emerge simultaneously. No hypothesis could be proposed since this question has not yet been addressed in other research. Further, descriptive categories are developed for the pragmatic roles connectives play within children's narration.

2. Structure of Narratives

In order to assess children's pragmatic use of connectives, one must first understand the structural properties of conversational narratives. During narration, the narrator must hold the floor; standard conversational turn-taking does not apply and interruptions by the listener are generally confined to indications of interest, encouragement to continue, repetitions of immediately preceding words or sentences to assure proper comprehension, and prompts for specific information that has been left out. It is thus necessary for the listener to know both when a narrative begins and when it ends.

The most basic requirement of the narrative itself is a chronological recounting of the successive events (the event-line or the timeline of a narrative) that comprise the reported personal experience (Labov and Waletzky 1967, Peterson and McCabe 1983). Few narratives, however, are this stark; most have various elaborations. Some have an abstract at the beginning of the narrative that summarizes or formally introduces the narrative, and usually the narrator departs from the timeline to insert various details of orientative information at various points in the narrative, particularly at the beginning. At times the narrator departs from the timeline for other reasons: to insert an attention-getter, to correct or reiterate a prior statement, to ask for specific information from the listener, etc. As well, more complex narratives may consist of a series of related episodes (Mandler & Johnson 1977, Peterson & McCabe 1983, Stein & Glenn 1979). For these, the narrator describes the tightly-related events of the first episode, then often indicates a break or a passage of time before recounting the next series of events that comprise episode 2, and so on. Appended to the end of a narrative is often a formal ending of some kind: a summary, an evaluation of the

narrated events, or a coda that returns the listener to the present time.

Within a conversational narrative, many of the events are semantically linked by means of causality, temporal sequence, contrast, addition, or other traditional relationship of various connectives. These links, to use van Dijk's terminology, are between denoted facts; using a semantically matched connective is the appropriate syntactic mechanism for specifying the type of semantic relationship that exists between propositions. In addition, connectives may be used to regulate the discourse as a whole; connectives that are used for these purposes serve pragmatic functions of relating speech acts. In narration, at least five general types of pragmatic functions are important: (a) beginnings, i.e., initiation of the narrative as a whole or a component part; (b) change of focus from event recapitulation to embedding context or listener-monitoring and vice versa, i.e., a departure from or return to the timeline; (c) violation of the strict event chronology that listeners expect; (d) endings, i.e., termination of the events of the narrative; (e) cohesion, i.e., the relating of the utterances of the narrator to form a connected whole. The connective and seems to be frequently used for the last of these functions, cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Peterson & McCabe in press). An important question is whether other connectives, specifically so, because and but, are used to fulfill the other functions listed above.

3. Method

3.1 Corpus of narratives

A total of 1124 narratives of personal experience were elicited from 96 children ranging in age between 3½ and 9½ years - 16 children (half female and half male) at each yearly age level. All were white, predominantly working-class children who lived in a small town in northern Ohio. The narratives were elicited during the course of individual conversations between the experimenter and each child in a separate room of the child's school or preschool. Sprinkled throughout the conversation were various prompts such as 'Have you ever been to the doctor? Tell me about it.' (See Peterson and McCabe (1983) for a description of the prompts and the method of eliciting narratives from young children.)

3.2 Analysis procedure

The connectives used by the children were identified by means of the computer program NARRAN, which searched the corpus for all instances of each specified connective and then displayed it on a

split-screen monitor with surrounding context. A rating tree of scoring decisions was also presented step-by-step on the screen and the scorer was led through the scoring decisions by NARRAN. Instances of connectives that were embedded in abandoned speech fragments and false starts were eliminated, as were instances in which the connective did not join two independent clauses.

3.3 Reliability

All connectives were scored in terms of the categories described below. Fifteen percent of the transcripts were scored by two scorers independently and the reliability between scorers (calculated as the number of agreements divided by the number of agreements plus disagreements) averaged 88%, with a range of 80% to 100%.

4. The Connective SO

Semantically, so is a connective that usually indicates some kind of cause-effect link between events, comparable to because, although so is more flexible in that it can also be used to indicate temporal succession. The difference between because and so is structural: so requires the clause order 'cause - so - effect' and because reverses the clause order to 'effect - because - cause.' In the semantic categories below, so encodes either causality of some kind or temporal sequence. The relationship of causality has been broadly defined and includes weakly causal enabling relationships (termed 'precausal' by Hood et al. 1978) as well as instances in which a causal series of events is implied but the direct cause of a specific effect must be inferred.

There are however many instances in which so does not fulfill the semantic functions of causality or temporal sequence. Rather, the connective so is used to link speech acts and to indicate deviance from the chronology of the timeline; these are pragmatic functions.

4.1 Categories of use

4.1.1 Semantic categories

(i) Causality. McCabe and Peterson (1985) have listed a number of types of causality, including psychological causality in which reference is made to such motivations as intentions, emotions and reasoning (see example 1), physical causality in which the cause is rooted in the objective physical world (example 2), and other forms of causality. In contrast to McCabe and Peterson, causal

links here also include relationships in which the cause and effect are not directly contiguous but rather one of these components is explained elsewhere in the sentence or even in another sentence. McCabe and Peterson termed these relationships 'Not immediately causal but explained later' and classified them as errors. Here they are classed as causal relationships (example 3).

(1) She wanted to hurt him so she hit him.

(2) The car brakes didn't work so they crashed.

(3) He thought I wasn't going to make it to first so he threw it to second 'cause I was going to second after I made it to first.

(ii) Inferred causality. Other uses of so linked events that were part of a causal chain but the child omitted some part of the data.

(4) He tripped so he took a flashlight. (Inference: it was at night and was too dark to see.)

(iii) Enabling relationships. Here the first event sets the stage or provides the necessary preconditions for the second event but does not directly cause it.

(5) We had a lot of tools there, we could fix up tricycles so they wanted us to fix them up.

(iv) Temporal sequence. The events are adjacent and sequential; 'next' or 'then.'

(6) He hit me in the face and I thought for sure that I would kill him cause I get mad when people hit me. So he came at me again and tried to hit me again.

4.1.2 Pragmatic categories

4.1.2.1 Beginnings

(i) Opener. The connective so was used to initiate a new narrative.

(7) (Narrative begins:) So we had a dog. The dog catcher come and get him. ...

(ii) Use to begin recounting timeline events after initial abstract and/or orientation.

- (8) (Narrative begins:) Our friend, he rides a motorcycle and he's not supposed to go on the road. So he was on the motorcycle one day ...

(iii) Initiation of a new episode in a multi-episode narrative.

- (9) (Narrative about a car accident.) ... She had to have crutches because one of her legs got broken. So she came home. ... (Her adventures with crutches at home follow.)

4.1.2.2 Change of focus

(iv) Departure from the timeline to insert orientation, evaluation or an attention-getter.

- (10) My sister told (our stepmother) that she was going to go out riding. So you know my mother's dead. She got killed by a semi. (A return to sister's adventures.)

(v) Return to the timeline after the insertion of orientation, evaluation or attention-getters.

- (11) ... Know what we did? So the car smashed into there ...

4.1.2.3 Violation of chronology

(vi) Restatement of a previous proposition. Often the child recycles back to an earlier point in the narrative and then continues it from there.

- (12) I was just sitting there, I didn't say a word. So I didn't say nothing.

4.1.2.4 Endings

(vii) Appending of a coda or other ending to the narrated events.

- (13) (Report of a car accident and how many people died.) ... So they dead right now too.

4.1.2.5 Errors

Some instances of usage seemed to be errors in which the wrong connective was chosen. Most of the time the relationship was one of contrast and required the use of but.

- (14) That night we were going to see the band playing in the restaurant so we decided we weren't.

4.2 Use of SO in children's narratives

The frequencies and percentages of use for so in each individual category are shown in Table 1 (totals for each related grouping and their relative percentages are indicated in parentheses). It is clear that some sort of causal or pre-causal link is the primary relationship encoded by so, although temporal succession also occurs.

Approximately one out of three uses of so does not involve a relationship between denoted facts; rather, it expresses a relationship between speech acts. Children frequently use so to introduce a narrative or a component episode, and to indicate some kind of violation of the expected event chronology that constitutes the backbone of any narrative. Departure and return to the timeline for purposes of orientation, evaluation or checks on listener attention are all marked with so, as is the coda that ends the timeline. (Not all these points are marked by so of course; some are marked by other connectives and some have no marking at all.) Clearly, so is a connective that frequently fulfills pragmatic functions in a narrative.

Although the age-range of the children studied was wide, there were no age changes in the proportion of their uses of so that fulfilled semantic versus pragmatic functions. This was confirmed by dividing the children into three age groups and doing a chi-square analysis on the frequencies of semantic versus pragmatic uses by the three age divisions. (The category of 'errors' was not included because of low numbers.) The chi-square was not significant (Chi-Square = 0.31, df=2).

5. The Connective BECAUSE

Formally, because must encode strict cause-effect relationships. Although it is sometimes used for instances in which the link is a weak one, as in the categories of enabling or inferred causality, these are usually considered errors. Some sort of causal relationship was encoded by most uses of because; however, the connective was occasionally used to fulfill the pragmatic functions detailed below.

Categories	Age					
	3½ - 5½		5½ - 7½		7½ - 9½	
<u>Semantic</u>	(41)	(71%)	(59)	(67%)	(145)	(67%)
Causality	33	57%	45	51%	115	53%
Inferred causality	4	7%	6	7%	13	6%
Enablement	3	5%	6	7%	6	3%
Temporal sequence	1	2%	2	1%	11	4%
<u>Pragmatic</u>	(16)	(28%)	(27)	(31%)	(68)	(31%)
Beginnings	(8)	(14%)	(7)	(8%)	(24)	(11%)
Opener	3	5%	1	1%	6	3%
Begin timeline	1	2%	1	1%	6	3%
New episode	4	7%	5	6%	12	6%
Change of focus	(6)	(10%)	(14)	(16%)	(18)	(8%)
Depart timeline	4	7%	2	2%	8	4%
Return timeline	2	3%	12	14%	10	5%
Non-chronology	(2)	(3%)	(5)	(6%)	(17)	(8%)
Endings	(0)	(0%)	(1)	(1%)	(9)	(4%)
<u>Errors</u>	(1)	(2%)	(2)	(2%)	(5)	(2%)

TABLE 1. SO: Frequencies and percentages of use in each category (and totals for groups of categories)

5.1. Categories of use

5.1.1 Semantic categories

(i) Causality. McCabe and Peterson (1985) have listed a number of types of causality that are parallel to the use of so, including psychological (see 15), physical (see 16), and other sorts of causal links. As above, relationships that were classified by McCabe and Peterson as 'not immediately causal but explained' were classified here as causal.

(15) Mom had to take me to the doctor because she didn't know what I had.

(16) The cut was all dirty because there was pencil lead down there.

(ii) Inferred causality.

(17) Last time (I went to a doctor) was to get stitches out of my head because my brother threw a gun at my head.

(iii) Enabling relationships.

(18) We got a turtle because it was right in front of us on the road.

5.1.2 Pragmatic categories

5.1.2.1 Beginnings

(i) Opener.

(19) (Narrative begins:) 'Cause Connie's mother's back from the hospital. ...

(ii) Initiation of a new episode in a multi-episode narrative.

(20) My sister was trying to wake me up and I was kept on sleeping. 'Cause like one time my mom said, 'Get up, get up, there's a fire!' (Episode of the fire continues.)

5.1.2.2 Change of focus

(iii) Departure from the timeline to insert orientation or other listener-directed comments.

- (21) I asked him (the doctor) a lot of questions. He goes, 'Why, you're nosey. I go 'You are.' 'Cause I never had him before, you know.

(iv) Source of knowledge. The narrator leaves the timeline to tell you how she or he knows a particular piece of information.

- (22) He got in a wreck and he died right where he was because Dad came by and saw it.

5.1.2.3 Violation of chronology

- (v) Restatement or elaboration of a previous proposition.

- (23) I didn't care if I broke it because it was fine to me if it broke.

5.1.2.4 Errors

As with instances of so, some uses seemed to be some sort of error in which the wrong connective was selected.

- (24) (Child had swollen tonsils.) Part of my food couldn't get down 'cause I had to take milk. (Should be so.)

5.2. Use of BECAUSE in children's narratives

Frequencies and percentage use of each category are shown in Table 2 (with totals and relative percentages of larger groups in parentheses). Three-fourths of all uses of because encode causality. Although enabling and inferred causal relationships are often considered erroneous, they are frequent in children's narratives.

Of more interest is the relatively rare use of because for anything other than a causal or pre-causal link; only one out of ten uses can be considered pragmatic and there are no age changes. The overall frequencies of semantic versus pragmatic uses at the three age levels were analyzed by means of a chi-square calculation and the relationship between age and usage is nonsignificant (Chi-Square = 1.69, df=2).

Thus, of the two causal connectives so and because, the latter is more tightly wedded to causality whereas the former is more flexible. This is confirmed by a chi-square calculation in which the overall frequencies of semantic versus pragmatic uses of because and so are compared. (The categories are summed over the three age

Categories	Age					
	3½ - 5½		5½ - 7½		7½ - 9½	
<u>Semantic</u>	(71)	(93%)	(127)	(90%)	(163)	(89%)
Causality	56	74%	100	71%	137	74%
Inferred causality	13	17%	15	11%	16	9%
Enablement	2	3%	12	9%	10	5%
<u>Pragmatic</u>	(4)	(5%)	(13)	(9%)	(19)	(10%)
Beginnings	(2)	(3%)	(4)	(3%)	(4)	(2%)
Opener	1	1%	3	2%	1	1%
New episode	1	1%	1	1%	3	2%
Change of focus	(2)	(3%)	(6)	(4%)	(10)	(5%)
Depart timeline	1	1%	1	1%	9	5%
Knowledge source	1	1%	5	4%	1	1%
Chronology violation	(0)	(0%)	(3)	(2%)	(5)	(3%)
<u>Errors</u>	(1)	(1%)	(1)	(1%)	(2)	(1%)

TABLE 2. BECAUSE: Frequencies and percentages of use in each category (and totals for groups of categories)

groups since earlier analyses showed that age was not significant.) The children are using because and so in different ways (Chi-Square = 58.41, df=1, $p < .001$). Because is seldom called upon to fulfill pragmatic functions whereas so is used frequently for these purposes.

6. The Connective BUT

The connective but semantically encodes a contrastive relationship or antithesis, as described below. (See Peterson (1986) for a more detailed description of semantic uses.) As was the case for the causal connectives, semantic roles cannot account for all uses of but; it is used for pragmatic functions similar to those above.

6.1. Categories of use

6.1.1 Semantic categories

(i) Semantic opposition. There is a contrasting of states, events, or people, one against the other; this can be either explicitly stated or implied.

(25) My little sister's cute but my big sister is awful and ugly.

(ii) Violation of expectation. There is a contrast in expected events in which Event 1 leads to an expectation (either explicitly stated or implied) which does not occur in Event 2.

(26) He had a heart attack twice in a row but he didn't die.

(iii) Qualification. The second clause qualifies and partially negates or limits the first clause.

(27) I get so mad I punch him in the stomach but not that hard.

(iv) Knowledge versus reality. There is a contrast between the speaker's state of knowledge about an event or state and the reality.

(28) I didn't know it was ripped but it was ripped.

6.1.2 Pragmatic categories

6.1.2.1 Beginnings

(i) Opener.

(29) (Narrative begins:) But I saw the zoo.

(ii) Use to begin recounting timeline events after initial abstract and/or orientation.

(30) We went to my grandma's. That was the time when I woke up in the middle of the night. But my grandma had a hornets nest right up on top of the door ... (narrative recounts her hornet experiences, ending with her painful sleepless night.)

(iii) Change of mind. Children make an assertion and then use but to signal that they have changed their mind. Usually the adult asked if the child had had some specific type of experience; the child initially denied it and then thought of a relevant adventure and began narrating.

(31) E: Have you ever visited anybody in the hospital?

C: No, but I visited my mom when she had the baby.

(iv) Departure from the timeline to insert orientation, evaluation or an attention-getter.

(32) We went rollerskating but you know how much money she got?

(v) Return to the timeline.

(33) (A narrative about a fight with two other children with a digression in which the child debated about whether or not they were twins.) They weren't twins but all I know is that they fought and fought with me. ...

(vi) Misordered time. There is a violation of the chronological progression of events.

(34) We went to Florida but first we went to Texas.

6.1.2.2 Errors

The child uses but instead of a different connective that would have been more appropriate.

(35) They couldn't get a way out so we called dad but he heard us. (Should be and.)

6.2. Use of BUT in children's narratives

Frequencies and percentage use of each category (and group) are shown in Table 3. The majority of the children's uses of but fulfill semantic functions and this becomes increasingly true with age. Age changes in the frequencies of semantic versus pragmatic uses across the three age groups was again assessed by means of a chi-square calculation (Chi-Square = 14.33, df=2, $p < .001$). A third of the youngest children's uses are pragmatic, and this decreases to less than a fifth with the oldest children.

In addition, errors were common with the youngest age group. Recall that most errors with so involve contrast and require but; thus, it is at various times both inserted and omitted erroneously. Clearly this connective is more problematic to master than the causal ones.

7. Discussion

Some of the connectives in child speech serve dual roles: at times they encode semantic relationships between sentences, and at other times they serve pragmatic functions that manage the discourse as a whole. Other researchers have emphasized the role of pragmatic connectives in linking one person's turn in a dialogue (or multiple-party discussion) with the turn that went before (Eisenberg 1980, Gallagher & Craig 1987, Scott 1984, van Dijk 1979, 1981). In the present study these links between different speakers do occur, specifically in the category called 'opener.' However, most pragmatic uses are not inter-speaker links, although they do regulate narrator-listener interaction.

If the sequentially retold events or timeline of a narrative are conceptualized as one level of discourse, any movement to or away from this timeline is a change in discourse level. We have seen that three connectives are used to signal these changes in level of discourse: so is frequently used by children of all ages, because only occasionally, and but is often used, especially by younger children. The primary pragmatic functions of all three are to signal the initiation of a narrative or some part of it, and a change in

Categories	Age					
	3½ - 5½		5½ - 7½		7½ - 9½	
<u>Semantic</u>	(61)	(55%)	(123)	(77%)	(107)	(82%)
Semantic opposition	30	27%	56	35%	42	32%
Violate expectation	21	19%	48	30%	29	22%
Qualification	7	6%	10	6%	16	12%
Knowledge v reality	3	3%	9	6%	20	15%
 <u>Pragmatic</u>	 (37)	 (33%)	 (31)	 (19%)	 (23)	 (18%)
Beginnings	(23)	(21%)	(15)	(9%)	(7)	(5%)
Opener	9	8%	8	5%	3	2%
Begin timeline	3	3%	1	1%	0	0%
New episode	3	3%	1	1%	0	0%
Change of mind	8	7%	5	3%	4	3%
Change of focus	(12)	(11%)	(13)	(8%)	(14)	(11%)
Depart timeline	10	9%	10	6%	7	5%
Return timeline	2	2%	3	2%	7	5%
Non-chronology	(2)	(2%)	(3)	(2%)	(2)	(1%)
 <u>Errors</u>	 (13)	 (12%)	 (5)	 (3%)	 (1)	 (1%)

TABLE 3. BUT: Frequencies and percentages of use in each category
(and totals for groups of categories)

focus from one level of discourse to another, i.e., a departure from or return to the timeline. Less frequently, each of these connectives is used to indicate some kind of violation of the strict chronology that the listener expects. In addition, so is used to signal the end of the timeline and a return to the present, often by means of a coda. In other words, these connectives signal a change of some kind between what went before and what is to come, a lack of cohesion. In contrast, previous research has found that the connective and appears to indicate the presence of cohesion between successive sentences (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Peterson & McCabe in press).

The relative lack of age differences in use of connectives was surprising. Children show competent semantic use of many connectives when linking appropriate utterances before 4 years of age (Bloom et al 1980, Clancy et al 1976, Eisenberg 1980, and Hood et al 1978). More relevant to this analysis is the fact that they semantically use the connectives because and so in the same ways across the age range studied here (4-9 years) as well as comparably to adults in the challenging there-and-then discourse found in narratives (McCabe & Peterson 1985, in press). Of more interest is the fact that they also use these connectives comparably for pragmatic purposes. Thus, children do not seem to first master the semantic uses of these connectives and then tackle pragmatic usage. Rather, both seem to be acquired simultaneously. This is consistent with the social interactionist perspective view of language learning (Bates & MacWhinney 1982, Gleason 1985, Snow & Ferguson 1977) which emphasizes children learning language within the context of social interactions; consequently, semantic and pragmatic language use would be intertwined.

The connective but was the only one to show developmental changes within the age range studied. Children make semantic mistakes in the preschool years (Peterson 1986); they also use but much more frequently than do older children for the role of narrative initiation. When my own son was 3 - 4 years of age, a sudden and unexpected declaration of but regularly signaled that a narrative was about to begin, and results of this study suggest that this is a common practice among preschoolers. In perusing the transcripts, it seemed that older children were more likely to initiate narratives with more ritualized or sophisticated beginnings such as one day or once when I was going Thus, early use of but for narrative initiation may perhaps be rather primitive albeit pragmatically appropriate. Appropriate and sophisticated use of this connective seems to be mastered at a later age than for the other connectives studied here.

Why are the connectives so and but seen as such versatile pragmatic markers? But of course fundamentally marks contrast, and all of the pragmatic categories noted in the data reflect some sort of contrast between what went before and what came after, i.e., there is a change or fundamental shift in the type of discourse to follow. This shift can be between here-and-now talk and the remote storyworld of the narrative, or it can be between the timeline and tributary information, or it can even signal that one's expectations of chronology are about to be violated. The rationale behind the heavy reliance on the connective so is not so transparent. Partly, pragmatic use of so models adult use. Auchlin (1981 - cited in Jisa 1987), Polanyi (1985) and Reichman (1985) have all found that adults at times use this connective after some kind of digression from the main topic of talk in order to mark a resumption of that topic. Children are using so in the same way here; this has also been found by Jisa (1987). Loosely conceptualized, so seems to be a boundary marker, and it is inserted at all the boundaries found in intra-conversational narratives that were noted here. In contrast, the connective because seems to be viewed as less flexible and more tied to its specifically causal semantic meaning. Although occasionally used pragmatically, this accounts for only 10% of its uses.

In conclusion, the child seems to have a conception of discourse as a multifaceted event with various levels, and this conception is learned very early. Some connectives can be used to signal such changes in level, and others can be used to signal the relatedness of sequential sentences within one level of discourse. This study suggests that greater attention should be given to children's acquisition of a conception of discourse as a multi-level occurrence, and of how these different levels may be signalled by means of the way propositions are pragmatically tied to the discourse as a whole.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Michael Bruce-Lockhart for the development and use of the NARRAN software package. Further information about NARRAN or its availability can be obtained from the author. This research was supported by National Science and Engineering Research Council grant A0513. Address for correspondence: Psychology Department, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada A1B 3X9

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MOTIVATED SYNCRETISM

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine the sharing, by two distinctively different functional elements, of a common morphology, and to show how such syncretism is sometimes motivated, and is, in a sense, iconic, since the sharing of a common morphology is a reflexion of important features the two functional elements have in common. More particularly the syncretism of the animate singular obviative and inanimate plural markers that is found throughout the Algonkian languages is examined, and parallels drawn with similar syncretism in Indo-European languages between feminine singular and neuter plural.

1. Introduction

Syncretism is the exploitation by two different systemic elements of a common morphology. One of the most commonly quoted examples is the syncretism of the dative and ablative plurals in Latin, which occurs in all five conjugations of the Latin noun, and which we illustrate here with puella, 'girl,' a first declension (i.e. feminine) noun:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Nominative	puella	puellae
Accusative	puellam	puellās
Genitive	puellae	puellarum
Dative	puellae	puellīs
Ablative	puellā	puellīs

The fact that the dative and ablative plural forms are identical in all five Latin conjugations quite naturally obliged linguists to raise the question as to whether this case distinction was in fact operative in the plural: how can one claim a case distinction that is not marked in the morphology? This problem led to a fundamental principle in morphology, the argument from the paradigm (see, for example, Lyons 1968:292) which goes as follows: a

distinction found at one level in a coherent paradigm is to be considered operative throughout the whole paradigm, unless there is good evidence to the contrary. Consequently because four of the Latin noun declensions show morphological distinctions between dative and ablative in the singular, dative and ablative plural are everywhere distinguished in these paradigms, even in the second declension, where there is syncretism in both singular and plural, as in taurus, 'bull':

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Nominative	taurus	taurī
Accusative	taurum	taurōs
Genitive	taurī	taurōrum
Dative	taurō	taurīs
Ablative	taurō	taurīs

Syncretism, it may be noted, is also found elsewhere in these paradigms: genitive singular and nominative plural share a common morphology, and in the first declension this set would also include the dative singular.

2. Syncretism in French and the Question of Motivation

In French there is syncretism in the regular verbal paradigms: je/il/elle parle, je/tu finis/fais, and so on, whereas one finds in the irregular paradigms of être, avoir, and aller distinctive forms for first, second and third person singular, although in its spoken and popular forms the language has more or less eliminated these distinctions (Hewson 1988). There is also syncretism in the forms of the definite article, le, la, les, and the forms of the third person direct object pronouns that are cliticised to the verb, which have identical shapes: je le/la/les/vois.

When one finds the same syncretism of definite article and direct object pronouns in other Romance languages, we are entitled to ask whether this identity of morphology is motivated: since it is such a common pattern, is there a reason for it? In French the le of le livre and that of je le vois are functionally two quite different elements: the former cannot be used apart from a noun, and the latter cannot be used with a noun, and must be used with a verb. If they are functionally quite different, why would they share a common morphology?

Indications as to how this question should be answered are to be found in Spanish and Portuguese. In these languages the

article can be independent of the noun, and function as a suppletive (i.e. replacive) pronoun:

- (1) A educação portuguesa, como a da maioria dos países...
La educación española, como la de la mayoría de los países...
English education, like that of the majority of countries...

Being independent of the noun, in fact replacing the noun, this same pronoun can also be used as the direct object of the verb, as in the following Portuguese and Spanish examples:

- (2) Maria tirou-lhe a carta da mão, mas não a abriu.
Maria tomó la carta de su mano, pero no la abrió.
Maria took the letter from his hand, but she did not open it.

In Spanish and Portuguese, in fact, it is possible to treat articles as the completive forms of these pronouns (requiring to be complemented by a noun) and the free and cliticised pronouns as the suppletive forms of this same set (whose function is to replace article plus noun).

In French, where this continuum of function is lacking, it would be very difficult to claim that the articles and the direct object pronouns are the same functional element. They appear as different functional elements that share a common morphology because there is sufficient resemblance of function to make such sharing of a common morphology profitable.

In an interesting article on iconicity Haiman points out that motivated syncretism is itself a factor in the iconicity of language (1980:517):

'... neutralization is itself iconic. In much recent work, it has been a fruitful article of faith that systematic syntactic homonymy is semantically motivated: similar morphological shape or syntactic behavior of (apparently disparate) categories may be an icon of their underlying semantic homogeneity.'

3. Motivated Syncretism in English

In the history of English we can also trace the emergence of identical morphology for items that were once distinctively marked. This process has, in fact, gone so far that it has become a joke that one can count the regular inflections of English, a language that belongs to a flexional typology, on the fingers of one hand.

We can see, for example, that the weak verbs have forged a syncretism between preterit and past participle, whereas the strong verbs still maintain a difference of morphology: saw/seen, gave/given, sang/sung, took/taken, versus talked, stopped. This syncretism is also found in the irregular weak verbs (brought, thought, kept, spent), and has also eroded the strong verbs. The movement towards a complete syncretism of preterit and past participle is especially notable in popular English, where I done, I seen, are heard wherever English is spoken, and where the frequency of I should have went seems to be growing daily.

There is also a derivational adjectival suffix -ed, as in a four-footed animal, that also originally had its own distinctive morphology (in Old English -ede). This suffix is used to mark derivations that are used adjectivally to denote attributes: a four-footed animal is an animal with four feet; a verandahed bungalow (Hirtle 1970) is a bungalow with a verandah. These are derived from nouns (foot, verandah) not from verbs, but since past participles have an adjectival function, and since the original morphology was similar, it is quite easy and quite profitable to forge an identical morphology for a similar function, so that we now have syncretism of three items that are functionally distinct: a preterit, a past participle, and a derived adjective.

