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TRADE LANGUAGES IN THE STRAIT OF BELLE ISLE

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates early language contact and the resulting contact languages on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador in the Strait of Belle Isle region. The jargons and pidgins which arose between Native peoples and Portuguese, Breton, Basque and other European traders are traced and documented, and a possible case of relexification is briefly examined.

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CONTACT LANGUAGES

Numerous studies have been made about the contact between cultures. Strangely enough, many of these omit, and often do not even mention, one of the most important aspects of this contact – the language gap. The language gap is the first barrier to be overcome in the contacts between foreign nations. What can you do when you want to communicate with people if you don't have a language in common?

In this paper different possible ways of solving these communication problems are outlined, and in particular the way in which people in the Strait of Belle Isle and immediate vicinity tried to bridge the communication gap, from the earliest European-Amerindian contacts to this century.

The most obvious way of solving the communication problem is the use of gestures and signs. This strategy has been used by traders and explorers all over the world.[1] It is possible for this gestural language to develop into a fully fledged sign language, a complete communication system like the sign languages used in deaf communities.[2] This happened in the Southern Plains of the United States, where a sign language was used until recently for intertribal communication. The impetus for this sign language was probably the invasion of the New World by the Europeans.[3]

It is possible for people, after repeated contacts, to start to use words they picked up from other groups they were in contact with. In this way a trade jargon can develop. It may be rudimentary, with a very limited vocabulary, no more than expressions like 'give me this', 'what do you want?', 'a little bit'. If these trade contacts continue, this jargon develops into a slightly more elaborate language, which we could call a pidgin.[4] Jargons and pidgins do not usually have stable vocabularies or stable grammars. A jargon or pidgin is characterized by a

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1 Hewes (1974).

2 See e.g. Schlesinger & Namir (eds.) (1978) or Deuchar (1984) as examples of recent research in sign languages.

3 See Samarin (1987).

4 See e.g. Mühlhäusler (1986) for an introduction to pidgin and creole linguistics, and for the jargon - pidgin - creole cycle.

lack of morphological markers such as verb inflections or case endings. Often a series of word stems is strung together. In a pidgin, usually only a limited number of subjects can be discussed, such as trading and bartering. Often the number of words from particular languages reflects the dominance relation in these contacts: it is normal in a pidgin to find a greater proportion of words from the language of the dominant group of speakers.

Pidgins can exist for extended periods, in some cases even several centuries. Pidgins will naturally disappear when the contacts cease to exist, often without leaving a trace. A jargon or pidgin can also die out when a part of the population becomes bilingual, or it can become a mother tongue (then called a creole). A creole language always has strict word order rules (and therefore very different from pidgins, with their variable word order), little or no inflection and certain semantic differences more or less typical for creole languages[5]. If a pidgin exists for a long period the structure will also become more fixed. A créole language and some of the more stable pidgins no longer have the communicative limitations of a pidgin.

With a growing intensification of the contacts, often some people (for instance those who usually do the talking, or the offspring of mixed marriages) will become bilingual. These people can act as interpreters. When there are no bilinguals, traders sometimes train interpreters. The Portuguese used to take West Africans to Portugal even in the Middle Ages, where they taught them Portuguese.[6] On subsequent voyages, they took these Africans back to Africa with them as interpreters.

The French also used this strategy in their early contacts with the Micmacs in Canada. Strangely enough they are reported to have used black interpreters in the early 1600s, to interpret between Micmacs and French.[7] Apparently blacks were in high esteem for their capabilities as interpreters, even for languages outside Africa. In Jacques Cartier's time natives were taken to Europe, not only as an attraction, but also in order to learn European languages. The Iroquois vocabularies published in Cartier's travel account were probably recorded in Europe rather than in Canada.[8] Unfortunately many of those taken to Europe died before they could accomplish such tasks.

A different strategy was used by the Basques. They are said to have left a young boy with the Micmac to get a good command of their language. It is said that the natives ate the boy in the winter.[9]

The question we are dealing with here is language contact in the North Eastern part of North America. We will deal with different European peoples chronologically. We do not mention the visits of the the English in the early contact period and the Dutch in the 17th century, because of lack of documentation on their contacts and specifically on the languages used.

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5 See e.g. , Bickerton (1981, 1984).

6 Naro (1978).

7 Morison (1972) p. 95. The name of the interpreter was Mathieu da Costa, who died in the winter of 1606-1607.

8 See e.g. Hoffmann (1961), chapter 12.

9 LeJeune in Thwaites VIII:29-30. He refers to Gaspésie in the early 1600s.

NORSE

Nothing is known about the language used in contacts between the Medieval Norse and the Natives. Thalbitzer attempted to interpret the four 'Skraeling' personal names found in a Norse saga as a kind of 'pidgin Eskimo'. He interprets the names as meaning respectively 'wait a little, please', 'wait a little', 'towards the outermost part (of the land?)' and 'do you mean the outermost ones around you? Why?'.[10]

Some of the ritual language of the Micmacs as recorded by Lescarbot around 1600 has also been interpreted as Norse, but this theory has probably no adherents nowadays.

In short, due to lack of documentation we cannot say anything about Norse-Amerindian language contact.

PORTUGUESE

Presumably the first Europeans to frequent the Labrador and Newfoundland coasts were Portuguese cod fishers, from at least the early 1500s. During these contacts a Portuguese-Algonquian jargon or pidgin developed, as Harald Prins has discovered.[11]

When Jacques Cartier visited the Gaspé peninsula in 1534, the natives there greeted him with the words *Napou, tou daman asierto!*.[12] He does not translate it, but he adds that he did not understand the rest of what they said – which might mean that he understood this sentence. It is known that Cartier knew Portuguese. *Napew* is an Algonquian word meaning 'man'[13]; the rest must be Portuguese *tu dameu a cierto* 'you give me for sure!'. This is the only sentence we have, apart from a few isolated Portuguese words.[14]

Probably this pidgin is several decades older. When Cabot visited the Canadian east coast in 1497, he called the area *Baccalaos*, the name given by the natives to a certain fish,

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10 Thalbitzer (1909). See John Hewson's comment in a letter to Charles Martijn (1976) and McGhee (1984:10).

11 Prins, ms. Harald Prins and Ruth Whitehead are preparing a documented paper on this matter.

12 Different versions of Cartier's account give slightly different versions of this sentence. The Algonquinist Roy Wright seems to have a non-European interpretation of this sentence, but I could not get this confirmed.

13 *na:pe:w* is the normal Cree-Montagnais word for 'man'. In Micmac the word *napew* nowadays (and probably in the early 1600s) only refers to a male bird. It is possible that they were Micmacs using a word for male bird jokingly, or that they were using a Montagnais-Micmac trade word.

14 In many popular histories of Canada, Cartier is still considered the first European to visit more interior parts of Canada. But even from a non-Amerindian viewpoint it is clear that he can't be the 'discoverer'. This is clear for anybody reading his travel account. Nowhere does he claim to be the first. Natives are eager to trade with him – although the first discovery of these aliens on their coast would have created fear instead of eagerness to trade. Sometimes Cartier invents place names himself ('we called this place X'), but often he adopts existing place names ('this place is called Y'). Significantly, some of the place names he mentions are Portuguese, Spanish or Gascon rather than French (or Breton). The most significant fact, however, is that he writes that he meets European fishermen, one of whose name is even mentioned, Captain Thiennot.

abundant in the region.[15] *Baccalaos* is the Portuguese word for cod fish. There is no Amerindian language in which the word for cod fish is anything similar to *baccalaos*.[16]

BRETONS

The Portuguese visits to the mainland were already less frequent in the 1530s. The Breton fishermen, who probably spoke partly French and partly Breton (a Celtic language, very different from French), were the next frequent visitors, as can be seen from the numerous Breton place names in Southern Labrador, like Belle Isle, Ile de Groix, Quirpon (from Quiberon) and Brest, all copies of Breton place names. There is no clear trace of a Breton or French pidgin in the 16th century, although there is ample evidence that the Bretons traded with the natives from the decades around 1600 onwards. Only Pehr, a Swedish visitor to Canada around 1750, said he heard that the language (if so, then a trade language) of the Inuit contained many Breton words. This will be mentioned again below.

BASQUES

Basque fishermen started to frequent the Labrador coast in the 1550s, with less freqent visits preceding. In 1542 a Basque fishermen from Bayonne, in the French part of the Basque Country, reported on the activities of Cartier and Roberval in the New World. He also made some interesting remarks about the natives residing near the Port of Brest (nowadays Bonne Esperance). Two of them referred to trading with the natives. One of them mentioned the languages used:

> 'The Indians understand any language, French, English and Gascon and their own tongue.'

Gascon was probably Basque rather than what is now called Gascon, the Romance language of the coast between the Basque Country and Bordeaux. The Basque language is a language isolate, which means that there are no languages genetically related to Basque anywhere in the world. Basque numerals from one to five, for example, show no similarity with, for example, French or Spanish: *bat, bi, hiru, lau, bost.*

The contacts between these fishermen and the natives were probably only seasonal, so that these languages spoken by the Indians must have been broken versions of French, English

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15 Petrus Martyr Anglerius (1530). In a 1587 English translation from the original Latin we read the following: 'Sebastian Cabot himselfe, named those lands Baccalaos bycause that in the seas thereabout he founde so great multitudes of certeyne bigge fishes much like vnto tunies (which the inhabitantes caule Baccalaos) that they sumtymes stayed his shippes.' It can be found in Decade 3, book 6, chapter 29, as well as another reference in Decade 7, book 2

16 Portuguese: *bacalhau*, Basque *bakalau*, Dutch *kabeljauw*, French *morue* (also *cabillaud*), Breton *moru*, modern Spanish *bacalao*. In the Spanish state, the only dialect using *bacalao* in the early 17th century was Andalucian. In Castillia the name of the fish was *abadexo*, in Andalucia *baccalao* and in some parts *curadillo*, according to the second chapter of Cervantes' Don Quixote.

Native terms: Micmac *peju* (Deblois & Metallic 1984), Montagnais *???*, Laurentian Iroquois *gadagourseré*, Beothuk *bobboosoret* (Hewson 1978), Inuktitut (or pidgin Inuktitut??) *uwat*, *uvvaq* 'dried cod', *saarullik* 'cod'. The 1605 Algonquian vocabulary in Rosier (1624) has *biskeiore* for cod fish. This must be derived from *Biskayer* 'Basque'. It should be something like 'the fish for which the Basque come here', but is certainly not an Algonquian word.

and Basque. For English and French, any supplementary evidence or material is lacking. The first indications of English pidgins date from the first decades of the 17th century,[17] from New England, more than 1000 kilometers to the South. A French pidgin in the Strait of Belle Isle is attested in the 18th century. This pidgin will be discussed below.

Linguistic traces of a Basque pidgin are absent before 1600, but they abound in the first decades of the 17th century. The linguistic evidence all comes from Tadoussac, on the North shore of the Saint Lawrence, and from Nova Scotia. That these are the only sources is due to the fact that the missionaries and a traveler who visited these places wrote down some of the utterances of the natives. A number of others mention the use of the Basque words by natives in early sources, without citing them. All this indicates that pidgin Basque (with a significant Amerindian component) was in wide use from Southern Labrador to New England, and along the Saint Lawrence River even beyond Montreal.[18] Marc Lescarbot remarked in 1609: 'The language of the coast tribes is half Basque.'[19] I will cite one source on the pidgin from 1710, in a document[20] written by Basque sailors themselves in French. Although relatively late, it is completely corroborated by other sources:

> 'When the Basques first started fishing for cod and whales in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, they made friends with the Indians of this area, and traded with them, especially with a nation called Eskimos, who have always been hostile to all other nations. Since their languages were completely different, they created a form of lingua franca [langue franque] composed of Basque and two different languages of the Indians, by means of which they could understand each other quite well; the settlers of the French colonies in Canada and from the Northern part of Acadia, found this language already well established when they arrived.' [my translation]

It is not hard to discover Basque words in missionary reports and travel reports from the early 17th century. Early sources (Lescarbot, Biard, Lejeune) remark that the Indians used a trade language to communicate with the Europeans and their own tribal languages when they were speaking among themselves.

Some of the words used by Indians (Montagnais and Micmac) in their contacts with Europeans that are of Basque origin[21] are listed below. A number of these are of course borrowings from Romance languages into Basque.

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17 See e.g. Goddard (1977) and Flanigan (1986) for some examples.

18 For a list of sources on the pidgin, see Bakker (1989).

19 Lescarbot ([1609] 1907-1914): II:24.

20 There are apparently two slightly different copies of the document. One can be found in the Canadian National Archives in Ottawa, C-11-C, 5 or 7, Reel F-504. A transcription of this document was kindly made available to me by Mario Mimeault of Gaspé. The other version was published and edited by Zeller (1915). This manuscript was found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises no. 10406.

21 The precise sources of the individual words are given in Bakker (1989). The sources are the relations of the Jesuit missionaries Pierre Biard (for the Micmac) and Paul Le Jeune (for the Montagnais), both published in Thwaites (1896-1901), and Marc Lescarbot (Lescarbot ([1609] 1907-1914).

PIDGIN WORDS OF BASQUE ORIGIN		CORRESPONDING BASQUE WORDS	
adesquidex	friend	*adeskide /adiskide*	friend
atouray	shirt	*atorra*	shirt
bacaillos	codfish	*bakalau*	codfish
basquoa	Basque	*Baskoa*	Basque (also *euskaldun*)
canadaquoa	Canadian	*Kanadakoa*	Canadian
capitaina	captain	*kapitaina*	captain
caracona	bread	*?? (or Iroquois?)*	
chabaya	savage	*xabaia*	savage
echpada	sword	*ezpata*	sword
escorken	drunk	*moskor*	drunk
gara	war	*gerra*	war
kessona	man	*gizona*	man
makia	stick, wood	*makila*	stick
maria	whale	*balia/balea.*	whale
martra	marten	*marta*	marten
matachiaz	bracelets, etc.	*pataka, patatxa?*	coin? (17^{th} century Basque)
mercateria	merchant	*merkataria*	merchant
mouschcoucha	cake	*bizkotxa*	cake
orignac	moose	*oreiñak*	deer
pilotoua	shaman	*pilotua*	pilot
praesentis	Newfoundland	*Placentia*	(Basque and Nfld. Basque harbour)[22]
samaricois	Breton	*sanmalokoa*	person from Saint Malo
souriquois	Micmac	*zurikoa*	that of the whites or person from Souris (ancient Micmac place name in Cape Breton)[23]
tabaguia	banquet	*tapaki(a)*[24]	shelter
tarantari	Micmac	*tarrantari*	babbler, chatterer[25]

WORDS OF BASQUE ORIGIN USED BY THE MONTAGNAIS AND MICMAC

22 The Micmac word for Newfoundland is *Ktaqamkuk*. *Plisantek* nowadays refers only to the town Placentia. See Hewson (1981-1982).

23 I owe this information to an anonymous reviewer.

24 The fact that many of the words end in *-a* is a reflex of the Basque definite article *-a* which is placed after the word. For instance *gizon* 'man', *gizona* 'the man' (or 'man' when used in isolation). (see Bakker (1989) for details).

25 Siebert (1973).

Some sentences in Basque-Amerindian pidgin are:

endia chavé Normandia[26]
'The French know much'
(B. *(h)andia* 'big'; Portuguese *saver* [27]'to know'; B. *normandia* 'Normandy')

maloes mercatoria
'the Bretons are unfair traders'
(B. *ez* 'no'?; B. *merkatari(a)* 'trader'; *Malo* 'Saint Malo')

aoti chabaya
'the Indian way'
(Micmac awti 'way, path'; B. xabaia 'savage'; the latter only in the Northern dialects of Basque)

ania achtam, achtam
'brother, come, come'
(B. *anaia* 'brother'; Montagnais *astam* 'come')

ania kir capitana
'brother, are you captain?'
(Montagnais *kir* 'you')

ania cabana[28]
'brother, cabin'
(B. *kabana* 'hut')

This Basque-based pidgin must have been the most important pidgin of the area. It survived at least one century in a vast area. The French who learnt it thought they were learning the Indian language and the other way around. Both were right in a way. For the French it was a language they learnt from the Indians, for the Indians it was the language of the Europeans.

INUIT FRENCH JARGON

Although already in 1542 it was said that Labrador natives understood French, the first recorded traces of 'broken French' spoken by natives in the Strait of Belle Isle (or any place North of Florida) date from the 1740s, when Jean-Louis Fornel, a French Canadian entrepreneur and trader, met Inuit saying:[29]

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26 In standard Basque one would say:
asko ba-da-ki-te Normandia-ko-ek
much AFF-it-know-they Normandy-from-SUBJ.PL.
(AFF 'affirmative', SUBJ 'subject', PL 'plural'

27 This word is used in many pidgins and creoles for 'to know', even those with a vocabulary that is not based on Portuguese.

28 In standard Basque this would be:
anaia, kabana-ra za-to-z
brother hut-to you-come-PLURAL
The other examples show a similar reduction of Basque morphology.

29 Fornel (1921). This document was kindly made available to me by Charles Martijn. Also cited in Dorais (1980).

tout camara troquo balena, non charraco

a mixture of French, Spanish and possibly Basque, probably meaning 'you (are my) friend, let's trade whales, not war.' The word *tout* is probably Spanish *tu* 'you' (or French *tu* adapted to Inuktitut phonology). The other words too can be Spanish as well as French, except for *charraco* meaning 'war' from an unknown source[30]. This could be derived from Basque *txarra* 'bad', but in other sources it is giving as meaning 'peace'. For 'peace' another word is given: *makagoua*, possibly Basque *bekagoa* 'peaceful'? The *-a* ending of *balena* might be the Basque article *-a* added to French *baleine*, or it might be Spanish *ballena*.

That this Inuit French Jargon was widely known is clear from other sources too. The Moravian missionary Jens Haven heard 'broken French' spoken in Quirpont / Quiberon in 1764 and in 1765 his collegue Christian Drachart[31] in Chateau Bay heard Inuit saying:

tout camerade, oui hu

also broken French. *oui hu* might mean 'Frenchman'. Some Inuktitut dialects have *uiguikkut* or *uiuimiat* 'oui oui saying people'[32] as the word for Frenchman.

The Hernhutter historian David Cranz[33] describes this pidgin as having French, Inuktitut and Amerindian elements:

> They [the Strait of Belle Isle Inuit] have adopted several French words in their conversation, which they repeat without knowing their meaning; and the French have collected a score or two words, which they use in trading with the savages, consisting partly of corrupt Eskimaux, and partly of unknown terms, probably borrowed from the Canadian savages [probably Montagnais meant here]; e.g. *kutta*, a knife (from couteau), *memek*, to drink (from *imek*, water), *makagua*, peace, probably of Canadian origin.

The word *makagua* for 'peace' might very well be Basque, derived from the Basque word *bake(a)* 'peace' with a suffix *-koa*. The change of Basque /b/ into pidgin /m/ is also seen in other pidgin words, such as pidgin *macharoa* from Portuguese *passaro-a* and *maria* from Basque *balia*. In the same way, the word *tcharakua* 'war' (but see note 30) could be Basque *txarrakoa*, (from Basque *txarra* 'bad'?). *Memek* 'drink' is a pidgin Inuktitut word said to be derived from Inuktitut *imiq* 'water' or perhaps from Cree (*minihkwe:w* 'he drinks').

An interesting 1743 document[34], referring to a trip in 1742, contains some more phrases in the Inuit French Jargon. Inuit in kayaks make clear by signs that they want to trade. The following dialogue was recorded (A= Inuit chief Amargo; B= French captain Le Cour).

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30 Dorais (1980) lists *thou tcharacou* 'lay down arms', *tcharacou* 'peace' (1694), *characoua* 'peace' (1717), *characo* 'peace' (1720), *characo* 'war' (1743) from different sources.

31 Cited in Cranz (1820), Vol. 2 p. 290, and in Gosling (1910), p. 261, as 'Tous cammarades, oui, hee!'.

32 In this the Inuit are not unique. According to Hugo Schuchardt in 1883 (in Gilbert 1980: 22 note 11) the French are generally called *wiwi* in the South Seas, for instance by the Maoris and the natives of New Caledonia. The Inuktitut phrase is from Dorais (1979).

33 Cranz (1820) Vol. II: 293..

34 François-Etienne Cugnet (1743). 'Coste de Labrador'. Fonds Pierre-Georges Roy, Ap-G 239, pp. 311-314, Archives Nationales du Québec, Québec. This document was kindly made available to me by Charles Martijn.

A: bons camaras, tous cameras
'good friend(s), you (or all?) friend(s)'

B: [says nothing]

A: Capitaine Kellanoré
'Captain, what's your name?'

B: [says nothing]

A: Kellanoré [repeatedly]
'What's your name?'

A: Capitaine Amargo
'Captain Amargo' [is my name]

B: [apparently now understanding]: Capitaine Le Cour
'Captain Le Cour [is my name]'

A: [speaking to his tribesmen]: Capitaine le Cour [several times]
'Captain Le Cour [is his name]!'

A: Capitaine Amargo, Capitaine Le Cour, bons Camaras
'Captain Amargo [and] Captain Le Cour [are] good friends'

A: [to his tribesmen]: Tous Camaras!
'[we are] all friends!'

Now they start bartering and leaving all the Inuit shout repeatedly:

Bons camaras, Capitaine Le Cour, Bons Cameras!
'good friend(s), Captain Le Cour, [is a? we are?] good friend(s)'

It is clear from this dialogue, that the Inuit chief knows very well what he is saying, in contrast with Cranz's suggestion cited above. Cugnet reports that, due to the shortness of the contacts Le Cour only remembered four Inuit words: *rénombek* 'bead?' (F. 'rassade'), *maumek* 'file' (French 'lime'), *monkoumek* 'knife' (F. 'couteau') and *kellanoré* 'what's your name?' (F. 'comment t'appelles-tu?').[35] The language recorded by Cugnet seems to be a mixture of Montagnais and Inuktitut.[36] The first three were objects these people traded with the Inuit. The word *capitaina* has already been mentioned as a Basque pidgin word used by Micmac and Montagnais. A Dutch fisherman-trader recorded the use of this word by Montagnais in Hamilton Inlet in 1714. He attributed this to the French, since they also had French axes and hats.[37]

35 Louis-Jacques Dorais (p.c.) explains this as Inuktitut. It could be *kinaunali* 'but who's that?' or *kinauvit* 'who are you?'.

36 For instance *monkoumek* is very similar to the Montagnais word for 'knife' *mohkoma:n*. It might very well be a Montagnais word. Chapell (1817) gives *muck mhameek* for 'knife', and also *wauve* 'egg', probably Montagnais *uau*.

37 L. Feykes Haan (1720: 39).

It is clear from the dialogue that the French captain is not used to trading with the Inuit. There had been a long term animosity between the French and the Inuit. The Inuit, however, are used to trading and speak a French trade Jargon with which the French Captain is not familiar.

The diary of the Swede Pehr Kalm, who visited Canada around 1750, repeated some information from hearsay about the language of the Inuit, viz. that it had a lot of foreign influences. If true, there must have been a pidgin with words from diverse languages: 'The French do not understand their language, but they trade with the aid of signs.' 'Their language contains French, Spanish and English words, but above all Dutch words.' 'One finds in their language a mass of words of Breton origin.'[38]

Although English, French, Dutch and especially Basque and Breton people are known to have traded with the Inuit, apart from the words discussed here, there do not seem to be other traces of this presumably multilingual pidgin.

This pidgin or jargon must have developed especially in contacts between Breton and Basque fishermen and Inuit in the Strait of Belle Isle. It must have existed between roughly 1740 and 1760, but probably beyond these dates. Some pidgin words had already been recorded in 1694. Cugnet makes some interesting remarks on the trade contacts in which it developed. Cugnet does not doubt that the Inuit learned these words from 'Basques or from Montagnais who trade with the French on this coast'. He remarks: 'The Basques who sometimes traded with them [Inuit] assured him that they never trade their canoes.' The goal of Le Cour's next spring voyage to the Labrador coast is said to be 'trade with the Breton ['malouin'] and Basque fishermen' (he does not mention the natives). Apparently he traded with Basque and Breton fishermen (and possibly Montagnais), and Basques traded with Montagnais and, at least occasionally, with Inuit.

This is only one illustration of the fact that 'official' traders, the *concessionaires*, often had less intensive contacts with the natives than the fishermen, in this case especially those of Basque and Breton origin. Research about the contact of the French *concessionaires* with the natives[39] confirms that these Frenchmen had reasonably good ties with the Montagnais, and they had only occasional contact with the Inuit. There was a lot of mistrust between these two groups, after a period of skirmishes.

PIDGINIZED INUKTITUT

A pidginized Inuktitut from the eastern Arctic coast,[40] called Eskimo Jargon, is relatively well documented There is evidence that pidginized versions of Inuktitut were also employed by traders and travellers to Hudson's Bay in West Greenland (Disko Island), where we also find Dutch and Portuguese words, and to Hudson Straits and probably all along the Labrador and Northern Quebec coast. In the 1820s John West,[41] visiting Northern Labrador and Québec, reports that Inuit on the coast shouted to him:

38 All translated by me from the French text in Rousseau & Béthune (1977), p. 166, 227, 335. I am grateful to Charles Martijn for providing me with these references.

39 Trudel (1980, 1988).

40 Stefánsson (1909).

41 West (1824), p. 7.

chimo! Chimo! pillattaa!

about which he remarked 'expressions probably of friendship, or trade.' He apparently does not realize that these are pidgin words. Edward Chappell in 1817, however, tried to document some of the jargon words in use and he found many of the same expressions in Churchill, Churchill Factory and Hudson Straits.

Among the words he lists we find *chymo* 'barter' and *pillitay* 'give me something'. The word *saimo* with retroflex /s/ nowadays is the Inuktitut equivalent of 'Hello'.[42] He gives so few words, that we may have to conclude that this was probably a very rudimentary jargon, with some Montagnais elements, and used in a vast region. It seems that there are relations between this jargon and the Inuit French jargon.

