

P A M A P L A 23

**PAPERS FROM THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION**

*Mount Allison University
Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada
5-6 November 1999*

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

LANGUE ET IDENTITÉ

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**ACTES DU VINGT-TROISIÈME COLLOQUE ANNUEL
DE L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES**

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EDITED BY / RÉDACTION

WENDY BURNETT AND ROBERT ADLAM

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AUTHORS' ADDRESSES / ADRESSES DES AUTEUR-E-S

Robert Adlam
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Mount Allison University
Sackville NB E4L 1A7
radlam@mta.ca

Emmanuel Aito
Department of French
University of Regina
Regina SK S4S 0A2
Emmanuel.Aito@uregina.ca

Madeleine Allard
CIRAL
Faculté des lettres
Université Laval
Québec QC G1K 7P4
aaa914@agora.ulaval.ca

Louise Beaulieu
Bureau du Vice-recteur
Université de Moncton
Centre universitaire de Shippagan
Shippagan N-B E0B 2P0
louise@cus.ca

Catherine Bodin
West Maryland
College College Hill
Westminster MD 21157-4390
USA
cbodin@msmary.edu

Louise Bosi
Département d'études françaises
Université de Moncton
Moncton NB
E1A 3E9

Wendy Burnett
Modern Languages and Literatures
Mount Allison University
Sackville NB E4L 1C7
wburnett@mta.ca

Walcir Cardoso
1804 Tupper, apt. #1
Montréal QC
H3H 1N4
wcardo@po-box.mcgill.ca

Gisèle Chevalier
Doyenne, Faculté des arts
Université de Moncton
Moncton N-B E1A 3E9
chevalg@umoncton.ca

Wladyslaw Cichocki
Department of French
University of New Brunswick
Fredericton NB E3B 5A3
cicho@unb.ca

Felipe Pieras Guasp
Modern Languages and Cultural Studies
University of Alberta
9659-86 Ave. Edmonton AB T6C 1J8
fpieras@ualberta.ca

Sylvia Kasparian
Département d'études françaises
Université de Moncton
Moncton N-B E1A 3E9
kaspars@umoncton.ca

Anne Klinck
Department of English
University of New Brunswick
Fredericton NB E3B 5A3
alk@unb.ca

Donna Lillian
Department of Linguistics
York University
Toronto ON M3J 1P3
dlillian@yorku.ca

Anthony Lister
Department of French
University of New Brunswick
Fredericton NB E3B 5A3
listera@unb.ca

Raymond Mopoho
Department of French
Dalhousie University
Halifax NS B3H 3J5
rmopoho@is.dal.ca

Louise Péronnet
Département d'études françaises
Université de Moncton
Moncton N-B E1A 3E9
peronnl@umoncton.ca

Jay Peterson
Educational Opportunity Program
Portland State University
Portland OR 97207-0751
petersj@osa.pdx.edu ✓

Chantal Richard
Département d'études françaises
Université de Moncton
Moncton N-B E1A 3E9

Robert Summerby-Murray
Department of Geography
Mount Allison University
Sackville NB E4L 1A7
rsummerbymur@mta.ca ✓

Shelley Tulloch
Département de langues, linguistique et traduction
Université Laval
Québec QC G1K 7P4
abj619@agora.ulaval.ca ✓

Marilyn Walker
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Mount Allison University
Sackville NB E4L 1A7
mwalker@mta.ca

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Over the past twenty years an increasing number of research studies have addressed the question of language as a marker of identity. In Atlantic Canada, particular attention has been given to the development of dialectal dictionaries and regional lexicons; studies in francophone and anglophone regional variation and language change; semantic and pragmatic studies; and gender studies. Parallel to this productive linguistic scholarship, research on language is being carried out in other disciplines such as sociology and anthropology, psychology, modern language studies, and cultural geography. The APLA Conference on Language and Identity, held at Mount Allison University in November 1999, enabled scholars from many fields to meet in an interdisciplinary colloquium where they could compare approaches to the question of language and identity and explore the possibility for future collaboration. The papers that follow reflect something of the dynamic and constructive spirit of that encounter.

LANGUE ET IDENTITÉ

Depuis une vingtaine d'années, un nombre grandissant d'études indépendantes ont été consacrées à la question de la langue en tant que marque d'identité. Au Canada atlantique, les linguistes se sont intéressés tout particulièrement à l'élaboration de dictionnaires dialectaux et de lexiques régionaux, à l'étude des variations et des modifications linguistiques régionales du français comme de l'anglais, aux études sémantiques et pragmatiques et à la langue dans l'optique de l'étude de la condition féminine. Parallèlement, des recherches portant sur le langage ont été entreprises dans plusieurs autres disciplines dont la sociologie et l'anthropologie, la psychologie, les langues modernes et la géographie culturelle. Le colloque interdisciplinaire de l'ALPA sur la langue et l'identité, tenu à l'Université Mount Allison en novembre 1999, a permis à ces chercheurs de se rencontrer, de comparer leurs différentes approches et d'explorer la possibilité d'une éventuelle collaboration. Les actes présentés ici reflètent le dynamisme constructif de cette rencontre.