What is even more striking is that the -s that we write to mark a noun plural in English (the cats and dogs) is identical morphologically to the -s that we write as a third person inflection on the present tense of the verb (she knows he thinks it works), since this -s was only one of the plural markers in Old English, and the Old English inflection for the third person singular of the verb was -ep. This means that historically the noun plurals have all been levelled to -s (phonologically /-(V)z/) and this same -s in the later 16th and early 17th centuries totally replaced the original inflection for third singular on the verb, so that one finds both the old and the new side by side in Shakespeare, as in Portia's famous speech from the Merchant of Venice:

- (3) The quality of mercy is not strained.
 It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
 Upon the place beneath. It is twice blessed:
 It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.

When two inflections that were originally quite distinct become identical through linguistic change that is not a regular sound change, the most obvious conclusion is that this new syncretism must be motivated.¹

In examining the possible motivation for these changes, in fact, we have to take into account (just as with the -ed suffix) a third element, namely the -s that is cliticised to the Noun Phrase to mark possessive forms: the boy's book, the man over there's hat. This is not an inflection, since it can be attached to elements that are not nouns; it marks a derivation that operates on the whole noun phrase. Here again we have two inflections and a derivation marker that share a common morphology.

We do not have to go far to seek the common cognitive element that they share: -s in modern English is a transcendence marker; that is, it indicates that which lies outside or transcends an already established unity. Linguistic number is frequently simply binary, whereas mathematical number is multiple: 1,2,3,4,5...n. Singular vs. Plural in linguistic number is the simple binary choice between the unit on the one hand and any transcendence of the unit on the other. We do not need to have two in order to have a plural: one and a half feet. We even, curiously, use a plural with zero: zero feet, zero inches, because one is not simply denying the existence of one inch, but of any inches at all, of all inches.

In similar fashion the -s of the third person singular of the verb in standard English marks this person as being distinct and separate from the conversational relationship of speaker and hearer that determines the status of first and second persons. First and second person, as we know, are necessarily not only animate but human, since only humans can utter and understand coherent and articulated speech, to fill the roles required of the pronouns I and you. We can of course address inanimate things; Wordsworth could address castles, skylarks, cliffs and islands, and Lamartine address time:

(4) I was thy neighbour once, thou rugged Pile! (Peele Castle)

O temps suspend ton vol! Et vous, heures propices,
Suspendez votre cours! (Le lac)

but here we recognize personification, a familiar figure of speech. It does not alter the fact that first and second persons share something from which third person is excluded, a relationship to which the third person is transcendent. The distinction is emphasized by the fact that first and second person pronouns are never replacive; only third person pronouns can replace nouns.

As for the -s that marks the English possessive, at least one grammarian of English has suggested that 'the central idea of this case is in a sphere' (Curme 1931:110), which might be expanded to read sphere of influence, that which lies within the scope of the

possessor. My brother's possessions are those things that lie within the scope of my brother, which includes an extension of his person. Nouns and gerunds of action may also be attributed to this sphere, so that the possessive may be represented as the patient or agent of an action represented by an ordinary noun:

- (5) Napoleon's defeat of the Prussians at Austerlitz..
 Napoleon's defeat by Wellington at Waterloo..

whereas, since a verbal gerund is normally active in force, the possessive normally represents the agent:

- (6) Napoleon's defeating the Prussians at Austerlitz...
 *Napoleon's defeating by Wellington at Waterloo...

The genitive, in short, can cover a wide range of meaning, but it is normally employed only with so-called count nouns, which necessarily have unit reference. One can have an hour's work for the work of an hour, but one cannot have butter's pound or generosity's instance for the pound of butter or the instance of generosity.

In dealing with this kind of motivated syncretism, where two functionally distinctive morphs are levelled, and come to share a common morphology, the term synapsis was used by Hirtle in commenting (1967:21, 1970:25) on the common morphology of preterit and past participle in English. This is, in fact, an adoption and translation of the term synapse as used by Gustave Guillaume (1973:267). As with certain other terms (e.g. allomorph) the original use of the term is in biology; it refers to the functional conjunction between two neurons that makes conduction of nervous impulses continuous from one to the other. In the following discussion the term synapsis will be used to replace the phrase motivated syncretism.²

4. Synapsis of Obviative Singular and Animate Plural in Algonkian

I wish to turn now to a very interesting example of a synapsis that is commonly found in Algonkian languages, and which may be compared with certain data found in Indo-European languages, and particularly in Romance. It concerns the identical morphology shared by a marked animate (obviative singular in Algonkian, feminine singular in IE) and by inanimate plural (neuter plural in IE).

Nouns in Algonkian languages belong to one or the other of two gender classes (the animate and the inanimate) and each gender has a distinctive plural morphology. For animate nouns the distinction of proximate (3rd person in focus) and obviative (3rd person out

of focus) must also be made, the obviative being the dependent or secondary category and therefore the marked form (i.e. only one 3rd person may be proximate at a time and all other animate 3rd persons are automatically made obviative by adding an inflection). The following paradigm from Micmac shows typical inflections of animate and inanimate nouns in an Algonkian language:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Animate Proximate	ji'nm	ji'nmuk
Animate Obviative	ji'nmul	ji'nmu
Inanimate	puksuk	puksukul

(Here we see two nouns, ji'nm, 'man (male),' and puksuk, 'fire log,' that both happen to add the vowel /u/ before the normal inflections of obviative (-l) and plural (-k, -l), so that the formation of the obviative plural can be seen as the product of a deletion of the obviative singular marker).

It is notable that in the Algonkian languages the animate singular obviative of nouns and the inanimate plural share a common morphology, so that Bloomfield (1946) reconstructs the following paradigm of noun inflections for Proto-Algonkian (PA):

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Animate Proximate	-a	-aki
Animate Obviative	-ali	-ahi
Inanimate	-i	-ali

where once again the synopsis of obviative singular and inanimate plural is notable in the paradigm.

Many Algonkian languages have collapsed the distinction between obviative singular and obviative plural. As Siebert notes (1975:419): 'Among those that do not distinguish number in the obviative, Menomini ... Ojibwa ... Delaware have generalized the original obviative singular inflection PA /*ali/. On the other hand Cree, Western Abenaki ... have generalized the inflection of the obviative plural PA /*ahi/. Consequently the obviative form of Cree nite:m 'my dog' is nite:ma, the final /-a/ being a reflex of PA /*ahi/, and the single undifferentiated form can mean either 'my dog' or 'my dogs.'

It is notable, consequently, that in Cree the final /-l/ has also been lost from the inanimate plural, so that in Moose Cree (an /l/ dialect, which has /l/ as a reflex of PA */l/) the plural of či:ma:n 'canoe' is či:ma:na, where one is entitled to expect *či:ma:nal. Bloomfield (1946:93) thought this loss was purely

phonological, but as I have shown elsewhere (Hewson 1983) the evidence does not support the claim, and there is significant counter evidence. No other consonant is lost in Cree in this position, and it is obvious that we are confronted with an analogical change whereby the inanimate plural has been reshaped on the model of the new levelled obviative in order to maintain the original synopsis that had existed with the obviative singular.

5. Reduction of Morphological Contrasts

This reduction of the obviative forms in certain Algonkian languages is worthy of comment under two headings: (a) the loss of contrasts in marked categories³, and (b) the apparently different pattern shown by Cree in contrast to Menomini and Ojibwa.

As far as concerns the first heading, this kind of levelling is, as is well known, a reasonably common phenomenon. French, for example, which distinguishes gender in the singular articles le/la, has eliminated the distinction gender in the common plural article les, although there is nothing in the historical phonology of French which requires such a levelling. (Portuguese, by contrast, has singular articles o/a and plural articles os/as). It is normally concluded that such levelling has the purpose of reducing complexity in elements that carry more than one marked feature, and indeed there are many instances where distinctions that are found in the singular are not found in the corresponding plural (e.g. English he/she/it vs. they).

The obviatives in Algonkian languages are marked forms not only in expression (i.e. the observable morphology) but also in terms of their cognitive content since the notion of obviative does not arise until the notion of proximate has been established. The obviative is that which is beyond the proximate: without the proximate there can be no obviative. The obviative is therefore notionally dependent on the proximate in much the same way that a normal plural is dependent on its singular: the establishment of a notional singular is a pre-requisite for the establishment of a notional plural. (Put in terms of a simple analogy, you cannot make copies when you do not have an original). An obviative plural is therefore, in terms of its notional content, a doubly marked form (obviative and plural), and since the obviative element could not be eliminated without eliminating the distinction between direct and inverse forms, on which the whole structure of the transitive verb depends, a tendency to reduce the singular/plural contrast in the obviative forms is a normal development that is to be expected. In short, the singular vs. plural contrast carries much less of a functional load than the proximate vs. obviative distinction.

To take up the second heading, the different pattern that this levelling takes in Cree, as opposed to Menomini and Ojibwa, raises the interesting question of the normal or expected pattern of levelling. Is it the marked or the unmarked form that survives in the morphology? And is the determining factor content or expression?

It is normal that the notionally marked form (in content) will also be the morphologically marked form (in expression). In such cases it may be observed that it is the morphologically unmarked form that survives when the notional markedness is reduced, as one might expect: OE cwic 'alive' had a plural cwice; both are reduced to quick in Modern English with the loss of number distinctions in adjectives. This is, of course, not an absolute or mechanical law: as always in morphology there are the expected irregularities. The principal of the arbitrary nature of the sign is just as applicable to inflections as it is to lexical elements. An equal and opposite principle, that linguistic signs are normally motivated, is the determining feature that lies behind the parallelism of notional and morphological marking.

Sometimes, however, a notionally marked form is not a marked form in expression. Neither of the English forms ye/you could be described as morphologically marked in relation to the other. Of the two, however, ye was notionally marked, being a subject clitic and vocative, restricted in use, whereas you enjoyed considerable syntactic independence. Of these two, it is of course you that survives: since they are equivalent morphologically, it may be presumed that the factor which determines the levelled form is in this case the notional marking.

As far as concerns the Proto Algonkian obviative forms, both obviative singular (-ali) and obviative plural (-ahi) are marked forms, the former marking only obviation, singular being an unmarked element, and the latter marking a cumulation of obviation and plural (i.e. a portmanteau morph). Since the reflexes of PA */l/ and PA */h/ survive in both Menomini and Ojibwa, this situation would have been perpetuated in the pre-history of these two languages. When the singular/plural distinction was levelled in these languages, therefore, the fact that the singular marks only obviation would seem to be the determining factor in favour of the obviative singular form as the levelled form.

The situation was quite different in Cree. Although the reflex of PA */h/ survived elsewhere in Cree words, it had become non-contrastive and purely phonetic in final position. As a result, after the loss of final vowels the inflection */-ali/ would be reduced to */-al/, whereas */-ahi/ would be reduced to */-a/. When one compares */-al/ and */-a/ it is the latter that is seen

to be the less marked form morphologically, although the former, as we have seen, is the notionally unmarked form. (This is still the situation in Micmac, as may be seen in the example in section 4). When levelling occurred it appears that preference was given to the form that was morphologically less marked; this would, of course, be quite sufficient to mark the new obviative in which number is no longer distinctive.

6. The Cree Reshaping

This satisfactory clarification of the Cree obviative form, however, creates a further problem requiring resolution: the origin of the /-a/ marking inanimate plurals in Cree, since this form can no longer be explained as a regular phonological formation and it too must be the result of morphological levelling or reshaping.

It is obvious that if there has been analogical reshaping in the inanimate plural, the basis for the analogy must be the obviative plural inflection, since of all the inflections of the noun this is the only one that can yield Cree /-a/ by regular phonological derivation. The problem, in this case, becomes one of the discerning the motivation for such a reshaping.

Firstly, it should be observed that this congruence of the morphology of animate obviative and inanimate plural is no mere accident: it is not an isolated phenomenon. Not only does it occur in the morphology of the noun throughout the Algonkian languages and also in the protolanguage, but it also shows up in the quite irregular demonstrative paradigms, as the following data from Cree (Ellis 1962) shows:

	THIS	THAT
An. Sg.	awa	ana
An. Pl.	o'ko	aniki
An. Obv.	<u>o'ho</u>	<u>anihi</u>
In. Sg.	o'ma	anima
In. Pl.	<u>o'ho</u>	<u>anihi</u>

In fact this congruence is complete throughout the grammar of Cree, as Wolfart observed (1973:14), and he further comments: 'That the identity cannot be reduced to historical accident... is evident from the inflectional paradigm of pronouns.... If we rule out accident as the cause of the identity of the animate obviative and the inanimate plural,, we have to look for that semantic feature of Cree which these categories have in common. This feature is yet to be found....'

In dealing with synopsis of this kind, there are two pitfalls which must be carefully avoided: (1) the assumption that the identity of signs is perfectly fortuitous when there is good evidence to the contrary, and (2) the assumption that identity of morphology entails identity of significate. In this latter regard, since both animate and inanimate in Moose Cree have both plural and obviative categories, in no way can the inanimate plural be equated notionally with the animate obviative.

Nevertheless, when morphs that clearly represent different grammatical entities become alike in spite of a phonological history that should differentiate them, it is necessary to conclude that in the underlying significates of these two separate items there is something elemental in common that makes a common morphology not only possible, but in some curious way profitable. In what way, then, does the notion that is marked by the obviative morphology resemble that marked by the plural morphology? And why the inanimate plural, but the animate obviative?

The first of these questions is easily answered. The underlying notion of plurality, as we have seen, is one of transcendence: plural is that which is notionally beyond the singular. And the contrast between proximate and obviative in the Algonkian languages is also a contrast of immanence vs. transcendence: the obviative is the 3rd person which is beyond the proximate; the obviative only becomes a representational possibility after the proximate position has first been established. Consequently the obviative, like the plural, is the notionally marked form of the proximate/obviative pair.

A relationship between animate obviative and the category of inanimate may also be discerned. In Cree, when an animate 3rd person possesses another animate, the possessee is necessarily obviative and is so marked, but when the possessor is 1st or 2nd person, the possessee remains proximate as the following Cree data show (the Cree obviative is indifferent to number):

<u>nite·m(ak)</u>	'my dog(s)'
<u>kite·m(ak)</u>	'thy dog(s)'
<u>ote·ma</u>	'his dog(s)' (obv.)

When the possessee is inanimate, however, the obviative is not marked, and the possessee may be marked for number:

<u>nimasinahikan(a)</u>	'my book(s)'
<u>kinasinahikan(a)</u>	'thy book(s)'
<u>omasinahikan(a)</u>	'his book(s)'

The hierarchy of persons in the Algonkian languages pointed out by Bloomfield (1946:95), Hockett (1966) and others shows that proximate is precedential to obviative just as first and second person are precedential to the third person. We may note, therefore, that possessed nouns in Cree follow these hierarchies (1 = 1st person; 2 = 2nd person; 3P = 3rd proximate; 3O = 3rd Obviative):

<u>nite·m</u>	(1 -> 3P)	'my dog'
<u>kite·m</u>	(2 -> 3P)	'thy dog'
<u>ote·ma</u>	(3P -> 3O)	'his dog(s)'

The fact that an inanimate possessed by an animate is not marked by obviation and may consequently be marked for number indicates that another hierarchical feature, namely animate -> inanimate is operating here, making the proximate -> obviative relationship redundant, and consequently left unmarked. There is obviously, in fact, a categorical requirement in the grammar of possession in Algonkian that possessee must be hierarchically subservient to possessor. This requirement is satisfied by distinctions from either the hierarchy of persons or the hierarchy of gender.

What the inanimate gender and the animate obviative share, therefore, is a common level of hierarchical subservience, which shows up very clearly in the paradigms of possession.⁴ Consequently, the inanimate plural and the animate obviative share three fundamental notional features: (a) third person, (b) a common function as transcendence markers, and (c) a common level of hierarchical subservience. In fact, since the obviative is subservient in the person hierarchy, and the inanimate is similarly subservient in the gender hierarchy, the two of them are sometimes interchangeable in the same functional position, e.g. as possessee: ote·ma 'his dog' (obv.) vs. omasinahikan 'his book' (inan.).

7. Marked Animate and Neuter Plural in Indo-European

This synopsis of the marked animate with the inanimate or neuter plural is, furthermore, not an isolated or extraordinary phenomenon; similar correspondences are to be found in other language families. Much has been written, for example, on the interplay of feminine singular and neuter plural in both the prehistory and history of Indo-European languages. For example, Latin grānum 'seed' (neuter singular) gives French le(s) grain(s) 'the seed(s),' while Latin grāna 'seeds' (neuter plural) gives French la graine 'grain' - a feminine singular collective. Latin lignum 'wood' gives Spanish leño(s) 'stick(s),' while its Latin plural form ligna gives Spanish leña 'firewood.' The neuter of Indo-European, it should be noted, represents the inanimate, and the

feminine is normally the marked form of the animate, just as the obviative is the marked form of the animate in Algonkian. (Consider, for example, Russian Tsar/Tsaritsa, Latin victor/victrix, German Fuchs 'fox'/Füchsin 'vixen').

It is curious, in fact, that such Latin neuter plurals become feminine singulars in the modern Romance vernaculars, since Meillet (1903:291-2) traces the neuter plural morphology of IE languages to an ancient collective singular in Proto Indo-European (which is why, for example, verbs in Ancient Greek and occasionally elsewhere are singular in agreement when the subject is neuter plural). Inanimate plurals, of course, in that they represent collections of inanimate objects, normally differ cognitively from animates by their inertness. It is an easy step, therefore, to treat inanimate plurals as singular collectives, and likewise to treat singular collectives as plurals (e.g., How a People Die (from Hirtle 1982:10) - title of a book - or French la plupart sont partis). The collective, therefore, although singular, is a singular which is different from the regular neuter or inanimate singular, and may consequently be given a different or special hierarchical status. Likewise the inanimate plural, being largely interchangeable with the collective, may also come to be associated with this special singular status.

Another cognitive difference between animate and inanimate is that animates are essentially agentive, and can fulfill the role of agent, whereas inanimates are naturally patientive, best suited to fill the role of patient. When we consider the categories of proximate and obviative in terms of agentive and patientive roles, it is clear that the proximate is the agentive animate, the obviative the patientive animate: in the transitive verb, the proximate is the agent and the obviative the patient in the direct forms, which follow the hierarchies. Likewise the proximate is always the possessor, the obviative the possessee, in the grammar of possession. Notionally, therefore, the obviative, like the inanimate, is patientive.

In terms of their semantic features, therefore, both the inanimate plural and the animate obviative tend towards a synaptic middle ground between the two genders. Firstly, the common level of hierarchical subservience, seen most clearly in the grammar of possession, shows the obviative as a 'reduced' or patientive animate. Secondly the inanimate plural, by its nature, tends towards the collective, a new and special 'singular' quite different from the regular inanimate singular; it is in this way a marked singular or 'promoted' inanimate. This 'promoted' inanimate may then be associated with the animate gender, but not with the ordinary unmarked animate, only with an animate of a

special marked kind (in Algonkian the obviative, in Indo-European the feminine).

For a similar kind of example one need look no further than modern English, where inanimates are referred to by the personal pronoun it, animates by he and she. Machinery, transatlantic liners, and other inanimate objects that resemble animates in that they move and function on their own may, however, be treated as animates. The gender that is normally assigned in such cases is that of the special, marked animate, the feminine. Here we are dealing with different features in that the feminine is not a hierarchical category like the obviative, and the inanimate here is a 'mobile' singular not an 'inert' plural, but the end result is the same: the association of a 'special' inanimate with the marked category of the animate gender.

We conclude, therefore, that the original PA obviative plural form *-ahi became /-a/ in Cree by regular evolution and was then generalised as a unique obviative marker (with the consequent loss of the obviative singular marker); and that the regular inanimate plural marker was then analogically reshaped to /-a/ in order to maintain the synopsis of the inanimate plural and animate obviative categories found in varying forms throughout the Algonkian languages and in Proto-Algonkian.

8. The Identification of Synapses

A synopsis is only properly demonstrable if three conditions are fulfilled: (1) there must be some kind of analogical reshaping, so that the forms are not justifiable by normal phonetic evolution, (2) there must be some significant semantic feature that both elements forming the synopsis share in common, and (3) the two elements must in some way be demonstrably distinct, as noun plural and genitive singular are in English, for example. Most languages will be found to have some synaptic elements, and linguists have tended to notice these and comment on them: a most interesting instance, for example, may be found in Kendall's article 'The -K/, /-M/ problem in Yavapai syntax' (1975), which reports synaptic elements not only in Yavapai, but also similar elements in Yuman languages in general. Kendall does not propose synopsis as the cause of the peculiarities in the data, but she does reject a solution of simple homophony, and comments (1975:9) 'The question as to whether there is some overriding semantic unity to these formatives still arises.'

9. Conclusion: The Functional Role of Morphology

Saussure, in his famous analogy of the game of chess, pointed out that a material chess piece, a knight, for example, was not a fundamental element of the game, but could in fact be replaced by any material entity to which the same value (valeur) was attributed (1916:153-4); what is fundamental to the game is the valeur of the piece, not the piece itself, which may well be replaced. In like fashion, says Saussure, it is the notional structure of a linguistic element, not its morphological shape, that is fundamental: '...la valeur, ... c'est son aspect primordial' (1916:154). The morphology, consequently, may be irregular or even suppletive, but the notional contrast marked by the morphology remains the same: mice represents the same kind of plural notion as do such regular plural forms as cats, dogs, horses⁵. In this view, the purpose of a morphological shape is to provide an element of perceivability to that which is itself inherently not perceivable. Consequently, in spite of the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign (which means in Saussure's explicit terms (1916:101) only that the morph has no natural or necessary link with its significate), the choice of a morphological shape is nevertheless normally motivated: according to a dictum of Guillaume, 'La sémiologie fait flèche de tout bois.' Sometimes the motivation is obvious, as in the frequent formation of definite articles from demonstratives, sometimes less obvious, as in the equally frequent formation of indefinite articles from the numeral one, and sometimes not obvious at all but only to be discerned when the valeurs, or notional relationships of a whole content system, are made explicit in their totality, as in the example of the interplay of number, gender and obviation in the Algonkian languages.

Haiman, writing on iconicity, also stresses this point (1980:518):

Much progress in semantic analysis has resulted from the commitment to the iconic assumption that neutralization is motivated; this attests at least to the usefulness of the assumption. So widely is it held that, when cross-linguistic similarity between apparently unrelated grammatical categories cannot be explained by an appeal to some underlying semantic homogeneity, the formal similarity remains as a puzzle and a challenge. In the absence of such explanations, Allen's demonstration that the categories of transitivity and possession are formally similar in many unrelated languages (1964) continues to haunt linguists.

Finally, returning for one brief moment to Saussure's game of chess, we may find in it excellent examples of synopsis. Each side, for example, has two bishops which are identical in shape (morphology), because they move in identical fashion (similar potentialities), but which are nevertheless quite different because one moves only on black squares, the other only on white squares (demonstrable difference of function). Since the two bishops are always distinguishable in terms of their function, they do not need to have distinctive shapes. In fact, since they are similar in potentialities, it is profitable, in terms of perceivability, to have them identical in shape.

FOOTNOTES

¹For a more extensive discussion of this question see Hewson 1975.

²Perhaps it should be noted in passing that the term syncretism is itself borrowed, but from theology. It was used of early attempts in the Greco-Roman world to simplify and unite the various pagan religions, and later to blend elements of paganism and Christianity.

³A succinct resume of one approach to markedness theory is given by Matthews (1974:150-3). As Matthews notes 'For marked/unmarked oppositions the leading references are two of Jakobson's pre-war papers' (1932, 1936). Matthews uses the term 'semantic marking' where I have used 'notional marking.' For an alternative, very brief introduction see also Lyons 1968:79-80; generative approaches to markedness are contained in Belletti, Brandi and Rizzi (1981).

⁴Algonkianists will also appreciate the point (too elaborate to fully explicate here) that in the Transitive Animate verb a common inverse marker is used for (a) an obviative acting on a proximate, (b) an inanimate acting on an animate, and (c) a third person acting on first or second person. The inclusion of the animate <- inanimate relationship in this morphology clearly shows its hierarchical status.

⁵Gustave Guillaume (1971:140, 150) takes this further, noting that the psychisme, or notional system (or content system, in Hjelmslev's terms) is subject to the Loi de cohérence (law of rigorous coherence), whereas the sémiologie, or morphology (expression system in Hjelmslev) is subject only to the Loi de simple suffisance (law of simple expressive sufficiency). What irregularities there are, in short, are found in the morphology,

not in the notional contrasts which form the true grammatical systems, as in the singular vs. plural contrast, for example: from the point of view of notional contrast the 'irregular' plurals of English are not irregular.

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VERS L'ANALYSE MODERNE D'UN TEXTE CANADIEN
DU DIX-HUITIEME SIECLE

Peter Halford
Université de Windsor

RESUME

Le document 'Façons de parler proverbiales, triviales et figurées des Canadiens au XVIIIe siècle' du Père Pierre Philippe Potier s.j. est le premier et le seul lexique du français de la Nouvelle-France. Cet article présente les grandes lignes du contenu du manuscrit, examine les deux éditions partielles publiées et explique un moyen moderne de traiter un texte ancien. Tout en reconnaissant l'importance des ouvrages de référence traditionnels, on souligne l'apport précieux du micro-ordinateur à ce genre de recherches.

La région de Windsor (Ontario) a vu créer, au milieu du dix-huitième siècle, le premier manuscrit qui témoigne du français tel qu'il était parlé au Nouveau Monde, 'document capital pour l'histoire de la langue française d'Outre-Atlantique' (Juneau 1977). Il s'agit d'un cahier tenu par un missionnaire jésuite, le R. P. Pierre-Philippe Potier (1708-1781). Nous en faisons actuellement une édition diplomatique et une analyse assistée par ordinateur.¹

Son auteur, natif de Hainaut dans la Belgique moderne, se présente comme un homme dont la vie et les intérêts témoignent de l'esprit du Siècle des Lumières bien qu'il soit installé sur la frontière de la colonisation française en Amérique. Très instruit, même pour son époque, il demande la permission de devenir missionnaire; la requête acceptée, il part en 1743 pour Québec. Après un stage de huit mois d'apprentissage en langue huronne à Lorette (maintenant Ancienne Lorette à quelques kilomètres au nord de Québec) il embarque en 1744 pour la mission aux Hurons à l'Ile aux Bois Blancs, située à 20 km en aval de Detroit (actuellement 'Boblo Island'). Il y oeuvrera, d'abord comme assistant au Père Armand de la Richardie, plus tard comme curé de la paroisse de

l'Assomption (dans l'actuelle ville de Windsor) jusqu'à sa mort en 1781.²

Dès la première page du manuscrit, l'auteur montre sa passion pour la langue: le cahier débute avec le titre 'Façons de Parler Proverbiales ... Triviales ... figurées etc. Tirées du P. Joubert' (dictionnaire de 1709).³ Locuteur natif d'un français dialectal, (le wallon) le Père Potier semble reconnaître très tôt que son français est différent de celui des autres tant en France qu'au Canada: il signale après son arrivée en Nouvelle-France que ses confrères jésuites le dénomment la 'bouche belge' (118b 29).⁴ En fait, nous rencontrons quelques exemples du phonétisme de son aire native dans l'assourdissement des consonnes sonores finales qui figurent dans ses gloses, e.g. echanches pour echanges (122a 16).

Le manuscrit, communément nommé 'Façons de parler ...' d'après l'en-tête de la première page où l'auteur cite le Père Joubert, est parmi les quatre-vingt-quinze documents qui figurent dans l'inventaire des effets du Père Potier au moment de sa mort (cf. Lajeunesse 1960, et surtout Toupin, à paraître). Préservé dans la Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal, ce petit cahier, de trente-et-un feuillets en papier vergé, relié en caribou noir, dont les pages (numérotées de 103 à 165) mesurent 18cm sur 12cm, est l'un des plus importants ouvrages de la lexicologie canadienne française. Pour la plupart - certainement pour la partie qui nous intéresse - le cahier est écrit en deux colonnes, d'une main très claire et régulière mais aussi très fine: on compte jusqu'à quarante lettres par centimètre carré.