When the contacts between the Inuit and Europeans intensified, a more elaborate pidginized Inuktitut developed on the Labrador coast. This was characterized by the use of independent words and stems instead of morphologically complex words. In proper Inuktitut one would say for 'I see you' *takuvagit*, but in pidginized Inuktitut:[43]

uvanga	taku	ivvit
I/me/mine	see	you

Other examples:

Inuktitut:	najagauqaqtualuk			
Pidgin:	uvanga	najak	nipi	amisut
	I/me/mine	sister	much	voice
English:	My sister talks a lot.			

This pidginized Inuktitut, which was used by Inuktitut as well as whites, was characterized by English syntax with Inuktitut roots. Inuktitut endings have disappeared.

As this pidginized Inuktitut is not reported from the Strait of Belle Isle, we will not discuss it here in depth. Pidgin Inuktitut will be subject of a separate paper.

NEWFOUNDLAND INDIAN ENGLISH

It is often hard to distinguish pidgins (which should involve larger numbers of people in contact) and an individual's imperfect learning of a second language.

For example, Edward Chappell,[44] on his way to Hudson Bay in the early 1800s, met a hunting Indian near Sandy Point, Newfoundland. This Indian, a Micmac, spoke as follows:

'Me go get salmon gut, for bait, for catchee cod. Me fire for play, at litteel bird.'

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42 I owe this information to an anonymous reviewer of JAPLA.

43 Examples from Dorais (1979:80)

44 Chappell (1817), p. 69-72.

He remarked about his gun:

'Me no get um of Ingeles; me get um of Scotchee ship: me givee de Captain one caraboe for um.'

and about his plans:

'Me go to-morrow catchee cod: next day, catchee cod: next day come seven day; me no catchee cod. Me takee book, look up God,'

He remarks about the Beothuk:

'No lookee up God: killee all men dat dem see, Red Indian no good.'

'Me no talkee likee dem: dem talkee all same dog: Bow, wow, wow!'

It is quite possible that this was an individual's talk. It is also possible that this was a more or less established way of communication. Some of the features of these sentences point to a connection with other pidgins.

- *-um* as an object marker in e.g. *me get um* and *for um* is reported for many varieties of North America's American Indian Pidgin English.[45]

- many verbs end in *-ee* (catchee, givee, talkee, talkee, killee). Exactly the same happens in Chinese Pidgin English.

- the expression *all same* for 'like' is also used in New Guinea Pidgin and Australian Aboriginal pidgins and creoles.

- the use of *for* for 'to' in infinite verb forms (*me fire **for** play* and ***for** catchee cod*) is used in almost all English-based pidgins and creole languages[46].

It is also possible that Chappell used his own knowledge of pidgins from other parts of the world to exaggerate the Indian's broken English,[47] or that he used pidgin English as a literary style form. This is sometimes used when the natives did not even speak English. W.H. Gilder, for instance, in his book *Schwatka's Search*, cites some Inuit saying:

'watcheow oounga keeseyoot amasuet'

– a pidgin Inuktitut sentence which he translates as 'by and by me cry plenty', which is close to the pidgin English of New Guinea, where *baimbai* is used to mark future. Gilder translates pidgin Inuktitut with pidgin English.

45 See Flanigan (1986), Dillard (1972, chapter 4) for a general overview and Goddard (1977) for some examples from early 17th century New England.

46 See Bakker (1987) for examples.

47 Just as nowadays, in comic books, many Indians still speak a broken language.

These Indians were Micmacs rather than Montagnais. Both were frequent visitors to Newfoundland and Micmacs also have lived in the Bay St. George area from the earliest contact times. Charles Martijn and an anonymous reviewer suggest that this was probably a Micmac, since only they had prayer books in that time and since Montagnais were seldom reported to speak English.[48]

MICMAC PIDGIN ENGLISH

We also have a few examples of Micmac pidgin English[49] from the nineteenth century:

'five hundred musquash killum my father'

'long time ago, when Indian first makum God'

'always everything two ways me speakum'

What we notice here, apart from the *-um* ending we had seen above, is the unusual word order. The English words follow the Micmac word order.

Also of interest is a short, ironic letter[50] written (or dictated?) by the Micmac Peter Paul, in reaction to rumours about his death:

> To all white men:
>
> Me hear 'em one Higlisman, Glasgow, tell me dead, cause me 88 years old and 'spectable Indian. That no reason. All dead men not 88 years old – some not 88 years, long dead – some more than 88 yet 'live. Suppose 'em man 'spectable, that no reason he dead. White man tell Peter Paul dead, tell too soon. Me not believe me dead.
>
> Peter Paul, Feb. 5, 1867

In both examples we note the *-em/-um* endings on some of the verbs. This is presumably a remnant of the English pronoun 'him'. Many Amerindian languages mark not only the subject, but also the object in verbs. This is a very widespread phenomenon, present in many varieties of American Indian Pidgin English.[51]

Although this pidgin has not directly to do with the Strait of Belle Isle, it is interesting to put it beside the Newfoundland Pidgin English.

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48 See e.g. Martijn (ed.) 1986, especially p. 198 and the references cited there. An anonymous JAPLA reviewer identifies him as a Bay St. George Micmac, from the Seal Rocks / Sandy Point Settlement.

49 Webster (1894).

50 A typewritten copy of this letter was kindly made available to me by Ruth Whitehead, who found it in the historic files of the Nova Scotia Museum. The source is unclear. It might be a newspaper excerpt, or from a book written by G. Maclaren in 1954 called the Picou Book.

51 See e.g. Olson Flanigan (1986).

INTERTRIBAL CONTACTS

Much less is known about intertribal languages. It is certain that many of the tribes traded with the neighbouring tribes long before the arrival of the Europeans, and that this continued after the contacts with the Europeans. The Strait of Belle Isle used to be inhabited by Inuit, Montagnais, Beothuk and Micmac, all speaking mutually unintelligible languages. We don't have much information about intertribal trade contacts in this area. It is said that Inuit used sign language in this area early in this century in communication with Amerindians, but as far as I know there is no contemporary evidence for this.[52]

It is in principle possible that, before this time, the Basque-Amerindian pidgin might have been used for intertribal contacts. According to a 1710 Basque document the trade language was based on Basque and two different languages of the Indians. It is a fact that the Montagnais also used Micmac words in their version of the Basque pidgin, like *sagamo* 'chief'.

There is some documentation on the tribes from the mainland travelling to the Island of Newfoundland for trade, and Beothuks travelling to the mainland (for Inuit, see the section on pidgin French; for Micmac and Montagnais: Martijn (1986)). Recent research suggests that the Beothuk had more contacts with the mainland tribes than was supposed.

It is possible that there was a sufficient number of bilinguals in the tribes so that pidgins were not necessary. Because of lack of documentation, we can only speculate on this.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the things that make pidgins and creole languages so fascinating is the fact that they show so many similarities in grammatical structure and the words that are used.

Creoles, and to a lesser extent also pidgins, have many structural features in common. In the past it was even thought that there was one proto-pidgin from which all pidgins and creoles had derived by a process called **relexification**: all words of that language were replaced by words from other languages. The new language now had the same structure, but a completely different vocabulary. This theory has been proven to be false for creole languages, but it seems to be possible with pidgin languages. In Hawaii a pidginized Hawaiian had relexified into an English-based pidgin, which subsequently creolized.[53] Documented cases of relexification are very, very rare. The area discussed here seems to have witnessed a case too: the relexification of a Portuguese-based pidgin into a Basque-based pidgin and subsequently into a French-based pidgin. Some undoubtedly Portuguese lexical items (*savi, passaro*[54]) are used in the Basque pidgin, and some of the features of the Basque pidgin are inherited in the French pidgin (such as, possibly, *tcharacoua* and *macagoua*). There might also be a relation between Inuit French jargon and the pidginized Inuktitut, although the two seem to have little in common. It might be the case that the Southern Labrador Inuit and the Central Labrador Inuit had little or no contact with each other in the 18th century. The Southern Labrador Group had contact with the French, but in particular with Breton and Basque fishermen. They spoke a trade language with Inuit, French, Montagnais and Basque elements, and possibly borrowings from other languages.

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52 This is claimed by Vinay (1964). The sources he gives refer to the sign language of the Plains that was spoken thousands of kilometers to the west.

53 Bickerton & Wilson 1987

54 as *macharoa* 'big bird'.

The Northern Labrador Inuit had contact with British fur traders' ships sailing to Hudson's Bay and spoke pidginized Inuktitut, with a little Montagnais, in these contacts.

Just as fascinating are the lexical similarities of pidgins and creoles from all parts of the world. Why are there words we find in so many pidgins and creoles? Why did the West Greenlandic Inuit use the same word for child *pickaninnee* as Guyanese, West African and New Guinea people?[55] Why is the word *savi* used in almost all creoles and pidgins in the world?[56] Why do the Indian Pidgin English sentences cited by Chappell look so much like Pidgin English from East Asia? Did sailors have a particular jargon or particular jargons to communicate with people of other language groups? Probably they did.[57] Unfortunately there is not much documentation left of these pidgins. It is only to be hoped that more sources turn up. This would enable us to get a clearer picture of the contact history of the Strait of Belle Isle, as well as possible documentation of relexification in pidgins.

Language contact studies can also be a valuable tool in historic research. The fact that a Basque pidgin was so widespread in Eastern Canada may be indicative of the importance of the Basque contacts with the natives. In other cases utterances recorded from natives may be used to identify them. For instance, the Gaspé Indians who use the Montagnais Algonquian word *napew* are not likely to be Laurentian Iroquois (as is sometimes suggested) or Micmac, who speak a completely different language. This is an area where linguistics and ethnohistory can complement one another.

In this paper it has become clear that people in crosscultural contact situations like those discussed above rarely make use of fully fledged languages. In a number of instances new languages, jargon or pidgins, emerge from these contacts. These jargons or pidgins show many fascinating similarities.

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55 It is used in West Greenlandic pidgin Inuktitut, in Californian Spanish pidgin of San Nicolas Island, Sranan in Surinam, Arctic Ocean Eskimo Jargon, New Guinea Tok Pisin, Hawaiian English, New Zealand, American Indian Pidgin English. This list is certainly not exhaustive.

56 Hall (1947-1948) lists the following pidgins and creoles with a word like *savi* for 'to know': Romance-based languages: Cabo Verde Portuguese creole *sabi*, Indo-Portuguese *sabe*, Papiamentu (Netherlands Antilles) *sabi*, Lingua Franca (Mediterranean) *saber*, North African Pidgin French *sabir*.
English-based languages: Beach-la-Mar, Chinese Pidgin English, Australian Aboriginal English Pidgins and Creoles *sævi*, Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea), Sranan (Surinam) *sabi*. *chavé* as used in the Basque-Algonquian pidgin in the early 1600s is to my knowledge the first attested use.

57 See Hewson (1983) for a discussion of nautical influence on Canadian French and Newfoundland English.

research on the Basque pidgins, especially those of them who were most sceptical, also contributed significantly to this paper.

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VERBAL DERIVATION IN MICMAC

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ABSTRACT

In Indo-European languages the most frequent morphosyntactic device for distinguishing verbs that are transitive, intransitive, reflexive, reciprocal, etc., is the addition of nominal or pronominal elements to the Verb Phrase. In Algonkian languages, these differences are handled by the derivational morphology of the verb, several layers of derivation being possible. The ordering of these different layers will be illustrated from the derivational verb morphology of Micmac, an Algonkian language spoken in the five most easterly provinces of Canada, to show how several dozen different verbs can be formed from a single stem, providing rich representational possibilities for the individual speaker. The interplay of the different categories also allows us to draw conclusions about certain aspects of transitivity and the way that it is represented in different languages.

INTRODUCTION

The point of departure for this article is a brief presentation by Father Pacifique (1990: 178-9) of the range of verbs that can be derived from the Micmac root *wel-* 'right', 'suitable', 'good'. The analysis is based on the categories outlined in Bloomfield's *Algonquian* sketch (1946), and on extensive discussion of the data with Bernie Francis, native speaker from Sydney, Nova Scotia, my fellow researcher and collaborator in the translation of Father Pacifique's grammar (1990).

I ALGONKIAN WORD STRUCTURE

In all Algonkian languages there is a fundamental word structure that leads to the following canonical formulation:

(preverb) + INITIAL + (medial) + FINAL + inflections + agreements

The following important features should be noted:

1. Preverbs, as in Indo-European languages, are fundamentally adverbial, and there may be more than one: with Micmac *amalkat* 's/he dances', we may have *kekwi-amalkat* 's/he dances slowly', and *kesi-kekwi-amalkat* 's/he dances very slowly' (Inglis 1986: 57), just as in English we might have 's/he grades the material', then 'upgrades', and even 're-upgrades'. Goddard has claimed (1990: 478) that a 'preverb is a phonologically independent word', but in fact it is simply a cliticised element that may be separated from its host, a phenomenon that was called *tmesis* by the ancient grammarians.

2. The INITIAL is the root or base of the word, and since most words have a FINAL, the combination of I + F is called the STEM, to which the inflections are added. Thus we

may analyse *amalkat* as having INITIAL *amal-* 'variegated, with variation', FINAL *-ka* 'dance', the *-t* inflection of the third person singular being added to the STEM *amalka-*.

3. MEDIALS, like preverbs, tend to have full lexical meaning, and there may be more than one: *pas-altu-kw-a-t* 's/he has thick hair' shows INITIAL *pas-* 'thick', MEDIAL *altu-* 'strands', MEDIAL *-kw* 'head', VERB FINAL *-a* and INFLECTION *-t* (Inglis 1986: 71).

4. The FINAL marks the part of speech, so that there are NOUN FINALS, VERB FINALS, and ADVERBIAL FINALS. For our purposes only VERB FINALS are of interest, and they come in four categories, two transitive, and two intransitive. The two transitive types agree with the gender of the OBJECT: TRANSITIVE ANIMATE (TA), TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (TI); and the two intransitive types agree with the gender of the SUBJECT: ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (AI), INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (II).

5. Agreements are of various kinds and found on both transitive verbs, e.g. *nemi'k* 'I see him/her'; *nemi'kik* 'I see them', but also on intransitives: *amalkan* 'you dance'; *amalkanik* 'you dance for them'. In both cases *-ik* marks animate plural.

6. There are a few other morphological elements (such as modal markers) that are ignored here, being irrelevant to the topic.

II MICMAC VERB FINALS

The simplest of all the verbal paradigms of Micmac is of course the II, which obviously has only third person forms because first and second persons, since they represent entities that are required to speak and to understand, are necessarily animate. Impersonal verbs belong to this category of course, so that we can find such examples in Indo-European languages as Latin *licet* 'it is allowed', French *il faut*, or English *it behoves*. The inflection in Micmac is *-k*, which becomes *-q* after II finals that end in *-a*:

(1) a. meski'k — it is big — (apostrophe indicates long vowel)

mes + ki' + k = INITIAL + II FINAL + 3 sg. inflection

big + shape + it

b. pemiaq — it moves along

pem + ia + q = INITIAL + II FINAL + 3 sg. inflection

along + move + it

The AI verbs have full paradigms, the third person inflections being *-t* after vowels, and *-k* after consonants. They often show finals that are slightly different from their corresponding II finals:

(2) a. meskilk — s/he is big

mes + kil + k = INITIAL + AI FINAL + 3 sg. inflection

big + shape + 3

b. pemiet s/he moves along

pem + ie + t = INITIAL + AI FINAL + 3 sg. inflection

along + move + 3

The TI paradigms show the same number of forms as the AI, since the object that they represent, being inanimate, is always third person. There are two main conjugations, one in *-m* and one in *-tu*:

(3)

welo'tm	I treat it well	wela'tu	I do good to it
welo'tmn	You (s) treat it well	wela'tu'n	You do good to it
welo'tk	3 treats it well	wela'toq	3 does good to it

Here we are looking at two different TI finals: *-o't*, which has the meaning 'care for' and takes the *-m* inflections, and *-a't*, which has the sense of 'carry out' and takes the *-tu* inflections. Both of these finals are attached to the initial *wel-* that we see in *weliet* and *weliaq* below, which comes from a Proto-Algonkian root **wel-* 'right', 'arranged', 'suitable', 'orderly'.

The TA paradigms are the most complex of all since they incorporate reference not only to the the agent of the action, which can be first, second, or third person, but also to the patient of the action, which can also be first, second, or third person. These complexities are neatly handled by the famous direct and inverse forms of the Algonkian TA verb, as illustrated in the following examples. (In these paradigms 's/he' and 'him/her' have been replaced by 3 to indicate the third person animate, both subject and object, and 3' represents the secondary third person or obviative. The formula 1>3 indicates a direct form, with first person acting on third, whereas 1<3 indicates an inverse form with third person acting on first, and so on.)

(4)

DIRECT			INVERSE		
1>3	wela'lik	I do 3 a favour	1<3	wela'lit	3 does me a favour
2>3	wela'lit	You do 3 a favour	2<3	wela'lisk	3 does you a favour
3>3'	wela'latl	3 does 3' a favour	3<3'	wela'litl	3' does 3 a favour

Here again we have the initial *wel-* followed by a TA final *-a'l*, followed by direct and inverse markers, inflections, and agreements.

III SECONDARY DERIVATION: AI'S FROM TA'S

Secondary derivation typically uses a second verb final to modify a stem that is already complete, that already has a final. The TA stem *wela'l-* 'to do a favour or a service for an animate, to favour or benefit someone', may be made intransitive, for example, with a variety of different effects, by the addition of certain AI finals. The most notable of these AI finals are the reflexive *-si*, the reciprocal *-ti*, and the inverse *-uksi*, as the following AI paradigms show.

(5) AI REFLEXIVE

wela'lsi	I do myself a favour
wela'lsin	You do yourself a favour
wela'lsit	3 does self a favour
wela'lsimk	One does oneself a favour

wela'lsi'kw	We (2) (inc) do ourselves a favour
wela'lsiyek	We (2) (exc) do ourselves a favour
wela'lsiyoq	You (2) do yourselves a favour
wela'lsijik	They (2) do themselves a favour
wela'lsulti'kw	We (all) (inc) do ourselves a favour
wela'lsultiyek	We (all) (exc) do ourselves a favour
wela'lsultiyoq	You (all) do yourselves a favour
wela'lsultijik	They (all) do themselves a favour

The first person inclusive includes the hearer (you and I) whereas the exlusive excludes the hearer (the other(s) and I). The first group of plurals is a group plural, often called the dual, the second group (plural marker *-ulti*) is an individual or atomistic plural. The group plural is a plurality within the unit (unit divided by plural); the atomistic plural is a plurality outside the unit (unit multiplied by plural): *pusi'kw* 'we go off together in one canoe; *pusulti'kw* 'we go off together in different canoes'.

(6) AI RECIPROCAL

wela'l'ti'kw	We (inc) do each other a favour
wela'l'tiyek	We (exc) do each other a favour
wela'l'tiyoq	You do each other a favour
wela'l'tijik	They do each other a favour
wela'l'tulti'kw	We (inc) do one another a favour
wela'l'tultiyek	We (exc) do one another a favour
wela'l'tultiyoq	You do one another a favour
wela'l'tultijik	They do one another a favour

Since reciprocals always involve the activity of at least two persons, there are no singular forms in the reciprocal paradigm.

(7) AI INVERSE

wela'luksi	A favour is done to me
wela'luksin	A favour is done to you
wela'luksit	A favour is done to 3
wela'luksimk	A favour is done to someone
wela'luksi'kw	A favour is done to us (inc) both
wela'luksiyek	A favour is done to us (exc) both
wela'luksiyo	A favour is done to you both
wela'luksijik	A favour is done to them both
wela'luksulti'kw	A favour is done to us (inc) all
wela'luksultiyek	A favour is done to us (exc) all
wela'luksultiyoq	A favour is done to you all
wela'luksultijik	A favour is done to them all

All Algonkian languages not only have direct and inverse forms in the paradigms of the TA verb, but also use reflexes of the Proto-Algonkian inverse marker **ekwi* (see Micmac *-uk* above) to derive AI verbs which form passive senses for the TA to which they are added, as in (3) above. In the case of Micmac this inverse marker is not a final by itself but must be

completed by the middle reflexive *-si* (see (5) above), to form the compound AI final *-uksi* (an alternative formation *-kusi* is also found).

This secondary use of *-si* shows clearly that it is primarily a middle voice marker, to mark those verbs where the subject is in some way both agent and patient at the same time, that is somewhere between active and passive in sense. In languages where there is a morphosyntax of middle voice, as in French, for example, it is natural for true reflexives to form a subcategory of the set of middle voice voice verbs (so called Pronominal Verbs in French). It is also of interest to find Micmac middle voice markers used where French uses pronominal verbs:

(8)

MICMAC	FRENCH	ENGLISH
teluisi	je m'appelle	my name is
nestuita'si	je me souviens	I remember
nikana'si	je m'avance	I go ahead, out front
kikja'si	je m'approche	I approach
ejikla'si	je m'en vais	I go off
winpasi	je me dépêche	I hurry up
elisma'si	je me couche	I lie down
epa'si	je m'assieds	I sit down
lemja'si	je me lève	I get up
ala'si	je me promène	I walk around
kesispa'si	je me lave	I get washed
nenqa'si	je m'arrête	I stop

IV SECONDARY DERIVATION: TA'S FROM TI'S

It is very common for TI verbs to have a secondary TA final added, thus making what are called Two-goal Verbs, which correspond to verbs that in Indo-European languages have both direct and indirect objects. Both *welo'tm* and *wela'tu* (in the Section II above) can be recycled in this way, with interestingly different results. Here we see the TI stem *wela't-* with TA final *-a* (*-u* allomorph in 3rd person) and the TA inflections:

(9)

wela'taq	I do it properly, correctly for him
wela'tat	You do it properly, correctly for him
wela'tuatl	3 does it properly, correctly for him

This is the most obvious result, where the Two-goal verb that is produced by the formation INITIAL + TI FINAL + TA FINAL has the sense of 'do something (direct object) for someone' (indirect object).

In the case of *welo'tm*, which has the sense of 'treat something well', the adding of a secondary TA final has the sense of 'treat someone's property, someone's possessions well'; here the indirect object has become a possessor, and consequently a slightly different set of TA inflections is used. We shall call this the Relational paradigm, that comes into play whenever direct objects are possessed by a third person. To translate 'I see the book', for example, we use a TI, since *wi'katikn* 'book', is inanimate, but 'I see his book' will require the use of a Relational TA verb. This is a significantly different result from the Two-goal verbs, however, since the inanimate Direct Object remains the specific focus or goal of the verb, and the resultant morphology uses the inflections of the TA Conjunct (which marks a dependence, and is normally used in subordinate clauses) rather than those of the TA Independent, the normal order for use in main clauses.

This use of a Relational paradigm is not an isolated event, since Ellis reports a Relational paradigm for Cree (1962: 1.14-10), with what appears to have AI inflections, used not only for objects possessed by others but also for actions done by others, and even intransitive actions taken in relation to others. Algonkian languages, in fact typically mark relationships, so that there are many nouns, such as body parts and family relationships, that exist only in their possessed forms: a tooth, for example, is always someone's tooth.

In the case of *welo'tm* the TI theme sign *-m* is maintained, and the TA final and the TA Conjuct endings are added after it:

(10)	welo'tmaq wtui'katikn	I treat 3's book well
	welo'tmaj wtui'katikn	You treat 3's book well
	welo'tmuaj wtui'katikn	3 treats other's book well

This last form may be contrasted with

(11)	welo'tk wtui'katikn	He treats his own book well

where the verb is a simple TI, because the owner is the same person as the subject of the verb. Consequently there is no sense of relationship to another possessor, as there would be in

(12)	Sa'n welo'tmuaj Mali wtui'katikn	John treats Mary's book well

where the third person (3) and the obviative (other), implicit in the example above, are named and thereby made explicit.

Such Two-goal and Relational verbs, being regular TA verbs, can now undergo a tertiary derivation by having a middle voice or other AI final added, as in Section III. above:

(13)		MIDDLE
	welo'tmasi	I look after it well for myself
	welo'tmasin	You look after well for yourself
	welo'tmasit	3 looks after it well for self
(14)		RECIPROCAL
	welo'tmati'kw	We (inc) look after it well for one another
	welo'tmatiyek	We (exc) look after it well for one another
	welo'tmatiyoq	You look after it well for one another
	welo'tmatijik	They look after it well for one another
(15)		INVERSE
	welo'tmakuey	It is well looked after for me
	welo'tmakuen	It is well looked after for you
	welo'tmakuet	It is well looked after for 3

In this last example the inverse marker *-ku* has been followed by AI final *-e* rather than by *-si*, probably because I am the owner of what is looked after rather than the beneficiary.

The derivational possibilities are far from over at this point. If one adds *-mk*, the inflection for indefinite subject, to the middle AI above

(16) welo'tmasimk It is well looked after for one

the Noun final *-ewey* (which can be added to any indefinite subject form) may be added to produce a noun:

(17) welo'tmasimkewey stuff for looking after something well (for oneself), e.g. wax for the car

which, as an inanimate noun, can be made into a plural:

(18) welo'tmasimkewe'l things for looking after something well (for oneself), e.g. tools for the car

This tremendous range of derivational possibilities gives the language vast representational resources, a derivational richness that is at once the glory and the pleasure of every Algonkian language.

V SECONDARY DERIVATION: AI'S FROM TI'S

There are various ways that TI verbs can be made intransitive. First of all, the AI final *-eke*, which makes the object indefinite, may be added after the TI final:

(19) wela'tekey I do things well
wela'teken You do things well
wela'teket 3 does things well

The final result is an AI verb, as may be seen from the inflections, and similar results are obtained with *welo'tm*:

(20) welo'tekey I look after things
welo'teken You look after things
welo'teket 3 looks after things

It may be noted that this AI final *-eke* replaces the TI theme sign *-m* of stems like *welo'tm*; it is the only AI final to do so. The probable reason for this is that *-eke* replaces the definite object of the TI verb with an indefinite object.

With TI verbs like *welo'tm* the AI final *-a* can be added to give a generalised intransitive verb. This may be illustrated by TI *nestm* 'I understand it', and AI *nestmay* 'I understand', whereas AI *nestmekey* would mean 'I understand things'. Since *welo'tm* can mean not only 'I treat it well' but also 'I bless it', *welo'tmat* can mean 'He blesses, he gives a blessing', whereas *wela'tat* means 'he is sympathetic, helpful'.

AI *-uksi*, with the inverse marker, may also be added to TI verbs, with the following results:

(21) wela'tuksi Things are going well for me
wela'tuksin Things are going well for you

	wela'tuksit	Things are going well for 3

And with *welo'tm* the theme sign *-m* is of course retained:

(22)	welo'tmuksi	I receive favours
	welo'tmuksin	You receive favours
	welo'tmuksit	3 receives favours

VI AI *-UE*: SECONDARY OR TERTIARY DERIVATION?

There is also what appears to be an AI final *-ue* that can be added to both TI and TA stems, as shown in the following, where it is added to the TA stem *wela'l-* and the TI stems *wela't-* and *welo'tm*:

(23)	TA	wela'luey	I do a favour, render a service
		wela'luet	You do a favour, render a service
		wela'luet	3 does a favour, renders a service
(24)	TI	wela'tuey	I am sympathetic towards others
		wela'tuet	You are sympathetic towards others
		wela'luet	3 is sympathetic towards others
(25)	TI	welo'tmuey	I do favours for people
		welo'tmuen	You do favours for people
		welo'tmuet	3 does favours for people

Here, however, we are undoubtedly looking at two different elements. First of all we can separate out a common AI final *-e*, which has the same functional role throughout. The element *-u* that precedes this final, however, has two different functions. In the case of the TI's, the references to 'people' and 'others' in the translation of these two verbs show quite clearly that the *-u* of *wela'tu-* and *welo'tmu-* is a TA final which creates the Two-goal and Relational stems that we have already seen in *wela'tuatl* '3 does something good for other' and *welo'tmuaj wtui'katikn* '3 treats other's book well', in Section IV above. This *-u* would be historically derived from Proto Algonkian **-aw*, and be cognate with the Cree element described by Denny as occurring in AI benefactives in Cree (1983: 29-33). To this element *-u* the AI final *-e* is added to give a tertiary derivation that we may represent as follows: INITIAL+ TI + TA + AI + Inflections.

No such role can be attributed to the *-u* of *wela'luey*, because the stem to which it is added is already a TA stem: consequently we do not need this *-u* to create a TA stem. It necessarily serves some other function.

This *-u* element, however, is a also reflex of Proto-Algonkian **-aw*, which has a variety of different functions. First of all it may be added to an initial or root to form a so-called extended root (Hockett 1957: 260). It may also be added, as we have seen, to a TI stem to form a Two-goal stem. It may even be added directly to an initial to form a sort of instant Two-goal as in Ojibwa *pimaw* (**pem-aw-e:wa*) 'take away from someone'. It is also used in post-medial position before TA, TI, AI, and II finals. It seems, in short, to be a multi-purpose derivation marker. Consequently, we may interpret the *-u* of *wela'luey* as reshaping the TA stem for the addition of the AI abstract final *-e*, which is not normally added directly to TA stems, but may be added after *-u*, whether this element functions as a TA final or not.

VII INTERPRETING TA *WELEYAQ*

There are two AI paradigms, one with AI final *-ie*, which represents continual progress or movement (as in *pemiet* '3 moves along'), and one with final *-ei/e'*, which represents a state (as in *mekwei, mekwein, mekwe'k* 'be red'), as the following paradigms show:

(26)

weliey	I am happy	welei	I am well
welien	You are happy	welein	You are well
weliet	3 is happy	wele'k	3 is well

(The *-y* inflection of the 1st sg. is not added when the stem ends in *-i*). Since 'to be happy', in the sense of 'enjoying oneself', is very much a moment to moment process contingent upon external circumstances, whereas 'to be well' represents one's state of corporeal health, it is possible to see the contrastive force of these two finals, even if there are situations in which either one or the other could be used.

The existence of *welei*, however, raises the question of the following TA paradigm:

(27)

weleyaq	I am well-disposed toward 3, treat 3 well
weleyat	You are well-disposed toward 3, treat 3 well
weleiwatl	3 is well-disposed toward other, treat other well

The Proto-Algonkian TA final for this verb is the *-aw* that we have already seen, and the evolution to the modern Micmac inflections is as follows (Dawe 1986: 147):

(28)

1 > 3	aw-ak > a:k > ak > aq
2 > 3	aw-at > a:t > at
3> 3'	aw-a:t > ua:t > uat > wat

In short, the Proto-Algonkian TA final **-aw* contracts with a following short vowel to form a long vowel, and this contraction takes place early because the long vowel so produced undergoes the shortening that affects Proto-Algonkian long vowels in Micmac (Hewson 1973: 157). Before a long vowel this contraction does not take place, and *-aw* is reduced to *-u*, which beomes [w] in inter-vocalic position.

It would appear, therefore, that *weleyaq* is a TA that has been derived from AI *welei-* by the addition of the PA element **-aw*, one of whose functions is to create TA Two-goal verbs, which are normally (but not always - see Ojibway *pimaw* above) formed on a TI stem, as in the case of *welo'tmaq* 'I treat 3's property well' (see Section IV), and its AI derivation *welo'tmuey* 'I do favours for people' (see Section VI). The sense of *weleyaq*, therefore, may be paraphrased as 'I act well on behalf of this animate being'; in other words 'I treat 3 well' which has the Two-goal sense of 'doing something good (inan.) to someone (an.)'.

This analysis would in turn explain a further derivation, namely AI *weleiwey*, which Father Pacifique glosses as 'I am well disposed towards others, I am a benefactor'. Here we have AI *welei-*, with TA Two-goal final *-w*, followed by the same AI final *-ey* that we have already seen attached to TA *-u* in the Two-goal *welo'tmuey* 'I do favours for people' (Section VI).

VIII RÉSUMÉ OF THE VERBAL DERIVATIONS

In order to draw all the detailed derivations that we have described into a coherent picture, the forms that we have discussed will be presented here in tabulated form, exactly as they are presented by Father Pacifique in his grammar (1939: 195; 1990: 178). To this presentation we have added a succinct resumé of the verbal categories and processes involved.

I.			STATE OR ATTITUDE	
1.	Wel	ei, iey, iaq	to be well, happy; to become happy, that is good	(AI, AI, II)
2.		eiwey	to be well-disposed toward others, to be a benefactor	(AI + TA Two-goal + AI)
3.		eyaq	to be that towards someone, to consider him good, to treat him well	(AI + TA Two-goal)
4.		eyasi	to consider onself good, to treat oneself well	(AI + TA Two-goal + AI middle)
5.		eyati'kw	to act thus towards one another, each other	(AI + TA Two-goal + AI reciprocal)
6.		eyuksi, eyaku, eiakuey	to be well treated, blessed, in one's person	(AI + TA Two-goal + AI inverse)
7.		o'tasi	to be that in one's property, in one's affairs	(TI + TA Two-goal + AI middle)
8.		o'tekey	to do well, to profit, to make progress	(TI + AI indefinite object)
9.		o'tm	to treat a thing well, to bless it, to arrange it well	(TI)
10.		o'tmaq	to treat or use well what belongs to someone	(TI + TA Relational)
11.		o'tmay	to bless (in general), to do favors	(TI + AI)
12.		o'tmuey	to do them for neighbors in general	(TI + TA Relational + AI)
13.		o'tmuksi, o'tmaku, o'tmakuey	to receive them, to be blessed in one's affairs	(TI + AI inverse, TI + TA + AI inverse, TI + TA + AI inverse + middle)
14.		o'tmasi	to treat one's own affairs well, to look after one's own interests	(TI + TA Two-goal + AI middle)
15.		o'tmati'kw	to do it for each other	(TI + TA + AI reciprocal)

II.			ACTION OR ACTIVITY	
1.	Wel	a'si	to be well, to act well	(AI)
2.		a'luey	to do good, to do a favor, to render a service	(TA + derivation marker + AI)
3.		a'lik	to do it for a specified person	(TA)
4.		a'lsi	to do it for oneself, to flatter oneself	(TA + AI middle)
5.		a'liti'kw	to do it to oneselves reciprocally, to each other	(TA + AI reciprocal)
6.		a'luksi, a'liku	to be favored (in a specific thing), to be a beneficiary	(TA + AI inverse)

7.	a'tasi	to be helped in one's affairs	(TI + TA Two-goal + AI middle)
8.	a'tekey	to do good, to do well, to act good	(TI + AI indefinite object)
9.	a'tu	to do something good, also, to do a thing well	(TI)
10.	a'taq	to favor the interests of another	(TI + TA Two-goal)
11.	a'tay	to favor	(TI + AI)
12.	a'tuey	to favor others, in general	(TI + TA Two-goal + AI)
13.	a'tuksi	to be favored in one's affairs	(TI + TA + AI inverse)
14.	a'tasi	to do good to oneself	(TI + TA Two-goal + AI middle)
15.	a'tati'kw	to do it mutually	(TI + TA Two-goal + AI reciprocal)

IX THE DIRECTION OF MICMAC VERBAL DERIVATIONS

In the above tables we note certain recurring patterns, of which the most frequent are undoubtedly TI + TA and TA + AI. The pattern TI + AI is also feasible, but less common, and AI + TA is limited to the one combination *welei + w* (see end of Section VII), an analysis which is based on indirect rather than direct evidence. There are no examples, as far as we can see, of TA + TI, of II + AI, of AI + TI, or of II + TI, although we must admit that all the possibilities are not exhausted: these are simply the most common and typical examples of Algonkian verbal derivation. Micmac shows, in this respect, the typical patterns of verbal derivation that are found throughout the languages of the Algonkian family. We shall consequently restrict our discussion to the prototypical patterns of TA + AI and TI + TA.

The pattern of TA + AI may in fact be some kind of a linguistic universal in terms of derivational morphosyntax. If we take an unambiguously ergative language such as Inuktitut, we find that middle voice verbs, including reflexives, are formed by adding intransitive inflections to transitive stems. This de-transitivizing of a transitive morphology represents an action that is less than fully transitive, which is precisely the state of affairs that any middle voice morphosyntax attempts to mark. We must understand by this that a reflexive, the most obvious example of middle voice, although it necessarily starts as a transitive notion, ultimately fails to achieve true transitivity.

The most prototypical transitive verbs represent actions that are initiated by an agent (A) and carried out on a patient (P), as in English 'A strikes P'. The action, in a sense goes across (= Latin *trans*) from the agent to the patient. But in reflexives, clearly, the action is returned to the agent rather than passed over to a patient. In short agent and patient are one and the same, which is why we call this construction Middle Voice, because it is neither 100% active (where the Agent is the subject: A strikes P) nor 100% passive (where the Patient is the subject: P is struck by A), but somewhere in between where the subject is both Agent and Patient at the same time. Middle Voice, therefore, is inherently a transitive action that fails to achieve full transitivity, and the Algonkian languages, and Inuktitut as well, give such verbs a transitive base to which they add a secondary intransitive morphology to complete the verbal representation.

The pattern of TI + TA, on the other hand, is by no means universal: here we are dealing with a gender contrast that is not found in Inuktitut, for example. There are also two different morphological patterns: the full Two-goal verb, and the TI Relational. Let us deal first with the full Two-goal verb, which shows by its inflections that it is ultimately a TA verb, based on

a TI stem, and that the primary patient of such a verb is the animate patient, the inanimate patient being secondary, as in (9) above.

(29)	wela'taq	I do it properly, correctly for him
	wela'tat	You do it properly, correctly for him
	wela'tuatl	3 does it properly, correctly for other

This construction is in direct contrast with Two-goal verbs in languages such as English and French, where the direct (or primary) object is the inanimate, and the indirect (or secondary) object is animate:

(30)	I sent him	(only one object, which is animate)
	I sent him the book	(two-goal, animate automatically becomes the indirect object)

Obviously, when there are two goals for a given verb it is possible to make either one the primary one, and the languages of the globe choose now one pattern, now the other.

In the case of the TI Relational the use of the TA Conjunct (i.e., subordinative) inflections (instead of the Independent) indicates that the inanimate object remains the primary object, but that it has a relationship of possession to an animate owner, and is therefore not just a simple inanimate object. This is in line with the normal strategy, in Algonkian languages, of making relationships explicit, so that there is no word for 'father', but only *nujj* 'my father', *kujj* 'thy father', *wujjl* '3's father', and so on. In fact the early missionaries, in order to translate 'God the Father', had to write *Wekwisit Nikskam* 'God who has a Son', and for 'God the Son' wrote *Ewjit Nikskam* 'God who has a Father'. In English the word 'father' only implies a relationship; in Micmac and other Algonkian languages the relationship is made explicit, and a similar explicitness concerning relationships occurs in the verbal morphology when an action is done to an object that is stated to be someone's possession.

X CONCLUSION

The derivational morphology of the verb in Micmac, as in any Algonkian language, is a remarkable illustration of the well-known dictum of Meillet (1937: 475): 'Une langue est un système où tout se tient et a un plan d'une merveilleuse rigueur.'. Certainly everything fits together in a remarkable way: Reflexives and Reciprocals as secondary derivations of transitive stems; TA finals added to TI stems to form Two-goal stems, to which further Reflexives and Reciprocals can be added; the formation of an intransitive inverse on a transitive stem to give a passive sense, a formation that parallels the inverse forms of the TA, with syncretism of the morphology; and finally in the TI Relational forms the same kind of explicit marking of a relationship that is found in the possessed stems of the noun. The whole effect is that of an architecture, where certain elements are constructed on others in a balanced and harmonious fashion.

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ACADIAN FRENCH AND LINGUISTIC THEORY[1]

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ABSTRACT

This article identifies some profitable areas of research for Acadian linguistics, in particular, research in sociolinguistics and in grammatical theory. The value of Acadian French data for the testing of theories of language change and for the study of syntactic variation within generative grammar is explored.

1. INTRODUCTION

Interest in Acadian French has grown tremendously over the past two decades, and with it, there has been a dramatic increase in articles and monographs on linguistic aspects of these varieties. While the first publication on Acadian French, Pascal Poirier's 'La langue acadienne', appeared in 1884, most publications are considerably more recent. The great majority of the 430 entries in Edward Gesner's 1986 *Bibliographie annotée de linguistique acadienne* are post-1960 and 65 date from the period 1980-85. In the bibliography, the varieties of Acadian French spoken in all four Atlantic provinces and in Louisiana are well represented.[2] Descriptive studies of phonology and vocabulary are especially prominent, understandably so since these are the foci of traditional dialectology. There are also a significant number of morphological studies, as might be expected since most comparative work on Acadian compares it with standard French and Acadian varieties differ considerably from standard French in verb morphology.

Obviously documentation of present-day Acadian varieties is both necessary and important, as evidenced by the continuing value to modern researchers of landmark works such as Geneviève Massignon's 1962 *Les parlers français de l'Acadie*, a (principally) lexical study based on fieldwork conducted in the mid-1940s. However, in this article I will focus not on the significance of such documentation for the historical record, but on how research on Acadian French may also be important in the development of linguistic theory, specifically sociolinguistic theory and grammatical theory.[3] In the case of sociolinguistic theory, Acadian communities are quite different from the ones usually investigated by variationists: they are bilingual and they typically do not exhibit the sort of social stratification found, say, in New York City or Norwich. By studying how and by whom linguistic change is implemented in such communities we are able to study the extent to which the Labovian model can account for linguistic innovation and for the diffusion of linguistic change. With respect to grammatical theory, the grammars of varieties of Acadian, while in many respects quite similar, differ from those of other

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[2] Acadian French refers to varieties of French spoken in North America (principally in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island in Canada and in Louisiana in the United States) which have their origin in the 'centre-ouest' of France.

[3] I will be concerned here with Atlantic Canada Acadian French; for more on the sociolinguistics of Louisiana varieties, see Brown (1988); for more on Louisiana French and grammatical theory, see Brown (1986).

varieties of French in nontrivial ways. Therefore, they may provide important data for the study of parametric variation.

2. SOCIOLINGUISTIC THEORY

It is sometimes remarked that Canadian French is one of the world's language varieties most studied by sociolinguists. Most notably, there have been the pioneering Montreal French studies begun two decades ago by Henrietta Cedergen and Gillian Sankoff and the continuing work on the Cedergren-Sankoff corpus and on more recent Montreal corpora by Cedergren, David Sankoff, Pierrette Thibault and their associates, along with the studies of Ontario French undertaken over the past fifteen years by Raymond Mougeon and his associates, and the investigations of the French spoken in Ottawa-Hull by Shana Poplack and her associates, beginning in the early 1980s.

Over the last decade, sociolinguistic studies of Acadian varieties spoken in all four Atlantic Provinces have also been undertaken (cf. Flikeid 1984 for northeastern New Brunswick, King 1983 for Newfoundland varieties, King and Ryan 1988 for Prince Edward Island varieties, Flikeid 1989 for Nova Scotia varieties). As we might expect, the Acadian studies reveal complex, but structured, organization of linguistic variation, or as Labov has termed it, orderly heterogeneity. They reveal as well tension between maintenance of Acadian linguistic features (carriers of Acadian identity) and linguistic change in the direction of community-external standards. For instance, in her northeastern New Brunswick study, Flikeid (1984) found evidence of style shifting on the part of younger speakers in the direction of less use of certain well-known phonological features of Acadian, such as palatalized variants of /k/ and /g/, but widespread use (across age groups) of certain other features, such as the fronting of low back nasal vowels in stressed, open syllables.

A principal finding of Labov and his followers has to do with linguistic changes in progress: change begins with working or lower middle class speakers and then spreads to other social groups (cf. Labov 1966, 1980; Labov, Yaeger and Steiner 1972).[4] In his classic New York City study, Labov (1966) developed what has become the standard methodology for sociolinguistic studies: informants are ranked on a social class index based on a number of socioeconomic factors and are then divided into social class groupings on the basis of their SEC scores. Such stratification studies have been conducted in a large number of urban contexts, from Philadelphia to Sydney, Australia to Panama City to St. John's, with considerable success.

Sociolinguistic studies of Acadian varieties have found the interrelated factors of age, level of education, and level of bilingualism to be the more important social factors in the analysis of linguistic variation and change (cf. Flikeid 1984, King 1983). In general younger, more bilingual, better educated (in French) Acadians speak less conservative Acadian French. For example, in one case of change in progress in the direction of the external standard, the spread of the [w] variant of orthographic *-oi-* in northeastern New Brunswick, Flikeid (1984) found that age is by far the most important social factor, with younger speakers leading the

[4] Labov (1966) develops a curvilinear model of social diffusion of linguistic change wherein the working and lower-middle classes are the innovators. However, Kroch (1978) argues for a linear model in which the dominant force is the upper class's resistance to such innovations. For discussion, and an attempt to reconcile the two approaches, see Guy (1988).
While he has in the past rejected the possibility of rapid and sweeping linguistic change, Labov (1991) admits to the possibility of such change but only in face of 'catastrophic *social* events'. (p. 245, my emphasis).

change. These results are what we might expect since the small communities studied intensively display little social stratification among their francophone inhabitants.

This is not to say that socioeconomic factors are never found to be significant. In one small community currently under study, Abram-Village in Prince Edward Island, the notion of the linguistic marketplace, i.e., of 'how speakers' economic activity, taken in its widest sense, requires or is necessarily associated with competence in the legitimized language' (Sankoff and Laberge 1978: 239), has been found to be of some importance. My account of one case of linguistic variation in Abram-Village (cf. King 1991a), i.e., variation in the use of the well-integrated English lexical borrowing *back*, is in terms of marketplace ranking. In this specific case there is a negative correlation between use of *back* and higher marketplace ranking.

However, Mougeon and Beniak's studies of a number of francophone communities in Ontario lead them to suggest that, in the case of linguistic change in minority languages, change may not 'proceed in the way described by Labov for monolingual communities, that is, via the introduction of an innovation by an individual speaker or by a small group of speakers belonging to a particular social class, and its subsequent propagation to other speakers of the same class and eventual adoption by speakers of other classes' (Mougeon and Beniak 1991a: 13). The five Ontario communities they have studied in detail, i.e., Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay, Pembroke and Welland, all display social class variation. In their 1991 book they report that in only one case among the many linguistic variables they have investigated is there anything but a loose connection with social class. Rather degree of minority-language-use restriction and level of bilingualism are the key factors.[5]

Acadian communities are another important testing ground for Mougeon and Beniak's hypothesis that linguistic innovation may involve the autonomous behaviour of one or more speakers. The study of Acadian varieties, including those spoken in areas in which there is clear social stratification (e.g., in urban centres such as Moncton[6]), in areas in which there is social differentiaton not readily correlated with socioeconomic factors (e.g., in areas such as Baie Sainte-Marie in Nova Scotia) and in small, relatively homogeneous villages (e.g., in L'Anse-à-Canards in Newfoundland or in Chéticamp in Nova Scotia), allows us to investigate further Mougeon and Beniak's hypothesis. Of course, as Flikeid (1988: 196) points out, this is not an easy undertaking, since 'découvrir les dimensions pertinentes de la structure sociale existante exige des recherches sociologiques, une connaissance intime du milieu et aussi de l'innovation dans les techniques sociolinguistiques utilisés', but it is nevertheless an important one.

The considerable variation, in terms of length and degree of language contact, among Acadian communities in the Atlantic provinces allows us to investigate the effects of degree of language restriction on linguistic variation and change. In Abram-Village, for instance, over 90% of the inhabitants are French-speaking and there is longstanding stable bilingualism, whereas in the other Prince Edward Island community currently under study, Saint-Louis, fewer than 30% of the population now speak French and there is fairly well-advanced language

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[5] Mougeon and Beniak (1991b) presents an elaboration of their theory of the relationship of social class, minority-language-use restriction and level of bilingualism.

[6] Roy (1979) is a sociolinguistic study of the use of *but* and *so* in the French of Moncton, a city of approximately 55,000 people at the time of the study, of whom fully a third were francophone. However, limitations on the size of the study made it possible for her to investigate the speech of only one social group, blue-collar workers. Likewise McKillop's 1987 study of the French spoken in Edmunston did not investigate the possible effects of social class on linguistic variation and change.

shift.[7] Patterns of variation for the above-mentioned case of lexical borrowing were found to have a different sociolinguistic explanation in each community: the linguistic marketplace was useful in Abram-Village whereas in Saint-Louis the explanation was in terms of degree of bilingualism. In Saint-Louis, young informants who are English dominant and who do not control Acadian did not use the French adverb *back*, which differs in terms of category membership and meaning from its source in English (cf. King 1991a for details).

Acadian may also provide important data for other issues relating to language contact. While all linguists would undoubtedly agree that social factors play a role in determining the linguistic effects of language contact, there is disagreement as to whether one can predict the nature of these effects (purely) on the basis of social factors. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-76) establish a very general borrowing scale whereby, in cases of language maintenance, they predict type and degree of borrowing on the basis of degree of contact, ranging from the borrowing of content words in cases of 'casual contact' to heavy structural borrowing in cases of 'very strong cultural pressure'. In other words theirs is an 'anything goes' perspective according to which elements from any linguistic subsystem may be borrowed, depending on the particular social factors in play. But while the authors argue for the preeminence of social factors, they are not, as they themselves note, sociolinguists:

> ... our perspective is that of the historical linguist, not of the sociolinguist. To anthropologists and sociolinguists, the sociolinguistic/sociocultural aspect of our analysis will seem very shallow ...our main goal is to describe and analyze linguistic results of language contact situations, and to correlate these results with certain fairly general kinds of social factors. So, although we argue that social factors are the primary determinants of the linguistic outcome of contact situations, our focus is on systematizing the linguistic facts rather than on the various kinds of social influences. (p. 36)

Nor are the great majority of case studies upon which they draw sociolinguistic in nature. One problem, then, with evaluating Thomason and Kaufman's theory comes from the language contact literature itself. Often studies make very strong claims, based on little data or on data that can be interpreted in a number of ways. Gumperz and Wilson's well-known study of Kupwar, in which (they claim) Marathi and Urdu, both Indic languages, along with Kannada, a Dravidian language, have all fallen together syntactically, is based on rather scanty evidence, as even those who readily accept the notion of syntactic borrowing admit (e.g., Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 86-7).[8] But Muysken and Appel (1987) demonstrate that, when one looks closely, quite a number of cases of alleged syntactic borrowing may have other interpretations, specifically, that they involve internally-motivated evolution which superficially resembles developments in the source language. Dorian (1990) points to another difficulty, i.e., the tendency to make comparisons with the standard variety of the contact language, not with the contact variety. For example, she notes that in the case of her own work on East Sutherland Gaelic, comparisons with standard English, as opposed to the Scots contact variety, could lead to some erroneous claims of English influence. A related problem is failure to consider adequately the history of the language and to treat particular linguistic features as innovations due to external influence when these features actually existed at earlier stages in the language. For example, Hiberno English is commonly thought to have developed a number of tense-aspect distinctions

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[7] The population of Abram-Village was 334 in 1986 and that of Saint-Louis was 154. These figures come from the 1986 census.

[8] In generative grammar, syntactic structure is thought to be largely determined by lexical information (cf. Chomsky 1981, etc.). From this perspective it is difficult to see how syntactic structure could be transferred from one language to another without the borrowing of lexical items (carrying syntactic properties). See King (1991c) for discussion.

under the influence of Irish Gaelic. However, Harris (1991) points out with respect to these 'innovations':

> Virtually all of those who have claimed that the peculiarites of Irish English aspectual usage can be traced to a substratal source have based their conclusions on a straightforward comparison with present-day Standard British English. They make no reference to the fact that, in some cases, very similar patterns of usage are to be found in other regional varieties of English as well as in earlier forms of the standard language. Crucially, there is plenty of evidence to indicate that such patterns were widespread in the seventeenth century, the formative period of Irish English. (p. 206)

What makes the Acadian varieties a good testing ground for theories of language contact is that we now have large corpora for quite a number of Acadian varieties, as well as for many related varieties of French. Only community studies, I would argue, can give us reliable data by which we can delineate how social factors influence the outcome of particular language contact situations.

Our knowledge of the history of French and of modern French varieties spoken in France should also prevent specialists at least from making certain erroneous claims, although of course the average person seems to believe the stereotype of Canadian French varieties moving inexorably towards English. For instance, the existence of orphan prepositions in relative clauses in Canadian French, as in 'la fille que je sors *avec*', is regarded by many as a case of English influence. However, Bouchard (1982) convincingly argues that this is not so. Such constructions existed in French in the fourteenth century, still exist in some popular Metropolitan varieties in which there could be no possibility of English influence, and have counterparts in other Romance languages.