Nous examinons tout ce qui, dans ce manuscrit, a été noté à partir de la vie quotidienne; nous écartons donc tout ce qui est d'une provenance livresque. Ainsi, entre le début et la mi-colonne de la page 113a, l'auteur puise dans Joubert et le Dictionnaire de Trévoux et d'autres sources, ainsi que dans la conversation de ses connaissances aux Pays-Bas. Notre étude n'examine pas ces entrées de sources diverses. Par contre, les pages 113a à 129 sont 'prises sur le vif,' comme le démontrent les en-têtes géographiques: 'Dans la traversée de france (sic) au Canada; à Québec; à Lorette; de Québec au Détroit; à Caterak8i;⁵ de Caterak8i à Niagara; de Niagara au Détroit; au Détroit ou à L'Ile aux bois blancs.' De la page 129a jusqu'à la page 143a l'auteur copie, sur des pages non divisées en colonnes, des extraits d'une histoire de France par M. de Larrey. Ces extraits ne font pas non plus partie de notre étude. De la page 143a à la page 154b, l'auteur reprend ses sources locales avec des citations sur deux colonnes. Les pages 155 et 156 sont consacrées à des 'conjonctions et[c]' présentées sur pages non divisées en colonnes. Enfin les pages 157 a à 161b reprennent, sur deux colonnes, le langage utilisé par les contemporains de

l'auteur avec, souvent, des expressions et vocables tirés des gazettes et d'autres publications de l'époque.

Le total des entrées consacrées à la langue, et auxquelles nous nous intéressons, monte à plus de deux mille deux cents. Parmi ces entrées, plusieurs sont répétées, par exemple des listes de plantes, d'animaux, d'insectes, de poissons etc. Compte tenu des entrées multiples, nous avons un corpus de presque deux mille huit cents vocables. Parmi ceux-ci, presque cinq cents sont tirés de gazettes et d'autres sources écrites de l'époque, ce qui nous laisse plus de deux mille trois cents vocables relevés au Canada. La répartition géographique de la provenance de ces vocables est importante: un peu plus du tiers (791, soit 34%) sont relevés à Québec et à Lorette; presque 10% (208 ou 9%) sont relevés pendant le voyage de Québec au Détroit; et presque les deux tiers (1310 ou 57%) du total sont relevés sur la frontière, c'est-à-dire à l'Ile aux Bois Blancs ou au Détroit. On verra l'intérêt de ces pourcentages quand nous examinerons les versions partielles publiées du manuscrit.

La présentation des vocables dans le manuscrit n'est pas celle des dictionnaires modernes. Assez souvent, l'auteur note le vocable souligné sans explication ou commentaire: 'Les Sauv:[ages] des païs d'enhaut sont d'une Saloperie étonnante. P[ère de la Richardie]' (123b 03). D'autres fois, il donne un équivalent dans le français qui lui semble 'normal' ou, parfois, en latin: 'il rase 50 ans: approche f[rère]' (123b 03); 'gouïne f. coureuse * Scortum * R[ichet]' (119b 34). D'autres fois encore, il donne une définition plus complète, et il met en contexte le vocable cité: 'Plomb ou petites Roches attachées au maître d'enbas pour étendre les rets' (123B 01); 'Mariage à la gomine sans ceremonies de l'église ... vg. une telle je vous prends à témoin que je prend une telle pour mon époux et[c] P[ère de La Richardie]' (122b 29).

La valeur du document, valeur reconnue déjà par Vigier mais aussi par des lexicologues contemporains tels que Juneau, Poirier et Massicotte, saute aux yeux. D'abord on note que la période 1743-1758 précède immédiatement la Conquête. Ensuite, la répartition géographique des sources et des citations englobe toute la Nouvelle-France depuis la Louisiane (cf. 'La Balise') (157b 24) et les vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississippi jusqu'à la capitale, Québec.⁶ En plus, on ne peut pas manquer d'être impressionné par la gamme des sources qui y figurent: tous les niveaux de la société de l'époque sont représentés, les fermiers et les commerçants aussi bien que les militaires et les gouvernants; les sages-femmes et les femmes de moeurs légères aussi bien que les savants confrères jésuites. Toute cette gamme est notée avec une neutralité et une impartialité absolues: l'auteur ne juge pas, il transcrit ce qu'il entend. Notons aussi la catholicité des intérêts de l'auteur: il devance

Diderot et les encyclopédistes, de plusieurs années, par son attention au lexique des arts et métiers. Il consigne en son cahier des éléments du vocabulaire des marchands et chasseurs, de celui des militaires, des coureurs de bois, des missionnaires, des agriculteurs, des pêcheurs et des pécheurs. Parmi ces glanures lexicales, nous retrouvons souvent des détails très personnels concernant ses sources d'information: leurs préoccupations devant les guerres incessantes, les attitudes des uns envers les autres, leurs soucis au sujet du fournissement d'eau-de-vie et de vin de France durant cette période difficile pour la colonie française au Canada. Qui plus est, l'auteur s'intéresse non seulement au lexique de ses contemporains, mais aussi à la phonétique, à la morphologie et à la syntaxe.

L'intérêt que nous portons à ce document a donc été stimulé non seulement par un certain chauvinisme local, mais aussi par sa valeur intrinsèque. Or, on n'a donné jusqu'ici que deux éditions partielles du cahier du R.P. Potier, de sorte que les chercheurs et les lexicologues qui s'intéressent à l'état du français au Canada à cette époque sont laissés sur leur faim. Faisons donc le bilan de ces deux versions partielles.

Les éditions publiées sont, par ordre chronologique, celle du Bulletin du parler français au Canada (1905)⁷ et celle d'Almazan (1980). Au dire des éditeurs du Bulletin, seuls sont publiés 'les numéros qui concernent le parler canadien' (BPFC III:214). Ils notent pourtant que 'plusieurs mots...sont parfaitement français; nous les reproduisons pour la plupart; il peut y avoir quelque intérêt' (*ibid.*). Il résulte de leur approche que:

- a) ils donnent moins de 45% de l'original;
- b) la version suit, non sans faute, l'ordre de l'original;
- c) sont intercalées dans leur texte d'intéressantes notes géographiques, historiques et biographiques;
- d) la transcription (ou la rédaction) varie entre la fidélité à l'original et une orthographe modernisée;
- e) sont modifiées ou, plus souvent, éliminées toutes les entrées qui touchent à la sexualité et à la scatologie ou qui blessent la bienséance des éditeurs.

Nous ne retrouvons donc pas composer, glosé par chier (118b 27). Gouine, glosé par coureuse; scortum avec, comme source, le Père Richer (119b 34), devient gouine i.e. coureuse sans scortum ni précision de la source.

Le plus grave défaut, pourtant, c'est le nombre élevé de fautes de transcription ou de rédaction, qui ont gêné les chercheurs sérieux depuis la publication des 'Façons de parler...' dans le Bulletin en 1905. Une difficulté parmi d'autres est causée par le problème des 'mots fantômes,' des mots qui n'ont jamais existé; par exemple Juneau (1977:16) discute en toute sincérité du vocable onessini, transcription par les auteurs du Bulletin de ouisseni (126b 20). Ce qui est encore plus grave, Juneau (1977:17) s'appuie sur une mauvaise transcription - patacle pour patracle (122a 27) - pour avancer l'hypothèse que le /r/ du provençal patraco s'était déjà amui en 1744 et que cette variante était connu dans le Nord de la France. En réalité, le vocable cité par le Père Potier est bien patracle et ce vocable est prononcé ainsi, non pas par le Wallon Potier, mais par son confrère périgourdin, le Père de la Richardie.

La version de Vincent Almazan (1980) est un peu plus complète et bien plus rigoureuse. Il présente quelques 1100 entrées, presque la moitié du manuscrit. L'ordre alphabétique qu'il établit aide beaucoup à retrouver un vocable spécifique, tandis que ses références à la page et à la colonne du manuscrit permettent de vérifier la provenance du vocable. Cette version est bien plus fidèle à l'original malgré l'orthographe modernisée; il y a quelques fautes, mais elles sont beaucoup moins graves que celles de son prédécesseur. En fait, Almazan corrige plusieurs fautes de la version du Bulletin.⁸ Quant aux nombreuses suppressions, Almazan n'a pas les préjugés de ses prédécesseurs contre les références sexuelles ou scatologiques. Par contre - et c'est la plus forte critique que l'on puisse faire de cette version - l'auteur ne transcrit pas 'les nombreuses expressions...qui se trouvent dans le Larousse' (Almazan 1980:308). C'est oublier qu'il faut garder les attestations anciennes de mots qui survivent en français standard. Dans le cas de vocables tels que bergère (124b 26), calinerie (122v 35), déblatérer (124a 15), etc., qu'Almazan omet, leur présence dans le manuscrit est une première attestation du mot ou une première attestation de son acception moderne. Cette version reste pourtant nettement supérieure à celle du Bulletin: elle est plus exacte, plus complète, et l'ordre alphabétique en rend l'usage plus facile.

On a écrit deux articles sur le document qui doivent retenir notre attention: ce sont Pinon (1971) et Juneau (1977). Nous pouvons dire, avec Juneau (1977:13, note 2), que l'article de Pinon est 'sympathique.' Celui-ci présente un aperçu, un recueil de ses impressions; le tout témoigne d'une approche plus populaire que linguistique.

L'article de Juneau, par contre, présente pour la première fois une appréciation vraiment linguistique du manuscrit, bien que l'auteur soit limité dans ses commentaires par la version du Bulletin

(cf. supra). Dans cette appréciation sérieuse, l'auteur signale, entre autres phénomènes:

- a) la conservation de vieilles formes gallo-romanes;
- b) la création de nouvelles formes face à la réalité nord-américaine;
- c) le rôle des emprunts aux langues amérindiennes;
- d) les expressions figurées de l'époque;
- e) les renseignements phonologiques présents;
- f) les renseignements morphosyntaxiques présents;
- g) les expressions savantes;
- h) les nouvelles datations.

Les traitements partiels et les évaluations divergentes du manuscrit ont stimulé nos efforts vers une présentation complète et utilisable de ce document, basée sur des méthodes de recherche modernes. Autrement dit, il a fallu d'abord établir une copie diplomatique du manuscrit, une copie où la typographie moderne reproduit le manuscrit aussi exactement que possible. Grâce à des agrandissements de la photocopie de l'original (nous avons déjà remarqué que l'écriture du Père Potier était minuscule), et avec l'aide précieuse du Père R. Toupin de l'Université Laurentienne, nous croyons avoir établi une édition entièrement fidèle à l'original.

Une fois la version diplomatique établie, nous avons déterminé en consultation avec M. Claude Buridant et en nous appuyant sur l'appréciation de M. Juneau, les centres d'intérêt du manuscrit. L'identification des aspects d'intérêt linguistique nous a permis d'élaborer un système de codage pour un traitement des données par micro-ordinateur, en établissant à cette fin douze cases de base ou catégories. Chaque entrée, ou chaque partie d'entrée pour le cas d'entrées multiples, a été codée et mise en micro-ordinateur. Cela fait, nous avons pu établir un index alphabétique des mots clefs avec leurs références (page, colonne et place dans la colonne); nous signalons aussi où ils figurent dans les deux versions partielles. Ce système de codage nous permet aussi de regrouper les vocables, par ordre alphabétique, en catégories onomasiologiques; de regrouper les vocables d'une même source; et de réunir toutes les citations présentant le même intérêt social et, surtout, linguistique.

Tout aussi important que la présentation fidèle du manuscrit est l'examen soigné de son contenu linguistique. Ainsi, après avoir codé les dix aspects différents, depuis l'orthographe jusqu'aux savantismes ou 'jésuitismes' - nous avons rassemblé, soit par ordre alphabétique soit par ordre du manuscrit, tous les éléments d'une seule catégorie. Ce double rassemblement est important car il permet de vérifier, par exemple, si le système orthographique a changé durant les quinze ans de 1743 à 1758. Une fois les données regroupées, nous avons pu formuler des critères pour les examiner de façon formelle.

D'abord, l'orthographe, ce sujet si vivement discuté par l'Académie et par bien d'autres savants du XVIII^e siècle. La 'Réforme' de l'orthographe française, telle que préconisée dans l'introduction de la troisième édition du Dictionnaire de l'Académie en 1740 (acceptation d'accents intérieurs, suppression de beaucoup de lettres inutiles, etc.), était en fait une réforme conservatrice.⁹ Nous avons dû évaluer à sa juste valeur l'orthographe du Père Potier, homme instruit vivant en plein milieu du XVIII^e siècle. Nous avons décidé de comparer l'orthographe du manuscrit avec celle du Dictionnaire de Furetière de 1727, qui est contemporain de la période de la formation intellectuelle de l'auteur, avec celle d'Académie III, qui précède de très peu le départ de l'auteur pour l'Amérique et avec celle du Dictionnaire de Trévoux de 1752, publication jésuite, donc savante, qui sert de guide à l'orthographe de cette communauté religieuse pour la période de la dernière partie du manuscrit. Les résultats de notre comparaison révèlent clairement que le Père Potier était un homme de son époque. Son orthographe est légèrement archaisante par rapport à Académie III dans son usage régulier de moy, toy etc. mais tout à fait contemporain de l'Académie et de Trévoux dans son emploi de françois, jetter (128a 06, etc.) régître (161b 05) etc. Parfois même il devance son époque; ainsi il écrit curés, alors que l'ancienne forme curez figure toujours dans Académie III.

Potier note parfois des aspects phonétiques: 'les Canadiens disent fisque ... et fisquer pour fixe et fixer* curé fisque' (124a 25). D'autres fois, la citation est moins explicite: 'illustre rimant avec baluste' (117a 37), où l'auteur n'offre aucun commentaire mais trouve évidemment que la consonne géminée, [ll], devrait être prononcée. Dans bien des cas, nous devons nous appuyer sur l'étude de son système orthographique pour faire ressortir les faits phonétiques: cette étude nous montre que d'habitude le Père Potier n'omet le 'e caduc' qu'en position finale; il le fait même dans un[e], ce qui est assez rare. Une graphie telle que giblotte (146b 29) doit donc représenter une prononciation contemporaine réelle, car ce mot est un néologisme pour l'auteur et s'il avait entendu le 'e' muet il l'aurait écrit.

Dans un manuscrit de ce genre la distinction nette entre les aspects phonétiques, morphologiques et syntaxiques est parfois difficile à établir. Nous venons de montrer quelques exemples où le phonétisme des sources est le sujet de l'entrée du manuscrit. Dans d'autres cas, telles que 'frênière ... chenière ... Pinière ... Sapinière et[c]' (125b 20), l'auteur veut évidemment signaler la régularisation morphologique en -ière des plantations d'arbres. Une question un peu plus épineuse est posée par quelques citations telles que 'qui ne mange pas Moure (Meurt) disait M. De Cruzafi' (160a 01). S'agit-il d'un simple aspect phonétique? Une étude sur le français en Acadie (Gesner 1985) montre que ce verbe est régularisé en acadien et on peut donc suggérer qu'il s'agit ici d'un aspect morphologique.

Quant aux aspects purement syntaxiques, on note régulièrement des constructions de l'époque telle que la place du pronom complément dans des constructions verbales composées: 'le vaisseau s'est en allé' (116b 02). On note pourtant d'autres aspects, par exemple, la citation 'Le P. bon[aventure] fait mal de nous tenir le bec dans [:] on l'attendoit de jour en jour (P)' (159a 17). Il se peut qu'il s'agisse ici d'un archaïsme, car la distinction entre préposition et adverbe n'était pas toujours clairement observée en ancien et en moyen français. Il est vrai que la 'particule déplacée' était assez commune en ancien français, mais elle était déjà tombée en désuétude à l'époque du Père Potier, avec quelques rares exceptions que l'on trouve encore de nos jours dans des registres de français populaire ou régionaux (cf. 'sortir avec').

Le sujet ayant le plus grand intérêt dans notre étude, c'est naturellement le lexique. Pour cette partie du travail, les oeuvres les plus utiles sont le Französische Etymologische Wörterbuch (FEW) de von Wartburg, l'Histoire de la langue française de Brunot, les atlas linguistiques et les dictionnaires et glossaires des dialectes et parlers régionaux de la France. Nous y consacrons plusieurs catégories: 'Nouvelles datations,' 'Archaïsmes ou dialectalismes,' etc. Mais pour bien évaluer un vocable ou une expression, il faut parfois déchiffrer une graphie quelque peu surprenante e.g., solillesse (125a 26) pour sot-l'y-laisse. D'autres fois, les jeux de mots sont tout à fait du cru de l'auteur ou de la communauté jésuite: Saint Ignace, fondateur de l'ordre est glosé par 5 vieilles perruques (149a 08), donc cinq tignasses!

Pour la catégorie 'Nouvelles datations ou premières attestations,' les oeuvres de base sont le FEW de von Wartburg, Bloch-von Wartburg, Meyer-Lübke, le Trésor de la langue française, les Cahiers de Bernard Quémada. Nous avons ajouté cette catégorie par suite de l'observation de Juneau (1977:19) que le document est particulièrement riche en nouvelles datations. En effet, un examen soigné en relève plus de cent vingt, soit de mots comme baccara

(147a 05, 154b 19, 159a 06), soit de nouvelles acceptions telle que légation (167a 06) au sens laïc et diplomatique, division (160b 13) au sens militaire et bergère (124b 26) au sens de fauteuil. Il est vrai que certaines attestations ne font reculer la naissance du mot que de quelques années. Ainsi bergère au sens de fauteuil est relevé par le Père Potier en 1743; or, on avait déjà une attestation de cette acception datant de 1746. Par contre, baccara est traditionnellement daté de 1855; Potier le cite plus d'un siècle avant cette date avec le sens de 'zéro'; qui plus est, cette citation tend à confirmer l'étymologie proposée par Pierre Guiraud dans son Dictionnaire des étymologies obscures. Il nous a semblé utile de reproduire dans cette partie de notre étude des extraits des gazettes du temps, car la nature éphémère de ces documents les rend souvent inaccessibles aux lexicographes.

Dans les dialectalismes relevés par Potier, il s'agit également, dans plusieurs cas, de premières attestations. Ici son cahier est un document vraiment précieux, car on a réédité très peu de sources dialectales écrites pour la longue période qui va du moyen français à la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, époque où les linguistes ont commencé de s'intéresser à la dialectologie. Nous avons, il est vrai, La Muse normande du XVIIe siècle et le répertoire de la langue poissarde de Gilles Vadé au XVIIIe siècle, ainsi que quelques régionalismes chez des auteurs tels que Brantôme et J.J. Rousseau, mais cela ne constitue pas un grand corpus. A part ces quelques textes, on n'a guère que le FEW et les dictionnaires des patois et parlers régionaux publiés, pour la plupart, vers la fin du siècle passé (dont beaucoup ont été réimprimés par Slatkine et d'autres).

La question des archaïsmes se montre souvent épineuse. Certes, on s'appuie sur Godefroy pour l'ancien français, sur Huguet pour le XVIe siècle et sur Dubois et Laganne pour la période classique, ainsi que sur le FEW pour toutes les périodes et régions. Pourtant, quelques vocables considérés par Godefroy comme faisait partie de l'ancien français, assignés par le FEW à une sépulture honorable quelques siècles avant la mi-XVIIIe, sont cités par le Père Potier, ce qui nous force à reconsidérer leur statut. Dans plusieurs cas nous devons conclure que ces vocables jouissaient d'une santé robuste en plein XVIIIe siècle, même si c'était seulement dans des aires dialectales et bien qu'ils ne soient pas relevés dans les dictionnaires de parlers régionaux d'un siècle plus tard (Clapin 1894, Dionne 1909, Dunn 1880, le Glossaire du parler français au Canada, etc.).

Notre catégorie 'Lexique Contemporain' regroupe les vocables en usage au milieu du XVIIIe siècle qui, de nos jours, sont tombés en désuétude. Ici encore, les recherches s'appuient naturellement sur le FEW et l'Histoire de la langue française de Brunot ainsi que sur les grands dictionnaires de l'époque, surtout les éditions

de l'Académie, de Richelet et de Trévoux, les trois parus en 1740. Des expressions telles que chier dans ma manne (149a 03) au sens de me déplaire, me fâcher y sont répertoriées.

Sous la rubrique des emprunts, nous nous limitons à un examen des apports des langues amérindiennes - surtout les langues algiques - au vocabulaire de la Nouvelle-France.¹⁰ On peut classer les emprunts dans trois groupes. Le premier comporte les vocables empruntés tels quels; ce sont les plus faciles à reconnaître. Quelques-uns de ces vocables survivent encore dans le fonds du français commun ou dans les français d'Amérique: apichomon (145b 09), caribou (115a 10), micoine (114b 39), etc. Quelques autres semblent avoir connu une popularité plus éphémère, p. ex. okantican; au sens de 'grosse flotte (pour les rets)' (125a 36) et ouisseni au sens de 'repas' (126b 20). Ces derniers, relevés au Détroit, suggèrent que l'influence des langues amérindiennes était plus forte sur la frontière que dans un Québec peut-être plus orienté vers l'Europe.

Le deuxième groupe d'emprunts aux langues amérindiennes comporte les vocables constitués d'un radical amérindien assorti d'un suffixe français. Des exemples sont l'adjectif illinois (158a 26) où l'on ajoute le suffixe adjectival -ois au radical algique ilini (variantes: infini et irini) (cf. Hanzeli 1969:71); et le coutaganer (128a 17) où le coutagan ou couteau croche des Amérindiens est le radical d'un verbe régulier français de la première conjugaison (cf. La Hontan 1728:225, t.II). Dans plusieurs cas, le vocable cité par le Père Potier semble être l'unique attestation de cette créativité verbale, car les autres sources (Read 1963, Friederici 1960, McDermott 1941, Hanzeli 1969, etc.) ne les notent pas.

Les traductions en français des expressions figurées si importantes aux langues algiques et iroquoïennes constituent la dernière catégorie d'emprunts aux langues amérindiennes.¹¹ Nous retrouvons ici des expressions comme relever l'arbre tombé pour 'élire un nouveau capitaine' (115b 31), ou courir l'allumette au sens de 'chercher des chiennes en chaleur' (144a 09). Assez souvent, ces expressions n'ont pas laissé de traces dans les parlers français d'Amérique et, par conséquent, il faut en chercher le sens dans d'autres écrits de l'auteur ainsi que dans les textes des visiteurs européens de l'époque, tels que Bonnefois, La Hontan ou Kalm. Parfois, une expression de ce genre survit jusqu'à nos jours. Par exemple, le manuscrit nous apprend que, pour les Outaouais, la grand-mère désignait 'l'eau-de-vie,' et il glose caresser sa grand-mère par 'boire de l'eau-de-vie' (124b 17). Or, nous retrouvons une expression pareille, ayant le même sens, dans le Glossaire du parler français au Canada: embrasser sa grand-mère.

Le dernier aspect du lexique du Père Potier que nous examinons en détail, ce sont les savantismes ou 'jésuitismes.' Il consiste de gloses et d'explications en latin, de mots savants et d'éléments que l'on peut proprement désigner d'argot, tous provenant du milieu jésuite en Nouvelle-France. Au moment de l'arrivée de l'auteur, cette communauté, la plus intellectuelle de son époque, oeuvrait déjà depuis plus d'un siècle dans les missions et les écoles canadiennes. Depuis Brébeuf, on insistait non seulement sur l'intelligence des candidats pour les missions mais aussi sur leur 'don de langues' (Hanzeli 1969:63). Ce n'est donc pas surprenant de trouver ici et là dans le manuscrit des mots et des expressions qui proviennent des confrères jésuites et non des autres membres de la société de la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe siècle. Naturellement, ces vocables ont souvent trait à la religion ou au droit canon: comittimus (144b 09), aux sciences: buterfiel (pour 'Butterfield') (cf. Larousse 1867:1447a, t.I), à la médecine: poplite (115b 22), etc. D'autres termes témoignent de la préparation commune - et notamment latinisante - des Jésuites, et de leur sens de l'humour qui se complaît dans les jeux de mots: être mansulé; 'avoir la petite table' (c-à-d. 'faire de la pénitance' 120B 03), et piscicules: 'petits poissons' (117a 29), sont calqués sur le latin; la fondation du collège au sens d'huile ou beurre qui sert aux fritures' (125b 01) joue sur fonder et fondre. Finalement, il y a des éléments qui font partie d'un véritable argot jésuite. Des vocables tels que dogique (124a 77), calqué sur le japonais dogiku,¹² et jougarolles (120a 28), qui se réfère à la tradition théâtrale des collèges jésuites, doivent être considérés comme d'un usage restreint à la communauté jésuite, car bien d'entre eux ne figurent pas dans les ouvrages usuels consultés (ni même parfois dans les ouvrages qui traitent, en tout ou en partie, de l'histoire de la Société de Jésus). Il est important de signaler ces éléments pour ne pas créer une fausse impression du français normal de la Nouvelle-France juste avant la Conquête (cf. Juneau 1977:19).

Depuis la section du cahier intitulé 'La traversée au Canada' jusqu'à la fin du manuscrit, l'auteur cite de temps à autre les sources de ses relevés. Les sources orales, au nombre d'une soixantaine, nous permettent de constater la valeur de la tranche synchronique qui y est représentée, tandis que les citations des gazettes donnent un aperçu précieux sur les informations disponibles sur la frontière. Afin que les entrées du manuscrit puissent être appréciées à leur juste valeur, notre travail comporte un appendice présentant des esquisses biographiques des sources orales et une liste des gazettes, revues etc. que recevait le Père Potier. Grâce aux recherches du Père Robert Toupin, nous connaissons les sources écrites des citations dans le manuscrit. Pour les sources orales, le Dictionnaire de biographie canadienne nous est utile seulement dans le cas des personnages d'importance historique tels que le Gouverneur-général, quelques militaires et plusieurs confrères

jésuites de l'auteur. Pour des renseignements sur le menu peuple, nous avons eu recours à des ouvrages qui visent plutôt la réalité de la frontière au Détroit: Lajeunesse (1960), Askin (1928), et, surtout, Dennissen (sans date), ouvrage indispensable dans nos recherches sur les 'anciens Canadiens.' Avec les renseignements trouvés dans de tels références, il est possible dans la plupart des cas non seulement d'identifier la provenance linguistique (Québec, Montréal ou ailleurs au Canada; ville de naissance, position etc. en France), mais aussi de connaître avec une certaine mesure de précision l'âge, la profession et le statut civil de la source au moment où elle est citée. Ces renseignements nous sont utiles afin d'apprécier la contribution de la source à sa juste valeur.

Nous avons décrit ici une méthode qui nous semble répondre aux besoins de la recherche en lexicologie moderne. La présentation d'anciens textes en version diplomatique nous paraît essentielle, non seulement à cause de l'intérêt manifesté par les grands centres de recherches en orthographe, tels le groupe qui oeuvre au CNRS sous la direction de Nina Catach, mais aussi parce qu'une transcription entièrement fidèle à l'original est nécessaire pour bien peser les témoignages phonétiques et parfois même morphologiques offerts par le texte.

L'informatisation a beaucoup aidé nos recherches, car elle permet l'évaluation rapide d'un aspect de l'orthographe (ex.: curés, curez et curéz), le regroupement des vocables par source, les regroupements onomasiologiques et l'indexation alphabétique. Même si elle ne saurait remplacer le fichier traditionnel, la valeur du nouveau système est tout à fait évidente.

Par contre, cette technologie moderne ne peut pas remplacer bien des aspects de la recherche traditionnelle. Les classiques de la lexicologie comme le FEW, les grands dictionnaires et les petits glossaires des parlers régionaux ne sont pas encore informatisés, et on ne saurait pas s'en passer. Dans ce contexte il faut se servir du meilleur de ce que nous offrent les ères 'gutenbergienne' et 'post-gutenbergienne.'

Nous espérons que notre approche à ce manuscrit précieux, ainsi que les résultats de nos recherches, rendront plus accessible le travail remarquable de ce pionnier de la lexicologie en Amérique française que fut le Père Pierre-Philippe Potier, s.j.

REMERCIEMENTS

Je tiens à remercier mes collègues Adrian van den Hoven, Basil Kingstone et Moshé Starets qui m'ont aidé à corriger le brouillon de cet article. Je voudrais remercier aussi le Père Toupin qui

nous a gracieusement fourni une photocopie du manuscrit original, ainsi que de plusieurs autres documents. Le codage pour traitement avec DBase II a été élaboré avec l'aide indispensable de notre collègue de l'Université de Windsor, Carl Querbach.

NOTES

¹Ce travail constitue notre thèse de doctorat préparée sous la direction du professeur Claude Buridant, du Centre de philologie romane de l'Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg.

²Pour de plus amples détails sur l'oeuvre missionnaire et curiale du Père Potier, voir Lajeunesse (1960).

³Sur le Dictionnaire du Père Joubert et l'attitude de l'auteur à l'égard des façons de parler populaires, voir Quémada (1968:175, 525).