But while varieties of Acadian are well documented, this is not the case for Atlantic Canada English, where only certain varieties of Newfoundland English have undergone comprehensive study (cf. Lougheed 1988). Canadian English (apart from that spoken in Newfoundland) is widely regarded to be homogeneous, with the exception of some regional lexical variation. However, lack of sufficient evidence to support this claim makes the idea of general Canadian usage a dangerous assumption for language contact studies, which should investigate the vernacular in each contact situation.[9]

As mentioned above, in the Acadian-speaking areas of Atlantic Canada there is considerable variation as to degree of language contact (e.g., percentage of French speakers vs English speakers, provision of French services in a community, etc.). Therefore, given the variety of social situations which exist in closely-related language varieties, we are in an excellent position to compare social factors and linguistic outcomes across communities. Flikeid's 1989 study of English borrowing and French-English codeswtiching in five Acadian communities in Nova Scotia is a case in point. Flikeid shows striking intercommunity differences in the use of words of English origin, differences which are interpretable in terms of degree of contact with English. Flikeid's finely grained analysis is based on the systematic comparison of a large corpus of data for each community through the use of quantitative sociolinguistic methods.

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[9] For instance, in my work on *back* in Prince Edward Island Acadian I have been struck by differences in my own (Newfoundland) usage of *back* in English from that of Ontario and U.S. speakers. For instance, I readily accept 'We were back friends' meaning 'We were friends again' (in P.E.I. Acadian, 'J'étions *back* amis'), regarded as ungrammatical by speakers of other English varieties whom I have polled. The next step is the investigation of *back* usage in vernacular Prince Edward Island English.

It might appear at first glance that, since English and French are fairly similar typologically, Acadian data would not be particularly revealing in the study of linguistic effects of language contact. However, research has shown that there are important differences between linguistic borrowing in Acadian and in other varieties of Canadian French. For instance, Acadian, Québécois and Ontario French all borrow verbs, but only certain Acadian varieties have borrowed prepositions (as in 'Quoi ce qu'il t'a parlé *about*?'). Likewise, certain Acadian varieties, but no other Canadian varieties of which I am aware, have borrowed *wh*-words (as in 'Tu peux faire *whatever* que tu veux').

A number of intercommunity differences have also been uncovered. For instance, in Prince Edward Island, as one might predict, Saint-Louis is more advanced than Abram-Village for some instances of linguistic borrowing. In both varieties, *wh*-words are restricted to relative clauses. However, in Abram-Village the inventory consists of *wh*-ever words and *which* (as in 'l'argent *which* que j'ai donné à Desmond'), whereas in Saint-Louis it is also possible to have structures such as 'la raison *why* qu'il a venu...' (cf. King 1991b). Further, I have found that differences in the use of English-origin *back* in three Acadian communities correlate with social factors pertaining to the contact situation. In a language contact situation of relatively short duration (L'Anse-à-Canards, Newfoundland) *back* functions very much as it does in English, i.e., as an intransitive preposition (as in 'Il a allé *back* à Toronto'). In the two Prince Edward Island communities, however, which involve contact situations of much longer duration, *back* is an adverb with a more generalized meaning than English *back* (e.g., 'J'ai *back* oublié' means 'I forgot again').

Thus the range of contact situations along with the degree of linguistic variation which exist in Atlantic Canada makes comparison across Acadian varieties (and with other varieties of Canadian French) an undertaking which should yield significant results for the study of the relationship between social factors and linguistic outcomes in language contact.

3. GRAMMATICAL THEORY

For Chomsky, the study of language is concerned with the study of *I* (or intensional) language, i.e., with properties of the mind of the speaker which make up his/her knowledge of the language, as opposed to properties of the external world which may influence language use.[10] Within the 'principles and parameters' framework (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986b), a small number of universal principles, some of which are parameterized (i.e., have different values or settings) account for the range of human languages. These principles are considered to be innate; the choice of setting for a particular parameter is made on the basis of exposure to primary linguistic data during the language acquisition process. Grammatical variation is thus explicable in terms of differences in parameter settings which give rise to language-particular rules which operate under specific conditions predictable by the theory. For instance, one well-studied parameter can be described as the possibility of having phonetically-null subject positions (i.e., the so-called null subject parameter). Whereas the subject is obligatory in English and in French, it is optional in languages such as Spanish and Chinese. Recent research within the priniciples and parameters framework (cf. Jaeggli and Safir 1989) seeks to uncover the abstract grammatical property which best accounts for this observation.

This comparative approach differs from traditional comparative linguistics in that its goals are psychological, i.e., generativists seek to uncover how parameters are fixed or set in

[10] Issues such as the social diffusion of linguistic change are outside the scope of this psychological approach since they involve the study of E (or externalized) language (cf. Chomsky 1986a).

one direction on the basis of the experience available to the language learner. Since nonstandard varieties, like standard varieties, are readily acquired by native speakers they must also be accounted for by the theory of grammar. Further, as Rizzi (1989: 9) points out, the study of dialectal variation is particularly important in accounting for the existence of parameters:

> Les paramètres de la grammaire universelle peuvent être conceptualisés comme les points de bifurcation fondamentaux du système grammatical général, les différences irréductibles entre les systèmes grammaticaux particuliers. Afin d'identifier empiriquement ces points de fracture primitifs, il est essentiel de focaliser le travail comparatif sur des systèmes grammaticaux assez proches. En effet, des langues dont la structure globale est très éloignée permettraient plus difficilement d'isoler des différences primitives plausibles, à cause de l'interaction complexe, parfois inextricable, d'une multiplicité de différences observables. L'étude des variétés dialectales...offre donc une occasion privilégiée pour identifier des paramètres. Nous avons affaire, dans l'étude comparative des dialectes, à des systèmes grammaticaux extrêmement proches, qui ne diffèrent que pour un nombre restreint de propriétés fondamentales; ces propriétés sont donc relativement faciles à isoler et à démêler de toute interférence cachée.

For example, through the study of a number of Romance varieties (including Québécois, Algerian French (i.e., *pied-noir*), Frioulan, Fiorentino and Trentino, Occitan, standard French and Italian, etc.) Roberge and Vinet (1989, chapter 2) show a relationship between varieties having subject clitics and varieties allowing null subjects: the underlying difference, they argue, is not whether a variety has the null subject property or not, but in how *pro* (an empty category occupying subject (or object) position) is identified, by the subject clitic in the former case and by the verbal morphology in the latter. They go on to argue that standard Italian and French are structurally more similar than previously thought to be the case, a conclusion which probably would not be reached without having studied the grammars of such a range of related varieties, nonstandard as well as standard.

Chambers and Trudgill (1991) rightly point out that scant use has been made of data from nonstandard English dialects in the development of grammatical theory. However, such is not the case with dialects of Romance languages. In the past decade, data from northern Italian varieties, such as Trentino and Fiorentino, from North African varieties of French, from Québécois, etc., have figured prominently in the development of accounts of parametric variation.

Likewise, the syntax of Acadian varieties may also be an important source of data for the study of parametric variation. While the grammars of Acadian varieties are similar to Québécois, a number of important differences exist. For instance, King and Roberge (1990) show that the number of prepositions that can occur as so-called orphan prepositions is larger in Prince Edward Island Acadian than in other varieties of French reported in the literature. Along with allowing 'les filles que je sors *avec*', given above with reference to Québécois, Acadian also allows the occurrence of *à* and *de* without an adjacent lexical complement, as in 'Où ce qu'il vient *de*?'. Further, we demonstrate that the Prince Edward Island varieties allow preposition stranding (i.e., they allow movement of the object of the preposition, leaving behind a trace[11]), a phenomenon not known to occur in other French varieties, nor in any other Romance language.[12] The Prince Edward Island data are of theoretical, as well as descriptive, importance since Prince Edward Island Acadian is now a testing ground for proposed accounts of

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11 For Québécois Bouchard (1982) argues that preposition stranding is not involved but that the adjacent complement position is filled by *pro*.

12 Data presented in Flikeid (1989) which seem similar to Prince Edward Island usage lead us to hypothesize that Nova Scotia varieties also allow preposition stranding.

preposition stranding. King and Roberge (1990) show that the PEI facts cast doubt on a number of general proposals which have appeared in the literature, e.g., reanalysis based on the structural relationship between the verb and preposition (cf. Hornstein and Weinberg 1981), correlation of presence versus absence of preposition stranding with presence versus absence of Exceptional Case Marking (cf. Kayne 1980) and analyses based on overt morphological Case distinctions (cf. Pollock 1989). In Prince Edward Island varieties, we show that the behaviour of prepositions follows from their status as head governors (cf. King and Roberge 1990 for details).

Finally, language contact phenomena may also be studied from the perspective of grammatical theory, offering alternate explanations of phenomena which (superficially) appear to involve syntactic borrowing. For instance, it is tempting to regard Prince Edward Island Acadian structures such as 'Quoi ce que tu as parlé à Jean de hier?' as an obvious case of syntactic borrowing. However, variants such as those given below (taken from King and Roberge 1990), are all grammatical in Acadian whereas literal translations of 1 a and c are ungrammatical in English.

1 a. Quoi ce que tu as parlé hier à Jean de?

b Quoi ce que tu as parlé à Jean hier de?

c Quoi ce que tu as parlé hier de à Jean?

d Quoi ce que tu as parlé de à Jean hier?

Thus direct syntactic borrowing does not give us an account of the free nature of preposition stranding in Prince Edward Island Acadian. The situation becomes clearer when one takes into account the fact that this French variety has borrowed a number of prepositions from English, e.g. *in, about, over*, etc., as in 'Quoi ce qu'il t'a parlé *about*?' (What did he talk to you about?). We argue that the borrowing of English prepositions has led to the reanalysis of French prepositions resulting in their now having a particular syntactic property; they are head governors and may license a trace. Thus there is a change in lexical specification of French prepositions under the influence of English. Sentences in 1 diverge from English usage because aspects of French grammar are at play: French lacks the strict adjacency requirements shown by English in a number of constructions. Therefore, we do not have syntactic borrowing as such but rather lexical borrowing which has syntactic effects in the borrowing language. Our account is superior to a syntactic one because the divergence between French and English usage falls out from a general fact about French syntax; if we did not consider the role of the English prepositions we would not be able to capture these facts.

The Prince Edward Island *wh*-word data mentioned above might also be treated, superficially, as a case of extreme grammatical interference. However, in King (1991b) I argue that they actually support a view of the peripheral nature of borrowed elements in Acadian, specifically that, unlike French-origin *wh*-words, English origin ones do not undergo syntactic *wh*-movement. This sort of analysis depends on explicit distinctions between lexical and nonlexical (i.e. functional) categories, a theory of the role of the lexicon in determining syntactic structure and the availability of appropriate tests for syntactic movement. Thus grammatical theory enables us to identify more precisely the linguistic effects of language contact.

4. DIRECTIONS FOR ACADIAN LINGUISTICS

In general, research on Acadian varieties of French is flourishing. In this article I have pointed out that what we know of the social situation of varieties of Acadian French lends it to the testing of hypotheses regarding both the social diffusion of linguistic change and the social factors which promote or impede linguistic interference. We have also seen how current research in generative grammar draws on the study of closely-related language varieties and that Acadian French is both a valid and useful object of study from this perspective.

Both the sociolinguistic and generative avenues of research outlined above are essentially comparativist in nature and here they are seen to have in common the broadening of the context of Acadian linguistics. While sociolinguistic studies of grammatical variation and research within generative grammar are usually carried out independently of one another, Chambers and Trudgill (1991: 295) point out the need for more sophisticated treatments of grammatical variation in the 'dialect' literature. This does not of course mean that there can or should be a blending of research paradigms since there are fundamentally different goals involved, but that (some) theory of grammar should be a central component to explanations of grammatical change and, as Chambers and Trudgill (1991: 295) put it, 'more grammatically sophisticated treatments of nonstandard dialects are needed, and so is a more empirically based approach to grammatical theory.'

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A SURVEY OF RESEARCH ON MONTAGNAIS AND NASKAPI (INNU-AIMUN) IN LABRADOR[1]

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ABSTRACT

The last two decades have seen increased interest in the study of the language of the Innu of Labrador. Researchers from Memorial University of Newfoundland have been prominent in producing descriptions of grammar, lexicon and linguistic variation in the community of Sheshatshit. Anthropologists have been active in the collection of texts and toponyms. This article gives an overview of work to date in these areas.

1. INTRODUCTION

The language spoken by the Innu of Labrador, known to linguists as Montagnais / Naskapi, represents two dialects of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language complex of the Algonquian language family. The Montagnais sub-group is spoken by about 10,000 people in eight communities in Québec and one in Labrador (see Map). In Sheshatshit, (formerly known as North West River) there are about 2,000 speakers. To the north, Naskapi is spoken by about 500 people in Davis Inlet, also known as Utshimassits. Speakers refer to both dialects as Innu-aimun, qualifying this term as necessary. Innu-aimun is still the first language of virtually all residents of the two Labrador communities, with English as the second language. In Québec, where French is the second language, a significant number of Innu, particularly in the western communities, now use French as a first language. In Labrador most speakers under the age of forty are now bilingual to some extent in Innu-aimun and English, since English is the language of schooling. The extent to which this language will join or resist the widespread decline of Aboriginal languages as first languages remains to be documented.

A considerable amount of work has been done on all dialects of Montagnais and Naskapi but only those spoken in Labrador will be reviewed here[2]. The Montagnais dialect of Sheshatshit has been the subject of on-going study by members of the Linguistics Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The Naskapi dialect of Davis Inlet has been primarily studied by Alan Ford of l'Université de Montréal.

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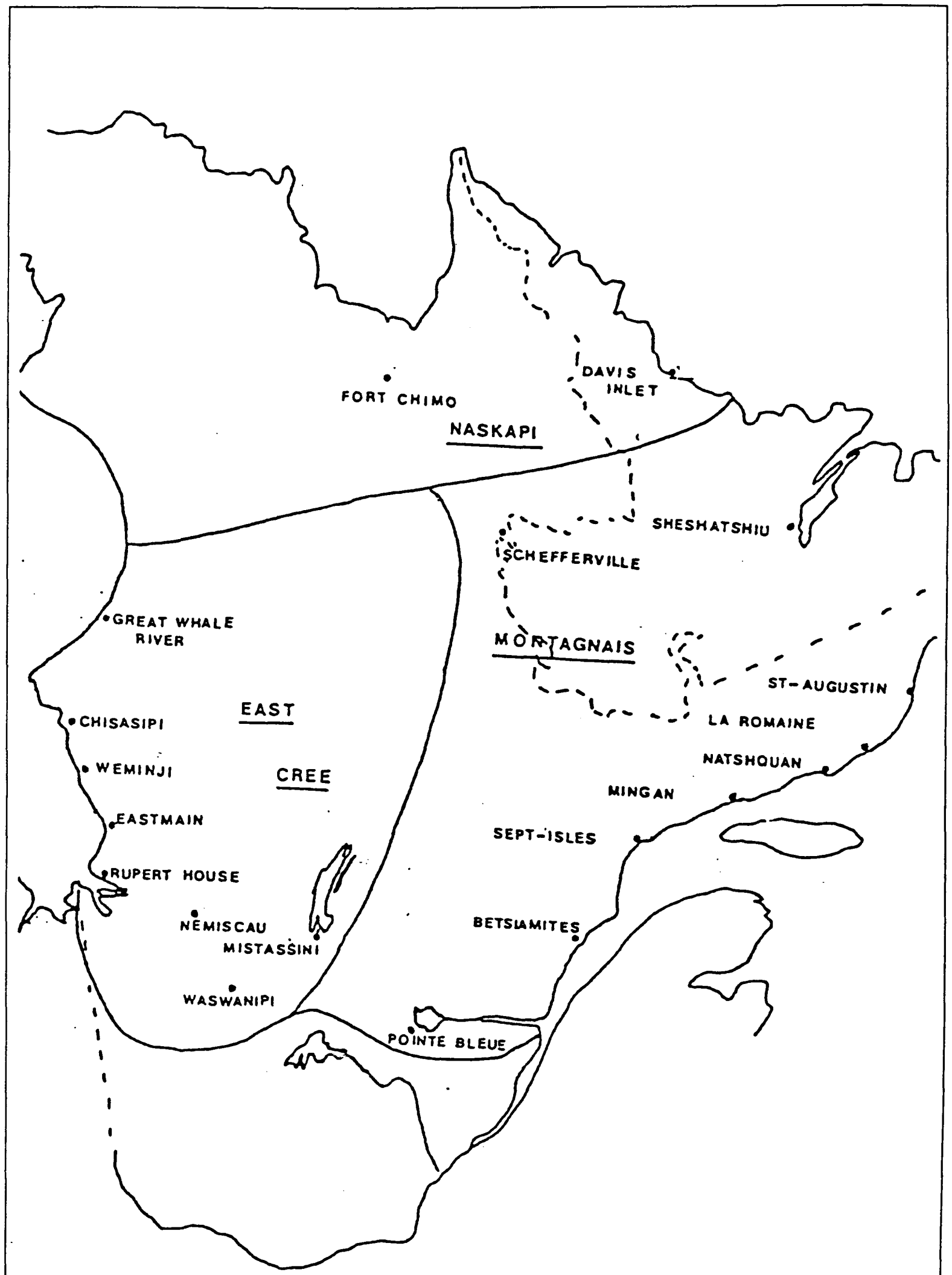
[1] The *Sheshatshiu Sociolinguistic Variability Project* was supported by an ISER Team Research Grant, an SSHRCC Post-Doctoral Fellowship, as well as a Northern Science Training Grant, an SSHRCC Research Grant (Internal) and a Vice-President's Research grant. Work on the Sheshatshiu lexicon was supported through grants from the Secretary of State, The National Museum of Man Urgent Ethnology Program and the SSHRCC Research Grant (Internal) Program.

[2] The newsletter *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics* publishes a running bibliography of works on all Algonquian languages, including those under discussion.



EAST CREE, MONTAGNAIS AND NASKAPI COMMUNITIES

Prior to the 1970s there existed very little in the way of grammars and dictionaries for the Native languages of Newfoundland and Labrador – Micmac, Innu-aimun (Montagnais-Naskapi) and Inuktitut (Eskimo). And, it seemed, there was no pressing need for such resource documents. A few grammars and dictionaries collected and written by missionaries (often in French) in the last century were to be found only in libraries and were, for all practical purposes, unavailable to native speakers of these languages.

The early 1970s saw the beginning of a movement toward reinstating aboriginal languages in the curriculum of schools attended by Native children. This movement was part of a nationwide effort on the part of Native people to ensure that their children would maintain, or in some cases recover, Native values, culture and language. Today, this effort has resulted in the provision of 'Native as Language of Instruction' programs and increasingly, the takeover by Native groups of their own school boards. The resulting need for modern linguistic resource documents is being met by joint initiatives of linguists and Native people.

2. GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Grammars of Montagnais are scarce. Until recently the only published account of grammar was a sketch of the Betsiamites dialect accompanying a French-Montagnais lexicon (Lemoine 1901). As was common at that time, the author, an Oblate priest, followed the Latin model for both terminology and grammatical categorization.

The first modern grammatical sketch of Montagnais was compiled only a decade ago by Sandra Clarke of Memorial University and focuses on the dialect of Sheshatshit, then called North West River (Clarke 1982). This reference grammar gives information on pronunciation, inflection of nouns and pronouns, and the enormous number of verbal paradigms. It is also unique among grammars of Cree / Montagnais / Naskapi dialects in that it provides information on aspects of syntax, through an outline of sentence types. The extensive system of verbal inflection was also the subject of a Master's thesis (1984), as well as an article (1986), by Anne-Marie Baraby. The verbal paradigms used in Sheshatshit were compared with those of six other Cree / Montagnais dialects in MacKenzie and Clarke (1981). A brief general description of grammatical points, along with dialect variation and pedagogical considerations, is given in MacKenzie (1982b).

The dialect of Naskapi spoken at Davis Inlet is recognizably different than that spoken by the Montagnais of Sheshatshit in that it shares many features with the neighbouring Cree dialects of eastern James Bay. Alan Ford, in his short sketch *The Basics of Utshimashits Mushuau innu*, presents aspects of the inflectional system in a format intended for language learners (Ford [not dated]).

3. LEXICONS

The need for an Innu-aimun / English lexicon for use in the school at Sheshatshit, Labrador arose when Innu-aimun was introduced as a subject of instruction. The first modern lexicon, published in 1978, was unsuitable for use in Labrador since items were written in the Sept-Iles dialect, with French translations; the Innu of Labrador use English as a second language. A first lexicon of about 1100 words was compiled by Sandra Clarke in conjunction with the language learning material described below (Clarke 1982, 1986b). A larger lexicon of approximately 7,000 items is being prepared by Marguerite MacKenzie. This project, which was initiated by the St. John's Native Friendship Centre, includes computerization of the

Montagnais words, English and French translations, grammatical information and key words for producing an English-Montagnais version. The data was being collected and entered and a preliminary version produced when the orthography of the language was changed (see section 5. below). The whole lexicon is currently being revised to reflect the recently proposed standard orthography (Drapeau and Mailhot 1989) and will then undergo a final checking.

All nouns in the computer file have been provided with codes which indicate all grouping by topic (animals, birds, household items, proper names, etc.). The category of particles (which includes what in English would be classed as adverbs, prepositions, demonstratives, and numerals, to name a few) also are coded according to semantic criteria such as space, time, manner and quantity. Lists of these nouns and particles, as well as verbs, are provided to the Innu teachers involved in curriculum development. The current elementary Innu language program focuses on vocabulary development as well as reading and writing skills. Since virtually all Innu curriculum materials must be produced from scratch within the school, the lexicon and vocabulary lists produced from it are extremely useful and time-saving devices.

4. VARIATION

The dialects of Montagnais (as well as Cree and Naskapi) show an enormous amount of variation, not only at the level of phonology, but also in morphology and lexicon. Variation at the inter-community level was documented for the nineteen Cree / Montagnais / Naskapi dialects of Québec-Labrador by Marguerite MacKenzie (1982a). This study established four main dialect groupings of Cree / Montagnais / Naskapi within Québec-Labrador: Attikamek Cree in south-western Québec, East Cree in north-western Québec, Montagnais in south-eastern Québec and Labrador and finally, Naskapi in northern Québec and Labrador. The variety of Innu-aimun spoken at Sheshatshit is a sub-dialect of the larger Montagnais grouping, spoken in eight Québec / Labrador communities. This Montagnais group of dialects can be further sub-divided into western, central and Lower North Shore (of the St. Lawrence River) sub-dialects.

At Davis Inlet a variety of the Naskapi sub-group is spoken. The only other speakers of the Naskapi dialect now reside in Québec, north of Schefferville. Montagnais and Naskapi, while sharing pronunciations, grammatical structures and vocabulary, nevertheless differ significantly enough in these same areas to be easily distinguished from each other.

In addition, it was found that even within a single community there can be a great deal of variation. Linguists who had worked with Labrador Montagnais speakers had reported that within Sheshatshit there seemed to exist an unusually high degree of intra-community variability. In 1981, the Sheshatshit Sociolinguistic Variability Project was undertaken with the financial support of the Institute of Social and Economic Research of Memorial University, to study the extent and social correlates of this variation. The members of this team research project included two linguists with a strong background of research into Cree / Montagnais / Naskapi as well as language variation (Sandra Clarke and Marguerite MacKenzie), as well as an ethno-linguist with an excellent speaking command of Montagnais and previous experience working in the community (José Mailhot), and an anthropologist with extensive research experience in the area (Adrian Tanner).

The main questions this study was designed to answer were as follows:

- would patterns of linguistic variation prove to correlate with the known territorial sub-groupings within the community?

- was variability highest for older speakers, with younger people converging toward a more homogeneous dialect?

- if a more homogeneous dialect were emerging, which of the three main Montagnais sub-dialects would it reflect most closely?

- were women, as many other studies indicate (cf. Labov 1990), leaders in innovating linguistic change?

- was it possible that linguistic patterns of variation and change would provide evidence of a prestige hierarchy in this otherwise overtly unstratified village?

From a population of about 700, tape-recordings were made of a sample of 87 speakers using both formal and informal style. This sample was stratified by age, sex and territorial affiliation (this last category refers to whether the individual oriented to the central or Lower North Shore Montagnais or to the Naskapi dialect areas). Information was also gathered on the life history and social background of the individuals. The tapes were transcribed and translated and the phonetic variants of 18 variables subjected to statistical analysis. The results of this research, in general, gave a positive answer to each of the above questions. First of all, a high degree of variation was confirmed by the data. Among older speakers, linguistic patterns clearly correlated with territorial affiliation. Speakers in the youngest age group were more homogeneous in their speech, which tended to reflect the central, more prestigious dialect of Montagnais. There did seem to be evidence for a covert prestige hierarchy in this small, seemingly unstratified community. Young people from non-prestige groups (i.e., Naskapi or Lower North Shore) demonstrated linguistic insecurity though use of hypercorrection in their speech. Results also showed that sex was less significant than age, although females did lead overall in the use of innovations. The analysis indicated also that the rate of change within the community was not as rapid as might have been expected, perhaps due to the high degree of dialect mixing. The above research results from this project are reported on in Clarke (1983, 1986a, 1987, 1988); Clarke and MacKenzie (1982, 1984); MacKenzie and Clarke (1983, 1985); Mailhot, MacKenzie and Clarke (1984).

5. AN ORTHOGRAPHIC STANDARD

The immense amount of variation which exists at the phonological and even morphological level has created serious problems for those who work with the written language. The Roman orthography originally devised by Jesuit scholars in the 17th and 18th centuries is still followed in principle. This very conservative orthographic system was based on what seems to have been a form of the language with little vowel deletion or lengthening, today a source of major phonological variation. Montagnais people were literate in their language by the late 1700s, as extant letters show, and the tradition of passing on literacy skills on an individual basis within a family unit was common. Any orthographic variation was not an impediment to understanding as fluency of reading as we understand it nowadays was not an objective. Instead, the common method of deciphering a written communication was (and to a large extent, still is) to read it twice, once to decode the phonology and once again for meaning.

However, the introduction of Montagnais as a language of instruction in the schools has brought with it an expectation and a need for an increased level of fluency in reading and writing. This, in turn, is seen to require a standardized system of spelling. Early attempts to implement standardization met with substantial resistance from speakers in all communities. People equated the written form of the language with the spoken form and often felt that

writing a standardized form entailed a change in pronunciation. Nevertheless, children in Montagnais language classes were being exposed to teachers who spelled the same words differently from each other and, in some cases, to a single teacher who would spell differently from one day to the next. The need for standardization for both pedagogical and economic reasons thus became a serious issue.

The Montagnais-French lexicon produced by Mailhot and Lescop (1977) was intended to provide an example of the systematic recording of lexical items. It was well received, not so much because of the orthographic standardization, but because it was the first substantial representation of the language to be available to speakers themselves. Useful as it was, it could not address the problems of orthographic variation in the writing of inflectional and derivational forms. A major effort by linguists Lynn Drapeau and José Mailhot has resulted in their *Guide Pratique d'orthographe montagnais*, a set of spelling rules for over eighty points of variation in Montagnais. During the course of workshops held over a three-year period, the linguists and Montagnais speakers, primarily teachers, came to agreement on just how most phonological and grammatical differences between the communities should be represented. The resulting orthography is highly abstract and, in fact, strongly resembles the writing system in use several centuries previously. Although there is not full agreement in all communities, a substantial number of organizations, including the Institut Éducatif et Culturel du Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, a major source of funding, have committed themselves to the use of the standard orthography.

Unfortunately the Montagnais of Labrador were not initially invited to participate in the orthography workshops, held in the Québec communities. A further obstacle to their adopting the spelling rules lies in the fact that the body of the report is written in French. In order to make the orthography available to speakers in Labrador, the report was translated into English by Marguerite MacKenzie. A next step is the organization of workshops for the community whereby people will become familiar with the new rules. Again, it will be necessary to overcome the perception that this orthography is valid and necessary only for some other group, as well as the fear that the language (in this case the local dialect) must undergo change. Spelling reform is a long process, but one that is well underway in most communities. It may well be that the Montagnais will have been able to achieve it within a span of thirty years.

6. LANGUAGE LEARNING MATERIALS

There is a small but constant interest on the part of non-Innu in learning to speak Innu-aimun. To this end Sandra Clarke has published *An Introduction to Sheshatshit (Labrador) Montagnais for Speakers of English*. This introduction presents a large number of basic inflectional and sentence patterns by giving both grammatical explanation and exercises. A set of video-tapes of an introductory course in the structure of Montagnais is also lodged at Memorial University. Although entitled *Learning to Speak Indian with José Mailhot*, and accompanied by a set of her (uncorrected) handouts, these are difficult to use since the course was not planned or set up to be video-taped. In his work *The Basics of Utshimashits Mushuau innu*, Alan Ford sets out to provide similar details for the neighbouring, but quite different, dialect of Davis Inlet. MacKenzie (1982b) is also useful as an initial introduction to these dialects.

7. TEXTS

An extensive collection of tapes, transcriptions and translations of Montagnais texts is housed at the Department of Linguistics, Memorial University. The first collection took place in the summer of 1967 under the auspices of the LABORATOIRE DE RECHERCHES AMÉRINDIENNES, an independent research group in Montréal. The aim of the project was to collect myths in several Innu communities. The work was begun in Sheshatshit, where about one hundred myths were recorded from a number of elders. These were later transcribed and translated into English or French by Matiu Rich, the son of one of the story-tellers. A selection of the myths has been edited and published in English by Peter Desbarats (1969). They have also been the subject of analysis by structural anthropologists (cf. Lefebvre 1971, Savard 1971). As yet they have not been subject to linguistic analysis.

A second body of texts resulted from the work of the *Sheshatshiu Sociolinguistic Variability Project*, referred to above. These conversational texts, often with the life history of an individual as the topic, have been transcribed phonetically and phonemically, and a number have received grammatical annotation.

8. PLACE NAMES

Another type of lexicographic work currently underway is the collection of Innu toponyms. This work began in the mid-seventies as an integral part of research into land use and occupancy among the Innu of Labrador. This research is intended to support the Land Claim submitted to the Federal government by the Innu Nation. The existence of Native place names often provides important evidence of the occupancy of particular areas of land by a Native group. The Innu of Sheshatshit and Davis Inlet have traditionally hunted and trapped over a large portion of the eastern Labrador peninsula, well into the present-day province of Québec. The knowledge of these traditional names is still fresh in memory, although people travel on the land somewhat less widely today.

Adrian Tanner of the Department of Anthropology at Memorial University began the collection of place names in 1975 (Tanner 1977). This work has been continued by other researchers, primarily Peter Armitage, a former student of Tanner's, and José Mailhot. Mailhot has been responsible for the verification of the orthography and accurate translation of about 1,000 toponyms to date (Mailhot 1986, Armitage 1990) and will continue the work during the coming year.

The vocabulary for geographic forms in Montagnais is extensive, productive and highly descriptive. In the past, the Innu, without benefit of maps, were able to travel over vast areas of Québec-Labrador, depending only on detailed descriptions of travel routes encoded in this vocabulary and handed on from one hunter to another. The linguistic analysis of toponyms and geographic descriptors is thus of great interest to those who work in the field of ethnosemantics. It has even provided clues to meaning of the more abstract morphological elements of the language (Mailhot 1975; Denny and Mailhot 1976).

9. CONCLUSION

Although the Montagnais / Naskapi dialects in Labrador have been the focus of a considerable amount of study to date, as always, much remains to be done. The system for creating new words is poorly understood, as are syntactic and discourse processes. There now

exists a substantial body of textual material for the Sheshatshit dialect which can, in future, be utilized for research in these areas. In addition, the differences between the two dialects, in phonology, grammar and lexicon, have not as yet received systematic attention. It is to be hoped that young scholars will find the study of these and other Amerindian languages to be of interest.

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LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN LABRADOR: TRYING TO HOLD THE LINE

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ABSTRACT

This is a work in progress on language maintenance amongst the Inuit of northern Labrador. It focuses on the bilingual development of young Inuit children who are being educated in a First Language Program; that is, they are taught in Inuttut from Kindergarten to Grade 2, at which time a switch to English as the primary language of education takes place. The preliminary results indicate that the chances of their ancestral language being maintained are in doubt. As well, there is a brief discussion of the historical decline of Inuttut from the time of contact with the first Europeans to the present. The paper outlines the complexity of the ethnic relations in this region that have evolved, and describes the growing influence of English in the native population.

INTRODUCTION

The process whereby a shift to a national language by an indigenous people accompanied by language loss of their ancestral language has become an increasingly familiar phenomenon in many countries of the world. The shift usually involves a majority/minority language situation in which the majority language dominates and the status of the minority language is in jeopardy. The aboriginal languages of various countries seem to be particularly vulnerable to attrition. Rigsby (1987: 359) attributes the cause of language loss in general to 'the colonial expansion of Western European peoples around the globe and to subsequent reactions and developments as the modern world system and new multi-ethnic states have emerged'. He claims that the number of indigenous languages surviving in Australia (Friends of Bilingual Education 1986) as well as in North America has been at least halved. Romaine (1989) citing Hughes (1988), for example, reports that the aboriginal population of Tasmania numbering around 3-4000, who had inhabited the land for some 30,000 years, was all but exterminated within less than 75 years of white settlement. In North America there are a number of studies reported in the literature which discuss cases where the viability of aboriginal languages is threatened or has already disappeared (cf. Miller 1971; Hill 1983; Robinson 1985).

The case I will focus on in this paper concerns language loss amongst the Inuit of northern Labrador. Compared to the Inuit of the eastern Arctic and the northern Quebec region of Canada where the indigenous language has shown little loss, and that of the western Arctic where the language has shown some weakening, the Inuit of Labrador have experienced the most dramatic effects of attrition (Chartrand 1988). The shift from Inuttut – the dialect spoken by the Inuit of Labrador – to English began more than two hundred years ago when contact with the first white settlers to the Labrador coast was established. However, this process has accelerated during the past 40 years, and the possibility of the language soon becoming extinct has become glaringly evident. In an effort to prevent the disappearance of Inuttut and to try to reverse some of the effects of the shift that has already taken place, a First Language Program has been introduced into the educational system whereby Inuttut is the language of instruction in the early years of schooling. I will briefly outline some of the historical and sociological events that have led to the loss of Inuttut in Labrador, and will discuss the preliminary find-

ings of a study of children in the First Language Program in Nain, a community in northern Labrador.

HISTORICAL DECLINE IN THE USE OF INUTTUT IN NORTHERN LABRADOR

The complex ethnic characteristics of the population contribute to language loss in Labrador. The two major ethnic groups are the Inuit (Eskimos), the aboriginal people of this region, and the Settlers, descendants of the first Europeans that settled in Labrador in the eighteenth century. The latter group was originally comprised of single men, some of whom married Inuit women but who, according to Kennedy (1982), continued to view themselves as Europeans. Few of them, for example, learned the language of the indigenous population. To the Inuit, on the other hand, these newcomers were *kablunak* (white men).[1] As Kennedy points out, it was only 'with the second generation, the offspring of these European-Inuit unions, that the category 'Settler' or *kablunangojok* (literally meaning 'half-white' or 'almost like white men') emerged... [T]hey were usually bilingual, they were physically mixed, and were, of necessity, neither fully European nor Inuit in lifestyle' (Kennedy 1982: 23).[2] As a group, the Settlers in time became culturally very similar to the Inuit in contrast to the lifestyle of the transient Newfoundland fishermen and traders who came later to this region. A third category of 'mixed' persons is also distinguished; these include children of ethnically mixed marriages, with one parent who was Settler and the other an Inuk. However, they did not develop into a distinct socially relevant group, as the children of such unions would, in time, choose to identify with either the Settler or the Inuit group (Ben-Dor 1966; T. Brantenberg 1977). The prevalent social or ethnic background, or the language environment in which the child had been raised, was and continues to be the determining variable in making this decision.

The Christian religion was brought to the Inuit of northern Labrador by the Moravian missionaries (*Unitas Fratrum* – the Unity of the Brethren, a Protestant sect founded in 1457), who established their church in Nain in 1771. For the Moravians, education had always been an integral part of religious conversion and they built mission schools in Labrador in which they used Inuttut as the language of instruction to Inuit children from the earliest days.[3] Providing education for children of the first European settlers, mentioned above, was more problematic. The settlers came mainly from England and Norway and they were also Protestants but of a different sect from the Moravians (cf. Kleivan 1966; T. Brantenberg 1977). These families tended to live in areas removed from the mission stations, but English language instruction was provided for the children who did attend mission school and this service was made available to them as early as 1905 in Nain. However, A. Brantenberg (1977), in her description of the Nain school of this period, mentions that the Moravians kept the two groups segregated and as the Inuit children far outnumbered the Settler children, Inuttut remained the predominant language used in school and was the language most frequently spoken outside of school.

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1 There is some variation in the transcription of Inuttut. Present day Labrador dialects demonstrate consonant assimilation; thus Jeddore (1976) uses *Kallunaak*.

2 For a more detailed history of the people of Labrador, see Kennedy (1982) and Ben-Dor (1966). The focus of their research centred on the coastal community of Makkovik, located south of Nain, which demonstrated some special features due to the resettlement of Inuit from villages further north in Labrador. They provide a historical framework within which their anthropological research was based. The conclusions they arrive at clearly underscore the seemingly inexorable language shift that has resulted in this region.

3 For a description of the ethnohistory of the Moravian church and its establishment in Labrador, see Kennedy (1977) and the sources cited therein.

The Moravian mission schools functioned in this area until 1949 when Newfoundland and Labrador joined the Canadian confederation and educational responsibility was assumed by the provincial Department of Education. This new political development brought enormous changes for the Labradorian community. For example, education became compulsory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen so that the Settlers, who lived apart from the established communities, were now obliged to move into them in order that their children could attend school. The changes in education were even more severe for the Inuit children; they had to learn to function in a school environment in which English became the language of instruction. It was an abrupt change that was introduced with no special accommodations made for those who did not speak the language. Furthermore, the local school committee had no input into this or other matters concerning the curriculum to be used in the schools; they were simply imposed on the schools in Labrador. But changes of this kind were not unique to this region as similar actions that appear to be motivated by a common attitude toward aboriginal peoples were taken the Federal government in other parts of the country. Chartrand (1988: 249) in his discussion of the Inuit of Arctic Canada claims that '[T]he major tool for assimilating the Inuit was the development, by the Federal government, of a formal centralized southern-style education system'. Thus, for Labrador, as it happened elsewhere, this meant that classes were conducted exclusively in English without any regard for the mother tongue of the students; teachers were hired who were not sensitive to the culture of their students or, indeed, were not even knowledgeable about it. Many of them had difficulty in adjusting to a northern lifestyle and this, predictably, resulted in a high turnover of teachers recruited to teach in the north. Furthermore, they were required to teach a curriculum that was not appropriate to the community. The cumulative result of these changes was disastrous, especially for the language.[4] Inuttut, the language that had been the major language of communication of the Inuit in this region, went into decline and rapidly became in danger of disappearing altogether.[5]

In characterizing the process of language death, Dorian (1989, 1981) suggests that there is a peak or 'tip' which, if reached, signals the ultimate decline. She metaphorically describes the process as a 'gradual accretion of negative feeling toward the subordinate group and its language, often accompanied by legal as well as social pressure, until a critical moment arrives and the subordinate group appears abruptly to abandon its original mother tongue and switch over to exclusive use of the dominant language' (1986: 75).[6] It seems that the metaphorical 'tip' is well suited to the context of the Labrador Inuit and can primarily be traced to 1949 when the responsibility for education was assumed by the provincial government whose approach to education was consistent with the prevalent policies adopted by the Federal government towards Native peoples in general.[7] The changes in the medium used in the schools contributed to this end, but there were other factors such as the influence exercised by the media that must also be

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4 See A. Brantenberg (1977) for details of her research on the educational system in Nain in the period 1969-1971.

5 An anonymous reviewer suggested that the negative effects of this formal Southern style centralized educational system must have also been conjugated with the unique social structure in Labrador settlements, and, possibly, with other factors as well. However, the imposition of the same type of schooling in many other Northern communities did not seem to trigger such a rapid language shift; for example, in the Cree and Montagnais Indian communities in Northern Quebec. I am grateful for having this point brought to my attention.

6 See, for example, the papers in Dorian (1989) which discuss a number of cases of language attrition, as well as Dorian (1986, 1981) where she examines language loss among the Gaelic-speaking people of East Sutherland in the Scottish Highlands as well as among the secular Dutch of Pennsylvania. She identifies the crucial 'tip' factors that led to the attrition of these languages.

7 For a discussion of the situation of language use from the point of view of a Labradorian Inuk see Jeddore (1979).

taken into account. Radio has always been an important source of communication in Labrador. Although the national Canadian station broadcasts mainly in English, there is a local station in Nain that broadcasts in Inuttut. Most of the programmes on television, on the other hand, are in English. Until recently, there has been only about one hour per day of programming in Inuktitut.

INUTTUT LANGUAGE RETENTION IN LABRADOR

The profile of the history of language loss of the Labrador Inuit can be seen in the Census of Canada Statistics given in Chartrand (1988) who compared the data from the 1971 Census with that of 1981. He reports that the total Inuit population of Newfoundland (Labrador) for 1971 was 1,055, and 1,365 for 1981, and the language retention ratios he cites are as follows:[8]

TABLE 1:
LANGUAGE RETENTION IN LABRADOR

Year	% of Inuit for whom Inuttut is the mother tongue	% of Inuit for whom Inuttut is the home language	% of Inuit who use Inuttut as home language	% of Inuit who only speak Inuttut
1971	78.7	75.0	72.0	17.0
1981	63.7	57.5	37.3	7.7

Chartrand suggests that there would be a good chance that those individuals who report Inuttut as their mother tongue would also use it as the home language. Although column one of Table 1 indicates that there is a 15% decline in Inuttut as a mother tongue from 1971 to 1981, the percentage of Inuit for whom Inuttut is a home language shows only a 3.7% difference for 1971 when one compares columns one and two, and a 6.2% difference for 1981. The salient statistics are indicated in column three which shows a severe decline in the proportion of individuals who actually *use* Inuttut as a home language; that is, from 72.0% in 1971 to 37.3% in 1981. Chartrand argues that these figures roughly quantify the risk that results from bilingual speakers switching from Inuttut to English as a home language, even in the case of the Inuit for whom Inuttut is a mother tongue.

The more recent 1986 Canadian Census reports that there are 730 Inuit in all of Labrador. In Nain which has a total population of 1015, 470 (46.1%), report Inuttut as the home language; that is, a drop of 11.4% in the home language compared to the 1981 census figures. The 1986 Census does not, however, report the statistics on the actual language use in the home or on the percentage of monolingual Inuttut speakers.

8 These statistics are taken from Table 18-3 in Chartrand (1988). I have used the dialect name Inuttut, which is used in Labrador, rather than the term Inuktitut used in the original Table.

ETHNIC RELATIONS IN LABRADOR

The Census of Canada data reports on the Labradorian Inuit population as a whole but they do not reflect the complex social situation that has emerged in Labrador. Terje Brantenberg (1977) investigated ethnic relations in Nain in 1970/71 and reported the distribution of language ability among Inuit-Inuit, Settler-Settler and Inuit-Settler families on which the following Table is based:

TABLE 2:
LANGUAGE USAGE AND ETHNICITY IN NAIN, 1971

	English	Inuttut	Bilingual
Settler-Settler	40 (53%)	—	35 (47%)
Inuit-Inuit	—	214 (45%)	260 (55%)
Inuit-Settler	42 (45%)	3 (3%)	49 (52%)

Brantenberg defines a bilingual person as one who possesses an elementary skill in the second language, either Inuttut or English, sufficient for conversing on common local themes. Under this definition, Table 2 indicates that approximately half of Nain's population was bilingual in 1971.

The following Table has also been adapted from T. Brantenberg (1977). He excludes the Settler-Inuit Household statistics and, concentrating on the Settler-Settler and Inuit-Inuit Households, showed the breakdown of language skills amongst the Inuit and Settlers according to age:

TABLE 3:
LANGUAGE SKILLS ACCORDING TO AGE AMONG INUIT AND SETTLERS
NAIN 1970

Age Category	English Only	Bilingual
3-30	30 (99%)	3 (1%)
30+	10 (24%)	32 (76%)

Settlers of Settler-Settler Households

Age Category	Inuttut Only	Bilingual
3-30	96 (32%)	206 (68%)
30+	118 (69%)	54 (31%)

Inuit of Inuit-Inuit Households

The figures in Table 3, which reflect the post-1949 linguistic changes in Nain, show a dramatic difference in the distribution of language skills between the younger and older genera-

tions among both the Settlers and the Inuit: the Inuit are becoming increasingly bilingual while the Settlers are rapidly losing their bilingualism. By 1989, when this study was begun, there were no Inuit children in Kindergarten who had not acquired some English. Most of them had acquired sufficient English to enable them to function in the language by the time they started school. This was the case even with children chosen for this study who came from households in which Inuttut was the primary language of communication.

THE FIRST LANGUAGE PROGRAM

The possibility of Inuttut becoming an endangered language had been of concern to the Labradorian Inuit for some time. This subject was discussed at an education conference that took place in Nain in 1977 and the feasibility of establishing a First Language Program was considered. Ten years later the First Language Program was introduced with Inuttut as the main language of instruction in one of the Kindergarten classes. There was, as before, another Kindergarten class with English as the language of instruction. Parents had the option of enroling their children in either class. The First Language Program was soon expanded to Grade 1 and then to Grade 2, with English gradually introduced. That is to say, the Kindergarten children are taught in Inuttut 80% of the time, and English language instruction is provided for 20% of the time. In Grade 1, Inuttut is used 70% of the time, and English 30%; in Grade 2 Inuttut is used 60% of the time and English 40%. The transition to English as the major medium of instruction takes place in Grade 3, but Inuttut continues to be taught as a subject in order to ensure that the children become literate in the language. The Moravians had originally adapted the Roman alphabet for writing in the Inuttut dialect so the children, who learn to read and write in Inuttut first, did not have to change writing systems when they started to learn English.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

A study of the children's development in both Inuttut and English was carried out in Nain in 1989-91. Its purpose was to investigate the acquisition of the lexicon and grammatical structures in both Inuttut and English of the children in the Program in order to assess their progress in the two languages.[9]

THE SUBJECTS

Two children in each of the Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 classes, as well as two children in Grade 3 who had been enroled in the First Language Program but who had now entered the English stream, were selected for the study. The parents or guardians of these children speak Inuttut as their mother tongue and some of them also speak English. Inuttut, however, is the main language of the home environment. This was confirmed by the Assistant Principal at the school who suggested suitable candidates for this study and was reinforced by my observations in the visits we paid to the families. Although Inuttut was their first lan-

[9] I wish to thank the Labrador East Integrated School Board for permitting me to carry out this study and especially Beatrice Watts who is the Program Co-ordinator for Native Education. She deserves much credit for her work in the setting up of the First Language Program; many of the Inuit materials used in the Program have been developed by her. I am also grateful to the principal and teachers at Jens Haven School in Nain and especially the parents and children who participated. I also wish to thank Mary Webb for her valuable assistance. I am indebted to Lynne Drapeau for discussions on language shift. This study was funded by an SSHRC research grant which I gratefully acknowledge.

guage, all the Inuit subjects in this study[10] had nonetheless acquired some English by the time they entered Kindergarten, primarily from television and older siblings, or by playing with other children in the community who spoke some English. As well, two Kindergarten children enroled in the English stream were also tested. These children have bilingual Inuit mothers and English-speaking fathers, with English being the dominant language of the home. English is the first language of these children but they have a passive comprehension of Inuttut. These children were included in the study as the English spoken in Labrador is a nonstandard dialect and it was considered important to gather data on their use of English that could be used as a comparative norm.

ELICITATION PROCEDURES

Five data samplings were taken over a period of two years. The data were elicited by means of a naming and a story-retelling task and all the subjects were tested using the same materials. In the naming task, the children were presented with pictures and simply asked the names of items such as body parts, animals, and familiar objects in the northern environment, activities, etc. In the story-retelling task, each child was shown illustrated stories and was asked to tell what was happening. The first stories used in the elicitations were ones that had been used in class and the children were familiar with them. The stories used in the subsequent elicitations were unfamiliar to the children. The materials were first shown to the children before the elicitation began in order to indicate what was expected of them. The testing was carried out in English and a few days later the same interview was carried out in Inuttut. The English interviews were done by this author after she had spent some time in the school and had gotten to know the children first. The Inuttut interviews were carried out with the assistance of a female Inuk student teacher whom the children knew well and felt comfortable with. The third interview session was carried out with the help of a male Inuk teacher as the female teaching assistant was unavailable to do the testing. The male assistant taught Inuttut at the high school level and although the children knew him well, they were less at ease with him than with the female student teacher. As far as possible, the same children were used for all the sessions during the two years of testing. However, the data sets from some of the children are incomplete because of sickness or some other reason. All the interviews were videotaped.

THE RESULTS

The analyses have not yet been completed but, in general, the testing showed a pattern of language use that was clear. The Kindergarten children responded primarily in English in both interviews; that is, they spoke English to the English-speaking interviewer, and English to the Inuttut-speaking interviewer. They demonstrated a striking reluctance to speak Inuttut, even during the Inuttut interview. When the Inuk interviewer, whom the children knew very well, attempted to encourage them to speak in Inuttut, they either persisted in speaking in English or else they fell silent.[11] Thus, the study does not indicate productive competency in Inuttut in the Kindergarten children as the testing procedure failed to elicit responses from them in the language. The only Inuttut utterances they produced involved a few high-frequency

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[10] What is also needed is a longitudinal study on Inuit children in this area to determine when and how the development of English emerges. Over the two year period during which this study was carried out, this author noted that very little Inuttut was used by even the youngest children playing outdoors in the community.

[11] In order to verify this finding two other Inuit children who were in the Kindergarten class of the Inuttut stream were tested using the same materials used in the first data sampling. It was found that they behaved linguistically in much the same way; the majority of their replies in the Inuttut interviews were in English.

words, such as *kattak* (to fall) and *iqaluk* (fish). They seemed to have little difficulty understanding what was being said to them in Inuttut indicating that their comprehension was good, but their production data was minimal under this testing situation.

The children in Grade 1 also demonstrated a similar reluctance to speak Inuttut but not to the same degree as found in the Kindergarten children. They responded approximately 30 to 40% of the time in Inuttut in the naming tasks. In the story-retelling task, on the other hand, their Inuttut responses tended to be monosyllables or else short phrases. The Grade 2 children showed a better knowledge of Inuttut use compared to the Grade 1 or Kindergarten children. They were able, for example, to name nearly all the required items in Inuttut. However, in the story-retelling task they behaved much like the Grade 1 children in that they also responded using single word replies or short phrases.

None of the children showed any inclination to converse in Inuttut with the Inuk interviewer. Thus, the elicitation method used to obtain spontaneous speech that would demonstrate their spoken competency in their ancestral language was unsuccessful. It may be that they were intimidated by the Inuit interviewers but their linguistic behaviour in other circumstances suggests there are other factors at play here. For example, the children were observed to speak English to a great extent in their Inuttut classes; they were not reprimanded for doing so but were often encouraged to respond in Inuttut. As well, they generally spoke English in the school halls, and in the playground during recess. The children would, of course, be obliged to speak to their monolingual parents or guardians in Inuttut, but it appears that the switch to English in other situations, such as at school, is extremely pervasive. It must also be pointed out that the Inuit teachers and teaching assistants, who are all bilingual speakers, do exhibit a tendency to switch from Inuttut to English in the classes, especially in Kindergarten, but this seems to be less the case in Grades 1 and 2. This may explain some of the linguistic behaviour of the children, but it does not account for the extreme reluctance to speak Inuttut they demonstrated.

It may be that the children had observed the pattern of language use in the wider community which they simply emulated. Nonetheless, their increasing responses in Inuttut elicited by the naming task and the short answer responses in the story-telling task by the Grade 1 and 2 children suggest that the First Language Program is having some success in convincing them that Inuttut is an appropriate language to use in the context of the school. Story-telling in this culture is an ancient oral custom, but reading stories from a book to children, as we did in this study, and then requiring them to tell the stories back is not. Although the reluctance to tell stories in Inuttut may stem from their limited knowledge of appropriate repertoires that govern language use, it is more likely that it results from their limited experience with a story-telling format of this kind at home. Moreover, there are very few books available in Inuttut for those families who might want to read to their children.