⁴Nous désignons ainsi la page du manuscrit, la colonne, et l'entrée. Voir le paragraphe suivant.

⁵Dans les citations qui suivent, nous citons textuellement l'auteur en suivant son système orthographique (qui n'est pas sans intérêt); seules les abréviations sont complétées entre crochets. Caterak8i ou Cataraqui s'appelle aujourd'hui Kingston (Ontario). Le '8' figure dans les écrits des missionnaires depuis l'époque des premiers missionnaires jésuites. Introduit par Brébeuf, le graphème est une ligature d'omicron et d'upsilon écrite d'un seul trait et représente un [u], peut-être fortement aspiré. (cf. Hanzeli 1969:59).

⁶L'Acadie, déjà cédée aux Anglais, ne figure naturellement pas dans le manuscrit; il y a pourtant mention de l'Ile Royale.

⁷Bulletin du parler français au Canada, vol. III (1904-1905), pp. 231-220; 252-255; 292-298; vol. IV (1905-1906), pp. 29-30; 63-65; 103-104; 146-149; 224-226; 264-267.

⁸Voir notamment la liste partielle d'erreurs signalées par Almazan (1980:308) dans son introduction.

⁹V. à ce sujet, Brunot (1966-1968), t. VI ('Orthographe') ainsi que les recherches sous la direction de Nina Catach au CNRS.

¹⁰Il est vrai que des emprunts aux autres langues se montrent dans le manuscrit, p.e. senau, sorte de vaisseau, en anglais (160a 18), qui est emprunté au néerlandais, mais ces vocables ne font pas partie de notre étude.

¹¹Cf. les commentaires de Brébeuf cités dans Hanzeli (1969:61) et, dans le manuscrit, 'Je suis un peu au fait du Dictionnaire huron je comprends leurs façons de parler métaphoriques & [c] P[ère de la Richardie]' (144b 23).

¹²Cf. Campeau (1987:254): 'Dogique est dérivé d'un mot japonais (dogiku) par lequel les jésuites du Japon désignaient un fidèle qui était catéchiste et gardien de la communauté en l'absence du prêtre ou leur assistant dans l'instruction des autres.'

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VERB, COMPLEMENT, AND CASE IN MANDARIN

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ABSTRACT

The question of word order has been a major topic in the study of Mandarin, as in many other languages. Two major theoretical studies have appeared in the last several years, proposing different accounts of word order in the Mandarin verb phrase. These works, Huang (1982) and Travis (1984), complement the more descriptively oriented, and more comprehensive, Li and Thompson (1981). This paper will examine Mandarin word order in light of Huang's and Travis' suggestions. Both will be shown to exhibit certain problems -in particular, in not adequately accounting for the relationships of preverbal and postverbal phrases to each other and to the verb. This paper will propose that the facts can be most clearly related to properties of Mandarin case assignment.¹

1. Introduction: Complements Obligatorily Preceding the Verb

In an account of word order stated in terms of a parameter based on the distinction between head-initial and head-final phrases, Huang (1982) proposes that X^1 -level categories in Mandarin are head-initial (except for N^1), while all other categories in the language are head-final.² This suggestion, together with the standard assumption in X-bar theory that a lexical element and its complements occur as sisters, will lead to the prediction that a verb's complement(s) follow it, all else being equal. (All else is not fully equal, however, since Huang intimates (note 16, page 96-97) that a verb is limited to a single sister node within V^1 , with the possible exception of double object verbs and other verbs which subcategorize for two complements.)

The proposals in Travis (1984, chapter 2) lead to the same prediction, that, all else being equal, a verb is followed by its complements. Travis proposes two additional parameters besides the headedness parameter which have significant roles to play in determining the word orders found in language: parameters based on the direction of theta-marking, and of case assignment. She proposes that current Mandarin, though essentially head-final,

assigns both theta roles and case to the right, with a result similar to Huang's for verb phrases: only subcategorized for or case-marked phrases will follow the verb.³

It is well recognized by both Huang and Travis, and others, that under certain conditions apparent verbal complements may precede the verb. However, it is also generally understood that such instances represent variants of the 'basic' word order, which has the complement in a postverbal position. Thus we note the contrast in (1), involving the 'ba-construction.'

- (1) a. Wo nong-po le cha bei.
I make-broken ASP tea cup⁴
'I broke the teacup'
- b. Wo ba cha bei nong-po le.
I BA tea cup make-broken ASP
'I broke the teacup' (Li & Thompson 1981:466)

The idea that the (a) example shows the 'basic' word order is generally supported by the fact that not all sentences allow the alternation:

- (2) a. Ta xiang baba.
she resemble father
'She resembles her father'
- b. * Ta ba baba xiang
she BA father resemble
(She resembles her father) (Li & Thompson 1981:473)

Leaving aside this construction until the next section, neither Huang nor Travis points out that there are certain verbs which **must** have a preverbal complement. With these verbs there is no alternative with the complement occurring post-verbally. Some examples are given below.⁵

- (3) Wo wei guojiao fuwu.
I for country serve
'I serve the country'
- (4) Ta gei Lisi hexi.
he to (name) congratulate
'He congratulated Lisi' (Li & Thompson 1981:386)
- (5) Zhang yisheng gei Lisi kan-bing.
(name) doctor to (name) see-illness
'Dr Zhang is treating Lisi' (Li & Thompson 1981:386)

Three pieces of evidence support our claim that the underlined PPs in (3)-(5) are verbal complements. First, the head of the PP is strictly selected by the verb in each case. Thus, fuwu 'serve' must occur with a PP headed by wei 'for,' just as English rely must occur with a PP headed by on. This sort of selection is expected only with subcategorized elements. Second, in (3) and (4) the PP is required for grammaticality:

(3') *Wo fuwu
 I serve
 (I serve)

(4') *Ta hexi
 he congratulate
 (He congratulated)

This fact establishes the PPs as complements, since by definition complements of a lexical item are phrases which obligatorily accompany it. Third, the interpretation of the NPs guojiao 'country' and Lisi in these sentences seems to be in large part semantically dependent on the verb of the sentence. That is, in each case the NP seems to be a semantic argument of the verb. Undoubtedly, then, these examples contain verbal complements. These complements must precede the verbal head in their phrase. In either Huang's or Travis' view of Mandarin phrase structure, some very special provision must be made for such verbs. Our proposal will require no special statements except those concerning the idiosyncrasy of selection of each lexical item. Word order will be predictable from general principles.

2. Ditransitive Verbs

Huang and Travis predict that ditransitive (or double-object) verbs will allow or require both the direct and indirect object to follow the verb, Huang by his head-initial X^1 rule, and Travis by her generalization that theta-roles are assigned to the right in Mandarin. This pattern is illustrated by the following examples:

(6) Ta song le wo yi ding maozhi.
 she send ASP I one CL cap
 'She sent me a cap'

(7) Zhangsan gaosu le wo zhejian shi.
 (name) tell ASP I this thing
 'Zhangsan told me this thing'

- (8) Wo ying le ta zheben shu.
 I win ASP he this book
 'I won this book from him'
- (9) Ta tou le sangdie yi ge giezhi.
 she steal ASP store one CL ring
 'She stole a ring from the store'

With these ditransitives, we assume with Huang and Travis that the potential for two objects to follow the verb indicates that both objects are assigned theta roles by the verb; that is, both are arguments of the verb.

Ditransitive verbs may differ from each other in a number of respects. With some the indirect object has the theta role of goal, as in (6) and (7); with others it has the source theta role, as in (8) and (9). In all of these sentences the indirect object is expressed in a NP which immediately follows the verb. Depending upon the verb, an indirect object may or must be expressed in a prepositional phrase. When this is the case, it need not immediately follow the verb.

The examples below show PP goal arguments to ditransitive verbs. Goal PPs have the preposition gei 'to' as their head.

- (10) Ta song le yi ding maozhi gei wo.
 she send me one CL cap to I
 'She sent me a cap'
- (11) Wo fu gei ta liang bai kuai qian.
 I pay to he two hundred dollar money
 'I paid \$200 to him' (Li & Thompson 1981:377)
- (12) Wo shu le yi kuai qian gei ta.
 I lose ASP one dollar money to him
 'I lost a dollar to him' (Li & Thomspon 1981:375)
- (13) Ta huan gei ni yi wan rou.
 she return to you one bowl meat
 'She returned a bowl of meat to you' (Li & Thompson 1981:376)

As the order of constituents in the examples above suggests, indirect object phrases with the head gei 'to' and direct object NPs are freely ordered with respect to each other. Both follow the verb.⁶

When a source indirect object takes the form of a PP, it must precede the verb. This is quite unexpected without further elaboration of either Huang's or Travis' hypothesis about Mandarin VPs, since

according to both accounts, subcategorized arguments of the verb will follow it. Compare (8) and (9) above.

- (14) a. Wo cong ta nali ying le zheben shu.
 I from he SUF win ASP this book
 'I won this book from him'
- b. * Wo ying le zheben shu cong ta nali
 I win ASP this book from he SUF
 (I won this book from him)
- (15) a. Ta cong sangdie tou le yi ge giezhi.
 she from store steal ASP one CL ring
 'She stole a ring from the store'
- b. * Ta tou le yi ge giezhi cong sangdie
 she steal ASP one CL ring from store
 (She stole a ring from the store)

The ungrammaticality of (14b) and (15b) is what calls for explanation, under the assumption that all and only the arguments of a verb follow the verb. Why can the PPs which serve as source arguments not follow the verb as the goal arguments do in (10)-(13)? This particular question is not addressed by either Huang or Travis.

Our proposal, which we believe is quite novel, goes as follows. We suggest that gei in (10)-(13), unlike cong in (14)-(15), is not a preposition as is customarily assumed, but is instead a dative case marker. In other situations, to be discussed below, gei does function as a preposition. In having a dual existence gei resembles French à and Spanish a (Jaeggli 1986, and others). We would like to tentatively suggest that it shares this characteristic with two other items in Mandarin: zai 'in/at; LOCATIVE' and dao 'to; ALLATIVE.'⁷ These three 'prepositions,' unlike others in Mandarin, have the potential for occurring postverbally (Li & Thompson 1981:358). We assume that postverbally these items are not prepositions, but case markers. Our hypothesis about Mandarin phrase structure, based on this assumption, is that case is assigned to the right. Since the cases assigned by verbs in Mandarin are limited to those listed below:

(16) Mandarin case markers

- a. dative (zero or gei case marker),
- b. locative (zero or zai case marker),
- c. allative (zero or dao case marker),
- d. source (zero case marker), and
- e. accusative, used for themes (zero case marker).

The facts presented above preclude the possibility that a single parameter based on the direction of theta role assignment accounts for word order in the Mandarin VP: we have observed that phrases theta-marked by a verb precede and follow that verbal head. Apart from unmarked NPs, only phrases headed by a very small closed class of 'prepositions' follow the verb. Such phrases must furthermore be lexically associated with the verb. And, as we see from comparing the position of lexically selected gei-phrases in (4)-(5) and (10)-(13), only lexically selected goals-not benefactives - may follow the verb. Faced with an extremely limited class of preposition-like items whose distribution is strictly dictated by the lexical properties of verbs, it occurred to us that these are the typical characteristics of a class of case markings. The further fact, partially illustrated above (and see below in section 4), that these 'case markings/prepositions' may occur as zero, unites them in yet another way, and distances them from other prepositions. It is these kinds of considerations which give us some confidence in our novel approach. We note that the structure of NPs in Mandarin gives independent support to the idea that a phrasal head is followed only by those items which it case-marks. As is well-known, Mandarin NPs, unlike other categories, are strictly head-final. (Recall Huang's stipulation to this effect mentioned earlier). Under the common assumption that nouns have no potential to case-mark their complements, this fact about NPs is entirely predicted under our hypothesis, and so provides independent evidence for it.

(17) tou 'steal' a. [agent, theme, (source)]
 b. [agent, theme, (source)]
 |
 P

The agent is the verb's external argument (boldface). The source argument, which occurs optionally, may be expressed either (a) as a NP directly case-marked by the verb, or (b) as the object of a preposition (typically cong 'from').⁸ Both of these possibilities exist for most verbs which select a source argument; however, ditransitive chi 'eat' and he 'drink' allow only the first possibility, as (18) shows for he 'drink.'

- (18) a. Wo he le ni liang bei cha.
I drink ASP you two cup tea
'I drank two cups of tea off you (ie, at your expense)'
- b. * Wo cong ni he le liang bei cha
I from you drink ASP two cup tea
(I drank two cups of tea off you)

We assume that ditransitive *he* has the follow lexical structure:

- (19) he 'drink off of' [agent, theme, source]⁹

When the source argument of a verb is directly case-marked by the verb, it occurs postverbally as in (9) or (18a); when it is the object of a preposition, it occurs preverbally as in (15). These facts are expected under our hypothesis that only NPs case-marked by the verb may follow the verb.

The verb *jie* 'lend/borrow' has three lexical specifications:

- (20) jie a. [agent, theme, goal] 'lend'
 |
 gei(DAT)
 b. [agent, theme, (source)] 'borrow'
 c. [agent, theme, (source)] 'borrow'
 |
 p

When its indirect object is case-marked by dative gei, the verb has the interpretation 'lend.' An indirect object with zero case-marking is understood as a source argument, so the verb is read as 'borrow'; the source of 'borrow' may also be expressed in a PP. These three possibilities are exemplified below.

- (21) a. Ta jie gei wo wu kuai qian.
she DAT I five dollar money
'She lent five dollars to me'
- b. Ta jie le wo wu kuai qian.
she ASP I five dollar money
'She borrowed five dollars from me'
- c. i. Ta you gen wo jie qian.
she again with I money
'She again borrowed money from me'
- (Li & Thompson 1981:363)

- ii. Ta cong wo zheli jie le wu kuai qian.
 she from I ASP five dollar money
 'She borrowed five dollars from me'

Under our proposal concerning the directionality of case-marking, we can again consider the verbs discussed in the previous section. We assume that the verb fuwu 'serve' has the following lexical representation:

- (22) fuwu 'serve' [agent, benefactive]

|
P
|
wei

Its syntactic properties (see (3), (3'), and note 3) then follow. The benefactive argument, not being case-marked by the verb, cannot follow the verb, but precedes it in a PP headed by the preposition which the verb selects, wei 'for (the sake of).'

Besides the examples already seen, the most well-known instance in Mandarin in which an apparent verbal argument precedes the verb is seen with the 'ba-construction,' in which a direct object can occur in a PP preposed to the verb, as in (23)-(25) below.¹⁰

- (23) Wo ba zhe bei jiu shang le ta.
 I BA this CL wine bestow ASP he
 'I bestowed this cup of wine on him'

- (24) Ta ba zhe jian shi gaosu le wo.
 he BA this CL thing tell ASP I
 'He told me this thing'

- (25) Lisi ba ta de qiche mai le.
 (name) BA he of car sell ASP
 'Lisi sold his car'

Cheng (1986, 1987) argues that ba assigns the theta role of 'affected theme' to its object,¹¹ and accounts in this way for the contrast in grammaticality between the (b) examples below.

- (26) a. Xiaomei xihuan Xiaohu.
 (name) like (name)
 'Xiaomei likes Xiaohu'

(Cheng 1987)

- b. * Xiaomei ba Xiaohu xihuan
 BA like
 (Xiaomei likes Xiaohu)

- (27) a. Wo tui-dao le Lisi.
 I push-fall ASP (name)
 'I pushed Lisi and he fell' (Cheng 1987)

- b. Wo ba Lisi tui-dao le.
 I BA push-fall ASP
 'I pushed Lisi and he fell'

Assuming that the theta role assigned by ba to its object cannot conflict with the theta role assigned by the verb of the sentence to its object, (26b) is ungrammatical since, like other psych verbs, xihuan 'like' does not assign a theta role of affected theme. Other data shows that there is some degree of independence between the argument structure of ba and the argument structure of the verb of the sentence. Compare the (a) and (b) sentences in (28) and (29).

- (28) a. *a ba fangjian da-sao le.
 he BA room hit-sweep ASP
 (He cleaned the room) (Cheng 1986:34)

- b. Ta ba fangjian da-sao le yici.
 he BA room hit-sweep ASP once
 'He cleaned the room once' (Cheng 1986:34)

- (29) a. *Ta ba ni xiang
 she BA you miss
 (She misses you) (Li & Thompson 1981:467)

- b. Ta ba ni xiang [_{CP} de fan dou bu ken chi]
 she BA you miss COMP food even not will eat
 'She misses you so much that she won't even eat her meals'

(Li & Thompson 1981:469)

Whether or not the object in these sentences is considered an 'affected theme' depends not simply on the verb but rather on how readily the entire proposition can be seen as imposing a 'change in state' (Cheng 1986:38ff) in the object in question. (See also Li and Thompson 1981: chapter 15.) The mechanism which Cheng (1986, 1987) proposes for relating the affected theme of ba to the theme of a verb is theta-identification, due to Higginbotham (1985). By this means the arguments of two lexical items are identified with each other, and hence may be realized by a single phrase in constituent structure; in the ba-construction, by the

object of ba. The theta role associated with the other lexical item, the verb, is said to be discharged through theta-identification, and as a consequence is not overtly expressed.¹² Thus it is ba which directly assigns the theta role to the NP Lisi in (16) and not the verb.¹³ We assume, further, that it is ba which case-marks the NP, thus accounting for the preverbal position of the phrase.

Our motivation for treating ba differently than the other preverbal prepositions discussed in this section depends on the claim that ba is primarily responsible for the theta role of its object in sentences in which it occurs, while with the other types of examples discussed so far, the verb has primary responsibility. We end this section with a brief discussion of adjunct PPs. They differ from both types of PPs already discussed in that they, as adjuncts, are fully independent of the thematic structure of the verb of their sentence, and are in no way selected by the verb, not even indirectly through the theta identification which is required with ba.

- (30) Ta wei renming luni genzuo.
 he for people hard works
 'He works hard for the people'

- (31) Wo ti ni da ta.
 I in-place-of you hit he
 'I hit him for you'

(Cheng 1986:16)

- (32) Ta chao dong zhan zhe.
 he facing east stand ASP
 'He is standing facing east'

(Li & Thompson 1981:357)

- (33) Ta gei wo tiao le liu jian dayi.
 she to I select ASP six CL coat
 'She chose six coats for me'

(Li & Thompson 1981:387)

Example (33) contains an adjunct gei-phrase benefactive. The semantic distinction between preverbal and postverbal gei-phrases is well-illustrated by the contrast between the (a) and (b) examples in (34). (This contrast is noted by Li and Thompson 1975, 1981, and Travis, following Lin 1981.) The verb in these sentences mai 'sell' optionally selects a goal argument.

- (34) a. Ta mai le chezi gei wo.
 he sell ASP car to I
 'He sold a car to me'

- b. Ta gei wo mai le chezi.
 he to I sell ASP car
 'He sold a car for me'

We assume that in (34a) gei is dative case marking, while in (34b) it is the preposition gei, which assigns the theta role of benefactive to its object. From these assumptions we predict the position and interpretation of all of the gei-phrases in the pages above.

It must be noted that some facts are troublesome for our account, as well as for others.' Thus Li and Thompson (1981:387) and Travis (1984:58, following Lin 1981) note that with some few verbs, questions of the dative and benefactive interpretation of gei-phrases are not resolved by position with respect to the verb:

- (35) Wo gei ta xie le yi feng xin.
 I to he write ASP one CL letter
 'I wrote a letter to him'
 for

Li and Thompson (1981:387) remark that examples like (35) 'are quite natural with either an indirect object or a benefactive interpretation.' Further, with some verbs, 'a benefactive interpretation is possible but not preferable' with a postverbal gei-phrase. The example they give is reproduced in (36).

- (36) Wo song le yi ben shu gei ta.
 I give ASP one CL book to he
 'I gave a book to him'
 for

Li and Thompson (p. 386) see the possibility for the underlined phrase in (35) to receive a dative reading as a reflection of an on-going change in Mandarin VPs from a head-initial to a head-final structure. We have no comments of our own to add to these speculations, except to wonder why (36) should also be susceptible to a benefactive interpretation, which would seem to go against such a trend. To this question we have no answer, unfortunately.

3. Locative and Allative Case

In this section we would like to pursue the idea proposed tentatively in (16b, c) above that the Mandarin prepositions zai 'at/in' and dao 'to' have another function as locative and allative case markers on verbal arguments holding the theta roles location and goal ('destination'). The evidence supporting this conception

of zai and dao is parallel to what was presented concerning gei. Only 'prepositional phrases' headed by these words may follow a verb in a sentence, and then only if the phrase is an argument lexically selected by the verb. Thus (37) below contrasts with (38).

- (37) Wo ba qianbi cha zai pingzi-litou.
 I BA pencil insert in vase-in
 'I put the pencils in the vase' (Li & Thompson 1981:391)

The zai-phrase in (37), which follows the verb, is selected by that verb as a 'location' argument. In (38), the zai-phrase is clearly an adjunct - and it precedes the verb.

- (38) Tamen zai fangzi-houmian xiuli dianshiji.
 they at house-behind repair television
 'They repair televisions behind their house' (Li & Thompson 1981:391)

The zai-adjunct phrase has a role 'specifying the general location at which that event or state occurs' (Li & Thompson 1981:398). The zai-argument phrase specifies the location of the theme argument as a result of the action of the verb (Li & Thompson 1981:399).

Similar observations can be made about directional phrases with dao. Verbs of motion may occur with a postverbal 'destination' argument - no other verbs can. A preverbal dao-phrase, in contrast, indicates 'that the subject moves to a destination where the event named by the verb takes place' (Li & Thompson 1981:410). Li and Thompson (1981:410) give the following near-minimal pair of examples:

- (39) Ta pao dao caochang le.
 she run to field Part
 'She ran to the field'
- (40) Ta mei tian dao caochang pao.
 she every day to field run
 'Every day she goes to the field to run'

We assume that cha 'insert' and pao 'run' have the following lexical specifications:

- (41) cha 'insert' [agent, theme, location]
 (42) pao 'run' [agent/theme, (destination)]

In the preceding sections we saw reasons for rejecting the hypothesis that all theta-marking is rightward. We would like to maintain here our own proposal that postverbal elements are case-marked by the verb. In support of this we observe that postverbal zai and

dao resemble dative case gei in that, with some verbs at least, case marking may be null. In (43) we repeat the relevant examples of datives, (6) and (10). In (43a) dative case marking is null; in (43b), it is gei.

- (43) a. Ta song le wo yi ding maozhi.
 she send ASP I one CL cap
 'She sent me a cap'
- b. Ta song le yi ding maozhi gei wo.
 she send me one CL cap DAT I
 'She sent me a cap'

In (44) we show that an argument locative phrase may correspondingly be marked with zero or zai.¹⁴

- (44) a. Wo meiyou zuo guo feiji.
 I not sit ASP airplane
 'I haven't been on an airplane yet'
 (Li & Thompson 1981:436)
- b. Ta zhu zai Zhongshan lu.
 he live LOC (name) road
 'He lives on Zhongshan Road' (Li & Thompson 1981:393)

As with zero dative or source case marking, the unmarked location argument must immediately follow the verb. In (45) we contrast marked and unmarked 'destination' arguments.

- (45) a. Ta lai le Jianada.
 he come ASP Canada
 'He came to Canada' (Cheng 1987)
- b. Ta lai dao women xuexiao.
 he come DEST we school
 'He came to our school' (Li & Thompson 1981:413)

(46) and (47) are additional examples showing unmarked 'destination' arguments. We provide them to balance the implication of Li and Thompson (1981:409) that all argument destination phrases must be headed by dao.

- (46) Jintian ni de haizi zhende qu xuexiao le ma?
 today you of child really go school Part Q
 'Did your children really go to school today?'
 (Li & Thompson 1981:553)

- (47) Ta meiyou qu guo Zhongguo.
 she not go ASP China
 'She hasn't been to China' (Li & Thompson 1981:434)

Our claim that zai and dao in (44)-(47) are case markers depends on the parallel with gei, and the following reasoning: in (44a) and (45a) the location and destination argument NPs are evidently case-marked by the verb with a null case-marker; in (44b) and (45b), so we suggest, the arguments are case-marked too - and in these examples case-marking takes an overt form.

At the end of section 2 we noted a couple of difficulties with our analysis, instances where our predictions are not met by the facts. With locative and directional phrases, there are rather more challenges. We will try to point out below some places where our assumptions to date need to be fleshed out, and also try to refine some questionable generalizations made by others.

One set of facts is quite reminiscent of the problem posed by (35) for analyses of gei. In that sentence, a preverbal gei-phrase may receive the unexpected dative interpretation (in addition to the expected benefactive reading). In a similar way, in (48) and (49) preverbal zai-phrases may somewhat unexpectedly receive locative argument interpretations.¹⁵ (These sentences are also grammatical when the zai-phrase follows the theme argument, and have the same interpretation. See (50) and (51) below.)

- (48) Wo zai mianbuo-shang mo huaiyou.
 I at bread-on spread butter
 'I spread butter on the bread'

- (49) Wo zai zhuoshang liou le fan cai.
 I at table leave ASP rice dish
 'I left rice and dishes on the table (for you)'

If we analyze the underlined phrases as prepositional phrases, not as case-marked NPs, in fact no real problem arises for our approach, since we only predict that all case-marked arguments will follow the verb. The difficulty comes in trying to justify one analysis of zai over another on independent grounds. With gei we had the dative/benefactive contrast to draw on for determining when gei was functioning as a case-marker (dative) or a preposition (benefactive). With source arguments, case-marking is zero, or otherwise the argument is expressed in a (preverbal) prepositional phrase. With zai, unfortunately, no such semantic or formal contrast exists, with the result that it seems an ad hoc matter of convenience to label zai in (44b) a case-marker, and in (48) a preposition.

Li and Thompson (1981:406) make a claim about location phrases which we consider to be incorrect or overstated. They assert that 'the postverbal locative phrase must immediately follow the verb [their emphasis].' Below we provide a number of examples which go against this generalization.

- (50) Wo mo huaiyou zai mianbuo-shang.
 I spread butter LOC bread-on
 'I spread butter on the bread'
- (51) Wo liou le fan cai zai zhuoshang.
 I leave ASP rice dish LOC table
 'I left rice and dishes on the table (for you)'
- (52) Ni diao le yi fen qian zai dishang.
 you drop ASP one CL money LOC floor
 'You dropped one cent on the floor'
- (53) Ta xie le jige zi zai heibanshang.
 he write ASP a-few character LOC blackboard
 'He wrote a few characters on the blackboard'
- (54) Wo fang le wu kuai qian zai zuoshang.
 I put ASP five CL money LOC table
 'I put five dollars on the table'

(These sentences also counterexemplify a strict reading of Huang's requirement that only one phrase follow the verb.) On our understanding of zai as a case-marker, and on the assumption that case-marked phrases may follow the verb, the structure of these examples is as we would predict.

Still other locative verbs exactly meet Li and Thompson's, or Huang's expectations. Consider the verb cang 'hide' in the sentences below.

- (55) a. Wo ba qian cang zai zuozi-li.
 I BA money hide LOC desk-in
 'I hid the money in the desk'
- b. * Wo cang qian zai zuozi-li
 I hide money LOC desk-in
 (I hid the money in the desk)

The status of these examples supports Li and Thompson's generalization quoted above: in the grammatical one, the postverbal location phrase immediately follows the verb. To account for the facts, we will claim that cang 'hide' has the potential to case-mark only

- (47) Ta meiyou qu guo Zhongguo.
 she not go ASP China
 'She hasn't been to China' (Li & Thompson 1981:434)

Our claim that zai and dao in (44)-(47) are case markers depends on the parallel with gei, and the following reasoning: in (44a) and (45a) the location and destination argument NPs are evidently case-marked by the verb with a null case-marker; in (44b) and (45b), so we suggest, the arguments are case-marked too - and in these examples case-marking takes an overt form.

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(These sentences also counterexemplify a strict reading of Huang's requirement that only one phrase follow the verb.) On our understanding of zai as a case-marker, and on the assumption that case-marked phrases may follow the verb, the structure of these examples is as we would predict.

Still other locative verbs exactly meet Li and Thompson's, or Huang's expectations. Consider the verb cang 'hide' in the sentences below.