The data elicited in English show that the Kindergarten children demonstrate a developing knowledge of the language. They did not know all the names of the items they were tested on, and their vocabulary was somewhat limited. Preliminary analyses indicate that the Kindergarten children had only a tentative grasp of the language and produced features of the language commonly found in learners at the early stages of the acquisition of English as a second language. For example, they had not yet acquired certain functional categories of English, as evidenced by their omission of definite and indefinite articles, auxiliary verbs and prepositions. Inuttut, a polysynthetic language which assigns case to nominals, does not make use of some of these grammatical features. Their acquisition in English thus takes time, as it requires a good deal of input for both first and second language learners to master these features. (Radford 1990). All else aside, what is remarkable about their linguistic behaviour is that

they would choose to speak the language of which they had only a tentative grasp instead of their first language.

The Grade 1 children showed a comparatively good command of English; they knew more of the lexical items in English than the Kindergarten children did. The Grade 2 children showed an even better knowledge of the vocabulary items of English. The children in all three grade levels tended to respond with short answers in the story telling task. Although they were somewhat inhibited, from time to time they did offer spontaneous remarks about themselves or about the pictures in the story books and commented on other topics. This type of spontaneity was seldom exemplified during the Inuttut interviews.

EXAMPLES OF LEXICAL BORROWING AND CODE MIXING

Testing showed that the two languages influence each other. A number of Inuttut lexical items have been incorporated into the English lexicon of Labrador, for example *kammitik* 'dog sled', *kamik* 'Eskimo skinboot', *iqaluk* 'fish', *katak* 'to fall or drop', etc. The children usually used the Inuttut word *aupaluttak* rather than the English term *red*. There are English inflectional endings that are attached to Inuit words, such as the plural *-s* (for example, *iqaluks)*. Ben-Dor (1966) mentions the use of the English plural on the Inuttut word *nayaluks* 'a non-believer or heathen'. Also, the English aspectual marking *-ing* is attached to Inuttut verbs as in *pulaaking* 'visiting'. This was recorded by Ben-Dor (1966) who also noted Inuttut words replacing common English words *–katimavik* for 'church'. There are also examples of English words that have Inuttut case endings, for example, *duckmik*. Ben-Dor also gives a few examples of this process – for example, *tipatik* 'teapot', *pantik* 'punt', and *satanik* 'Satan'. German words that were first introduced into the Inuttut language by the German-speaking Moravian missionaries, for the days of the week, the names of the month, and the telling of time, continue to be used although the English equivalents are beginning to replace them.

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

What accounts for the preference for the use of English by these children? It may be that their comprehensive and productive abilities were better in English than in Inuttut. The testing indicates that this is not the case; their comprehension in Inuttut is at least as good as, and probably better than, their ability in English although there are gaps in the vocabulary. Unfortunately the testing, as mentioned above, did not elicit sufficient data to allow us to comment on their productive abilities in Inuttut. These children come from Inuttut speaking homes but they manage to acquire a good deal of English even before they start school. In fact, the amount of English that is acquired through incidental learning is remarkable. The insistence of the Kindergarten children on speaking English almost exclusively seems to be due to their view of the school as a domain for English which is the dominant language of the community, and they may be less inhibited in reflecting the language shift they have noted. It clearly takes time, at least a year, to convince them that the school is also an appropriate domain for Inuttut. But the use of Inuttut as a language of communication within this domain must be nurtured. One other serious problem that needs to be addressed is the development of a wide variety of appropriate materials in Inuttut that can be used by the students. Curriculum development requires consultation with monolingual speakers of the language and this is an ever-diminishing group. They tend to be almost exclusively the elders in the society whose expertise in Inuttut is respected and sought by others in the community, such as bilingual speakers who are insecure about their intuitions and knowledge of Inuttut and seek out advice of such informants. But the increasing scarcity of individuals in this group means that a recognized standard norm that is needed to reinforce language use was no longer readily available even by 1981.

What are the prospects for success for the First Language Program in maintaining Inuttut? Will it be able to prevent the disappearance of the language or at least to slow down the process? To answer this question we will first have to examine the general causes of language shift and language attrition. In his classic paper on the study of language maintenance and language shift, Fishman (1964) points out that, when people speaking different languages are in contact with each other, what must be considered is the relationship between change or stability in the use of language on the one hand, and the psychological, social and cultural processes on the other. Language shift can occur where a monolingual community becomes bilingual through contact and a shift to one of the languages, or even the death of one of the languages, may result. Fishman is careful to point out, however, that it is not the case that all bilingual situations will lead to language attrition, as exemplified in the Canadian French/English bilingual situation that is one of stable bilingualism. Rather, there is a potential for language loss where a language shift obtains, as in the Labradorian situation.[12]

Regarding the second question, there are many factors which have been suggested as vital for language maintenance. Romaine (1989) cites external factors such as the extent of exogamous marriage, attitudes towards a majority/minority dichotomy and patterns of language use as being important. The complex ethnic Inuit/Settler relations and the dominance of English as a majority language clearly indicate the importance of these factors within the Labradorian context. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) also consider that an important function of the language or dialect of a community is its role as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity. They suggest that factors such as institutional support, language status and demographic concentration are crucial for maintaining the vitality of a language. Regarding their first point concerning institutional support, the recognition of the rights of the Inuit to education in their own language and the support for the First Language Program by the Department of Education is a positive endorsement of Inuit values and of the need to keep the culture alive. The Program is presently operating on a small scale and will have to be expanded. Its success vitally depends on the training of Inuit teachers so that the bilingual program can be extended to higher grades. Not only will more teaching materials have to be developed, but a wider range of materials is also required.

Concerning the question of numerical concentration for language maintenance, it has been argued that a high concentration of speakers in a community does not guarantee the maintenance of a language. For example, Ambrose and Williams (1981) state that Welsh is not 'safe' even in places where over 80% of the population speak the language. To cite another example in Ireland, the much more numerous Irish speakers were unable to halt attrition of their language, and Irish gave way to English which, as Macnamara (1971) points out, was the language of the ruling elite and a prerequisite for social mobility. A number of studies have investigated the process of language shift from an ethnographic point of view (cf. Gal 1979; Gumperz 1982, and others). The question of *who* rather than *how* many speak the language is the crucial factor. English is unquestionably regarded as the prestige language in Labrador; it is the principal language of education and of communication in a wider context and is required for jobs in the community such as in the communications, tourist and travel industry, for jobs in construction and

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12 Lanoue (1991) discusses a situation where the shift to another language can have a unifying effect. The particular problem he addressed was why the Sekani of Northern British Columbia speak English in spite of the minimal contact they have with English speakers, and despite the apparent lack of any particular advantages in doing so. He suggests that English provides a 'camouflage for the traditional and modern systems of self-identification and organization' (p. 112) that they have been forced to adopt. It is a code that they appear to have adopted as a means of uniting several Sekani communities which had previously been antagonistic to the notion of forming a new association.

at the local fish plant, in the government store, post office, nursing station, etc. So far as the Inuit community is concerned, the importance of maintaining their language for cultural identity is far more pressing. In his discussion of the use of schools for language maintenance, Edwards (1988) argues that they can do little in this regard when they act in isolation, but that they can and should be used to promote tolerance for cultural and linguistic diversity. For a wide-ranging discussion of these and other aspects of language maintenance, see Taylor (1991).

At present, there is intergenerational continuity of Inuttut transmission in the Inuit community of Labrador and children are still learning Inuttut as a mother tongue. However, this may well be the last generation in which this is possible given the rapidity with which Inuttut is disappearing as indicated by the census statistics. The prognosis for language survival is not good. In order for the First Language Program to succeed in helping to maintain the language, a great deal more effort on the part of the school board and educators, as well as by parents and guardians will have to be made. Whether there is a strong desire on the part of the majority of Inuit in this area to maintain the language or not is an open question.[13] One indication about their feelings as to the effectiveness of the Program can be seen in the decision of families in Nain to place more and more of their children in the Program rather than in the English stream. This appears to be based on their growing confidence in the Program as a result of the performance shown by children who were first enroled in this stream. Their reactions to the First Language Program are positive, but it will have to be sustained if Inuttut is to survive in this region.

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[13] See Fishman's (1990) recent discussion on how language shift can be reversed.

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LINGUISTIC vs. NON-LINGUISTIC CONDITIONING OF LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

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ABSTRACT

Using as its data some results of dialect contact (Trudgill 1986) in the history of Newfoundland English, this paper attempts to test the following two hypotheses.

(1) It is naturally easier to distinguish linguistic from non-linguistic conditioning if these two types of conditioning produce opposed effects rather than similar effects.

(2) Linguistic conditioning is likely to be stronger in cases of structural variation than in cases of lexical variation, since structural systems (or subsystems) are usually more tightly organized than are lexical systems (or subsystems).

We will examine the Newfoundland fates of selected structural and lexical variants brought from one or more of Newfoundland's three main source areas ('Devonia', southeastern Ireland, and 'Dorsetia') in the Old World (Mannion 1974 and 1977; Handcock 1989). The results clearly demonstrate the crucial role of non-linguistic (social or socioeconomic) conditioning in some of the relevant contact situations (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). They also suggest that linguistic conditioning can be both powerful and complicated, sometimes involving subtle interplays of FORM and MEANING for both structural variants (Paddock 1988 and 1991) and lexical variants (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 1982/1990).

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper assumes the familiar sociolinguistic model of language change, extended illustrations of which may be found in Labov (1972) and elsewhere. This model assumes that the main cause of language change is the mixing of linguistic variants from different historical, geographical, and social sources. Such mixing leads to situations in which definable groups of speakers use two or more variants of the 'same' structural unit – whether phonological, morphological, or syntactic.

Labov and other sociolinguists have shown that the use of a given variant is conditioned by linguistic factors (e.g., assimilation for phonological variants) and by social factors (e.g., age, sex, class and contextual style). Labov and others have shown that the choice of variants is so statistically shapely that they justify the combining of two or more variants into a single sociolinguistic unit called the LINGUISTIC VARIABLE. Particularly relevant to theories of language change is the class of linguistic variables called MARKERS. This is the name given to linguistic variables which are subject to stylistic conditioning. Such conditioning shows that speakers can systematically discriminate between variants; so that one variant may be highly favoured in formal situations, another may be typical of normal colloquial or vernacular speech, while a third variant may be so stigmatized that it appears only in emotional speech when the speaker's attention has been directed away from the monitoring of his/her own speech production.

This paper will use the sociolinguistic model of language change to explain the fates of several linguistic variants in the history of Newfoundland English. This model seems highly appropriate for several reasons. One reason is that two or more very different variants were sometimes brought to Newfoundland from the three main source areas in southwestern England and southeastern Ireland. Another reason is that the patterns of regional settlement and seasonal employment in Newfoundland and Labrador led to such thorough mixing of variants that genuine linguistic variables often resulted. For example, Colbourne's (1982) sociolinguistic study of Long Island in western Notre Dame Bay showed that the voiced *th* variable (ð) was the best marker among the eleven variables which he investigated. He also found that the voiceless *th* variable (θ) was a strong marker. Particularly striking was the high incidence of the Anglo-Irish [t]-type variant of the (θ) variable on Long Island, despite the low incidence of Irish settlement in Notre Dame Bay. This contrasts with the situation there some forty to fifty years ago, when as a boy I often heard older men (some of whose fathers were natives of 'Dorsetia') pronounce the verb *think* as [ðɪŋk], with the voicing typical of word-initial fricatives in southwestern England. They also pronounced *three* and *through* as /driy/ and /druw/, with their word-initial voiced [ð] becoming a voiced stop [d] before /r/.

Colbourne's (1982) study of the voiceless variable on Long Island therefore showed that during the forty years between 1942 and 1982, the two voiced southwestern England variants [ð] and [d] had practically disappeared in favour of two voiceless variants – the standard variant [θ] and the non-standard Anglo-Irish type [t] variant now typical of vernacular speech throughout Newfoundland because of the heavy Irish settlement on the prestigious Avalon Peninsula, which contains the major urban centre of St. John's, the provincial capital. Space and time do not permit me to document the histories of all the variants discussed in this paper. I therefore appeal to the reader to make a 'willing suspension of disbelief', based on my assurance that I have in fact carefully compiled evidence for each of them.

For several reasons, many changes in the dialects of English spoken in Newfoundland and Labrador provide us with excellent opportunities to try to distinguish the effects of linguistic conditioning from the effects of non-linguistic conditioning.

The first reason is the richness of data (linguistic, historical, geographical, and social or socioeconomic) which is available to us. Some of the linguistic data have been examined historically and, to a certain extent, geographically by the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (hereunder the *DNE*) (Story et al. 1982). A comparison of my own recent lexical mapping of Newfoundland and Labrador (Paddock 1983 and 1984) shows that lexical losses and changes (in both forms and meanings of words) have been extensive, and in some cases surprisingly rapid, in the history of Vernacular Newfoundland English. There is also evidence available that equally significant losses and changes have occurred in morphology and syntax, and in phonetics and phonology. Some sociolinguistic evidence is now available to help us explain the direction taken by some of the above changes. For example, Clarke's (1981, 1982) work on language attitudes has revealed an important (most) urban to (most) rural continuum in attitudes that helps explain the very rapid decline of some highly stigmatized language variants in rural areas.

The dialects of English in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador have been relatively well described. Some regional variants found on the Avalon Peninsula are described in Seary, Story, and Kirwin (1968), and Dillon (1968) has identified many variants from Ireland found on the Southern Shore of that peninsula. Paddock has mapped a number of structural variants (1982) for the whole of the island of Newfoundland, and has also mapped several lexical variants (1983) for both Newfoundland and Labrador. The *DNE* (Story et al. 1982) contains extensive information about the geographical and historical distributions of

lexical variants in the province. Paddock (1966/1981) tried to correlate all three types of variants – phonological, structural, and lexical – with the social variables of age, sex, class, and ethnic origin or religion in the old Avalon Peninsula town of Carbonear. Noseworthy (1971) conducted a similar study of the old south coast community of Grand Bank. Noseworthy (1971) and Paddock (1966/1981) throw no light on the important role of stylistic conditioning, because their studies were conducted without the use of Labovian interview techniques. However, such techniques were successfully used by Reid (1981) and Colbourne (1982) in two rural Newfoundland communities, and by Clarke (1991) in its largest urban centre, the capital city of St. John's. Whalen (1978) has also described some of the linguistic and social (especially age) conditioning of the (h) variable among school children in a rural Newfoundland community.

Historical geographers such as Handcock (1989) and Mannion (1974 and 1977) distinguish three modes of migration to Newfoundland. These they call SEASONAL (virtually all men in summer only), TEMPORARY (mostly men, with some overwintering) and PERMANENT (with women and children included). 'There was a long period of seasonal and temporary movement, extending roughly for the English from the late 16th (and for the Irish the late 17th) to the early 19th century, and an almost equally long period of permanent migration or immigration with its apogee between 1780 and 1830, in the wake of the declining seasonal and temporary migrations.' (Mannion 1977: 5)

For the purposes of linguistic geography, it is convenient to distinguish three main Old World sources of permanent settlers in Newfoundland as Migration A from the Devon region of southwestern England, migration B from southeastern Ireland, and Migration C from the Dorset region of southwestern England.

We can say that Migration A, the one that started earliest, came mostly from the PENINSULAR part of southwestern England (called 'Devonia' in this paper, because its most concentrated source was [south] Devon) and that it first settled *permanently* in Newfoundland on the northern half of the Avalon PENINSULA. Migration B flowed mostly from the SOUTHeastern part of Ireland (which we might call 'Waterfordia', since its main source area was the Irish seaport of Waterford and its hinterland) and it settled mostly on the Avalon Peninsula. The period of significant Irish migration was approximately one hundred and twenty years (1715-1835), with its main peak occurring in the early nineteenth century (1800-1815). It provided nearly all of the permanent settlers on the SOUTHERN half of the Avalon Peninsula (Mannion 1974: 23); but on the northern Avalon the Irish were heavily exposed to the 'Devonian' English settlers already established there. Migration C, the migration that ended latest (approximately 1880-1890) originated from the MAINLAND part of southwestern England (called 'Dorsetia' in this paper, because its most concentrated source was the county of Dorset itself); and it settled mostly on the MAINLAND of the Island of Newfoundland. This migration peaked at successively later dates on different parts of the coast throughout the nineteenth century. Early in that century its first peak (here called C1) was reached in Fortune Bay on the south coast, and in Bonavista Bay and Notre Dame Bay on the east coast. Around the middle of the century its second peak, C2, occurred on the northern half of the west coast (traditionally called the northwest coast). Its third and last peak, C3, occurred on the western part of the south coast (traditionally called the sou'wes' coast) in the latter part of that century.

Two distinct ethnic minorities settled the southern half of the west coast in the nineteenth century. A French minority settled mostly in the region of the Port au Port Peninsula, while a Highland Scots minority settled in the Codroy Valley area to the south of the French.

Migration C from 'Dorsetia' also provided a third source of settlers to the northern half of the Avalon Peninsula, the area which ultimately became the most urbanized part of the province and containing the capital city of St. John's itself. This means that the original 'Devonian' English settlers on the northern Avalon have been joined by later southeastern Irish and 'Dorsetian' English settlers; whereas the two latter groups have remained relatively 'pure' in some other parts of the province. In particular, exclusively Irish communities may be still found on the southern Avalon while exclusively 'Dorsetian' communities may be found on parts of the NE, NW, and SW coasts of the Main Island. However, the lack of exclusively 'Devonian' communities is somewhat counteracted (sociolinguistically) by the fact that the 'Devonians' had the advantages of being the first European settlers, of being often socioeconomically superior to the latercoming Irish and 'Dorsetians', and of being in the most urbanized area of Newfoundland.

The above summary deals only with the main patterns of migration from external sources. Some areas of Newfoundland and Labrador received significant numbers of permanent settlers from internal sources. In fact, some of our maps of linguistic variants clearly show the effects of such internal migration. For example, the *turpentine / turkumtime* type of names for sap of fir trees was brought to the SE part of Newfoundland through external migration, whereas it was mostly likely brought to the northern part of the province (i.e. Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula) by internal migration from earlier settlements in the southeastern region.

2. PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

In the worst-case scenarios we have similar variants (of linguistic variables) being brought to Newfoundland and Labrador in all three main migrations (A, B and C). This is the situation with the loss of contrast between the two (historically short or lax) palatal (i.e., non-low front) vowels /ɪ/ and /ɛ/. However, even here we can sometimes partially distinguish the three migrations. For example, before the two liquids L and R the Irish tended to prefer the high vowel variant while the English tended to prefer the mid vowel variant. In addition, the 'Dorsetian' English often tensed (and lengthened) the high vowel variant before certain consonants, especially before the alveopalatal fricatives /š/ and /ž/, as in *dish* > *deesh*, *fish* > *feesh*, *decision* > *deceesion*, etc.

In the best-case scenarios, all three main migrations brought typically different variants. This is what we find with postvocalic (i.e., coda) variants of the lateral liquid L, where the Irish brought mostly a 'clear' timbre (i.e., palatalized) consonant or contoid, the 'Devonians' mostly a 'dark' timbre (i.e., velarized) consonant or contoid, and the 'Dorsetians' mostly a 'dark' timbre semivowel or vocoid. The results are that these postvocalic L variants have developed some of the smoothest geographical and social continua to be found in Newfoundland. In addition, in some communities (especially in the 3-migration mixture of the Northern Avalon) they developed into new phonological subsystems in which all three became allophones in complementary distribution, often with the dark vocoid occurring before another consonant in the same coda cluster (as in *belt*, *bolt*, etc.) and with the two contoids occurring at the ends of syllables, often with 'clear' (palatalized) contoid after palatal vowels and the 'dark' (velarized) contoid after other vowels. Until Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada in 1949 the Irish 'clear' contoid variant was common in the most prestigious Regional Standard Newfoundland English in the capital city of St. John's, as it was also in Dublin, the capital of the Republic of Ireland.

Here we see social conditioning at work in the preservation of the 'clear' Irish variant, partly because there was a heavy concentration of Irish settlers in St. John's and partly because

St. John's became the main centre of Catholic power (ecclesiastical, political, economic, etc.) in Newfoundland. Here we also see linguistic conditioning at work in the allophonic situation (described above) in which all three variants co-exist as postvocalic allophones in (more or less) complementary distribution.

In some other cases, however, linguistic conditioning did not seem to favour an Irish variant even where one might expect it to do so. For example, one might expect that the English settlers in Newfoundland would have quickly adopted the mid-back ROUNDED Anglo-Irish variant of the schwa vowel (in words like *nut, cut, fun* and *punt*) to create new symmetry or balance in their (sub-)system of short lax checked vowels. However, while doing my 1965 dialect survey of Carbonear (Paddock 1966/1981) in Conception Bay on the Northern Avalon I found that higher class speakers consciously rejected such (Irish-origin) lip rounding as either lower class or rural (Bayman), even though they themselves regularly used (Irish-origin) 'clear' (palatalized) postvocalic variants of L after palatal vowels. Perhaps we need to distinguish here between the *failure* of PARADIGMATIC conditioning (i.e., Martinet's 1955 push-chains and drag-chains) in the case of the Irish lip rounding on the vowel /ʌ/, and the *success* of SYNTAGMATIC conditioning (i.e., phonetic assimilation) in the case of the Irish 'clear' L.

In the case of the two *th* variables in Newfoundland (see Table 1 below) the facts are extremely complex; and it is therefore even more difficult to distinguish linguistic from social conditioning. Since the whole of SW England (i.e., both 'Devonia' and 'Dorsetia') tended to voice word-initial fricatives (in *full, think, sit*, etc.) the voicing distinction between /θ/ and /ð/ had been lost or became variable in that part of England. Furthermore, onset [θ] had even become variant [d] (presumably via a voiced [ð] transitional stage) especially before R, as in *dree* 'three', *dresh/drash* 'thresh', *drong/drung/drang* 'throng', etc. In addition, the 'Dorsetian' English brought labiodental *coda* variants [f] and [v] to replace [θ] and [ð] respectively.

Perhaps this extreme *th* variability of the English made them vulnerable to the much more stable Anglo-Irish stop variants, which had the linguistic advantage of consistently preserving the voicing distinction of Standard English. The persistence of the 'Dorsetian' labiodental coda variants [f] and [v] even in the northern Avalon (despite their low sociolinguistic status) may also be attributed to their preservation of the standard English voicing distinction. In a purely 'linguistic contest' between Anglo-Irish [t] and [d] type variants and 'Dorsetian' [f] and [v] variants, one might expect the latter to emerge victorious because *f/v* preserve the standard voicing distinction just as well as *t/d* and, in addition, *f/v* preserve both the manner (i.e., fricative) and the passive articulator (i.e., upper teeth) of *θ/ð*. In addition, *f/v* are much closer acoustically (and therefore perceptually) to *θ/ð* than are stop variants such as dental *t̪/d̪* or alveolar *t/d*. However, the 'Dorsetian' (coda) variants *f/v* suffered from being stigmatized as primarily rural; whereas the Anglo-Irish stop variants were associated with the urbanized northern Avalon, in particular with the numerous working class Irish of the capital city of St. John's.

3. MORPHOSYNTACTIC CONDITIONING

In a recent paper (Paddock 1991) I tried to conclude with some principles for the linguistic conditioning of morphosyntactic change involving synonymy (i.e., several forms with one meaning) on the one hand, or homophony/polysemy (i.e., one form with several meanings) on the other hand. Synonymy implies a surplus of forms. Since languages often tolerate a rather high degree of such redundancy (which after all has useful communicative and social functions) the elimination of synonymy is not as urgent as the elimination of homophony (or polysemy),

since the latter may cause more serious communication problems when they are structural rather than merely lexical.

If we accept the above principles we should conclude that the crucial conditioning must have been *social* (rather than linguistic) in the elimination of synonymy shown in Table 2. This rapid loss of the 'Dorsetian' reduced-DO auxiliary verb in Newfoundland must have been due to urgent social pressures rather than to urgent structural problems.

If we also accept the above suggestion that structural (morphosyntactic) homophony poses more serious communication problems than does lexical homophony, then we should conclude that the crucial conditioning must have been *linguistic* (rather than social) in the elimination of homophony shown for the Aspectual data in Table 2. However, social conditioning is also important here because it decides which of the two Aspectual meanings must yield to the other. I therefore postulate that the 'Dorsetian' Prospective meaning ('subject in hot *pursuit of* the deed') was the one that retreated because it was associated mostly with rural speakers. Conversely, the Anglo-Irish Retrospective meaning ('speaker considers *consequences of* the deed': compare Joos 1964) was the one that advanced because it was associated with urbanized speakers in the Northern Avalon, especially with more prestigious speakers in the capital city of St. John's. The change here must have been quite rapid since the two meanings were diametrically opposed to each other; and, paradoxically, also because the Dorsetian settlers already possessed the exact form with which to express the Anglo-Irish meaning.

4. LEXICAL CONDITIONING

The conditioning of lexical changes (see Atwood 1962) involves more 'real world' factors (such as the presence or absence of referents) than does the conditioning of structural changes.

For example, the lexical data shown in Table 3 is related to the fact that the settlers in Newfoundland generally had a *surplus* of names for most of the insects that they found in the New World, whereas they had a *deficit* of names for the conifers (and their parts such as needles, sap, etc.) that they found there (compare Mannion 1974: 31). Since the settlers depended so heavily on such conifers (for fuel, building materials, flavouring of beer, etc.) there was an urgent need to find names for the various types of conifers (and their parts).

In Table 3a we therefore see two majority English names for insects (*emmet* and *horse-stinger*) replacing two minority Irish names (*pismire* and *devil's-darning-needle*) for the same two insects. However, even here social conditioning must be as important as sheer numbers (of users) since we know that 'Devonian' *emmet* and *horse-stinger* were the first names to arrive via Migration A in what was to become the prestigious northern Avalon. Social conditioning is also evident in the fact that Francophone Newfoundlanders on the west coast of Newfoundland gave up their own non-standard French name for the dragon-fly (i.e., *la cigale*) in favour of *le darn-needle*, presumably a borrowing of the Anglo-Irish name via their Catholic priests, all of whom had Anglo-Irish language backgrounds.