- (55) a. Wo ba qian cang zai zuozi-li.
 I BA money hide LOC desk-in
 'I hid the money in the desk'
- b. * Wo cang qian zai zuozi-li
 I hide money LOC desk-in
 (I hid the money in the desk)

The status of these examples supports Li and Thompson's generalization quoted above: in the grammatical one, the postverbal location phrase immediately follows the verb. To account for the facts, we will claim that cang 'hide' has the potential to case-mark only

(56) Wo zai fangzi-li cang qian.
 I at house-in hide money
 'I hid the money in the house'

(57) cang 'hide'

a. [agent, theme, location]

|

P

b. [agent, theme, location]

|

P

(58) a. They piled books into the cartons.
b. They piled the cartons with books.

For these lexical structures and analyses of locative phrases in Mandarin to stand up, further study will be required to provide independent evidence in any instance on the status of zai as a case-marker or preposition. We leave this for the future.

4. Verb, Complement, and Case

Previous analyses of Mandarin phrase structure in terms of (i) phrasal headedness (Huang), (ii) a template allowing one constituent following the verb (Huang), and (iii) directionality of theta role assignment (Travis) have seemed not wholly adequate for treating the facts we have considered in this paper. We recognize that only verbal complements may occur postverbally in the Mandarin VP. We have chosen to try to exploit another conspicuous fact, that apart from unmarked NPs - only three 'prepositional phrase' types may follow the verb, those headed by gei 'to (dative),' zai 'at (location),' and dao 'to (destination)'. If these 'prepositions' can instead be considered to function postverbally as case-markers, the claim that only directly case-marked arguments follow the verb in Mandarin shows some promise in accounting for the facts to be observed.

FOOTNOTES

¹In this paper we do not treat the important issue of the place of 'extent phrases' in the Mandarin VP. Sun (1989) does consider extent phrases; we present here some examples of such phrases. We refer the interested reader to Huang (1982) for the issues which are at stake.

- (i) Wo baifang le ta san ge xiaoshi.
I visit ASP he three CL hour
'I visited him for three hours'
- (ii) Jin nian wo canjia bisai liang ci le.
this year I participate-in match two time Part
'This year I have participated in matches twice'
- (iii) Wo da tamen de che liang ci le.
I take they of car two time Part
'I have gotten a lift in their car twice'

²He puts forward the following phrase structure schema for Mandarin (page 41):

- a. $X^n \rightarrow X^{n-1} YP^*$ iff $n=1$ and $X \neq \text{Noun}$
- b. $X^n \rightarrow YP^* X^{n-1}$ otherwise

These rules have the effect, for example, of producing VPs and NPs with the following structures:



³Travis (1984) recognizes two historical stages of modern Mandarin, MM1 and MM2, based on speculations of Li and Thompson (1981 and elsewhere), and provides analyses in terms of her parameters for both of them. Her description suggests the view that MM2 has not been achieved, but is imminent. She suggests that the variety of Mandarin that Huang (1982) describes 'most closely resembles MM2' (page 62). Our proposal resembles what she suggests in accounting for the word order facts of MM2 - that case is assigned to the right in Mandarin. We believe that Travis recognizes only unmarked case in Mandarin, not the overt case markers we propose. The effect of this difference is considerable. We do not have anything concrete to say about MM1 versus MM2.

⁴The following abbreviations are used in the interlinear glosses:

ASP	aspect marker	BA	<u>ba</u> preposition
CL	noun classifier	DAT	dative case
SUF	locational noun suffix	LOC	locative case
Part	clause-final particle	DEST	allative/'destination'
Q	question marker		case

⁵Note that an account of the preverbal position of the complement in these examples is not to be found in Huang's suggestion mentioned above that in the unmarked case at most one constituent may follow the verb. In (3) nothing follows the verb, but nevertheless the PP wei guojiao may not occur postposed:

- (i) *Wo fuwu wei guojiao
 I serve for country
 (I serve the country)

The same is true for (4), though in (5) it can be claimed that the second element bing 'illness' of the compound verb kan-bing 'treat' fills the single postverbal 'slot' envisioned by Huang.

⁶This statement will be qualified to some extent in discussion surrounding examples (35) and (36).

⁷Like most prepositions in Mandarin, these three items, gei, zai, and dao, also may function as verbs. See Li and Thompson (1981: chapter 9) and Cheng (1986: chapter 3).

⁸We mean here to be invoking the distinction between direct and indirect arguments introduced into government-binding theory in Marantz (1984) and further discussed in Levin and Rappaport (1986). In (17a), since both internal arguments receive case from the verb, both are direct arguments. In (17b) the theme is a direct argument, but the source is not, being assigned its theta role (and case) in conjunction with a preposition.

⁹It should be acknowledged that the source argument with ditransitive he and chi is probably not a source in precisely the same way as with verbs like tou 'steal' or jie 'borrow.'

¹⁰There is a very large literature on the ba-construction. We refer the reader to sources cited by our sources.

¹¹Compare Li and Thompson's (1981:468) discussion of 'disposal' in connection with the ba-construction.

¹²In Cheng and Ritter (1988) a slightly different approach to the ba-construction is taken.

¹³Essentially this analysis of the ba-construction is suggested too by Travis (1984:54-55), though in a considerably less detailed formulation.

¹⁴Li and Thompson (1981:414, note 2) assert that zai can only be omitted in this context when one location NP is contrasted with another. They give the following example.

- (i) Wo shui shafa; ni shui diban.
 I sleep sofa you sleep floor
 'I'll sleep on the sofa, and you sleep on the floor'

¹⁵Li and Thompson (1981:405) make the generalization that this possibility exists with any 'verb of placement,' in contrast with 'verbs of displacement,' for which it is impossible. We do not understand exactly what lies behind this contrast.

¹⁶The facts are quite intricate here. Cang 'hide' selects its location argument obligatorily, as the ungrammaticality of (i) indicates.

- (i) *Wo cang qian
 I hide money
 (I hid money)

In (56), then, zai fangzi-li 'in the house' must be serving as the required location argument. We note here, however, the ungrammaticality of the following sentence:

- (ii) *Wo zai zuozi-li cang qian
 I at desk-in hide money
 (I hid the money in the desk)

By Li and Thompson's generalization mentioned in the previous footnote, that verbs of placement (for example, cang 'hide') allow locative phrases preceding the verb to be understood with their argumental interpretation, it is difficult to understand why (49) is grammatical while (ii) is not. Sentence (ii), if it is interpretable, gives the odd impression that 'I' am in the desk. No parallel impression exists with (49) that 'I' am on the table. (Compare, however, Li and Thompson (1981: 405, example (45).)

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LES PARAMETRES DE LA VARIATION

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RESUME

Cet article constitue un examen critique de la contribution à l'explication qu'une théorie grammaticale qui intègre le concept de 'paramètre' peut apporter. Il est démontré que le concept de paramètre est utile et nécessaire mais que le recours à celui-ci doit se faire de façon circonspecte pour qu'il puisse être considéré comme explicatif et devenir davantage qu'un simple mécanisme descriptif. A cette fin, nous proposons qu'il existe deux types de paramètres: ceux de haut niveau (réductibles) et ceux de bas niveau (irréductibles). Les évaluations conceptuelles sont basées sur des données empiriques.

1. Introduction

Depuis une quinzaine d'années, la théorie grammaticale telle qu'on la conçoit dans le cadre de la grammaire générative a commencé à considérer sérieusement la possibilité de formaliser la variation inter-langue ou inter-dialecte dans ses propres termes. Auparavant, le fossé qui séparait les comparatistes/dialectologues et les théoriciens était profond; les uns s'occupaient de la variation, les autres de la grammaire.

On peut dire, d'une part, que la pression exercée sur les partisans de la théorie 'standard étendue' par les tenants de théories concurrentes comme la grammaire relationnelle (Perlmutter 1983; Perlmutter et Rosen 1984) et la grammaire lexico-fonctionnelle (Kaplan et Bresnan 1982) - de par l'intérêt de ces derniers pour l'étude de langues dites 'exotiques' - aura poussé les premiers à expliciter comment la théorie peut rendre compte de façon concrète de la variation. D'autre part, les études sur l'acquisition du langage ayant recours à la théorie standard étendue se sont multipliées et ont révélé la nécessité de proposer des hypothèses concrètes susceptibles d'être testées (cf. Roeper et Williams 1987).

Le résultat de ces pressions aura été la création, vers la fin des années 70, d'une théorie révisée: la théorie des principes et paramètres, souvent appelée la théorie du gouvernement et liage (Chomsky 1981a, 1981b, Kayne 1984, Rizzi 1982.) Cette approche permet de combler partiellement le fossé entre les travaux en

dialectologie et les travaux en théorie grammaticale puisque leurs buts deviennent analogues; les différences majeures se trouvent surtout dans la méthode utilisée et dans leur conception de ce qui constitue une 'explication.' Du côté de la théorie grammaticale, la description des faits doit mener à leur explication.

Le but général de cet article est d'examiner la contribution à l'explication de la variation qu'une théorie grammaticale qui intègre le concept de 'paramètre' peut apporter. Mon article sera donc théorique mais j'aurai recours à des exemples concrets et variés dans mes évaluations.

La conclusion que je compte tirer est que le concept de paramètre est nécessaire et utile mais que le recours à celui-ci doit se faire de façon sérieuse et circonspecte de telle sorte que le paramètre devienne davantage qu'une simple façon de décrire la variation observée.

2. Paramètre

Il importe tout d'abord de définir le concept de paramètre tel qu'il est utilisé maintenant dans la théorie. On peut le concevoir comme faisant, en un certain sens, la médiation entre l'acquisition du langage et la variation inter-langue ou inter-dialecte.

La première remarque pertinente est que les propriétés de la langue se développent de façon presque identique chez les membres d'une communauté linguistique. L'acquisition du langage se fait par étape et chaque étape est atteinte à peu près au même âge chez tous les humains, quelle que soit la langue apprise. Lorsqu'on dit d'une personne qu'elle 'connaît' une langue, cela signifie, d'un point de vue linguistique, qu'elle a atteint un état stable de sa grammaire interne qui lui permet de générer et de comprendre un ensemble infini de phrases qu'elle n'a jamais auparavant produites ou entendues. La question est de savoir comment cet état stable est atteint (cf. Chomsky 1981b).

Pour répondre à cette question on peut comparer la langue à un organe mental qui croît chez l'humain d'une façon uniforme et déterminée et donc admettre qu'une certaine structure génétique entre en jeu. Le terme 'grammaire universelle' (ici, GU) est utilisé pour désigner ce qui est prédéterminé chez l'humain concernant le langage. Les principes de la GU doivent donc être suffisamment abstraits et simples pour pouvoir tenir universellement; ils ne peuvent pas être particuliers à une langue donnée.

Mais puisque les langues varient, il faut expliquer comment à partir de principes universaux peuvent se développer des grammaires particulières différentes. Selon la grammaire générative, la variation s'explique par une approche paramétrique des divers principes de la GU. Ainsi, un ou plusieurs paramètres fixés de façon différente dans les grammaires, disons du français et de l'anglais, sont responsables de certaines différences entre ces deux langues.

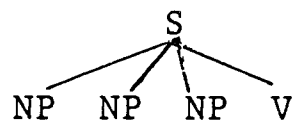
Par exemple, un des paramètres potentiels discutés dans la documentation a trait aux structures phrastiques qui sont possibles dans une langue donnée. Alors que certaines langues possèdent des structures qui suivent les principes de la théorie X' (par exemple, le français), d'autres semblent n'avoir que des structures minimales (par exemple, le walbiri; cf. Hale 1978).

Donc, la théorie X' en (1) produit des structures très hiérarchisées en français comme en (2) alors que le walbiri présente des structures plus plates comme en (3), où W* représente une suite quelconque de syntagmes.

- (1) $X'' \rightarrow \text{SpecX } X'$
 $X' \rightarrow X \text{ Compl}$

- (2)
- | | |
|--|---|
| $\begin{array}{c} \text{IP} \\ \text{SpecI} \quad \text{I}' \\ \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{INFL} \quad \text{VP} \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{SpecN} \quad \text{N}' \\ \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{N} \quad \text{PP} \end{array}$ |
|--|---|

- (3) $X' \rightarrow W^* X$



Les conséquences de ce choix seront énormes pour les grammaires particulières qui en découlent. Une langue qui utilise les structures en (2) aura un ordre des mots plutôt stricte alors que la structure en (3) permet un ordre relativement plus libre. Les relations entre les constituants de la phrase en (2) seront exprimées en termes structuraux comme ceux de dominance, de c-commande et de gouvernement.

Bach (1965) a proposé que les langues peuvent aussi varier sur la base de l'utilisation ou de la non-utilisation du mouvement WH. Le français y a recours pour la formation, par exemple, des interrogatives, alors que ce n'est pas le cas du chinois (cf. Huang 1982).

- (4) a. français
 structure-D: Je me demande [Jean a acheté quoi]
 structure-S: Je me demande [ce que_i [Jean a acheté t_i]]
- b. chinois (Huang 1982)
 structure-D: Wo xiang-zhidao [Lisi mai-le sheme]
 'Je me demande [Lisi a acheté quoi]
 structure-S: Wo xiang-zhidao [Lisi mai-le sheme]
 * Wo xiang-zhidao [sheme_i [Lisi mai-le t_i]]

Une des conséquences de la présence ou de l'absence de mouvements WH dans une langue sera que les principes de la sousjacence s'appliqueront (trivialement) dans l'une mais pas dans l'autre puisque la sousjacence² contraint les déplacements de syntagmes, comme en (5) et (6).

- (5) a. [Jean croit que [Marie a vu Paul]].
 b. Qui_i est-ce que [Jean croit que [Marie a vu t_i]]?
- (6) a. [Jean croit [au fait que [Marie ait vu Paul]]].
 b. * Qui_i est-ce que [Jean croit [au fait que [Marie ait vu t_i]]]?

Sur la base d'exemples similaires, Chomsky souligne que:

- (7) Whether this particular suggestion proves well-grounded or not, it illustrates what we should expect to find in the study of language: modification of some parameters in a highly structured theory of UG may yield systems that appear to be radically different from one another, though in major respects they are cast in the same mould

[Chomsky 1981b:42]

Nous pouvons donc conclure qu'un paramètre devrait posséder les trois propriétés en (8).

- (8) 1. Un paramètre a des valeurs multiples;
 2. Il doit être possible de fixer le valeur appropriée d'un paramètre sur la base des données disponibles;
 3. La valeur choisie a des conséquences majeures sur le reste de la grammaire.

Je nommerai les paramètres qui se conforment à cette description les paramètres 'de haut niveau' et je tire la première conclusion donnée en (9).

- (9) Première conclusion:
Des paramètres peuvent être formulés.

3. Evaluation

Maintenant que le fonctionnement d'une théorie grammaticale qui intègre le concept de paramètre est bien établi, nous pouvons tenter de comparer ce type de théorie à une autre, similaire, mais sans paramètre. Pour ce faire, je comparerai brièvement l'analyse des sujets nuls (pro-drop) proposée par la théorie des principes et paramètres à celle qu'offre la théorie lexico-fonctionnelle et nous reviendrons sur cette propriété plus bas.

L'anglais et l'italien diffèrent en ce que, dans les phrases tensées non-impératives, le sujet est obligatoire en anglais alors qu'il ne l'est pas en italien comme les exemples en (10) et (11) le démontrent.

- (10) a. I have found the book.
b. * Have found the book.

- (11) a. Io ho trovato il libro.
b. Ho trovato il libro.

La plupart des analyses de ce phénomène sont basées sur l'intuition que le sujet n'est pas obligatoire en italien parce qu'il est exprimé par ailleurs dans l'accord sujet-verbe réalisé morphologiquement dans la terminaison verbale. Cette intuition remonte à longtemps. Les auteurs de la grammaire de Port-Royal, dans leur discussion de la diversité des personnes et des nombres dans les verbes, notent ce qui est donné en (12).

- (12) [La] diversité des terminaisons pour les deux premières personnes, fait voir que les langues anciennes [ici, le latin] ont grande raison de ne joindre aux verbes que rarement, et pour des considérations particulières, les pronoms de la première et de la seconde personne, se contentant de dire, video, vides, videmus, videtis. Car c'est pour cela même que ces terminaisons ont été originellement inventées, pour se dispenser de joindre ces pronoms aux verbes.

[Arnauld et Lancelot 1780:169]

Nous avons toutes les raisons de croire que cela est juste.

La question est de déterminer comment cette intuition peut être formalisée dans une théorie grammaticale.

Dans la théorie des principes et paramètres, il est généralement proposé que la propriété du sujet nul découle de la théorie des catégories vides. Les catégories vides sont données par la théorie du liage qui prédit l'existence de quatre de celles-ci comme en (13).

- (13) [+anaphorique, -pronominal] = trace-NP
 [-anaphorique, +pronominal] = pro
 [-anaphorique, -pronominal] = trace-WH
 [+anaphorique, +pronominal] = PRO

Des conditions existent qui contraignent l'apparition en structure des catégories vides. En ce qui concerne pro, la catégorie vide correspondant à un pronom non-lexicalisé, Rizzi (1986) propose les conditions en (14).

- (14) - pro est autorisé par X_y .
 - pro reçoit les traits grammaticaux de X qui lui est coindexé si X l'autorise.

La paramétrisation a trait à la valeur de X_y . Pour l'italien, X_y peut être, entre autres, INFL, alors qu'en anglais X_y semble ne prendre aucune valeur. On obtient donc la structure générale en (15) en italien. Le sujet nul prend les traits de INFL qui contient l'accord sujet-verbe. En anglais, cette structure n'est pas disponible.

- (15)
- ```

 IP
 / \
 NP I'
 proi / \
 INFLi VP
 ↑

```

Donc, dans les langues à sujet nul, la catégorie vide pro peut être utilisée parce que ses conditions d'utilisation sont satisfaites. Ces conditions sont établies concrètement à l'aide d'un paramètre. Que INFL fasse partie des têtes qui autorisent pro peut être déterminé par l'existence d'un système d'accord sujet-verbe bien développé et par la disponibilité de phrases comme celle donnée en (11b).

Dans le cadre de la théorie lexico-fonctionnelle, Fassi Fehri (1988) propose une analyse différente mais tout de même basée sur l'intuition que la propriété du sujet nul découle de l'accord sujet-verbe. Tout comme l'italien, l'arabe standard permet les sujets nuls. Des exemples sont donnés en (16).

- (16) a. ja:ʔ-u:  
venir(PAS)-3mp  
'Ils sont venus.'
- b. 'ud-tu  
revenir(PAS)-1s  
'Je suis revenu.'

Pour Fassi Fehri, la marque d'accord (-u: et -tu en (16)) n'est liée à aucune position syntaxique. Il n'y a donc pas de catégorie vide occupant la position normale de sujet. Dans ce cas, c'est plutôt la marque d'accord elle-même qui est l'argument réel du verbe et qui possède la fonction grammaticale de sujet. L'affixe -u: est analysé comme en (17).

|      |     |      |   |      |       |   |
|------|-----|------|---|------|-------|---|
| (17) | -u: | SUBJ | [ | NB   | PL    | ] |
|      |     |      |   | GEND | MASC  |   |
|      |     |      |   | PERS | 3     |   |
|      |     |      |   | HUM  | +     |   |
|      |     |      |   | CASE | NOM   |   |
|      |     |      |   | PRED | 'PRO' |   |

L'affixe est donc de nature pronominale. Dans le cas où un sujet lexical est utilisé et donc occupe la position structurale de sujet, l'affixe a tous les traits en (17) sauf celui de PRED.

Il n'est donc pas question ici de paramètre puisque la valeur pronominale de l'affixe n'est pas une propriété intrinsèque de celui-ci et varie à l'intérieur d'une même langue.

Même si en termes d'acquisition du langage la détermination de la nature pronominale de l'affixe peut se faire sans problème, il y a plusieurs raisons qui peuvent pousser à préférer une analyse paramétrique. La première c'est qu'elle peut être réfutée. Etant donnée une langue quelconque on peut démontrer à l'aide de données empiriques que INFL fait partie ou non des têtes qui autorisent pro. Deuxièmement, il est démontré dans Roberge et Vinet (1989), que la position sujet est nécessairement présente dans les langues à sujet nul même si un sujet n'est pas réalisé lexicalement. L'analyse paramétrique fournit une telle position alors que l'autre ne la permet pas. Troisièmement, l'analyse paramétrique est empiriquement plus juste puisqu'elle prédit que des arguments nuls peuvent apparaître sans la présence d'affixes. Disons par exemple que V fait partie des têtes qui peuvent autoriser pro en français mais pas en anglais. Alors on prédit que des objets nuls sont possibles en français mais pas en anglais. Les exemples de ce type sont étudiés dans Rizzi (1986).

- (18) La course à pied garde [ pro<sub>arb</sub> en forme ]

Dans l'analyse de Fassi Fehri, l'argument nul est obligatoirement dû à la présence d'un affixe à valeur pronominale et ne peut donc pas rendre compte de la phrase en (18).

Je tire donc une deuxième conclusion, donnée en (19).

(19) Deuxième conclusion:

Les paramètres sont nécessaires.

#### 4. Problèmes

Je considère donc qu'une théorie qui intègre le concept de paramètre est supérieure à une autre qui ne l'intègre pas.

Ceci étant établi, j'aimerais maintenant passer à une évaluation critique du concept de paramètre. Les problèmes que je vais soulever ne concernent pas le concept lui-même mais plutôt l'utilisation qui en est faite. En acceptant qu'il existe, il faut maintenant se demander comment le paramètre peut être utilisé et quelle en est la valeur explicative. Je serai ici assez bref, me contentant d'établir mon hypothèse en l'appuyant par la suite d'exemples concrets.

L'hypothèse que je veux développer est qu'il existe probablement deux types de paramètres. Nous avons déjà vu des exemples du premier type, le paramètre de haut niveau. Ce type de paramètre est très général et son réglage ('setting') a des conséquences multiples pour la différenciation des grammaires particulières construites sur la base des principes de la GU. Je veux démontrer que ce type de paramètre n'a pas de valeur explicative mais qu'il doit plutôt être considéré comme un mécanisme descriptif.

La raison qui pousse à voir les choses de cette façon est qu'il est souvent le cas dans les études de syntaxe théorique que la formulation d'un paramètre de haut niveau devienne une fin en soi et que ceci bloque la découverte potentielle de principes plus généraux qui pourraient éventuellement être intégrés à la GU.

A cet égard, les paramètres de haut niveau devraient avoir le même statut théorique que les filtres ou les règles variables par exemple. Newmeyer (1983:79) cite une remarque de Kay et McDaniel (1979) sur les règles variables; elle est donnée en (20). Je crois que la même remarque pourrait s'appliquer aux paramètres de haut niveau.

- (20) Variable rule analyses should be viewed [...] not as providing direct theoretical insight into the substantive processes that produce linguistic variation, but as a statistical tool that may be of considerable heuristic value to those searching to discover and understand such processes.

[Kay et McDaniel 1979: 152]

Il n'y a donc rien d'incorrect à formuler un paramètre de haut niveau à condition qu'il soit bien clair que ce paramètre est un 'data-displaying device' - un mécanisme descriptif - et que la cause profonde responsable de la variation qu'il sert à décrire pourra un jour recevoir une explication plus satisfaisante.

Pour illustrer davantage, prenons le filtre \*that-trace proposé dans Chomsky et Lasnik (1977). Ce filtre qui, comme tous les autres filtres, s'applique en Forme Phonologique bloque la longue extraction du sujet d'une phrase enchâssée lorsque celle-ci est introduite par le complémenteur that. La même chose se produit en français et dans d'autres langues. Ce filtre et ses effets sont donnés en (21) et (22).

(21) \*[that-trace]

- (22) a. \* Who<sub>i</sub> did you say [ that t<sub>i</sub> left ]?  
 b. Who<sub>i</sub> did you say [ t<sub>i</sub> left ]?  
 c. \* Qui<sub>i</sub> as-tu dit [ que t<sub>i</sub> partira ]?

Chomsky (1981) indique:

- (23) the \*[that-trace] filter of Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) is too 'strange' to be an appropriate candidate for UG and should be reduced to more natural and more general principles

[Chomsky 1981a: 14]

De là la découverte du principe des catégories vides (ECP) qui rend compte non seulement des effets \*[that-trace] mais aussi de toute une gamme de phénomènes syntaxiques disjoints à première vue.

(24) ECP

Une catégorie vide doit être proprement gouvernée.

Ce qui doit retenir notre attention ici est le fait que si on avait continué à considérer le filtre \*[that-trace] comme une

explication en soi, la découverte de ECP ne se serait probablement jamais faite.

Il doit donc en être de même pour les paramètres de haut niveau dont je donnerai bientôt des exemples concrets.

Le deuxième type de paramètre, qu'on peut appeler 'de bas niveau,' est construit de façon à rendre compte de variations minimales. En ce sens, les paramètres de bas niveau ne sont pas nécessairement réductibles et atteignent donc un assez haut degré de valeur explicative. Les paramètres de bas niveau doivent être formulés de façon concrète et doivent pouvoir être testés dans les recherches en acquisition du langage.

Ce qui est intéressant pour notre propos, c'est que la découverte de ces paramètres passera le plus souvent par l'étude de la variation dialectale où, en principe, on peut découvrir la variation subtile dont ces paramètres doivent rendre compte.

Je tire donc une troisième conclusion, donnée en (25), avant de passer à des exemples concrets.

(25) Troisième conclusion:

Les paramètres ne sont pas explicatifs par définition.

## 5. Cas concrets

J'aimerais étudier quatre cas concrets qui illustrent l'interaction, d'une part entre les paramètres de haut niveau et la GU, et d'autre part entre les paramètres de bas niveau et la variation dialectale. Ce sont ceux donnés en (26).

- (26) 1. Présence vs absence de pronoms clitiques.  
2. Présence vs absence de sujets nuls.  
3. Présence vs absence d'inversion complexe.  
4. Présence vs absence du redoublement clitique.

### 5.1 Présence vs absence de pronoms clitiques

C'est un fait bien connu et fort étudié que les pronoms sujets dans certaines langues ne sont pas indépendants. Ils apparaissent comme des affixes sur le verbe. Dans d'autres langues, les pronoms sont plus autonomes.

- (27) a. \* Il souvent mange du gâteau.  
 b. He often eats cake.

Disons donc que le français et l'anglais, par exemple, diffèrent à ce niveau. Nous avons donc affaire ici au type de variation exprimé en (28).

- (28)
- |            |     |            |
|------------|-----|------------|
|            | L   |            |
|            | / \ |            |
| -clitiques |     | +clitiques |
| sujets     |     | sujets     |

La question est évidemment de savoir si cette variation résulte de l'existence d'un paramètre qu'on pourrait formuler comme en (29).

- (29) Présence vs absence de clitiques sujets.

Pour rendre la formulation plus précise, on peut donner les valeurs marquée et non-marquée en (30).

- (30) Valeur non-marquée: Le pronom sujet est clitique.

Valeur marquée: Le pronom sujet est autonome.

En termes d'acquisition, on suppose que la GU fournit la valeur non-marquée, c'est donc dire que 'l'apprenant' pose en principe que les pronoms sujets de la langue-cible sont clitiques. Sur la base des données disponibles, il devra être possible de passer à la valeur marquée de ce paramètre. Ce type de donnée existe, par exemple en (27b) où un pronom sujet est séparé du verbe par un élément autre qu'un autre pronom, ici un adverbe.

Ce système fonctionne bien et il rend compte en même temps de la variation observée et du processus d'acquisition du langage. Même si cela demeure plutôt théorique, il est néanmoins possible de tester l'hypothèse.

La question est maintenant de savoir si on doit se contenter du paramètre en (30) ou si on doit chercher une explication plus naturelle. Autrement dit, (30) représente-t-il un paramètre de haut niveau ou de bas niveau? Doit-il être considéré comme descriptif ou explicatif?

Si on le considère comme un paramètre de haut niveau on devrait pouvoir trouver une façon plus naturelle - plus ancrée dans la GU - de faire la différence entre les langues à clitiques sujets et les langues sans clitiques sujets. Une théorie de l'incorporation telle qu'elle est développée dans Baker (1988) peut être invoquée.

Considérons donc que la propriété principale des pronoms clitiques est qu'ils sont des affixes, autrement dit des objets morphologiques qui doivent se combiner à un autre mot, comme c'est le cas de tous les affixes. Une fois que le caractère morphologique des pronoms est déterminé, le fait qu'ils doivent se combiner à un verbe découle automatiquement puisque, comme le note Baker (1988) en (31),

- (31) The difference between affixes and words then [...] is simply that affixes must attach to a word - clearly a morphological requirement. If an item is specified as being an affix, but is generated independently at D-structure [...], that item will have to undergo  $X^0$  movement to adjoin it to some other  $X^0$ .