In Table 3b we see that the English in Newfoundland did not change the meaning of one of their own names for (inferior type) firewood, but instead borrowed the Anglo-Irish word *starrigan* for this purpose. It is obviously easier to change the meaning (and form) of an unfamiliar word than of a familiar word, whose meaning and form are both relatively fixed in the user's mind.

5. CONCLUSIONS

If we were trying to reconstruct diachrony solely from synchronic evidence (Poplack 1990), would we be able to do so in every case for Newfoundland English? For example, my own natal area (C1 migration area) of Newfoundland now has some devoicing of word-initial fricatives as a hypercorrection of SW England voicing of such fricatives. How could we know, using synchronic evidence only, that this devoicing reflects an earlier voicing? More generally, how are we to identify linguistic changes of this type, i.e., ones in which a reversal of direction occurs because of hypercorrection or any other reason? Even more generally, how are we to distinguish linguistic conditioning from non-linguistic conditioning in our attempts to reconstruct diachronic changes solely from the evidence of synchronic variation? Unless we can find further evidence, how are we to choose between two proposed explanations of a linguistic change – one of which explanations is linguistic, the other non-linguistic? In an earlier paper (Paddock 1988: 389 / 1991: 40), I have noted an instance of such a dilemma.

Despite genuine advances in theory and in field methods, there remains much to be explained in linguistic change. Labov (1984) provides a summary of advances in field methods, beginning with his 1963 study of Martha's Vineyard. His conclusion is that we can never completely eliminate the 'experimenter effect' which he has called the 'observer's paradox'. However, he then goes on to outline the methods 'by which we can approximate a solution' to this problem by using more refined techniques to minimize the experimenter effect (Labov 1984: 30). Even greater problems confront linguists who advocate mentalistic structural explanation – such as rule changes (e.g. King 1969), abduction (Andersen 1973), or convergence of linguistic systems towards greater congruency (Samuels 1972: 64-87). There is little agreement among linguists about how we might refine such explanations. At present, the only 'constraints' on such explanations appear to be the linguist's own theoretical background and imagination. Hence, there remains a degree of inderminacy in our explanations of linguistic change that is not likely to be eliminated in the foreseeable future. However, I believe that even mentalistic structural explanations can be tested by careful case studies of 'actuation problems', as I have attempted to do in a few instances (Paddock 1988/91; 1990; forthcoming). Such actuation problems help us choose between competing explanations by forcing us to explain 'Why ... changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times' (Weinreich et al 1968: 102). I believe that real progress is possible if we concentrate careful and critical attention on such actuation problems in linguistic change.

TABLE 1.

**PHONOLOGICAL EXAMPLES: THE TWO *TH* VARIABLES.
ANGLO-IRISH STOP VARIANTS PRESERVE VOICING DISTINCTION
LOST IN SW ENGLAND VARIANTS.**

	THREE MAIN MIGRATIONS		
	A from 'Devonia'	**B from SE Ireland**	**C from 'Dorsetia'**
VOICELESS *TH* VARIABLE (θ)	**Variants:** [θ] *think* [ð] *dhink* [d] especially before R in *dree* 'three', etc.	**Main variant: dental stop** [t̪] *t'ink* 'think'	**Onset variants:** [θ] *think* [ð] *dhink* [d] especially before R in *dree* 'three', etc. **Coda variants:** [θ] *bath* [f] *baff* 'bath'
	Above two VOICED variants retreated in favour of following VOICELESS variants: first Anglo-Irish [t̪] or its alveolarized variant [t]; more recently Standard English [θ].	This dental variant [t̪] or its alveolarized variant [t] advanced steadily until halted by Standard English [θ].	Fates of onset variants as for Column A. Coda variant [f] now being replaced by voiceless stop variants [t̪] or [t] or by Standard [θ].
VOICED *TH* VARIABLE (ð)	**Variants:** [ð] *this* [d] *dis* 'dis'	**Main variant: dental stop** [d̪] *d'is* 'this'	**Onset variants:** [ð] *this* [d] *dis* 'this' **Coda variants:** [ð] *breathe* [v] *breave* 'breathe'
	Stop variants [d̪] and [d] steadily replaced fricative variant [ð] until [ð] was reinforced recently by standardization.	This dental variant [d̪] or its alveolarized variant [d] advanced steadily until halted recently by Standard English [ð].	Fate of onset variants as for Column A Coda variant [v] now mostly replaced by voiced stop variants [d̪] or [d] or by Standard [ð].

TABLE 2.

MORPHOSYNTACTIC EXAMPLES:
ONE TENSE AND TWO 'ASPECTS'

ELIMINATION OF *SYNONYMY* FOR TENSE *FORMS*
VERSUS ELIMINATION OF *POLYSEMY* FOR ASPECT *MEANINGS*.

	A from 'Devonia'	**B from SE Ireland**	**C from 'Dorsetia'**
ELIMINATION OF SYNONYMY.			
ITERATIVE OR HABITUAL 'PRESENT' TENSE	I *works* too hard. Reinforced by Anglo-Irish on Avalon Peninsula. (Suffix *-s* used on lexical verbs woth all subjects.)	I *works* too hard. Reinforced by 'Devonian' English on Avalon Peninsula.	I *da work* too hard. Retreated rapidly on Main Island of Newfoundland for both SOCIAL reasons (greater presitge of the Avalon Peninsula) and linguistic FORM reasons (the suffixed Avalon form being much closer to the standard form).
ELIMINATION OF POLYSEMY.			
RETRO-SPECTIVE (PERFECTIVE) ASPECT: 'speaker considers *consequences of* the deed'	I*'ve a-done* it. This variant held its own, perhaps because of its close similarity to Standard English in both FORM and MEANING.	I*'m after doin'* it. Its Anglo-Irish Retro-spective (Perfective) meaning advanced to solve the problem of HOMOPHONY with the English Prospective Aspect FORM shown below in Column C.	I*'ve a-done* it. As for Column A.
			I (*'ve*) *bin done* it Retreated rapidly because of SYNONYMY (i.e., surplus of forms), DISSIMILARITY from standard form, and low SOCIAL status.
PROSPECTIVE ASPECT: 'subject in hot *pursuit of* the deed'	?— ?	? — ?	I*'m after doin'* it. Retreated rapidly (but in MEANING only, not in surface FORM) because of HO-MOPHONY with Anglo-Irish Retrospective Aspect form.

TABLE 3.

LEXICAL EXAMPLES:
INSECTS VERSUS CONIFERS

ELIMINATION OF *SYNONYMY* IN NAMES FOR *INSECTS*
VERSUS CREATION OF *ANTONYMY* IN NAMES FOR *CONIFERS*.

	A from 'Devonia.	B from SE Ireland	C from 'Dorsetia'
a.	ELIMINATION OF SYNONOMY A FORM SHARED BY BOTH ENGLISH MIGRATIONS REPLACES AN ANGLO-IRISH FORM.		
'ant'	*emmet* Gradually replaced Anglo-Irish *pismire* on Avalon Peninsula	*pismire* Gradually replaced by SW English *emmet* (perhaps aided by a taboo factor in vulgarity of *piss* element).	*emmet* Holds its own on Main Island of Newfoundland with reinforcement from the more prestigious Avalon Peninsula.
'dragon-fly'	*horse-stinger* Gradually replaced Anglo-Irish *devil's darning needle* on the Avalon Peninsula	*devil's darning needle* Either replaced or underwent semantic change (to more appropriate referent) on the Avalon Peninsula; but borrowed into Newfoundland French due to Anglo-Irish background of Catholic priests.	*horse-stinger* Holds its own on Main Island of Newfoundland with reinforcement from the more prestigious Avalon Peninsula.
b.	CREATION OF ANTONYMY (SURPLUS SYNONYM USED TO CREATE ANTONYM) ENGLISH BORROW IRISH WORD AND CHANGE ITS MEANING (AND FORM)		
'small stunted trees, dry branches, or stumps used for firewood'	*grout*	*starrigan*	*cran, crannick, cronnick, crunnick* and *scrag*
'straight evergreen saplings'	? — ?	? — ?	English borrowed Anglo-Irish *starrigan* with change of MEANING; and changes of FORM to *stalligan, staddigan, stattican*. (Folk etymology based on appearance and/or uses?)

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SYSTEME DES MODALITÉS VERBALES DANS LE PARLER ACADIEN DU SUD-EST DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article a pour but d'analyser le fonctionnement des modalités verbales de l'aspect et de la voix[1] *dans le parler acadien traditionnel du sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick. Ces modalités, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les auxiliaires* avoir *et* être, *ont déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs études, portant non seulement sur les parlers acadiens, mais sur les parlers régionaux français en général. Nous reprenons le même sujet, non seulement pour y ajouter un nouveau corpus, mais surtout pour proposer un modèle théorique qui soit capable d'expliquer le système de fonctionnement de ces modalités à la fois dans le parler décrit et en français standard.*

PREMIÈRE PARTIE CLASSES DE L'ASPECT ET DE LA VOIX

INTRODUCTION

Tout syntagme verbal est composé de plusieurs monèmes verbaux. Malgré les amalgames, qui rendent difficile, voire impossible, l'identification de certains monèmes verbaux, il importe de bien faire la distinction, du moins théoriquement, entre la catégorie des déterminations personnelles et celle des modalités verbales. Selon Martinet (1979: 102), cette dernière catégorie comprend cinq classes différentes: le temps, le mode, l'aspect, la voix et la vision. Ce classement correspond à celui des grammaires traditionnelles, sauf pour la cinquième modalité, appelée *vision*, qui résulte d'une analyse différente du conditionnel et de l'emploi de certaines formes temporelles. Quant à la modalité de l'aspect, qui dans les descriptions grammaticales classiques reste souvent une notion abstraite et controversée, elle prend avec ce classement une nouvelle importance en acquérant le statut d'opposition pertinente et systématique, au même titre que les autres modalités, le temps, le mode et la voix.

La terminologie grammaticale utilisée dans cette étude provient essentiellement de la *Grammaire fonctionnelle du français* de Martinet (1979: 102-131). Peu de place est accordée aux définitions qu'il nous a paru inutile de rappeler de façon systématique. Il y a confrontation avec d'autres grammaires (notamment celles de Dubois, Mahmoudian et Robert Martin), lorsqu'il y a controverse, par exemple autour des notions d'aspect et de voix, ainsi que dans l'appréhension du rôle des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* .

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1. Les autres modalités verbales, le temps, le mode et la vision, feront l'objet d'un autre article. Cette étude en deux parties sur les modalités verbales fait suite à une première publication portant sur les conjugaisons verbales du même parler, qui vient de paraître dans le numéro précédent de cette revue (Péronnet 1990: 81-115). Les trois articles forment un ensemble décrivant les éléments verbaux de ce parler; les éléments nominaux font par ailleurs l'objet d'une description détaillée (Péronnet 1989).

Dans le parler acadien décrit, on retrouve sensiblement les mêmes modalités verbales qu'en français standard. Les deux principaux écarts sont les suivants: une distribution différente des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être,* et l'emploi du temps passé à l'intérieur du mode subjonctif. Il existe en outre de nombreux écarts de type morphologique.

Vu la complexité du rôle que jouent les auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* dans la langue française, il nous a paru nécessaire de faire une analyse approfondie de ces deux formes avant de procéder à la description des écarts dans le parler décrit. La description des modalités verbales de l'aspect et de la voix est donc précédée d'une étude théorique des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être,* qui aide à déterminer dans quelle catégorie il y a lieu de classer ces marques formelles. Cette analyse préalable occupe une place importante, ce qui explique que l'étude des modalités verbales soit faite en deux temps (Voir note 1).

Le corpus est constitué de textes oraux, principalement des contes et légendes, recueillis auprès de sept informateurs (Inf), au moyen d'entrevues mettant en présence un enquêteur et un seul informateur à la fois. Au total, le corpus comprend environ 75,000 mots. Les sept informateurs sont originaires de la même région acadienne, le sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick, et ils appartiennent tous au même groupe d'âge, la génération des 60 ans et plus. Ils répondent aux trois critères suivants, ce qui les rend représentatifs du parler acadien traditionnel de leur région: ils sont natifs de leurs villages respectifs, ont effectué un minimum de déplacements au cours de leur vie et ont eu peu de contact avec la langue anglaise.

Dans cet article, contrairement aux études mentionnées plus tôt, les exemples sont transcrits selon les règles de l'orthographe traditionnelle et non au moyen de symboles phonétiques. Ce choix a été motivé par le point de vue plus théorique adopté pour l'étude du fonctionnement des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être.*

1. LES AUXILIAIRES *AVOIR* ET *ÊTRE*

Dans son ouvrage *Temps et aspect* (1971: 57-70), le linguiste Robert Martin étudie en détail le fonctionnement des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* et en particulier leur distribution avec les divers types de verbes. Ce classement tient compte de la distinction entre les verbes intransitifs perfectifs (peut être déclaré de tendance perfective un procès qui aboutit à un état résultant), du type *sortir, rentrer, arriver* qui se conjuguent avec *être* en français standard et les verbes intransitifs imperfectifs du type *marcher, courir* qui se conjuguent avec *avoir.* En français standard, seuls quelques rares verbes se conjuguent tantôt avec *être* tantôt avec *avoir,* dont *passer, disparaître, paraître.* Selon l'analyse de Martin, l'auxiliaire *être* est avant tout un inverseur de voix. Il fait passer de la voix active à la voix passive. Lorsqu'il est utilisé avec les verbes actifs, c'est en tant que l'action de ces verbes est outrepassée et le sujet engagé dans l'état qui en résulte. Par exemple dans *il s'est évanoui,* il s'agirait déjà de l'expression de la passivité, mais à une étape pour ainsi dire annonciatrice, et qui se distingue de l'étape suivante, le résultatif (ou passif d'état) *il est évanoui.* L'auteur parle alors de voix moyenne (Martin 1971: 64) qui serait une phase intermédiaire entre la voix active et la voix passive. Dans *il s'est évanoui,* l'action est encore envisagée même si elle est accomplie, alors que dans *il est évanoui,* ce n'est plus l'action mais son résultat qui est exprimée. De même, *il est sorti* (du bureau à midi) exprime l'action accomplie et *il est sorti* exprime le résultatif.

Ce dernier exemple d'opposition n'est pas mentionné dans le tableau de Martin (1971: 69); c'est nous qui l'ajoutons. C'est pourquoi il apparaît entre parenthèses dans le tableau 1A ci-dessous. A notre avis, cet exemple a sa place à côté de celui des verbes pronominaux. L'application de ce modèle au parler décrit (voir le tableau 1B) permet de faire la nuance entre les deux emplois marqués par l'opposition des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être*: *il a sorti* (de son bureau

à midi) et *il est sorti*. En français standard, les deux emplois sont difficiles à discerner, puisqu'ils se confondent dans une seule et même forme verbale, *il est sorti* .

AVOIR	signifie l'aspect de l'accompli	verbes intransitifs imperfectifs ex. *il a marché*
		verbes transitifs perfectifs ou imperfectifs ex. *il l'a trouvé* *il l'a poursuivi*
ÊTRE	signifie le passif d'action	verbes transitifs perfectifs ou imperfectifs ex. *il est poursuivi* *il est restauré (par)*
	signifie le passif d'état (ou le résultatif)	verbes intransitifs perfectifs ex. *il est sorti*
		verbes transitifs perfectifs ex. *il est restauré*
		verbes pronominaux perfectifs ex. *il est évanoui*
	signifie l'accompli	verbes pronominaux ex. *il s'est évanoui*
		(verbes intransitifs perfectifs ex. *il est sorti*)

TABLEAU 1A.
EMPLOI DES AUXILIAIRES *AVOIR* ET *ÊTRE* EN FRANÇAIS STANDARD.
(Ce tableau reprend à quelques détails près celui de Martin 1971: 69).

C'est à partir de la voix moyenne dont parle Martin, c'est-à-dire mi-active mi-passive, qu'on peut chercher à expliquer l'écart qui existe entre le français standard et le parler décrit dans l'utilisation des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être*. En français standard, la voix moyenne est passive puisque c'est l'auxiliaire *être* qui en est la marque comme nous venons de le voir avec les exemples des verbes intransitifs perfectifs et des verbes pronominaux. Dans le parler décrit, cette voix moyenne se confond avec la voix active puisque tous les verbes (à une exception près: voir le verbe *mourir* ci-dessous) se conjuguent avec l'auxiliaire *avoir* aux temps composés, y compris:

- les verbes intransitifs perfectifs; exemple: *il a sorti* (du bureau à midi)
- les verbes pronominaux; exemple: *il s'a évanoui*

L'auxiliaire *être* ne marque que:

- le passif d'état (ou le résultatif); exemple: *il est sorti*
- le passif d'action; exemple: *il est poursuivi.*

Le tableau 1B illustre bien la distribution systématique des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* dans le parler acadien décrit: *avoir* pour les formes composées actives; *être* pour les formes composées passives. (Afin de mieux voir les écarts d'emploi des auxiliaires, les exemples du tableau 1B sont les mêmes que ceux du tableau 1A et non des exemples tirés du corpus. En outre, les catégories qui se déplacent d'un tableau à l'autre sont **noircies**).

AVOIR	signifie l'aspect de l'accompli	verbes intransitifs imperfectifs ex. *il a marché*
		verbes transitifs perfectifs ou imperfectifs ex. *il l'a trouvé, il l'a poursuivi*
	signifie l'accompli	**verbes pronominaux** **ex. *il s'a évanoui***
		(verbes intransitifs perfectifs **ex. *il a sorti*)**
ETRE	signifie le passif d'action	verbes transitifs perfectifs ou imperfectifs ex. *il est poursuivi* *il est restauré (par)*
	signifie le passif d'état (ou le résultatif)	verbes intransitifs perfectifs ex. *il est sorti*
		verbes transitifs perfectifs ex. *il est restauré*
		verbes pronominaux perfectifs ex. *il est évanoui*

TABLEAU 1B.
EMPLOI DES AUXILIAIRES *AVOIR* ET *ÊTRE* DANS LE PARLER DÉCRIT

1.1 LES VERBES INTRANSITIFS PERFECTIFS

Dans le tableau 2 qui suit, toutes les occurrences des verbes intransitifs perfectifs qui apparaissent dans le corpus ont été relevées et classées selon leur emploi, soit comme accompli, soit comme résultatif. Les occurrences avec *avoir* sont toutes des écarts par rapport au français standard.

L'auxiliaire *avoir* est utilisé pour former les temps composés de l'accompli, dans tous les cas, sauf celui du verbe *mourir* qui est conjugué avec l'auxiliaire *être* dans 7 occurrences sur 9 des emplois de l'accompli. On peut expliquer cette exception par le fait que la forme du participe passé de *mourir* soit la seule à varier (*mort/mouri*) selon que le verbe est conjugué avec *être* ou *avoir*.

	ETRE		AVOIR
	accompli	résultatif	accompli
arriver	00	00	42
descendre	00	00	03
mourir	07	15	02
partir	00	22	12
passer	00	01	08
rentrer	00	03	08
sortir	00	06	12
tomber	00	00	09
venir	00	17	39

TABLEAU 2.

OCCURRENCES D'EMPLOI DES AUXILIAIRES *AVOIR* ET *ÊTRE* AVEC LES VERBES INTRANSITIFS PERFECTIFS DANS LE PARLER ACADIEN.

Exemples de cette variation tirés du corpus:

(1) verbe *mourir*

avec *avoir*

a. J'*ai mouri*, je passais soixante-ans. (Inf 3)

b. Le mal a passé, pis la dent *a mouri*. (Inf 1)

avec *être*

c. Quand qu'il *est mort*, il a dit, qu'i faisiont comme moi. (Inf 6)

d. Bétôt, alle est morte. (Inf 7)

Pour tous les autres verbes, la forme du participe reste la même, que le verbe soit conjugué avec avec *être* ou *avoir*. Exemples du corpus avec le verbe *sortir:*

(2) verbe *sortir*

avec *avoir* :

a. Alle *a sorti*, alle a été trouver le capitaine. (Inf 4)

b. I *ont sorti*, tous les quatre. (Inf 7)

avec *être* :

c. Tout *est sorti*, le vin, le moonshine, les poutines à trou. (Inf 4)

d. I la ouayait pas, alle *était sortie*. (Inf 6)

D'après le tableau 2, on constate que dans le corpus trois verbes sur neuf sont toujours employés avec *avoir* et signifient toujours l'accompli. L'un des trois, *descendre*, n'apparaît que trois fois et ne peut donc pas être analysé. Les deux autres, *arriver* et *tomber*, ont des taux de fréquence suffisamment élevés pour qu'on puisse chercher une règle de fonctionnement. Dans les

deux cas, l'absence d'occurrence avec *être* semble provenir du lexique. L'hypothèse est la suivante: pour exprimer le résultatif de ces deux verbes, les locuteurs ont recours à un autre lexème verbal, par exemple *il est venu* à la place de *il est arrivé*; et *il est là* ou *il est à terre* à la place de *il est tombé*. Exemples du corpus confirmant cette hypothèse:

(3) emploi de *venir* pour exprimer le résultatif de *arriver*

a. Le temps *était venu*, fallait qu'a décolle. (Inf 3)

b. Un an et un jour *était venu*. (Inf 1)

c. Lorque la mer *est venue* près de la levée, qu'a commence à la miner, on est obligé de faire un redans. (Inf 5)

Cet emploi de *venir* pour exprimer le résultatif de *arriver* n'empêche pas d'utiliser aussi *venir* dans son sens standard, à la fois avec *être* et *avoir*. (Dans le tableau, les deux sens n'ont pas été distingués). Exemples:

(4) verbe *venir* (sens standard)

avec *avoir*

a. I *ont venu*, pis i ont tout emporté. (Inf 7)

b. J'*avais venu* pour de l'ouvrage. (Inf 1)

c. J'*ai venu* pour te sauver. (Inf 6)

avec *être*

d. Le vieux djâbe lui-même *était venu* pour le qu'ri (quérir). (Inf 3)

e. Il a dit que les princes *étiont venus* de tous les pays. (Inf 4)

On remarque que le verbe *entrer* ne fait pas partie de la liste des verbes intransitifs perfectifs relevés dans le corpus. En effet, dans le parler décrit, *entrer* est toujours utilisé sous la forme *rentrer*, qui recouvre les deux sens. La règle d'emploi des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* est la même que pour les autres verbes intransitifs perfectifs. Exemples:

(5) verbe *rentrer*

a. I *a rentré* pis i s'a assis. (Inf 7)

b. Quantt qu'on *sera rentré*, je vas te dire quoi c'est faire. (Inf 2)

Comme l'illustrent bien le tableau 2, ainsi que les exemples cités, l'emploi de l'auxiliaire *avoir* pour former les temps composés des verbes intransitifs perfectifs est donc une règle dans le parler acadien décrit. Cette règle n'est transgressée que dans le cas du verbe *mourir*, sans doute pour une raison formelle, à savoir la variation du participe passé *mouri/mort*, comme nous venons de le voir dans (1). Sauf cette exception, l'auxiliaire *être* n'est donc jamais utilisé pour former le parfait des verbes intransitifs perfectifs et reste entièrement disponible pour marquer la passivité, soit le passif d'état (le résultatif), soit le passif d'action, selon les divers types de verbes (voir les tableaux 1A et 1B).

1.2 LES VERBES PRONOMINAUX

Dans le parler acadien décrit, le parfait des verbes pronominaux se construit toujours avec l'auxiliaire *avoir*. Dans le corpus étudié ici, on relève 103 occurrences du parfait pour 38 verbes pronominaux différents. Toutes ces occurrences, sans exceptions, sont construites avec

l'auxiliaire *avoir*. Voici quelques exemples tirés du corpus parmi les verbes les plus courants, *se mettre, s'apercevoir, se lever, s'asseoir* :

(6) a. I *s'a mis* ça su la tête. (Inf 2)

b. I *s'avont mis* à table. (Inf 1)

c. Les autres *s'aviont pas aparçu* de rien. (Inf 3)

d. Quand que la vieille *s'a levé*, le gars était parti. (Inf 7)

e. Ses deux fréres *s'avont assis* . (Inf 1)

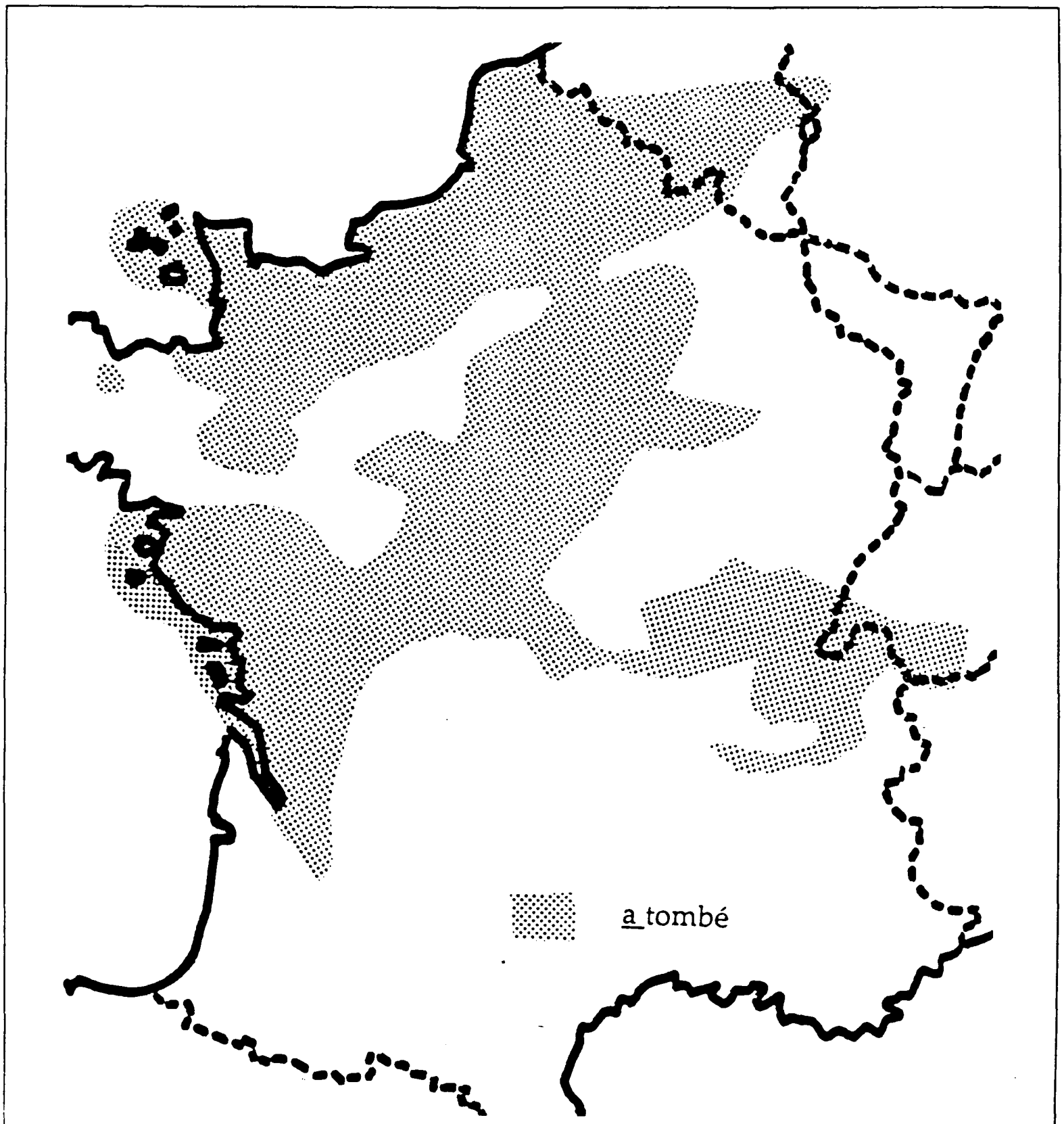
Dans le corpus, l'auxiliaire *être* n'est jamais utilisé avec la forme pronominale, dont les temps composés expriment toujours l'accompli; cependant, les verbes réfléchis, par exemple *s'asseoir, s'habiller*, peuvent exprimer le passif d'état (le résultatif); à ce moment-là, la forme pronominale disparaît et c'est l'auxiliaire *être* qui est utilisé, par exemple dans *il était assis, i étiont ben habillés.*

On constate donc que, règle générale, dans le parler décrit, les auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* ont chacun une fonction bien définie: *avoir* exprime l'accompli et *être* exprime la passivité. (Il faut préciser que la voix passive au sens traditionnel est un champ plus restreint que la passivité décrite par Martin, qui comprend non seulement le passif d'action mais aussi la passif d'état - voir le tableau 1A ci-dessus). En français standard, ces fonctions ne sont pas aussi nettes, puisque l'auxiliaire *être* peut aussi exprimer l'accompli, avec les verbes intransitifs perfectifs du type *sortir, entrer*, etc. Dans le parler décrit, l'auxiliaire *être* n'est jamais en distribution complémentaire avec *avoir* . Il ne sert jamais à former les temps composés, c'est-à-dire le parfait; même à la voix passive, l'auxiliaire *avoir* est nécessaire pour former les temps composés, par exemple dans *il a été mangé.* Est-il besoin de rappeler que la forme passive *il est mangé* est l'expression du présent et non du passé composé? Cette analyse est à la fois celle de la grammaire traditionnelle et celle de la grande majorité des linguistes contemporains (sauf Dubois qui fait une toute autre analyse dans sa *Grammaire structurale du français – le verbe* (1967: 176-180)).

Pour l'essentiel, les auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* remplissent des fonctions différentes aussi bien en français standard que dans le parler décrit. L'un marque l'aspect, l'autre la voix. Ils ne forment donc pas un système d'opposition à l'intérieur d'une seule et même catégorie verbale. Ils ont un fonctionnement parallèle et indépendant: à l'intérieur de la modalité de l'aspect, l'auxiliaire *avoir* des temps composés s'oppose à l'auxiliaire *zéro* des temps simples (et non à l'auxiliaire *être*); à l'intérieur de la modalité de la voix, l'auxiliaire *être* s'oppose à sa propre absence (et non à l'auxiliaire *avoir*), soit dans les formes verbales simples, soit dans les formes verbales composées avec *avoir*. C'est une grave erreur d'analyse que de mettre en opposition les auxiliaires *avoir* et *être*, comme s'ils étaient les éléments d'une même catégorie grammaticale. C'est là une illusion créée par la terminologie, qui utilise le mot *auxiliaire* pour les deux formes. Une autre cause d'erreur vient de l'emploi en distribution complémentaire de l'auxiliaire *être* et de l'auxiliaire *avoir* pour former le parfait des temps composés en français standard. Dans ce cas, le parler décrit contribue à clarifier la fonction des deux auxiliaires, par sa façon systématique de les utiliser, comme nous venons de le voir. En cela, il rejoint de nombreux autres parlers régionaux français, dont voici quelques attestations.

En France, ont été relevés dans l'usage populaire plusieurs exemples d'emploi de l'auxiliaire *avoir* avec les verbes intransitifs perfectifs, ainsi qu'avec les verbes pronominaux: *j'ai venu, j'ai tombé, je m'ai fait mal, j'ai sorti, j'ai monté, je m'ai acheté un costume* (Bauche 1946: 103); *il a parti sur le front le 3 août, il a resté entre les mains de l'ennemi, il n'a pas revenu à sa Cie depuis* (Frei 1929: 86); *je m'ai fait mal* (Frei 1929: 166). Guiraud parle d'un emploi

généralisé de l'auxiliaire *avoir* en français populaire pour former les temps composés de tous les verbes, ce qui permet, dit-il, de faire la distinction entre *il a mouru* et *il est mort* , ainsi que entre *il a revenu* et *il est revenu* (1965: 40-41). En outre, trois cartes de l'Atlas linguistique de France (ALF) de Gilliéron (1910) attestent ce même emploi de l'auxiliaire *avoir*: carte 1312 *(...) est tombé;* carte 1519 *(...) s'est couchée;* carte 1662 *(...) s'est pendu.* D'après ces cartes, l'usage de l'auxiliaire *avoir* est très peu répandu avec les verbes pronominaux (en quelques rares localités de Loire-Atlantique, de Mayenne et du pays de Vaud), alors qu'il est très répandu avec les verbes intransitifs perfectifs (voir carte ci-dessous).



ALF 1312 « ... est tombée»

CARTE
RÉGIONS DE FRANCE OU EST ATTESTÉ L'EMPLOI DE L'AUXILIAIRE *AVOIR* AVEC LES VERBES INTRANSITIFS PERFECTIFS (EX: *TOMBER)*

Au Québec (d'après Seutin 1975: 286-289), *avoir* est parfois utilisé avec certains verbes intransitifs perfectifs, mais jamais avec les pronominaux.

L'emploi de l'auxiliaire *avoir* pour former les temps composés de tous les types de verbes sans exception est donc un fait de langue qui, loin de se limiter à l'acadien décrit, reçoit de nombreuses attestations en français populaire et régional. Cet emploi systématique de *avoir* comme auxiliaire de conjugaison contribue à réévaluer le rôle des formes *être* et *avoir* dans la langue française en général. Les grandes lignes de cette réévaluation, qui viennent d'être présentées, serviront de guide pour l'étude qui suit sur les modalités verbales de l'aspect et de la voix dans le parler décrit.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE 2 DESCRIPTION DES MODALITÉS VERBALES DE L'ASPECT ET DE LA VOIX

2.1 L'ASPECT

D'après le *Dictionnaire de la linguistique* de Georges Mounin (1979), l'aspect ne compte pas parmi les catégories grammaticales de la langue française. Cette analyse est partagée par bien des grammairiens et linguistes, dont Mortéza Mahmoudian, qui considère qu'en français l'aspect est une simple interprétation 'en fonction du contexte et des modalités en présence' (1976: 282). Au contraire, Dubois voit une opposition d'aspect *inaccompli-accompli* dans les deux ensembles formels que sont les temps simples et les temps composés (1967: 176-180).

Pour Martinet, l'aspect constitue l'une des cinq modalités du verbe (1979: 128-131). Le monème *parfait*, qui est l'unique unité de la classe de l'aspect, est un syntagme formé de l'auxiliaire *avoir* ou *être* et du participe passé. La valeur originelle du parfait est celle de l'action accomplie, mais avec la disparition du prétérit en français parlé, le parfait en assume la valeur et devient ambigu. Pour rétablir cette distinction entre le prétérit et l'accompli, il s'est développé en français ce qu'on appelle le surcomposé. Cet usage est généralement admis en proposition subordonnée, où il devient gênant d'exprimer successivement par la même forme l'accompli et le prétérit.

Dans le parler décrit, comme nous venons de le voir, seul l'auxiliaire *avoir* sert à former le monème parfait, c'est-à-dire les temps composés. La morphologie de l'aspect est donc beaucoup plus simple qu'en français standard où il y a distribution complémentaire des auxiliaires *être* et *avoir* dans la formation des temps composés. Les écarts ont été relevés ci-dessus, dans l'étude des auxiliaires *être* et *avoir* (voir le tableau 2). Ces écarts sont considérables, vu la fréquence des deux types de verbes dont les monèmes parfaits sont construits différemment: 135 occurrences de 9 verbes intransitifs perfectifs conjugués avec *avoir* et 103 occurrences de 38 verbes pronominaux conjugués avec *avoir*, contrairement à la norme du français standard où ces verbes sont conjugués avec *être*.

Pour ce qui est du prétérit (passé simple) dont parle Martinet, cette forme n'est plus du tout utilisée dans le parler acadien décrit, bien qu'elle le soit encore dans d'autres régions acadiennes, par exemple en Nouvelle-Ecosse (Gesner 1979: 36 et Flikeid et Péronnet 1989: 238-239). A l'instar du français standard où le prétérit a aussi disparu de la langue parlée courante, le parler décrit a recours aux formes surcomposées dans le but de rétablir la distinction entre le prétérit et le parfait. Dans le corpus, le surcomposé apparaît généralement en proposition subordonnée (25 occurrences), quelques fois seulement en proposition principale (2 occurrences).

Exemples:

(7) temps surcomposé

en proposition principale:

a. I ll'*ariont eu tué* . (Inf 2)

b. Ca s'*arait eu su* . (Inf 1)

en proposition subordonnée:

c. Si on *avait eu passé* tout drouett, ç'arait pas arrivé. (Inf 3)

d. Quantt i *a eu fini* de jouer la premiére toune, i a repesé su la palette. (Inf 7)

e. Après qu'i *avont eu travaillé* un escousse, i a pensé, faut j'asseye ça. (Inf 1)

Ces emplois du surcomposé s'écartent peu du français standard. Dans le cas du surcomposé en proposition principale, le type d'exemple *j'ai eu fumé la cigarette*, relevé dans la moitié méridionale de la France, est utilisé pour marquer une habitude à laquelle on a mis fin. Les emplois dans le parler décrit du surcomposé en proposition subordonnée correspondent à ceux du français standard, notamment avec les conjonctions *si* et *quand* (Martinet 1979: 129).

Il est difficile d'étudier l'aspect verbal sans aborder la question des semi-auxiliaires (ou périphrases verbales) qui font traditionnellement partie du sujet. Martinet ne retient que *aller* et *venir de* qu'il qualifie d'auxiliaires et qui servent à former les temps prochain et récent lorsqu'ils sont suivis d'un infinitif (1979: 105). Dubois, pour sa part, classe les semi-auxiliaires parmi les modaux. Dans la règle de réécriture des auxiliaires, parfait et modaux sont deux constituants distincts. Font partie des modaux, *pouvoir, devoir, aller, venir de*, etc. (Dubois et Dubois-Charlier 1970: 93-94).

Dans le parler décrit, on rencontre plusieurs locutions verbales qui ont un fonctionnement apparenté à celui des semi-auxiliaires du français standard, mais qui s'en écartent soit par la forme soit par la structure. Souvent, ces locutions sont très productives. Les suivantes adoptent la même structure qu'en français standard: semi-auxiliaire + infinitif.

(8) *prendre à* (au sens de *commencer à*) + infinitif

a. Le petit gars *a pris à* brailler. (Inf 2)

b. I *prend à* marcher. (Inf 3)

(9) *être pour* (au sens de *devoir*) + infinitif

a. T'*es* pas *pour* mourir là, i dit. (Inf 6)

b. Alle *était pour* mourir. (Inf 1)

(10) *être supposé de* (au sens de *devoir*) + infinitif

a. L'homme qui la délivre *est supposé de* la marier. (Inf 3)

b. On *est supposé de* se respecter. (Inf 7)

Les locutions verbales suivantes adoptent des structures différentes, mais sont sémantiquement proches de certains semi-auxiliaires du français standard.

(11) *venir que* + verbe conjugué (au sens de *finir par* + infinitif)

a. Le jeune *a venu qu'* i l'aimait . (Inf 4)

b. I *ont venu qu'* i étiont huit ensemble. (Inf 1)

(12) *venir à* + substantif s'utilise en alternance avec *venir à* + infinitif:

a. Quand que ç'*a venu à* souper, le vieux roi a parlé. (Inf 4)

b. Quand que ç'*a venu à* un an et un jour, le chien a apparu. (Inf4)

c. C'*a venu à* la fight. (Inf 4)

A part ces exemples, d'autres expressions lexicalisées de l'aspect, propres au parler décrit, pourraient sans doute être relevées. En revanche, dans le parler décrit comme en français standard, on n'identifie qu'un seul aspect verbal de type grammatical, le parfait, qui exprime l'accomplissement du procès et qui se manifeste de façon structurée dans le système d'opposition temps simples/temps composés. Il existe cependant un écart formel important, puisque dans le parler décrit seul l'auxiliaire *avoir* est utilisé pour former les temps composés (c'est-à-dire le parfait) de tous les types de verbes. Cet écart permet d'analyser autrement les auxiliaires *avoir* et *être*, notamment avec le point de vue de Martin, qui fait de *être* un inverseur de voix plutôt qu'une marque aspectuelle, ce qui fournit une explication satisfaisante pour la distribution des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* dans le parler décrit.

2.2 LA VOIX

Selon Martinet (1979: 99 et 131), la voix est l'une des cinq modalités verbales du français. Cette classe grammaticale est composée de deux unités: le passif et le réfléchi (pronominal). Les deux monèmes sont difficiles à localiser formellement. Le réfléchi *se* se confond avec le simple pronom personnel de la 3e personne en fonction objet et dative. Et le monème passif *être* + *participe parfait* (participe passé) signifiant une réalisation en cours (voix passive traditionnelle) se confond avec *être* + *participe parfait* signifiant une situation acquise (le résultatif). Cette ambiguité formelle contribue à entretenir la controverse qui existe depuis toujours sur le véritable statut de la voix en français. Pour ce qui est de la voix passive, Dubois, pour sa part, préfère parler de transformation syntaxique (1967: 127) plutôt que de catégorie grammaticale. Martin, quant à lui (comme nous l'avons vu en détail ci-dessus, dans la section 1, *Les auxiliaires* avoir *et* être), présente *avoir* comme l'auxiliaire de l'activité et *être* comme celui de la passivité. *Être* agit comme inverseur de voix et constitue l'élément marqué du rapport passif/actif. Le monème de la passivité ainsi redéfini ne se limite pas au sens restreint de voix passive traditionnelle, mais comprend aussi l'expression de la passivité par les groupes de verbes intransitifs perfectifs et les verbes pronominaux. Dans le cas de ces deux groupes de verbes, l'activité et la passivité s'entremêlent de façon quasi-inextricable et se rencontrent dans une voix intermédiaire appelée moyenne.

C'est autour de cette ligne de démarcation passivité/activité que le parler décrit s'écarte du français standard, par le biais des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* (voir les tableaux 1A et 1B ci-dessus). En français standard, l'auxiliaire *être* est ambivalent. Il y occupe deux fonctions tout à fait différentes. Ces deux fonctions de *être* sont bien analysées par Denise François dans son étude sur le français parlé d'Argenteuil (1974, 1: 461-463): 1) la fonction d'auxiliaire verbal (auxiliaire de conjugaison), en complémentarité avec l'auxiliaire *avoir*, pour former avec le participe passé le temps composé de deux types de verbes, les intransitifs perfectifs et les pronominaux; 2) la fonction d'auxiliaire prédicatif (copule), qui est une forme verbale indépendante comme l'illustre le paradigme *il est beau, il est là, il est parti*, et qui sert à marquer le passif lorsqu'il est accompagné d'un participe passé. Dans le parler décrit, cette ambivalence n'existe pas. La forme *être* n'a qu'une fonction, celle d'auxiliaire prédicatif, et de marque du passif.

La marque formelle du passif est la même en français standard et dans le parler décrit: *être + participe passé*. La préposition *par* ne fait pas partie du monème passif pour deux raisons: d'abord, il peut y avoir omission de la structure *par + agent* qui n'est pas indispensable, même dans les constructions passives de type traditionnel (avec inversion du sujet), par exemple dans *il est poursuivi;* deuxièmement, dans le cas du passif d'état exprimé par les verbes intransitifs perfectifs, la construction *par + agent* n'existe pas. Exemples du passif d'état dans le corpus:

(13) au présent passif

a. S'il *est parti,* peut-être qu'il est des mille d'icitt. (Inf 3)

b. Moi qui croyais qu'alle *était morte* . (Inf 4)

c. Quand que tu t'en aparcevras, ça *sera passé* . (Inf 1)

(14) aux temps composés:

a. Y avait eu un mois qu'i *avait été parti* . (Inf 3)

b. Aussitôt qu'i *a été mort,* le pommier a cheché (=séché). (Inf 6)

Pour ce qui est des marques formelles, les exemples cités sont conformes au français standard. Il y a cependant écart, aux temps composés, dans le système d'opposition actif/passif de ce type de verbes: en français standard, il n'y a pas d'opposition formelle, puisque l'auxiliaire *être* est utilisé aussi bien pour les temps composés actifs (exemple *il est sorti*) que pour les formes passives (exemple *il est sorti*), alors que dans le parler décrit, le système d'opposition passif/actif s'étend à ce type de verbe, puisque l'auxiliaire *avoir* est utilisé pour former les temps composés actifs (exemple *il a sorti*). Cependant, il n'existe aucune différence entre le parler décrit et le français standard dans le système d'opposition passif/actif pour la série des verbes transitifs: aux temps simples, le signifiant passif *être + participe passé* s'oppose au signifiant *zéro* de la voix active, par exemple *il est mangé / il mange;* aux temps composés, le signifiant passif *avoir été + participe passé* s'oppose au signifiant actif *avoir + participe passé,* par exemple *il a été mangé / il a mangé* .

CONCLUSION

Dans cette étude, nous avons non seulement décrit le fonctionnement des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* dans le parler décrit, mais nous avons surtout essayé de mieux comprendre le rôle que jouent ces deux formes dans la langue française en général, comme marques des catégories verbales de la voix et de l'aspect. Parmi les divers modèles théoriques étudiés, c'est celui de Robert Martin qui a été jugé le plus apte à expliquer le système de fonctionnement des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* à la fois en français standard et dans le parler acadien décrit. L'avantage de ce modèle sur les autres examinés provient d'une vision plus globale du rôle que jouent les formes *avoir* et *être,* à savoir l'expression de la passivité au sens large (le passif d'action et le passif d'état) pour ce qui est de *être,* et l'expression du parfait, c'est-à-dire de l'action accomplie, pour ce qui est de *avoir.*

Cette analyse nous permet de conclure que l'écart qui existe dans l'emploi des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être* en français standard et dans le parler décrit n'est pas uniquement formel, mais grammatical. Le fonctionnement particulier de ces deux formes verbales dans le parler régional acadien décrit rejoint un usage qui est encore répandu aujourd'hui en français populaire et régional et qui a longtemps marqué le système grammatical de la langue française. A travers cet usage qui fait apparaît une distribution plus systématique des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être,* on est amené à proposer une nouvelle analyse de ces formes en français standard, où malheureusement certaines contraintes normatives viennent brouiller le système. Enfin, le fonctionnement des modalités verbales de l'aspect et de la voix se trouve indirectement expliqué

par cette analyse des auxiliaires *avoir* et *être*, qui sont les marques formelles principales de ces deux modalités.

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PRESERVING NEWFOUNDLAND PLACE NAMES

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In the spring and summer of 1990 and 1991, a research group of the English Language Research Centre (ELRC), a unit of Memorial University of Newfoundland's Department of English Language and Literature, conducted interviews in almost every community in Placentia Bay, the largest of Newfoundland's bays, collecting data for a proposed pronunciation dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador place names.

While the project was exploratory, research in Newfoundland names is not something new for Memorial. In 1971, Dr. E. Ronald Seary, the then head of the Department of English, published his *Place Names of the Avalon Peninsula of the Island of Newfoundland*. In 1976, he published the *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland*. His career at Memorial University, beginning in 1954 and ending with his death in 1984, is represented by an impressive series of publications on family and place names.

In 1985, Mrs. Gwen Seary donated all Dr. Seary's records and work-in-progress to the ELRC and it was decided that his work would be continued. By 1989, a seven-year programme of research that would eventually encompass all of Newfoundland and Labrador had been designed. A pronunciation dictionary of Newfoundland place names with an accompanying atlas showing locations would be the main end product.

While much has been written about Newfoundland place names, most of it has been from the perspective of the professional geographer, the dilettante etymologist or the interested layperson. Professional geographers such as Dr. Gordon Handcock, though thoroughly committed to Newfoundland toponymy, have not sought the linguistic features of place names as they are used within speech communities. Earlier writers such as D.W. Prowse, Bishop M.F. Howley and Agnes M. Ayre provide fascinating collections and observations but these and most of their interested contemporaries were neither trained linguists nor geographers. Occasional writers such as Dr. John Hewson writing on Micmac place names and Dr. W.J. Kirwin on the pronunciations of specific toponyms analyze and discuss in modern linguistic terms but such informed observations are scanty and limited to a small number of names. Dr. Seary's work is the only attempt to collect and study Newfoundland place names systematically on a regional scale, though his work was limited to data on maps, charts and other printed sources.

The reasons for undertaking such an enterprise at this time go beyond a commitment to carry on Seary's work . Newfoundland is undergoing rapid change. In 1921, there were over 1300 recorded communities scattered throughout the 404,418 square kilometers of the Province. In 1986, the census takers recognized less than 800. Over 500 communities disappeared in the intervening 70 years. As the number of communities dwindle, a permanent break with the past is occurring. The names of the old settlements and districts, the traditional fishing rooms and berths, the shoals, islands, lakes and rivers are not being passed to the next generation. The residents have been moving into new speech communities and the linguistic features which identify their ancestors as from England, Ireland and France, for example, are being replaced by those which are increasingly closer to Standard English. Improved education, with its reliance on the written word for authority, increased exposure to media which use standardized forms of English and immigration of people from outside the province who hold influencial positions in

the community are causing the younger generations to move away from the traditional Newfoundland pronunciations.

During the 1990 and 1991 research periods, supported by funds and support-in-kind from both within and outside Memorial University, a pilot study under the supervision of the author was conducted in Placentia Bay. In the spring and summer of 1990, two field-workers conducted interviews in almost every community of Placentia Bay. A third interviewed resettled Placentia Bay informants living in the St. John's area. In the spring and summer of 1991 another team of field-workers interviewed informants from additional resettled communities and from communities inadequately done in 1990. Representatives from 77 communities, including most of those resettled since the mid-1950's, when the Newfoundland Provincial Government's resettlement programme began in earnest, between Cape St. Mary's on the southwestern side of the Avalon Peninsula and Cape Rosey on the southeastern side of the Burin Peninsula, were interviewed. Tapes ranging from one-half hour to two and a half hours were made for each person (usually two per community), and data sheets completed for each name. Over 6,700 names were collected and the places were located by informants on field maps.

Beginning while the first field-workers were still collecting, the research team and several assistants commenced organizing, analyzing and keying the information into a managing database. Research assistants trained in phonetics, using field tapes, have transcribed each toponym in IPA script as well as in a modified version of a phonographically consistent Roman/English alphabet, designed by Lee Pederson for the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States Project. Each place name has been assigned longitude and latitude coordinates based on the identification on the field maps.

At the beginning of September, 1991, the first draft of the dictionary part of the Placentia Bay volume was completed. A working draft of the atlas part of the volume was run soon thereafter, bringing the two-year pilot project to an end.

The dictionary, as it was conceived and developed, will provide for each collected place name two transcribed pronunciations, one narrow IPA transcription and a transcription based on Pederson's Automatic Book Code system (which makes fairly technical phonetic information available to virtually any person familiar with the Roman/English alphabet). Each name has been given latitude and longitude coordinates and an NTS (National Topographic Series) map number. Each name will be assigned the appropriate atlas page number.

Having tested collecting techniques, research materials and database recording systems to the satisfaction of the research group, and gotten a good understanding of costs, Hollett and his field-workers will proceed, contingent upon funding, to research the south coast of Newfoundland in 1992, the west coast in 1993 and the Great Northern Peninsula in 1994.

LINGUISTICA *ATLANTICA*

Style Guide

The following few guidelines are intended to ensure a degree of consistency in the format of submitted manuscripts:

- Forms cited as linguistic examples within the text appear in *italics* (or underscored if italicization is not possible). Glosses, if any, are in single quotation marks (' and '), with no comma separating cited forms from glosses.

- Punctuation marks always follow quotation marks unless the punctuation is an integral part of the quoted matter.

- Bibliographical references for theses, journal articles and book chapters should follow the format indicated below.

Guide Stylistique

Pour assurer une certaine mesure d'uniformité dans les manuscrits, les auteurs sont priés de bien vouloir suivre les quelques normes suivantes:

- Les formes citées comme exemples linguistiques dans les textes sont en *italique* (ou soulignées si l'italique n'est pas possible). Les traductions des formes citées paraissent entre guillemets simples (' et '), sans virgule entre formes citées et traduction.

- Les signes de ponctuation suivent les guillemets, sauf si ceux-là font partie intégrante des formes citées.

- Les références bibliographiques pour une thèse, un article dans une revue savante ou un chapitre dans un livre devraient être conformes au format ci-dessous.

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