[Baker 1988: 72]

Il n'est donc pas nécessaire de formuler un paramètre pour rendre compte de cette différence entre l'anglais et le français.

## 5.2 Présence vs absence de sujets nuls

Il est possible de faire le même cheminement par le biais d'une autre propriété fort étudiée dans la documentation et que nous avons déjà mentionnée, i.e. la propriété du sujet nul.

Comme nous l'avons vu, dans certaines langues, le sujet lexical n'est utilisé qu'infréquemment et pour des raisons particulières. Nous avons aussi vu qu'un paramètre peut être proposé pour rendre compte de ce fait. Formulons-le de la façon la plus simple, avec les valeurs données en (32).

- (32) Valeur non-marquée: La grammaire-cible ne comporte pas de sujets nuls.

Valeur marquée: La grammaire-cible comporte des sujets nuls.

Ce paramètre est nécessaire et décrit bien la variation observée. Mais peut-il être réduit? Dans Roberge et Vinet (1989) l'hypothèse que ce paramètre découle d'un principe de récupérabilité plus général de la GU est développée. L'idée de base est que la propriété du sujet nul découle de la théorie des catégories vides et plus particulièrement des conditions d'utilisation de pro.

Pour illustrer cette approche, considérons premièrement les autres catégories vides données en (13) et dont l'existence est prédite

par la théorie du liage mais en particulier PRO. PRO apparaît comme sujet des phrases infinitives comme en (33).

- (33) a. Je veux [ PRO voir Marie ].  
 b. I want [ PRO to see Mary ].

Voilà la position normale de PRO qui découle de l'interaction entre la théorie du liage, celle du gouvernement et le principe de projection étendu. La première spécifie la composition des traits de PRO qui, en tant qu'anaphore pronominale, ne peut qu'apparaître dans des positions non-gouvernées. La théorie du gouvernement nous indique que la position sujet d'une phrase infinitive est non-gouvernée puisqu'il n'y pas dans le noeud flexion (INFL) le gouverneur [+temps]. Finalement, le principe de projection étendu nous donne une position sujet obligatoire pour toute proposition qu'elle soit tensée ou non et que le sujet soit thématique ou pas. Ces trois faits peuvent fournir la possibilité d'utiliser PRO comme sujet d'une proposition infinitive.

Ce qui est pertinent ici c'est qu'aucun paramètre n'est impliqué dans la possibilité d'utiliser PRO. En termes d'acquisition, tout ce qui doit être déterminé c'est si la grammaire-cible comporte des positions non-gouvernées; si oui, l'utilisation de PRO est possible, si non, PRO demeure inutilisable.

Nous pouvons supposer qu'il en est de même pour pro. En tant qu'élément pronominal, il peut apparaître partout où un pronom apparaît à la condition que son contenu puisse être récupéré par ailleurs. Les accords morphologiques et les pronoms clitiques semblent susceptibles de récupérer le contenu de pro.

Une des predictions faites par cette approche est qu'il devrait exister des langues où les sujets nuls ne sont possibles que dans certaines circonstances. Borer (1986) étudie à fond un tel cas. Elle démontre, à partir des exemples en (34), qu'en hébreu moderne, les sujets nuls ne se rencontrent pas du tout au présent mais qu'aux temps futur et passé seules les première et deuxième personnes permettent les sujets nuls.

(34) Hébreu:

- a. 'Ani 'axalti 'et ha-tapu'ax.  
 je manger(PAS-1s ACC la pomme  
 'J'ai mangé la pomme.'
- b. 'Axalti 'et ha-tapu'ax.
- c. Hu 'axal 'et ha-tapu'ax.  
 il manger(PAS)-3s ACC la pomme  
 'Il a mangé la pomme.'

d. \* 'Axal 'et ha-tapu'ax.

e. 'Ani/'ata/hu 'oxel 'et ha-tapu'ax.  
je tu il manger(PRES) ACC la pomme

f. \* 'Oxel 'et ha-tapu'ax.

Il existe au moins une autre raison qui puisse faire douter de l'existence d'un paramètre du sujet nul comme celui en (32). Les recherches en acquisition du langage se rapportant à cette propriété n'ont pas réussi à déterminer quelle devrait être la valeur non-marquée du paramètre. White (1983) propose que la GU doit spécifier que la grammaire-cible n'intègre pas les sujets nuls mais que ceux-ci émergeront au contact de propositions tensées n'incluant pas de sujet lexical. Hyams (1986;1987) conteste cette approche sur la base de l'observation empirique que les enfants apprenant l'anglais traversent, vers 3 ans, un stade de développement caractérisé par une utilisation facultative des sujets lexicaux dans les phrases non-impératives. Selon Hyams, la seule façon de rendre compte de ce stade consiste à supposer que le paramètre du sujet nul implique les réglages inverses de ceux donnés en (32). Mais l'hypothèse de Hyams ne peut tenir à la lumière des données de l'acquisition étudiées dans Hulk (1986) et qui démontrent que les petits francophones âgés de 2 à 4 ans ne paraissent pas passer par le stade décrit par Hyams pour les anglophones et qui la pousse à réviser le paramètre du sujet nul.

Ces problèmes liés au paramètre du sujet nul sont symptomatiques de son manque de validité. Il est démontré dans Roberge et Vinet (1989) que les données de l'acquisition de l'anglais ayant trait au stade du sujet manquant peuvent être attribuées à des caractéristiques de l'anglais qui n'ont rien à voir avec le paramètre du sujet nul.

J'en conclus que ce paramètre ne doit pas être considéré comme explicatif mais qu'il devrait mener à la découverte de principes plus généraux de la GU.

### 5.3 Présence vs absence du redoublement clitique

En français standard, il est impossible de doubler un sujet lexical à l'aide d'un pronom clitique correspondant comme en (35).

(35) \* Marie elle part demain.

Ce type de phrase n'est acceptable que si il y a pause entre le sujet et le pronom et donc si il s'agit d'une dislocation à

gauche. Par contre, dans certains dialectes du français, ce type de construction est tout à fait acceptable et naturel. Il en va de même pour les dialectes de l'Italie septentrionale et pour le frioulan, une langue ladine, comme l'illustrent les exemples en (36), (37) et (38).

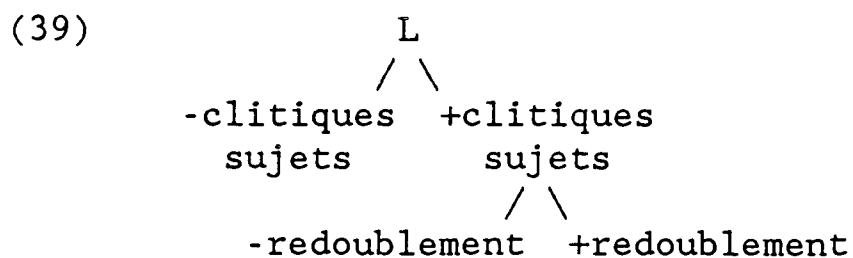
(36) Français québécois, pied noir:  
Marie elle part demain.

- (37) a. Florentin:  
Lui e parla.
- b. Turinois:  
Chiel a parla.
- c. Trentais:  
Lu el parla.

(38) Frioulan (Gregor 1975)

- a. Fi, tu tu ses simpri cun me.  
'Fils, toi tu es toujours avec moi.'
- b. Duncce, lui al e un fregul difencilot cu lis feminis.  
'Donc, lui il est un peu difficile avec les femmes.'

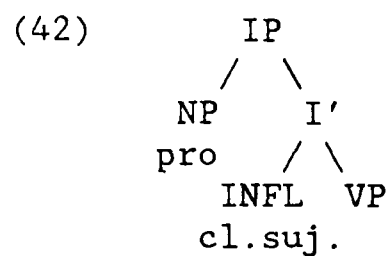
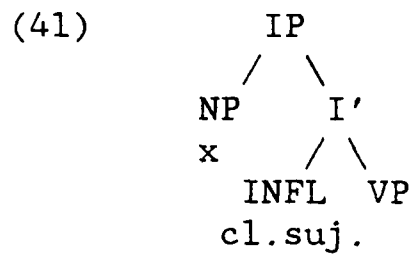
Nous avons donc la situation décrite en (39).



On peut se demander encore une fois si un paramètre du type de celui en (40) peut être invoqué.

(40) Présence vs absence du redoublement clitique.

Une réponse affirmative à cette question nous empêcherait de découvrir les raisons profondes responsables du redoublement. En effet, la structure la plus appropriée pour la construction à redoublement du sujet semble être celle en (41) qui a été proposée par plusieurs chercheurs. Partant, la structure sans redoublement est celle en (42).



Dans la structure (42), il est souvent proposé que le clitique absorbe le cas nominatif normalement assigné au sujet et qui en permet la lexicalisation. Il est donc naturel de supposer que le paramètre entrant en jeu ici a à voir avec la possibilité d'absorber le cas. Ce paramètre peut être formulé comme en (43).

(43) Valeur non-marquée: Le clitique sujet absorbe le cas.

Valeur marquée: Le clitique sujet peut ne pas absorber le cas.

En termes d'acquisition, l'existence de phrases comme celles de (36) à (38) dans la langue-cible permet de régler le paramètre à sa valeur marquée. Nous aurions donc affaire ici à un paramètre de bas niveau qui rend compte de la variation subtile qui existe entre divers dialectes.

Selon la théorie de l'incorporation, le paramètre en (43) signifie que le clitique devient de plus en plus partie intégrante du verbe. Le fait qu'il puisse ne pas absorber le cas indique qu'il perd de son autonomie et commence à ressembler de plus en plus à une marque d'accord morphologique. Ce n'est qu'une façon de formaliser l'intuition que Meyer-Lübke exprime en (44).

(44) Plus une langue exige l'emploi rigoureux du pronom-sujet avec le verbe, plus le fréquent emploi de ce pronom et sa dépendance à l'égard du verbe le mettent en danger d'être accourci, et même, ses pertes sont plus considérables que l'application des lois phonétiques ordinaires le donnerait à prévoir. Surtout lorsque les désinences personnelles ont presque complètement disparu, comme en français, alors ces pronoms prennent tout à fait la place des terminaisons anciennes, et la distinction entre les personnes cesse d'être exprimée, comme en latin, après le radical pour l'être plutôt devant: c'est ainsi, p. ex., que *ŕe* dans *ŕe sāt*, pour un français [...], n'a pas plus de sens que l'-o de *amo* pour le romain ou l'espagnol.

[Meyer-Lübke 1895: 107]

## 5.4 Présence vs absence d'inversion complexe

Je passe maintenant au dernier exemple traité ici. Il a trait à la présence et à l'absence d'inversion complexe. C'est là une des différences entre le français québécois et le français standard.

Les phrases interrogatives avec inversion complexe du français standard en (45) n'existent pas en français québécois.

- (45) a. Jean viendra-t-il?  
 b. Marie a-t-elle fait cela?  
 c. Qui Jean connaît-il?  
 d. Quand Marie viendra-t-elle?

Dans ce dialecte, un phénomène similaire mais différent existe dans les interrogatives oui-non où la particule interrogative -tu est utilisée comme en (46).

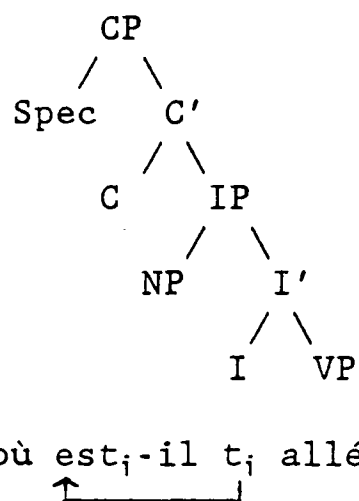
- (46) a. Jean va-tu venir?  
 b. Marie a-tu fait ça?

Cette construction n'est pas disponible dans les questions WH comme le démontre l'agrammaticalité des exemples en (47).

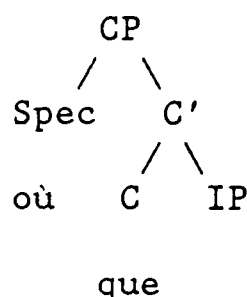
- (47) a. \* Qui (que) Jean connaît-tu?  
 b. \* Quand (que) Marie va-tu venir?

Rizzi et Roberts (1988) proposent que l'absence d'inversion complexe en québécois est due à la possibilité d'avoir un COMP doublement rempli (qui que, quand que) dans ce dialecte comme en (47). L'inversion complexe selon eux est le résultat d'un déplacement du verbe tensé dans COMP comme en (48). Puisque la position C est occupée en québécois par que comme en (49), le verbe ne peut s'y déplacer.

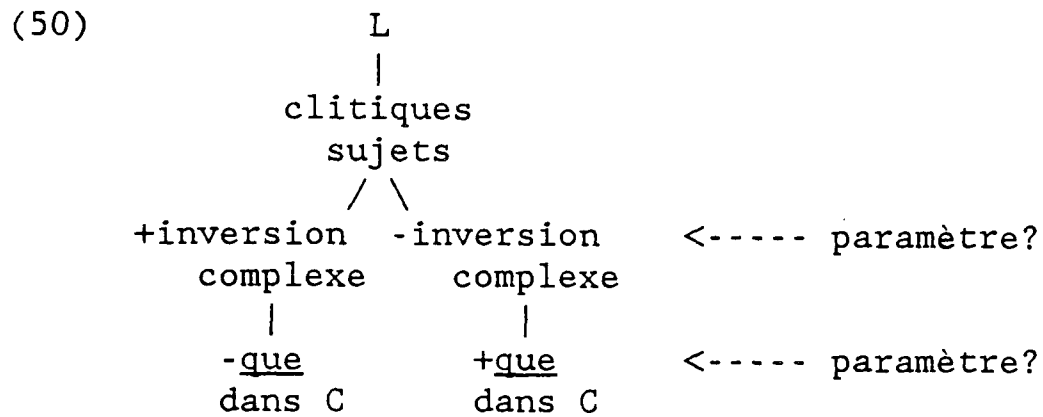
(48)



(49)



La situation est celle illustrée en (50).



On peut donc imaginer deux paramètres ici: un premier formulé en (51), et un deuxième en (52):

(51) Présence vs absence d'inversion complexe.

(52) Présence vs absence de que dans COMP.

Ces deux paramètres ne sont pas très naturels, même si celui en (52) considère que l'absence d'inversion complexe découle d'une autre propriété de la grammaire. Je crois qu'on pourrait proposer que le paramètre déjà donné en (43) peut rendre compte de la présence ou de l'absence d'inversion complexe en même temps que de la présence ou de l'absence de redoublement du sujet. Comme nous l'avons vu, ce paramètre indique que les pronoms clitiques peuvent varier dans leur degré de dépendance par rapport au verbe. Le québécois a la valeur marquée, ses pronoms clitiques sujets se comportent donc davantage comme des marques morphologiques d'accord. On peut concevoir l'absence d'inversion complexe dans ce dialecte comme une conséquence de cette caractéristique. L'intuition qui sous-tend cette hypothèse est simplement que les clitiques sujets du québécois, de par leur statut de morphème, sont moins susceptibles de participer à une opération syntaxique telle que l'inversion complexe.

D'ailleurs, dans la construction avec particule interrogative, il est tout à fait possible de rencontrer des clitiques sujets comme en (53) et même le redoublement du sujet comme en (54).

(53) Il va-tu venir?

(54) Jean il va-tu venir?

On constate donc que le paramètre de bas niveau en (43) peut avoir des conséquences autres que celle pour laquelle il a été construit.

## 6. Conclusion

J'aimerais terminer en soulignant mes conclusions en ce qui a trait au concept de paramètre.

Ce concept est nécessaire mais son utilisation doit se faire de façon circonspect. Il y a toujours danger à considérer que le paramètre proposé représente une explication au phénomène étudié. J'ai proposé qu'il serait bon d'accepter qu'il existe deux sortes de paramètres: ceux de bas niveau et ceux de haut niveau. Les paramètres de haut niveau sont réductibles et n'ont donc pas à être formulés de façon concrète. Ils sont utiles pour la description des phénomènes et pour participer à la découverte éventuelle de principes plus généraux ancrés dans la GU. Les paramètres de bas niveau sont du type irréductible et leur formulation doit conséquemment être précise de façon à être testée lors des recherches en acquisition du langage. Ils rendent compte de variation subtile du type qui existe entre les dialectes d'une même langue et je suppose qu'ils ont une bonne valeur explicative.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Cet article a fait l'objet d'une communication au congrès de l'Association canadienne de linguistique tenu en mai 1989 à l'Université Laval.

<sup>2</sup>Sousjacence: Aucune règle ne peut relier X à Y si X et Y sont séparés par deux catégories NP ou S.

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## REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language, by David Crystal, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987, cloth, vii, 472 pages (including 8 appendices), \$39.95 U.S., ISBN 0-521-26438-3.

Competition has always been the key to survival. This book meets its competition more than half-way, and wins, hands down.

Staking out a place for itself in the book market was not the most difficult task for Crystal's Encyclopedia. Nothing comparable existed before it appeared. Ducrot and Todorov's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Sciences of Language, translated from French, is the only other work that comes to mind. This is a set of small essays on Linguistic topics, heavily laced with musings in the French tradition of philosophico-literary criticism, and haphazardly grouped under four main headings (Schools, Field, Methodological Concepts, Descriptive Contents). Information is there to be dug out, if you can find it, and if you can stop yourself from lengthy and ponderous cogitation over items like the following, on 'Grammatology,' which occasionally stray into one's field of vision: 'The thought of the trace cannot flow into that of the logos as soon as the latter is instituted as the repression, and eviction to the outside, of writing.' (Ducrot and Todorov 1981:351). It is no large victory to best this work, whose purpose is to explain, but which itself cries out for exegesis of its encrypted messages.

Those who have purchased a respectable general reference encyclopedia in the hope that it will eliminate the need to acquire a whole library of specialized single-volume reference materials will nevertheless find themselves very tempted to add Crystal's book to their shelves. The Brittanica, for example, does devote some 23 closely packed pages to the broad matter of 'Language,' and an impressive 224 pages, complete with full colour maps, tables of data and accounts of significant aspects of grammatical systems, to the 'Languages of the World.' And it also contains much that is both solid and clearly presented on many topics of interest to linguists, from artificial intelligence to machine translation to writing systems.

But Crystal's 480 pages enclose a wealthier store of information and thought than even the most comprehensive general encyclopedia could be expected to aspire to. Just as important, it displays this store so as to encourage the general reader and the linguist alike to savour it.

The keener kind of competition I had in mind was competition from sources other than books - all those colourful, immediate, multi-sensory appeals emitted by other forms of information exchange. To some, it is a wonder that books continue to find a market at all: film, television, user-friendly computers replete with graphical interfaces, hypertext and bundled Shakespeare are said to be nudging the book, as a vehicle for the pleasant acquisition of knowledge, towards its demise. Crystal's book is evidence that this vehicle is still robust, and can be customized to emulate its competitors, without losing anything in the process.

A distinguished panel of editorial advisors (including Victoria Fromkin, Charles Ferguson, Wilga Rivers and Dell Hymes) have provided counsel on content. But it is striking to note that on the list is the name of Professor Michael Tywman, Department of Typography and Graphic Communication, University of Reading. His influence perhaps explains the highly professional layout, which is more than just window-dressing for the text, but an integral part of it and a key to this book's success as a book. Crystal's aim in writing the Encyclopedia is, as he acknowledges in the preface, to celebrate language: the attractive design, marrying text and illustrative material into a highly appealing whole, is itself a successful evocation of the wonders that are our stock in trade.

The eye is drawn into this book and persuaded to stay by the same sort of tactics successfully employed by other media. Variety abounds, and characterizes every page.

The section devoted to Dictionaries is typical: four sizeable pages in all, and on each page, space for two wide newspaper-style columns plus a narrower column, set in a smaller and stylistically differentiated typeface. Less than half of this space, however, is taken up by the main text. The rest is pleasingly occupied. A picture of Dr. Johnson wearing a defiant and challenging expression is framed by an extract from an original edition of his dictionary. Also revealed are the faces of James Murray and Noah Webster, each illuminated by explanatory captions. Sample pages of different types of dictionaries are reproduced, taken from the Larousse du XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle, an illustrated eighteenth -century German-Latin schoolbook, and a multi-lingual Duden, as well as excerpts from several modern English dictionaries. The reader is invited to determine how closely these works correspond to an 'ideal' dictionary, the desiderata for which are sketched out in a boxed checklist separate from the main text. A chronology of important events in lexicography, a discussion of the impact of computer technology on the field, and a marginal anecdote on rare and non-words complete the section.

This section is one of 65 sections dealt with, under 11 main headings. Crystal has, thankfully, shunned a simple-minded alphabetic approach to cataloging his celebration of language, and has instead organized the work thematically. The major divisions are as follows: Popular Ideas about Language; Language and Identity; The Structure of Language; The Medium of Language (Speaking and Listening, Writing and Reading, Signing and Seeing); Child Language Acquisition; Language, Brain and Handicap; The Languages of the World; Language in the World; Language and Communication.

Cross-references are provided throughout the text, and eight appendices give alphabetically organized ready reference to any topic. A glossary of twenty double-column pages covers the gamut of terms from 'abessive' to 'zoösemiotics.' This is followed by a comprehensive listing of the symbols and abbreviations used by linguists; a table of 1,000 of the world's languages, containing information on where each is spoken, its language family and number of speakers; a set of suggestions for further reading keyed to the eleven principal parts of the book; a bibliography; an index of languages families, dialects and scripts; an index of authors and personalities, and lastly, an index of topics.

The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language is a tour de force. In its broad coverage, its intelligent organization and its attractive layout, it encompasses a wide spectrum of issues of central interest to linguists. Crystal's writing style is crisp, clear and direct. Not for him the turgid muddle of Ducrot and Todorov's 'deconstruction' and 'inter-textuality:' this is a book which informs and which compels the reader to explore every page.

I could find no major fault with it. Perhaps some of the 600 or so maps, diagrams and photographs would have been more striking in colour, but they are nevertheless admirably clear and uncluttered. In any case, costs would have been significantly increased by the use of colour. Other reviewers, writing for a more general public, mildly chastize Crystal for the use of technical jargon (Carling 1988: 30), or for failing to be normative. (Moore 1988:166) These criticisms are of no consequence to those who avail themselves of the glossary or, indeed, who read page 2 of Crystal's book.

Crystal himself, however, avers that there are two main limitations to this Encyclopedia. On the one hand, there is no comprehensive treatment of the contribution to the study of language by academic traditions other than linguistics. Thus, the ideas engendered by philosophy and psychology, as well as anthropology, sociology and mathematics, though often acknowledged in the text, are not given a systematic account. This is because, says Crystal,

they operate within a different intellectual perspective, and use radically different procedures of study.

And on the other hand, this volume does not aim to focus on the many approaches and methods devised to analyse language, nor on the attendant controversies. Its focus is the use and structure of language, with its diverse patterns and functions.

So, the sequel is waiting to be written. Contentious academic issues raised by language study, and the light thrown on them by other academic traditions, would be a fine matter for another encyclopedia. It is to be hoped that this challenge is met by someone as able and as enthusiastic as Crystal.

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Languages in Competition: Dominance, Diversity and Decline, (The Language Library, ed. David Crystal), by Ronald Wardaugh, London: Basil Blackwell and André Deutsch, 1987, paper, 280 pages, \$26.50 CDN, ISBN 631-15745X.

This appealing book comes as a timely reminder - if need be - that language is more than a simple code, and more than a mere instrument of literature. Language evolves in a complex social, political, ethnic, historical, functional and communicative context, and it is the dynamics of this context which Ronald Wardaugh examines, devoting central attention to the parallel yet contrasting histories of English and French. In particular, he studies the ways in which English and French have competed for preëminence as communicative and social forces, both in their colonialized territories and in the modern world generally. Today, English remains on the ascendant, while French learns how to manage its steady decline. Given its dominant theme - conflict and competition between languages of unequal strength - Languages in Competition ranks as a prime candidate for adoption in university courses of the 'Language and Society' genre.

This book suggests answers to such questions as: What makes a language 'important?' How do languages compete? By what means do some languages gain the upper hand, and what happens to those they eclipse? What are the advantages that speakers perceive in languages on the rise? Can minority and second languages be effectively preserved by those eager to defend them?

Chapter 1, 'Language Dominance,' poses the problem of strong vs. weak, dominant vs. recessive languages, and describes the factors involved in language spread and language decline. Chapter 2, 'Language Diversity,' deals with problems of linguistic pluralism within a single territory or state. Wardaugh explains how minorities and minority languages are handled so as to minimize internal conflict and discontent. Chapter 3, 'Ethnic Group, Nation, and State,' presents ethnicity, nationalism, and 'statemaking' as potent factors in the historical establishment and subsequent maintenance of official languages.

In Chapter 4, 'Great Britain,' the author describes the historical rise of English, and the ways in which it came to dominate and virtually extinguish its indigenous Celtic competition. Typically, the competition of languages cannot be separated from the conflict of distinct societies and ethnic groups, not even within a 'United' Kingdom. Chapter 5, 'France and Spain,' details the emergence of two other imperialistic nation-states, and their

imposition of an official language to the detriment of other idioms sharing the 'national' territory: Occitan, Breton, German, Flemish, Basque, Catalan and Corsican in France; Basque, Catalan and Galician in Spain. Though French may today dominate France more effectively than Spanish does Spain, the historical forces of social control, nationalism, and centralization are essentially the same in both countries.

Chapter 6, 'Promoting English and French,' is perhaps the most interesting chapter in this book. Here, Wardaugh maintains that English - a language associated with notions of power and influence, progress and modernity, usefulness and plurality of functions - is steadily gaining ground throughout the world, with no serious linguistic competition in sight. It is through this chapter that one can better appreciate the current position of the English language, and its probable role in the twenty-first century. French, by contrast, is struggling to maintain its former glories as a world language, even to preserve its integrity within France itself. La francophonie, a loose alliance of French-speaking nations designed to safeguard French economic interests, to promote French prestige, and to arrest any further decline of the language and culture, seems unlikely to enjoy more than limited success. The international linguistic tide has turned decisively in favour of English, and French is being left high and dry on the shore, along with all other contenders for the role of global lingua franca. Perhaps more than ever before, the strength of a language and its culture is linked to its ability to capture those who are willing to learn a second language. In this respect, no language has more 'acquired speakers' than does English. It is perhaps not accidental, then, that English-speakers are generally tolerant of linguistic diversity, while francophones - by and large - cling to more traditional notions of linguistic norm.

In Chapter 7, Wardaugh takes a searching look at 'English and French in Sub-Saharan Africa,' an area where both languages at least stand a theoretical chance of attracting new recruits. He outlines the pre-independence period, describes colonial language policies, and weighs the current residue of English and French against the prevalence of indigenous vernacular languages. Noting that many Africans are multilingual and quite willing to add more languages to their repertory, Wardaugh concludes that the linguistic future of Sub-Saharan Africa remains uncertain: not only is there considerable variation from state to state in the influence of English or French, there is also strong local resistance to both. Chapter 8, 'Competition from Arabic and Swahili,' describes current linguistic challenges to the eventual hegemony of French and English as languages of the African continent. Having been spread through North Africa along with Islam, Arabic has long played an important

role there. For a while, French replaced it as the language of administration, law, education, and international business. But now that the French have been forced to leave, the Arabic language is reclaiming its historic territory, not without difficulty. As the countries of North Africa attempt to arabize, they nonetheless cleave to French, since it continues to offer them economic, educational, technological, and cultural advantages. In several East African countries, serious attempts are afoot to replace English with Swahili as an official language. Against this trend, English remains attractive as an instrument of socioeconomic mobility.

Chapter 9, 'Belgium, Switzerland, and Canada,' describes the fate of languages obliged to cohabit within the confines of a single nation-state. Here, major themes are the tensions created by de facto bilingualism and the desire for linguistic territoriality. These three countries provide highly instructive case-studies, in the sense that ethnicity, history, territoriality and economic factors all interact within their frontiers to produce linguistic and social tensions. Belgium is often cited as the best example of a country which could easily fall apart because of its precarious linguistic balance. Switzerland, by contrast, presents a model in which the major language-groups have worked out a stable political and territorial arrangement in which no collectivity feels seriously threatened. In Canada, where personal bilingualism has long been touted as a national virtue (especially when francophones bear the burden), the French-speaking minority is earnestly seeking to recapture political and economic control of its own territory, now defined as Quebec province.

The concluding Chapter 10, 'Old States, New Pressures,' deals with the mobility of populations as a factor in language maintenance and resistance to established national languages. Increasingly, immigrants insist on retaining their native idiom in their country of adoption. In this context, multilingualism (and multiculturalism) may be endorsed as social and political virtues. Obviously, a sense of ethnicity is at work here, compensating to some extent for the absence of effective political control. It is clear that some countries have more difficulty than others in coping with this situation. States that seemed well on the way to developing a linguistically homogeneous society have suddenly found themselves faced with a diversity of minority languages and cultures, yet have no real plans for dealing with them. Countries such as France and Germany differ psychologically from the United States, Canada, and Australia, in the sense that they hold strong assumptions about immigrants who are desirable, and those who are essentially personae non gratae. The last-named countries, by contrast, are immigrant societies at base, nations built through sustained immigration. These have tended to develop mechanisms to facilitate linguistic transfer at a comfortable pace. Even in the immigrant societies,

however, traditional patterns of language loss continue unabated, and the concept of a multilingual and multicultural society appears to be more an impossible dream than a workable reality. The author examines the situation of immigrant groups in each of the aforementioned states, and in the United Kingdom, whose language and culture has been only marginally challenged by immigration since World War II.

Serious students of linguistics will want to add this book to their library, along with two of Wardaugh's earlier monographs, published in the same series, i.e., How Conversation Works (1985) and An Introduction to Sociolinguistics (1986). Assuming that Languages in Competition will become a standard textbook in courses dealing with socio- and ethnolinguistic themes, instructors may nevertheless wish to deviate from the order in which Wardaugh presents his subject-matter. Granted that the themes of Chapters 1-3 - linguistic unity and diversity, dominance and regression, ethnicity and nationalism - are best studied first, one may find it useful to move next to the case-studies of 'Belgium, Switzerland, and Canada' (Chapter 9), since these examples of linguistic conflict and competition are immediately relevant to the Canadian student's experience. Then, one could read Chapter 6, 'Promoting English and French,' since this chapter poses the problem of linguistic 'strength' and 'weakness' with almost embarrassing acuity. While reading this chapter, the instructor will surely want to emphasize the fact that the 'strength' of a language is directly connected to its perceived usefulness. Such usefulness increases in direct proportion to the number of roles a language plays and the benefits - material or abstract - that it confers on the user. The instructor will also wish to stress that the 'importance' of a language is synonymous with the 'importance' of the societies which use it.

Next, bearing in mind that many Canadian students of language and linguistics come from immigrant stock themselves, one may wish to move promptly to Chapter 10, which characterizes the reactions of five major nation-states when faced with significant waves of immigration. Having first examined the general problem of 'languages in competition,' and having looked more closely at English and French in competition with other languages, the student should be ready to tackle the sociolinguistic history of Great Britain, France, and Spain (Chapters 4 and 5) and, finally, to consider the present state and possible future of English and French in continental Africa. To add zest to any course of the type, 'Language and Society: Dominance, Diversity, Conflict, and Competition,' one could hardly go wrong by making use of two videotape series. For English, we have 'The Story of English' (nine superb sixty-minute tapes, MacNeil-Lehrer-Gannett Productions/BBC, available from the Visual Education Centre, 75 Horner Avenue, Unit 1, Toronto Ontario

M8Z 4X5) and, for French, the well-conceived production: Moi aussi, je parle français (13 half-hour tapes focussing on different parts of the francophone world, available from TVOntario).

Though Wardaugh's treatment of language competition is certainly adequate as far as French is concerned, his presentation of English-language data seems much more substantial and persuasive. An instructor with students literate in French might very well wish to try, as a counterbalance to Languages in Competition, Jacques Leclerc's Langue et Société (Chomedey, Laval: Mondia, Editeurs, 1986, pp. 530), reviewed in depth by Alain Thomas in CJL 32:425-30 (1987). Though heavily laden with statistics and comparative studies of the ways in which dozens of states cope with linguistic diversity and the unequal distribution of political and socioeconomic power, Leclerc's analysis nonetheless brings the contemporary plight of French into sharper focus.

This reviewer is persuaded that students, professional linguists, and the educated individual will learn a great deal from reading Languages in Competition. More abstractly, this volume is an important contribution to the literature of linguistic allegiance and language conflict. Without question, it marks linguistics as a social science of considerable humane value.

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Observing and Analyzing Natural Language, by Leslie Milroy, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987, paper, xiv, 230 pages, \$24.95 CDN, ISBN 0-631-13623-1.

This is an excellent book by one of the foremost scholars in sociolinguistics. A thoughtful discussion of the relationship of sociolinguistic methodology and analysis to theory, it should be required reading for both specialists and for 'anyone who wishes for whatever purpose to find a way of compiling an honest and accountable description of the way ordinary people use language in their daily lives' (212). Milroy assumes background knowledge of the basic, early work in the field (i.e., Labov 1966 and 1972) but presents newer material in more detail so that the nonspecialist should be able to follow. While the book will be of considerable use to those contemplating quantitative sociolinguistic research, it is not a technical manual. For more discussion of technical aspects of sociolinguistic research design and analytic techniques, Milroy supplies useful bibliographical references.

The book is divided into chapters on early approaches to the study of variation, sampling, interview design, social variables, analyzing phonological and syntactic variation, style-shifting and codeswitching, and practical applications. The methodologies of two classic case studies, Labov's Philadelphia project and the Milroys' Belfast project, are presented in some detail. There are two main themes: that methodological and analytical choices are, consciously or unconsciously, grounded in theory and that the methodological techniques developed on the basis of a particular speech community or particular type of linguistic data cannot necessarily be applied to other speech communities or other types of data, at least not without adaptation.

One of the most important examples for these two issues is Milroy's discussion of social class. Since Labov's classic New York City study, social class, made operational through the construction of socio-economic status indices, has been the major social variable in sociolinguistic research. But as Milroy shows clearly, many linguists are unaware that this functionalist notion of social class is highly controversial in nature. Our explanations of linguistic change in terms of prestige, both overt and covert, are predicated on the notion of a class consisting of some group of people with shared values, as evidenced by similar occupations and incomes. Milroy compares this particular model of social class with competing models, particularly the Marxist notion of social class. One problem for the field has been researchers' taking the functionalist model as a given, without realizing its effect on

our explanations of sociolinguistic behavior. A second problem is in terms of Milroy's second theme, mentioned above: many studies which have adopted Labov's use of socio-economic indices have had problems with the interpretation of patterns of covariation of language use and social class. So while social stratification based on socio-economic measures might have been revealing in the New York City context, it is not necessarily applicable to other urban contexts, as Milroy notes for a number of British sociolinguistic studies.

Along with pointing out the problems (as well as good points) in mainstream sociolinguistic research, Milroy's book is particularly useful in indicating alternatives, again with their pros and cons. For instance, Horvath's (1985) use of Principal Components Analysis in her Australian English study is presented as a way of grouping speakers on the basis of their linguistic behavior as opposed to assigning them to preconceived social groups. And for those interested in the study of syntactic variation, a number of ways of dealing with the usual problem, lack of sufficient data, are outlined, as are the theoretical implications of these solutions.

The reader will conclude that sociolinguistics has matured considerably in the decades since Labov's pioneering research, and that the preoccupations of the seventies in terms of refining quantitative methodology have given way to the study of wider ranges of speech communities and of types of linguistic data. For the most part this book deals with the Labovian approach to sociolinguistics, i.e., as the study of change in linguistic systems, although speaker-based approaches (e.g., Gumperz' interactional sociolinguistics) are also discussed. As Milroy notes, whether indeed a unified sociolinguistic theory will develop is a matter of debate.

There is little to criticize in this book. It is uniformly well written and insightful. I found only two errors, both of them minor. In a list of mixed codes (e.g., Tex-Mex, a variety used by Spanish-English bilinguals in California), Milroy gives Joul, which she describes as a mixed code consisting of Canadian French and English (186). Joul, like other North American varieties, contains English borrowings, but it is not a mixed code. Nor is it general 'Canadian French,' since it is geographically restricted to Quebec urban centres. The second error is contained in the brief discussion of research on linguistic constraints on code-switching. Berg-Seligson (1986) is said to present bilingual Spanish/Hebrew data which challenge 'claims of universal [constraints]' (195). This is misleading since Berg-Seligson does not challenge the existence of universal constraints in general but rather of Poplack's Equivalence Constraint. Indeed she claims her findings lend support to Poplack's Free Morpheme Constraint. Finally, for a methodological update, Milroy's statement that the

VARBRUL computer program developed by David Sankoff and his colleagues is not adequately documented for inexperienced users (138) is true of PC versions but not of the recently released and relatively easy to use MacIntosh version, named Goldvarb.

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Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English, by T.K. Pratt, Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1988, cloth, xxxii, 192 pages, \$30.00 CDN, ISBN 0-8020-5781-0.

The reader's first impressions of this book are favorable ones. The P.E.I. plaid dustcover invites one to turn the pages, which do not crack on the spine of the book and which are elegantly printed on acid-free paper. Clearly, this well-crafted Canadian book is built to last.

T.K. Pratt has devoted around twenty pages including two maps to prepare the reader for the use of the Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English (hereafter DPEIE), and has divided them into: the Scope of the Dictionary, four pages; the Making of the Dictionary, eight pages; Guide to the Dictionary, five pages; Dictionaries Consulted, Abbreviations, and Pronunciation Key, around four pages.

The dictionary's scope, according to Pratt, may be grasped by simply reading through the entries. It is a record of non-standard words as used, or once used, on Prince Edward Island (xi). The editor then leads his reader carefully through the distinctions between standard and non-standard language with an example of the non-standard words that may be considered incorrect by some speakers, for example, slippy for slippery. Next a working definition of dialect is spun out of the concepts of standard and non-standard language (xii).

Eight categories of words are not found in DPEIE: proper nouns, foreign words, special occasion words, slang and transitory words, non-standard words which are too well known, multi-word expressions and folk sayings, technical, scientific or learned words, and words strictly confined to an occupation and understood only by the practitioners (xii). As well, borderline candidates for DPEIE have been rejected when they are found without a special label in four other authoritative dictionaries of English, the Gage Canadian Dictionary being the most rigorously used for this test. These constraints were occasionally relaxed by the editor where it seemed appropriate, and where he found 'words with so little evidence accompanying them that their authenticity could reasonably be doubted' (xiii) he rejected them unless they had one written attestation or two oral ones (xiii).

DPEIE is not a dictionary of 'Islandisms,' it is intended to join other fine dialect dictionaries showing 'the links from dialect to dialect, and from dialect to standard, filling in the continuum for their respective catchment areas, and advancing our knowledge about the language as a whole' (xiv).

In the section entitled The Making of the Dictionary, Pratt demonstrates his knowledge of the techniques of dialectological research. Using a classical nineteenth century methodology, the postal surveys of George Wenker in 1876, Pratt establishes an observer class of informants which he abbreviates as 'O' in the entries. Three postal surveys followed, the first ('P1' in 1979) using senior citizens as informants and containing non-standard words, folk sayings items and a multiple choice section on standard words. P2, the second postal survey, was conducted in 1983-84 and was tied into previous fieldwork. Again senior citizens were the informants. Seventy-two fieldwork-elicited words were examined here. The third postal survey, done in 1986, was used to clarify the eligibility of seventy-four words; the less than half which survived were labelled 'R' for Rare Words Survey (xvi).

The editor has used the research techniques of rural dialectology and sociolinguistics to put together his two fieldwork surveys. Sex, age, class, and locality were deemed important. Equal numbers of men and women were studied, with half the informants aged sixty and over, the other half ranging from eighteen to fifty-nine. This was similar to the methodology underlying Dictionary of American Regional English, and to quote Pratt: 'Nevertheless it must be remembered that all generalizations in DPEIE stemming from the surveys reported on here are based on a deliberately biased sample.' (xvii). That is to say, fifty percent of the informants for DPEIE are men and women aged sixty or over. Social class was divided into 'working class' and 'middle class' and did not yield any great discoveries; rather, the most important source of variation in DPEIE turned out to be locality. Many differences were noted between rural and urban speakers, and Pratt established strict criteria for sampling, ending up with a sample of about 100 informants.

Fieldworkers were usually university students, with questionnaires containing words from the postal surveys organized into standard interest groups: weather, nature, food, etc. The two-hour interviews conducted involved both direct and indirect questions. No tape recorders were used; notes were made by fieldworkers and expanded later. Surveys I and II, conducted between 1981 and 1982, supplied 442 words. A 'Common Word Survey' (C) gave information about the choice of standard as opposed to local dialect words. This was done between 1980 to 1982, and gave information about a word's popularity compared to others. Special Lexicons

(S) explored the vocabulary of significant Prince Edward Island rural occupations. Precedent for this fieldwork came from the Dictionary of Newfoundland English.

In addition, three collections of audio tape-recordings of non-standard dialect speech were analyzed and were not found to be particularly helpful. Nine hundred titles were read in an attempt to find written words which would corroborate the oral ones found in the fieldwork. The editor concludes this section by the following:

This dictionary, like others of its kind, had not been finished, but merely ended. The number of words presented in the main entries is 873, while the alternate forms, many of them in their own cross-referenced entries, bring the total collection to over 1,000. Behind each word is an average of about seven sources. (xxii)

The Guide to the Dictionary is clearly written and states that there are main entries and cross references, with the main entries having potentially six sections. The first three of these are found in every case: head word, head note and definition. The second three are optional: citations, editorial note, and dictionary note (xxiii). Various labels reflecting a sociolinguistic interpretation are of interest; these are stylistic, regional, and social. Definitions, citations and editorial and dictionary note sections are clearly explained in a style of writing that brings to mind the expression: 'Guide, philosopher, and friend.'

The Dictionaries Consulted section is informative and broad in its consideration of standard, and regional English.

The Pronunciation Key appears to be based on an amalgam of standard dictionaries and is clear enough. Some readers might prefer an I.P.A. transcription as was used in the Dictionary of Newfoundland English.

The 166 pages of entries in DPEIE are in fact a delight. One cannot do justice to the creativity of such language. The first page by coincidence displays the Micmac name for P.E.I., Abegweit, and the Acadian French aboiteau. Humour is abundant: thunderjugs and flying axehandles can be compared with interest. Social history is on every page; the adverb away has great significance to the Islander. Many entries can be used by dialectologists in other regions for comparative research, for example, popple, stump fence, and scoff.

There is a pattern to the definitions of words contained in DPEIE. It was built into the questionnaire and is similar to the categories of Hans Kurath in Word Geography of the Eastern United States (174). Thus, the editor names the feel of the words as 'homey, familiar, and down to earth.' Some areas of the vocabulary express insularism, while the 'Egmont opposites' are reminiscent of black English where bad actually means good.

The editor has written an excellent conclusion to DPEIE: The Dictionary in Profile. He uses statistics to outline the plot or profile, showing how the origins of the dictionary entries mirror the settlement history of Prince Edward Island.

As noted above, one major sociolinguistic discovery of the dictionary is that the urban-rural distinction is very significant on the Island. Word use surprisingly has almost no ethnic labels attached in the head notes.

The conclusion must be that, although ethnic connections on Prince Edward Island are vital to many people, such connections are not particularly strong in vocabulary. (172)

Sexual differences show male domination in the head note labelling, 63 to 5. There is some discussion of the significance of this linguistic battle of the sexes, but no major conclusion seems to appear. Regarding age, DPEIE confirms the usual: 'older speakers are the more likely to use dialect words.' (173) It should be noted that all these discoveries and conclusions are reinforced and exemplified by scores and figures which are based on the established techniques of sociolinguistics.

The second part of the Dictionary in Profile deals with grammar and pronunciation. Intensifiers such as some and right used as adverbs, and shifting verb morphologies, e.g., drag, drug, stand out. Non-standard prepositional usage where are you at? is also documented. In general, non-standard grammar is found to be most associated with older rural men.

Pronunciation is handled in a pleasingly non-technical but linguistically informative manner. One is able to see the connections between P.E.I. pronunciation and that of other areas of the Atlantic coast. This section is a necessity for anyone who wishes to speak like an Islander, as well as for the scholar who seeks relevant features to include in his/her questionnaire.

In conclusion, this dictionary is a work of scholarship which is accessible to the general reader. If there are any criticisms to be made, they are minor ones. Probably the field work should have been tape-recorded, and the transcriptions of selected pronunciation items noted in a phonetic or phonemic alphabet. This, however, can be the next mission for young linguists inspired by this fine dictionary.

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Issues in Second Language Acquisition: Multiple Perspectives, ed. by Leslie M. Beebe, New York: Newbury House, 1988, xiv, paper, 190 pages, \$22.50 CDN, ISBN 0-06-632049-6.

Along with an introduction by the editor, this volume offers a collection of five state of the art papers (each representing a different approach to second language acquisition (SLA)) and a sixth one which attempts to tie together some of the main points made in the preceding papers. In this sense this book is an especially welcome and refreshing departure from numerous works on the topic which tend to view SLA primarily from a psycholinguistic perspective and which are made up of yet another series of papers presenting the results of recent research on SLA.

The first paper, 'Psycholinguistic issues in SLA' by A. Seliger, does much more than cover the 'latest developments in the field' since it also offers a thematic account of the main different perspectives from which psychologists have viewed SLA since the late 50s. Among the issues examined by Seliger are: How does the learner develop his/her language and what are the processes involved? What is the role of first language knowledge in second language development? What psychological characteristics of the learner lead to successful SLA? As such, Seliger's paper is a nice introduction for newcomers to the field of psychologically-oriented research to SLA.

The second paper, 'Five sociolinguistic approaches to SLA,' is by L. Beebe. The five perspectives examined by the author are: the Labovian variability paradigm; Bickerton's dynamic paradigm; communicative competence; speech accommodation; attitudes and motivation. Beebe provides us with a synthetic account of how various researchers (Beebe, Dickerson, Tarone, etc.) have attempted to apply these frameworks to research on SLA and of the findings which have emerged from their work. I found this article particularly well written and informative. It is now required reading for students who take my Introduction to Sociolinguistics course at OISE.

The third paper, 'Neuropsychology and SLA' by F. Genesee, is a review of experimental research on bilingualism. The review is organized around three major themes: (i) L1 and L2 localization in the left and/or right hemispheres of the brain; (ii) the different ways in which languages with different writing systems (e.g., ideograms vs. graphemes) are represented and processed in the brain; and (iii) the critical period hypothesis for SLA. His review is most enlightening. It offers a systematic overview of the main

findings, hypotheses and principles which have been generated by the field over the last 15 years, along with a critical examination of the considerable methodological difficulties encountered by researchers in the area.

The fourth paper, 'Instructed interlanguage development,' is by M. Long. In it, the author attempts to assess, both on methodological and theoretical grounds, the evidence that instruction affects interlanguage development, in connection with: (i) acquisition processes (e.g., transfer, pidginization, etc.); (ii) acquisition sequences; (iii) rate of acquisition; and (iv) ultimate level of second language proficiency. His conclusion is that instruction has a positive effect on processes, rate and level of SLA but little or no effect on acquisitional stages. His review is a healthy antidote to the views of theorists and program designers who advocate the elimination of formal language teaching from the second language classroom.

The fifth paper, 'SLA within bilingual education programs' by J. Cummins, is a very valuable introduction to the bilingual education policy debate. It features a review of theory and research that allows one to understand why the largely positive results of Canadian research on bilingual education are apparently not confirmed by the findings of American research on the same topic. According to this author, much of the apparent contradiction can be erased if one takes into account the nature of the bilingual program (minority language maintenance, true immersion, transitional, etc.) and the social, cultural and linguistic attributes of the student population.

In the sixth paper, 'Multiple perspectives make singular teaching,' T. Scovel reviews the five state of the art papers with a view to bringing out the implications for second language pedagogy of the research discussed therein. His main message is: if each of the five different perspectives in this volume constitutes a crucial aspect of SLA, none can claim to give a satisfactory account of it on its own. Further along these lines, each of these different approaches can be broken into different paradigms which represent the developmental stages that such approaches have gone through. However, many of the proponents of the new paradigms have failed to recognize and to capitalize on the various contributions made by their predecessors, probably because they were more concerned about selling their perspective on theoretical or 'philosophical' grounds than about operationalizing it. Therefore he urges practitioners to refrain from adopting any of the competing paradigms wholesale and to use their own experience in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to second language teaching.

All in all, I am of the opinion that Beebe's book constitutes a very useful introduction for newcomers to the field of SLA and that it is even sufficiently stimulating and informative for 'false beginners' like me (I once dabbled in SLA) who wish to refresh their grasp of the field.

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From First Words to Grammar: Individual Differences and Dissociable Mechanisms, by Elizabeth Bates, Inge Bretherton, Lynn Snyder, Cambridge University Press, 1988, cloth, xii, 326 pages, \$51.75 CDN, ISBN 0-521-34142-6.

An interesting title, but a disappointing book. It is composed of twelve exhaustive statistical studies all based on a single longitudinal study of twenty seven children at four age levels: 10, 13, 20 and 28 months. At each age level data were collected in two sessions; one held in the home, followed by a session in the laboratory no longer than seven days later. The result is several hundred pages of reporting on social science research, laboratory recordings, interviews, analyses, pages of statistics on such things as MLU (Mean Length of Utterance) - the whole thing, which sometimes comes to life (e.g. Julia in Chap. 16), not really going anywhere for lack of a coherent theoretical underpinning.

There is little that is truly new; the authors occasionally spend time debating whether their statistics correlate to some of the known facts of child language (e.g. the shift from nouns to verbs in the second year); the result, for anyone who reads the whole text, is tough sledding. On the first page of the final chapter (261) we read 'We sympathize with the reader who has ploughed through twelve studies and hundreds of numbers to get to this point.' The summaries in this final chapter are useful, but there will probably be few linguists prepared to plough through the mass of statistics to get there. The fact that the psychometric tradition adopted by the authors is almost unknown in the field of child language is discussed in the brief Chapter Three, and several 'good reasons' (31-2) given as to why this is so. In the following ten pages the attempt is made to justify its application, but the fundamental problem remains: the what is already largely known from all kinds of longitudinal studies (is the massive Leopold (1939-49) already forgotten? it isn't in the bibliography); what we need are answers to why. A massive longitudinal statistical study such as this does not give us such answers; we have studies on the mean length of utterances that go back as far as Nice 1925, for example. The answers to why are to be found in such studies as Jakobson (1949), an article written in French, which Trubetzkoy included in his Principes de phonologie (1949), and which examines the fundamental principles of sequencing in acquisition and attempts to discover the linguistic universals of sequencing.

The authors, however, are specialists in Psychology, Human Development, and Speech Communication, not Linguistics. Their research, consequently, is psychologically oriented, and rests on two assumptions, both of which I applaud: (1) the language faculty

has a componential structure, and (2) individual differences in language development (and language loss, as in aphasia) can reveal facts about this componential structure. This is, of course, pure Jakobson (1941 - this one in German), but the name Jakobson does not appear even once in their 17 page bibliography, which in fact cites no title in any language other than English, and is over 95% from American sources. Massive industry, which has nevertheless missed the essential key, the very approach that would have suited the authors declared intentions.

The authors complain, in fact, that their second assumption is 'surprisingly unpopular among linguists and psycholinguists.' Who are these linguists? Jakobson's point of view in the 1940's was, of course, a minority one, and the majority Behaviorist view then current in American linguistics was only partly swept away by the 'revolution' of the sixties. The new paradigm, especially in its early stages, still maintained such Behaviorist doctrines as (1) the separation of syntax and semantics, and (2) the definition of language as rule-governed behavior.

The Behaviorists believed that morphosyntax, being directly observable, was the only scientific reality of language, and that meaning, not being directly observable, should be dealt with separately, or just ignored. This is the same argument that was used to defend their anti-mentalist position: the separation of syntax and semantics is an anti-mentalist doctrine that has survived into a self styled 'mentalist' paradigm, a contradiction that has bred endless confusions. It was this contradiction, for example, that led to the 'palace revolution' of the Generative Semanticists.

One of these confusions is apparent in the very title of this book, which presupposes that there is no 'grammar' in children's first words, that grammar does not start until you have rules such as  $S \rightarrow NP + VP$ . But the child's first word is normally predicated of something that is present; at a second stage predication is made to something that is not present, to something that is memorial rather than a direct percept. A third stage is the two-element stage (discussed by the authors on p. 122) where one notion is simply predicated of another (the pivot) in topic plus comment fashion. The predication of VP to NP is no more than a fourth stage of this fundamental cognitive processing. The view here is twofold: (1) the adult's exclamation of disappointment 'Rain!' is just as grammatical as The cat sat on the mat, and (2) that grammar builds, so that the truth is that  $NP + VP \rightarrow S$ .

Such a viewpoint would have meshed so well with the authors' own modular approach: as they say on p. 284, 'Modules are not born; they are made' (emphasis theirs). But the only modules they can find to borrow from modern linguistics (21) are 'phonology, syntax,

semantics, and pragmatics.' This is seriously disconcerting: phonology is certainly a module, but where is morphology? The parts of speech are themselves modules: the verbal system of English is a module which contains subsystems of tense, person, aspect, mood, etc. These subsystems (e.g. tense) are also meaningful, so that semantics itself is modular. And pragmatics is not modular; pragmatics is simply the practical application of semantics! Use, application, exploitation of a module cannot itself be a module of the same status.

This confusion is particularly regrettable when we find the authors concluding in their final summation (298): '...we have cast our lot with Aristotle and the Analogists, trying to understand language development within a more general framework of cognition, perception, and learning. Anomalism is a defeatist philosophy, a bad place to start no matter where we ultimately end up.' Here it must be understood that 'innatism' or 'general nativism' are anomalistic (if, for example, with a given theory no other explanation is rational, so that all languages have to be hard wired in the human mind - surely a defeatist point of view). It must also be understood that the authors have missed the fundamentally cognitive approaches to Child Language (e.g. Piaget 1959, or Jones 1970, a Jakobsonian point of view which, since it was reviewed in an American publication (Hewson 1973), one could expect to find in their 17 page bibliography). Perhaps George Lakoff's plea to treat linguistics as a cognitive science (1987:xi) which he considers to be a 'new field' (what would Jakobson have thought?), will lead the authors to undertake the revision that in their conclusion they feel to be necessary (288), and to review the obvious symmetry of their own point of view to that of linguists who follow in the Jakobsonian tradition of taking a cognitive approach to linguistics. The existence of recent books on language learning that question nativism and the autonomy thesis (e.g. O'Grady 1987) would provide further resource materials for such an approach.

The definition of language as rule-governed behavior, furthermore, leads to gross problems in Child Language. If the rules govern language, then the rules have to be learned first, before there can be language. How do you learn a metalanguage before you learn a language? Since moreover the rules are always flawed (see, for example, Robin Lakoff 1969) we keep rewriting the grammars until the Revised Extended Standard Theory becomes upstaged by Government and Binding or replaced by Relational Grammar, Arc Pair Grammar, Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, etc. - there are some thirty of these on the go in the current literature. The time has come for linguists to set their house in order and get down to some fundamental principles that make sense, and that the vast majority of linguists can wholeheartedly support. Until we do this, we are going to continue to mislead honest and diligent

workers in other disciplines with our confusions, as has happened in this book.

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Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective, ed. by James D. Benson, Michael J. Cummings and William S. Greaves, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1988, x, 452 pages, \$24.95 US, ISBN 90-272-3533 (cloth)/ 90-272-3555-4 (paper).

'Systemic grammar' was a name coined for the theoretical perspective developed by Michael Halliday during the 1960's, the successor to 'Scale and Category Grammar' (1961), which was in turn heavily influenced by Halliday's teacher, J.R. Firth. It may be considered a variant of European functionalism, as indicated by the title of Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar (1985). As Hudson comments in a comprehensive review article (1986) 'the name comes from the key concept, the 'system,' which is just a set of alternatives.' This book is a set of thirteen essays that show 'systemicists at work' (ix). The result is a very mixed bag, as is frequent when such collections are made.

The first article in the book, 'Intonation and meaning in spontaneous discourse' by Afaf El-Menoufy, is a solid piece of phonetic description which plays the role of overture for the next article by Michael Halliday, who has always been the leading figure of the Systemic school: 'On the ineffability of grammatical categories.' This is one of the two items that had been previously published (it was Halliday's Presidential Address to LACUS in 1983).

Halliday always sparkles, whether the word be spoken or written, and there are many interesting insights on the difficult question of describing grammatical meaning which is the topic of his paper. He concludes, for example, that 'The meaning of the s on cats is impossible to gloss in natural language ... The category is, quite simply, ineffable' since I like cats does not mean I like more than one cat (33).

What is at issue here, as Saussure long ago pointed out (1916:121-2), is not the meaning of plural, but the meaning of the singular/plural contrast, where we have a simple binary system: the establishment of a unit, and transcendence of the unit. Consequently any representation where the unit is transcended becomes plural, as in 1.05 inches. It is surprising, therefore, in a book that purports to represent 'Systemic linguistics' at work, that the question of the meaning of such a simple system is not only not addressed, but the issue is in fact dismissed as a failure of the metalanguage: '... grammatical categories will remain ineffable' (37).

This is, in fact, a problem that I found throughout the whole book: that in Systemic linguistics there does not seem to be any clear notion of system. In fact Halliday writes 'language (if I may be allowed to invert Chomsky's famous dictum) is an infinite system that generates only a finite body of text' (33). Here, quite apart from the obvious matter of fact that the dictum is Humboldt's, as Chomsky quite properly acknowledges (1965:8), there are two major confusions: (1) language is not a system, and (2) an 'infinite system' is a contradiction in terms.

The first of these problems is a perennial one: the failure to distinguish the means of production from the product, to distinguish, for example, the fount of type (finite system) from the printed pages (potentially infinite text). Hockett is quite right, for example, when he says that the search for system in language (i.e. langage, which includes text) is a 'wild goose chase' (1959:936); Saussure himself had said 'Le tout global du langage est inconnaissable' (1916:38). Nevertheless every language (langue) is a system of systems, with a phonological system, grammatical system, etc. We have to make the Saussurian distinction between langue and langage, even though our mother tongue does not help us to do it. If we fail to do this we fail to think clearly about the realities of language and may end up looking for system in the wrong place: one never hears phonological systems in the stream of speech; one only hears allophones that have to be analysed. If such systems could be observed directly, in texts, there would be no need to train linguists.

Since Butler (1985:77) regrets the lack of direct critical comment by outsiders to the theory, it is perhaps important to make this fundamental criticism perfectly clear. Systems are, by definition, finite: they are composed of parts that fit together in a recognizable way. They may be either open or closed; an open system, such as a speaker's vocabulary, can have items added or subtracted, but at any given moment of time will be finite. A closed system cannot be altered without destroying it, because all the parts fit together into a coherent unity.

These questions are at issue all the way through this text. One gets the impression from the following paper by A.A. Lyne, for example, ('Systemic syntax from a lexical point of view'), which has some interesting comments on collocations, that there are 'system networks' to be found in texts; the same point of view reappears in Christian Mathiessen's paper 'Semantics for a systemic grammar: The chooser and inquiry framework.' But texts are Saussurian parole, and we are back with the product, not the means of production. The same problem also arises in the next paper (John McH. Sinclair, 'Sense and structure in lexis') with Sinclair's analysis of the variant meanings of YIELD, where he talks of '... lexical structure

in terms of collocations and similar patterns' (74), not, as we might expect, in terms of semantic field. Insistence on text also shows up in three other papers: M.K. Philips, 'Text, terms and meanings: Some principles of analysis,' Terry Threadgold, 'What did Milton say Belial said and why don't the critics believe him?,' Erich Steiner, 'The interaction of language and music as semiotic systems: The example of a folk ballad,' the last two being analyses of texts. Phillips in fact states (107) that 'the text as a whole constitutes a vast network' and later presents Hjelmslev as arguing that 'language has to be viewed as a network of relations' and that 'this view stemmed from Saussure.' Any network of relations for Saussure and Hjelmslev, however, would be in langue, the means of production, whereas text is unquestionably parole, the product.

Rhetoric, of course, can have structure, and the best aspect of most of these papers is the interesting insights that they furnish into the structure of various aspects of rhetoric, as in Christopher Butler's paper on politeness ('Politeness and the semantics of modalised directives in English') and that of Eirian Davies on possibility ('On different possibilities in the syntax of English'), and the carefully crafted analyses of Threadgold and Steiner.

Steiner's paper had been published before, but in a local journal; republication makes it more easily accessible. The paper by Michael Gregory ('Generic situation and register: A functional view of communication'), on the other hand, is new in format, but rehashes earlier publications and adds very little that is new. The whole of the last section, for example, is a 'recall' of things that were 'proposed in 1967 and developed in ... 1978' (316).

Robin Fawcett's paper, ('The English personal pronouns: An exercise in linguistic theory'), which I had been led to think might deal with the system of the personal pronouns, was a great disappointment. He tries to create 'a purely formal grammar' (189), but this is impossible, given the syncretism of it and you and the need to distinguish objective her from possessive her (I saw her vs. I saw her book where her is obviously not the same element - cf. him/his). He ignores the possessives, however, and for a system gives us simply the following, which is nothing but a list (190):

I/me/you/he/him/she/her/it/we/us/they/them

to which the ENTRY CONDITION is [pronoun]. His arguments against 'both a "nominative" and an "accusative" it' (193), furthermore, could also be used for claiming that verbs such as put and set have only one tense in English, and no past participle. Given I put/set it in the garden yesterday vs. I sometimes put/set them in the garden, would he claim that there is no difference of tense because there is no difference of form? If he does, it can be

shown that there is something seriously wrong with his method by substituting a verb such as plant for put/set. If he does not, he must be prepared to admit that the system is not in the morphemes; that the morphemes sometimes mark, sometimes fail to mark, the systemic differences. Long experience has shown us that where the morphology fails to mark the distinctive or systemic differences, it is a gross error to presume that such systemic differences do not exist: it is just as wrong to argue against a 'nominative and accusative it' as it is to claim that set and put have no past tense or past participle. There is an underlying content system (to use Hjelmslev's term) of which the morphemes are merely the markers; these latter have no value whatever without the content which they mark. And a single morpheme such as it or put may be used to mark more than one content.

For me the most enjoyable and profitable item was Martin's paper on Tagalog ('Grammatical conspiracies in Tagalog: Family, face and fate - with regard to Benjamin Lee Whorf'). This paper includes a perceptive defence of Whorf, and does have the sense of system that I looked in vain for elsewhere, while still dealing with collocations (in that it deals with classes of words that fit in certain collocations, such as the covert class of 'political' verbs listed on page 269, with meanings such as boast, sellout, offer, entrust, prohibit, etc.). The class of words would form, in Jakobson's terms a (vertical) paradigm, where each item might replace the other, whereas the collocation forms a (horizontal) syntagma that undergoes alteration as the different paradigmatic elements are inserted into it. The former could be considered a system of langue, the latter a structure of parole. Martin's paper is a long and thoughtful essay that a linguist of any persuasion should be able to read for profit, which is a rare achievement by any linguist these days.

Perhaps Martin's last word, in his defence of Whorf, could be the final verdict on the whole book: that human beings do have the ability 'to break conceptual fetters' so that we do not remain 'prisoners of the categorisation scheme implied by our language' (297). There is fine work being done in Systemic linguistics, but the one conceptual fetter that it is essential to break is that of the English word language. The systems of langue are cognitive systems, the fundamental linguistic systems that are much more coherent than the rhetorical systems of parole, and the sociological systems of langage. Obviously, a linguistic theory which chooses for itself the label Systemic should deal with the fundamental systems before tackling the peripheral ones.

The Index has some curious lapses. Why, for example, are Boas, Bolinger, Hudson, Malinowski, Sapir, left out, when they are mentioned and discussed in the text, when others such as Firth,

Grice, Givon, Jespersen, Lamb, Leech, are listed? Bolinger, indeed, is quoted at length on page 53, where he occupies a whole paragraph. Hudson's work is discussed on page 70, where he is described as 'in the past a doughty protagonist of the Systemic model;' is this not a sufficient recommendation to get him into the Index?

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Color and Color Perception: A Study in Anthropocentric Realism, by David R. Hilbert, Stanford, Ca.: Center for the Study of Language and Information, CSLI Lecture Notes, #9, 1987, x, 146 pages, \$11.95 CDN, ISBN 0-937073-16-4 (paper), ISBN 0-937073-15-6 (Distributed by the University of Chicago Press).

A quick glance through the titles in the Lecture Notes Series shows that eight deal broadly with linguistics; the remaining five, including the above title, do not. This makes Color and Color Perception a difficult book to review because it concerns only marginally language and linguistics. Despite its title, it does not deal with anthropology either, but with philosophy, physics and psychology.

What will readers of JAPLA find in the book? Both a great deal and not very much. It is not until page 114 that Hilbert mentions semantics. The 19 page long sixth and next to last chapter entitled 'Indeterminacy and Colors' is the most relevant one for our purposes. The book itself is a review of philosophical theories about color and color perception. Hilbert does not support the subjectivists' interpretation of color, putting him in the opposite camp from Hume, Locke, Berkeley, Newton and many contemporary writers. He argues in favor of the objective existence of color, and his seven chapters go about disproving the views of others and proving his own.

His discussion of the theories of the great philosophers through the ages is a humbling experience in itself. The conclusion which I drew, reflecting upon Hilbert's discussion, is, what a remarkable creature the human being is to have arrived at color vocabularies generally consistent among speakers of a language, when the referents of these terms have such little correspondence with the real world as studied by physicists. That we as speakers of English even remotely agree with one another as to what the color red refers to, must be one of the greatest acts of deception that culture, convention and expectation has ever played upon us. Undoubtedly, the same applies to the codification and naming of all sensory experience, although color may have been more exhaustively studied than any other area of vocabulary.

A cornerstone of Hilbert's argument is the recognition of metamers. Metamers are differences of surface spectral reflectances of objects which are identified as colored. Hilbert writes (103):

Metamers do not differ just slightly in their reflectance profiles....The situation with respect to colors seems analogous to supposing that a four-inch stick could look the same as one that was either two or six inches but not the same as one that is three inches in length. An even better analogy is with shape perception. It seems bizarre to imagine that a rectangle might be indistinguishable from a hexagon but not from a pentagon. Yet this seems to be exactly the situation with respect to the perception of colors.

In other words, red can sometimes appear green. Is our agreement that red is red the consequence of an intolerant culture that demands acceptance of convention? No, in large part it is a consequence of the human visual apparatus. Biologically, we are not equipped to note perceptually the tricks which nature would otherwise play on us. Most stimuli associated with the color red fall within a reasonably narrow scope of possibilities. Most four-inch sticks, indeed, appear to be about four inches long.

As crude as human perceptive facilities for color are, our color terms are even cruder; both are anthropocentric. Color terms, too, are language relative. Hilbert argues, moreover, that color language is no more subjective than our perception of color. For example, 'scarlet is a shade of red' only if the kind of reflectance associated with red is included in the kind of reflectance associated with scarlet. Each color term is associated with a specific color space, which encompasses the range of spectral reflectances associated with that color term. Relations between colors are relations between locations in color space. Since color space is specified objectively, the various color relations, too, have an objective, though anthropocentric basis. By taking this anthropocentrism into account, Hilbert concludes (134) '... it is possible to provide a realist analysis of color that preserves most of our ordinary knowledge about color.'

Only one of Hilbert's bibliographic references, Berlin and Kay's Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution, is an anthropological publication. As excellent as Berlin and Kay's work is, it does not represent the full range of thought on this subject. Color terms the world over probably reflect cultural differences to a greater extent and in a more varied way than Hilbert shows in his few examples coming exclusively from European languages. What conclusions would Hilbert have drawn from Verne Ray's (1953) pioneering studies of color terminology of American Indian languages spoken in Washington State? Ray found color

terms discontinuous vis-à-vis adjacent areas of the spectrum. What status does that give the concept of color space? Is it only a case of Ray not recognizing that one color term (for example scarlet), is wholly subsumable within another term (red) which has the larger color space? Thirty years ago I concluded that such was the case. Now I am not so certain. The possibility exists that humans make use of a far wider range of information in classifying colors than spectral reflectances perceived by the visual apparatus. The degree of freshness or desiccation associated with a color stimulus in Hanunóo, as identified by Conklin (1955), appears to be relevant in classifying colors in that Philippine language. Very likely Japanese takes freshness into account, too, in contrasting 'blue' and 'green,' which at a higher level are seen by the Japanese as variants of a common color. Warmth and coolness appear to be defining features used to contrast colors among the Dugum Dani, a New Guinea group (E. Heider 1972).

Opposing and mutually exclusive criteria are employed by speakers in most languages in the selection of relevant stimuli in encoding information. In English we do this all the time, but not necessarily in color naming. Whether we call a mature human an adult, a man, or a woman depends upon whether we choose to take into account sex as well as maturity. Despite the unpredictability of choice of term in any given instance, we are able to shift our perceptions and references accordingly in conversation, depending upon the choices speakers make in encoding concepts, and we as hearers make in decoding them.

I agree with Hilbert that this does not make any kind of classification less objective than another. Hilbert, however, has not gone far enough in his discussion of color terminology. His carefully presented book, nevertheless, does relate the obstacles which have had to be overcome in the area of understanding color perception and color naming.

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The Windmill Turning: Nursery Rhymes, Maxims, and other Expressions of Western Canadian Mennonites, by Victor Carl Friesen, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1988, cloth, xv, 139 pages, \$24.95 CDN, ISBN 0-88864-118-4.

This attractively produced and entertaining book will have as audience thousands of North American Mennonites whose ancestors came from the Ukraine and who recognize that, in the process of assimilating into mainstream Canadian society, they are in danger of forgetting the Plautdietsch language and culture of their forbears. Friesen obtained much of the wealth of traditional folklore and language presented in The Windmill Turning at his mother's knee, and she, in turn, had learned it from her parents who were raised in Mennonite colonies in Russia. Other items in the book were contributed by Friesen's friends who had learned the material in similar ways.

The wealth of material is impressive. There are 37 nursery rhymes, 30 nursery and children's games, five songs, 161 maxims, plus a number of similes, riddles, jokes, tongue twisters and other folk expressions. A short history of the Mennonites of Europe and of their migration to Canada, chapters on their language, their traditional folklore, and on a Plautdietsch orthography complete the text. A long appendix includes an outline of Plautdietsch grammar, a basic vocabulary, bibliography, and an index of first lines. Friesen has provided two translations for most items, a literal word for word translation and a more polished version which permits rhyming in English. While the book is not written for a scholarly audience, the examples contained therein are of value to a wide band of specialists.

Being primarily an ethnologist and having some familiarity with Low German, I found the book of interest from several fronts: (1) its presentation of emotionally charged materials to an audience convinced of its separateness; (2) the distribution of the folkloristic and linguistic data among other West Germanic speakers living along the North Sea and Baltic Sea; and (3) the attempt to provide an orthography for the Plautdietsch of the western Canadian Mennonites.

With regard to the first, Friesen's discussion of Plautdietsch phonetic symbolism appears more subjective than scientific. He writes '... one seems to feel the "meaning" with one's lips and the muscles of the throat and the vocal cords. Thus the verb schlucke (to swallow) has not only the vowel sound appropriate to the action named, but the final syllable tends to give the sensation

of the Adam's apple bobbing down in the final act of swallowing.' Is the sensation any different with the words brucke 'to need' or gucke 'to look?' If not, is there any symbolism with schlucke? Examples like these should not be used to suggest the uniqueness of Mennonite Plautdietsch, since the same patterns are found in High German and other Low German dialects.

With respect to the distribution of folkloristic and linguistic data for comparative purposes, the evidence is rich, indeed. Surprising is the large number of correspondences with High German rather than with Dutch or Low German in the Mennonite children's songs. Obviously, the Mennonites have been strongly influenced by High German sometime in the past and not merely through Luther's High German Bible.

With folk sayings, however, the Dutch and Low German influences or common origin are more clearly seen in Friesen's data. One saying, in particular, deserves our attention: 'Awren Hunt sun wie, nu mott wie noch awren (t)soagel. We've got past the dog; now we still have to get past the tail (literally, The worst is over, but we're not out of the woods yet).' The Low German equivalent in the East Frisian dialect is: 'Kumd man afer d'hund, den kumd man ok afer de stert.' (J. ten Doornkaat Koolman Wörterbuch der ostfriesisischen Sprache, 1884, Vol. 3, p. 311). If one gets over the dog, then one will get over the tail, too. To East Frisian sensibilities, the saying literally reflects sailors' wisdom: if one has got this far, then one should get through the rest as well. Figuratively it suggests that if one has overcome a tremendous hardship already, one should be able to cope with a small inconvenience, too.

The saying is rooted in the dangers of navigating the estuary of the Ems. Among the numerous sandbanks that impede passage from Emden into the North Sea are two which are relevant for this saying, de Hond (dog), and the Meeuwenstaert (seagull's tail), both of which occur on 16th century Dutch maps. When Emden Mennonites left to find their fortunes in the east, particularly at Danzig and other settlements on the Vistula delta, at the end of the 16th century, they would first have had to get past both the dog and the tail. These Danzig Mennonites were invited in 1786 by Catherine the Great to settle sections of the Ukraine.

Clearly the sandbanks had been a problem for navigators long before the Mennonites arose as a distinct religious body in the Netherlands and in adjacent parts of Germany in the 16th century. The saying in East Frisia, moreover, is not restricted to Mennonites. At the present time it is a common heritage of persons of other Protestant groups, too. A colorful saying, initially a statement of fact, came to be taken only figuratively

by the land-locked Mennonites of the Ukraine. It served as encouragement to persevere, but never to assume that the outcome will be favorable. The East Frisian version is more positive, possibly because the saying is taken in both its literal and figurative sense by Mennonites and non-Mennonites alike - possibly because East Frisian hardships were less severe. Of the two sandbanks, it remains the dog which is most difficult to get over. Collections of unanalyzed data such as Friesen's remain a treasure trove, not only for linguists but also for folklorists, anthropologists, and historians.

Friesen's data on the developing of an orthography for the Plautdietsch of Western Canadian Mennonites is perhaps of greatest interest to JAPLA readers. Most Low German orthographies were developed in Europe and are modelled on the spelling of High German. The significance of using German spelling conventions seems less obvious to young Canadian Mennonites, many of whom can no longer read or write High German. In April, 1982, fifteen Canadian Mennonite writers and scholars came together in Winnipeg to devise a writing system that would apply to both dialects of Plautdietsch. The product was one which was neither exclusively phonetic nor exclusively phonemic, but contained recognition of morphemic principles, as well. Reducing dialect variations to a common spelling did not come easily. Old colony speakers use palatalized k where speakers of the Molochnaya dialect often use palatalized t. The former want to write the diminutive morpheme -kje, the latter -tje. A compromise was reached whereby -kj was to be used word initially and -tj word medially and word finally. Wisely, Friesen chooses not to go along with this suggestion because it would mean that 'milk' would be spelled maltj rather than malkj. Why not simplify the spelling to malk? This would facilitate the reading of Mennonite texts for persons familiar with other Low German dialects.

Another problem lies in the fact that one or both dialects of Plautdietsch has lost the -n in the infinitive ending, thereby reducing 'to rake' and 'little heart' to homonyms. Friesen's solution is to write the former with -kj, the latter with -tj. The Old Colony speakers prefer to write the infinitive forms -en. Offering this small concession to Old Colony speakers, the diminutive could be written -tje although old Colony speakers could continue to pronounce such words [kje]. Readers and writers of Dutch, High German and a myriad of other Low German dialects would hereby find the Mennonite texts easier to follow.

Word final /r/ is dropped in both Mennonite dialects, causing the words 'to eat' and 'eater' to become homophones. Friesen writes the former äta, the latter Äta. In both cases the final vowel is a schwa just as is the final vowel of the diminutive where it is

written e. Why not use the e in every case, giving 'to eat' as äten, and 'eater' as Äte or äte?

Discussion of the remaining vowel symbols takes us too far afield for a short book review. My impression is that the orthography is over-differentiated and strives for a phonetic representation rather than a phonological one. This is a characteristic, however, of earlier orthographies of East Frisian Low German and Dutch, too.

In short, Friesen is to be complemented on his book. The Windmills Turning admirably suites the needs of his anticipated readership, Canadian Mennonites who are in the process of losing their language and culture. For a population which extols its separateness and uniqueness (Friesen takes a surprisingly objective stance on this emotional issue), the Canadian Mennonites may be surprised to learn that their language and traditional folklore are readily understandable to millions of Dutch speakers and hundreds of thousands of speakers of other Low German dialects. The similarity, however, is obscured by the orthography used in The Windmill Turning, despite its improvements over the one suggested by the group of 15. Works, like the one under review, would be read and utilized much more widely by non-Mennonites, scholars and laypersons alike, if only small changes were introduced in the writing system.

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Grammar and Second Language Teaching: A Book of Readings, by William Rutherford and Michael Sharwood Smith, New York: Newbury House Publishers, 1988, paper, vii, 260 pages, \$30.50 CDN, ISBN 0-06-632494-7.

The editors of this book have compiled a number of articles that focus on different aspects of a pedagogical grammar (PG) which, in this context, refers to 'the means by which acquisition of a second or foreign language grammar may be expressly facilitated' (1). They propose that PG, which takes into account relationships among the formal properties of grammar, could provide the basis for such a theoretical framework. Their working hypothesis centres on a pedagogy that makes use of explicit rules which can be 'raised to consciousness' and the process by which this occurs to show how it can influence foreign or second language teaching. The editors clearly state that they are only at the beginning stages of outlining such a theory.

The book is divided into three sections and contains fifteen articles published elsewhere for the most part within the past ten years. The first section which focuses on theoretical considerations opens with an article by Rutherford in which he briefly traces the history of the development of consciousness raising in the learning of second languages, in particular the changes that took place in attitudes toward pedagogy from classical times to the present. Rutherford mentions that traditionally the focus on grammatical form was considered a necessary, even sufficient, condition for acquiring a second language and that the concern for language use and the role played by consciousness raising in teaching is a relatively recent phenomenon. The latter point is further elaborated on in the chapter by Bley-Vroman who discusses the main characteristics of adult second language learning compared to those found in child language development. He suggests that the well recognized lack of success in adult foreign language learning, unlike that of first language learning which is uniformly successful, results from the fact that accuracy in adults is not accomplished by means of comprehensible input. He hypothesizes that some form of grammatical consciousness raising introduced at appropriate times would improve the adult learner's grammar.

Bialystok describes second language performance using a two-dimensional model of language proficiency. One dimension involves a continuum linking nonanalyzed and analyzed endpoints intersected by another dimension joining nonautomatic and automatic endpoints. She argues that a learner's representation of knowledge can be separated from access to that knowledge, a point that I will take

up below, and that 'each of these variables contributes to the learner's control over that knowledge' (37). Aside from the assumption that language is a structured, generative system, Bialystok claims that she does not take a theoretical position insofar as linguistic description is concerned. However, in her discussion of her model she invokes the linguistic concept of markedness whereby the analyzed endpoint is marked with respect to the nonanalyzed endpoint, and the automatic endpoint is marked with respect to the nonautomatic one. This allows her model to predict that in the development of proficiency in a second language, the unmarked forms of control will precede marked ones. The problem raised here is that although the theory of markedness has certainly proved to be a fruitful line of research, many details of the theory are still in dispute and have yet to be worked out.

The main point that is stressed in the chapter by Sharwood Smith is that consciousness raising is a much more complex process than is often recognized. Nonetheless, he supports the view that language learning can be aided by practice of the rules of grammar that we have explicit knowledge of. This approach is also adopted by Pienemann who probes the relationship between learning and teaching. One of the specific questions he poses concerns the extent to which language acquisition processes depend on the structure of formal input and whether or not a rule can be learned in advance of natural acquisition. He discusses the results of a study based on the developmental stages of a German inversion rule that emerge in Italian speaking children learning German as a second language. The study indicates that instruction can facilitate the acquisition process but that the role played by consciousness raising is highly constrained insofar as the natural acquisition of rule ordering is concerned.

The readings in the second section of the book focus on what PG refers to, as this term has not been used with semantic consistency in the literature. For example, Corder emphasizes that the distinction between a linguistic grammar which he considers to be a reference grammar and a pedagogical grammar which is a more practical grammar normally used in developing the communicative competence of learners, must be clearly indicated. Another point, frequently overlooked in discussions on teaching, is that pedagogical descriptions are aids to learning, not the objects of learning, and in classroom settings it is often the case that description is used as explanation. By way of illustration of how a pedagogical grammar could be effectively used, Corder cites the example of the patterns found in double object verbs in English. He presents a variety of sentences containing a verb that permits the alternation in object patterns (give) and one that does not (explain). Corder proposes that the setting out of such patterns will enable the learner to infer the

rules and that the inclusion of exercises involving some decision of semantic or syntactic processes that a learner has already acquired will 'force' the student to some degree to discover something about double object verbs. His presentation is, in fact, a good description of how the English dative alternation might be taught to students; the explanation for the alternation remains in dispute, as a perusal of the literature will demonstrate. For a recent account that suggests a transformational rather than a lexical analysis within the current theoretical model to account for double object verbs, see Larson (1988). From a pedagogical perspective, on the other hand, what has not been made explicit in the discussion is the relation between exposure to an alternation of this kind and the learner's awareness or knowledge of the constraints operating on the alternation, be they lexical or transformational.

The last section of the book, which concentrates on the realization of pedagogical grammars, provides practical illustrations of how grammar may be presented to students using techniques for facilitating learning based on research findings. The chapters by Sharwood Smith and Rutherford are especially interesting in this regard. It is somewhat puzzling, however, to find included a paper based on a case grammar incorporated within a generative semantics model. The paper in question, originally published in 1981, is by MacKenzie, and is based on a theoretical approach that was ultimately shown to be untenable. A full discussion of the issues involved and the controversy that raged over them can be found in Newmeyer (1980). The editors in their introduction to this section point out that 'since the time of writing, case theory has assumed an important role in Chomskyan generative grammar, though this does not really alter the most essential points that Mackenzie makes' (187), but it is not clear which points they have in mind. Case theory as argued by Chomsky, however, is predicated on syntactic rather than semantic relationships; in any case the predictions that follow from one theory or the other would have serious implications for PG.

The main problem one has with assessing the approach taken in this book stems from the lack of a well-defined theory of PG within the context of second language learning and the role played by consciousness raising, a point which the editors make clear at the onset. Rutherford again underlines the pretheoretical nature of this line of inquiry in the final chapter of the book where he states that the question of what must be raised to consciousness in a learner and how it is accomplished remains open. But to go back a step, can we assume access to unconscious knowledge? Chomsky (1980:244), citing examples from the history of science argues, in fact, that there is no reason to suggest we 'have any privileged access to the principles that enter into our knowledge and use of

language.' As a case in point within the more recent principles-and-parameters model, Chomsky (1988:91) argues that conscious awareness of categories that are empty at surface structure and the principles that govern them is 'beyond the level of possible introspection.' This brings into question the major premise of this book, namely, that unconscious knowledge can be accessed. It may indeed turn out that this is an empirical question, in which case some compelling supporting evidence would have to be produced. There is one final problem concerning the ambiguity associated with the term 'grammar' that must be mentioned. This term refers to either the internalized grammar or the linguist's theory; the context normally determines which one is intended. However, in many of the discussions of PG in the text, the definition of grammar being referred to by various authors is at times unclear.

In general the articles included in this book should be of interest to anyone involved in second language teaching and research. The challenging questions and activities that are included would make this a useful text for students specializing in the field. Although it is less satisfactory from the point of view of theory, the editors have attempted to address the important topic of the relationship between pedagogy and language learning and in this attempt, they have brought out many complex issues that concern instructors, students and theoreticians.

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The 14th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development is scheduled for October 13th, 14th and 15th, 1989. The keynote speaker will be William Labov of the University of Pennsylvania. Sessions will focus on these central themes:

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\* \* \* \* \*

The 21st Algonquian Conference, sponsored by Memorial University, will be held in St. John's, Newfoundland on October 27-29, 1989. Abstracts of not more than 100 words are invited before September 8, 1989, in either French or English, on any scholarly topic related to the Algonquian people. Registration is \$25 Canadian or American (\$15 for students with proof of status). For further information, contact: Algonquian Conference, Department of Linguistics, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada A1B 3X9 (Phone: 709-737-8134; FAX number: 709-737-4000; Bitnet address: awhite@mun).

\* \* \* \* \*

The 13th annual conference of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association will be held 3-5 November 1989 in Saint John, New Brunswick. The keynote speaker will be Manfred Görlach, editor of Varieties of English Around the World.

Le 13<sup>e</sup> colloque annuel de l'Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques aura lieu le 3-5 novembre 1989 à Saint John, Nouveau-Brunswick. Le conférencier invité sera Manfred Görlach, rédacteur de Varieties of English Around the World.

For more information, contact/Pour de plus amples renseignements, vous adresser à:

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