THE DISCOURSE OF AN ABORIGINAL FISHERY

Robert G. Adlam
Mount Allison University

ABSTRACT

The present paper draws on a collection of recorded interviews undertaken over the course of three summers of fieldwork among Aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi river of northern New Brunswick. Here particular attention is given to the discourse of these fishers, taken to mean their 'talk' about the fishery. Indeed it is through such discourses that the fishery is at once created and transformed reflecting in part past practice based on family gill net operations, and in more recent years, the experience of a highly regulated and waged trap net operation. It is hoped that the present paper will contribute to our understanding of the discursive construction of economy especially as this relates to the practices of aboriginal riverine fishers.

"According to Makah legend, salmon were people before they were transformed into fish and, as fish, they look forward to fulfilling their duty as food for earth people, part of the sacred cycle of life" (Roche and McHutchison 1998:12).

INTRODUCTION

At the heart of this paper are three aboriginal communities along one of eastern Canada's most beautiful river systems - the Miramichi. Indeed the Miramichi not only supports the riverine fishery of these aboriginal communities but continues to play a significant role in the larger non-aboriginal marine fishery. But unlike the marine fishery of nearby aboriginal communities such as Burnt Church which require a substantial investment in boats and related equipment, the aboriginal riverine fishery of the Miramichi has until recent years been conducted as a small-scale, family-based, gill net operation and essentially for the purposes of food. Beginning in the early 1990's, though, this started to change. Under the *Aboriginal Fishery Strategy* (AFS) programme, large and expensive trap nets came into use requiring fishery crews both for their installation and maintenance. The operation, which provided for the live capture of fish, also meant that harvesting could occur for food as well as for commercial purposes. Further, for aboriginal communities long faced with chronic underemployment, these agreements offered important wage-labour opportunities around the monitoring of fish stocks, enforcement through

guardianship and in the area of habitat restoration. But not everyone has witnessed the implementation of these agreements with the same degree of anticipation. In fact, concerns continue to be expressed over the distribution of benefits under these agreements as well as with respect to the overall effect these agreements have on 'existing' aboriginal and treaty rights. In addition, although these concerns have on occasion taken the form of violent confrontations such as occurred in 1995 at Big Hole Tract, much of the debate has remained embedded in what people say about the fishery. Indeed it is within this 'talk' about the fishery that one can find not only different but often competing conceptions of the aboriginal fishery. But perhaps more important than simply the differences found in these discursive practices, are that such discourses serve as the basis for decisions and actions taken with respect to the fishery. In short, they form, as a growing number of economic anthropologists have shown, a constitutive dimension of economy (Gudeman 1986; Robben 1989, 1994).

In what follows, then, attention focuses on principally two competing conceptions of the fishery among aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi river of northern New Brunswick. These the fishers have framed using various terms to characterize one as traditionalist, conservationist or environmentalist, while in the instance of the other, they have applied terms such as assimilated, modernized or modernist. Further, they hold a number of general notions about how these positions are constituted and differ from one another, as well as more specific or technical points that they consider to be important to this distinction. Finally, for fishers espousing any one of these positions, they are able to offer a critique of the other position citing its apparent failings and shortcomings. But the position taken can change and with it the associated discourses, suggesting, as Robben found among fishers of Camurim, Brazil, that these "...discourses are not static and clear-cut but shifting and ambiguous (1994: 894)" and likely to change in the face of new circumstances whatever their source.

THE ABORIGINAL FISHERY OF THE MIRAMICHI

As the records of early explorers show, aboriginal people of Atlantic Canada carried out an extensive fishery by means of weirs, nets of various types, traps, hand nets, scoop nets, spears, and even angling. The Mi'kmaq of the Miramichi River were certainly no exception to this rule where spears, particularly when employed using canoes equipped with torches, and weirs were prominent features of their fishery. Archaeological evidence attests to some 2,500 years of fishing activity along the Miramichi river (Allen 1994).

The country of the Miramichi Mi'kmaq contains numerous fish species – including Atlantic salmon, striped bass, sea-run brook trout, eels, gaspereau, smelts,

shad, and sturgeon. Although fishing took place from spring through until fall, particular attention was given to major runs of fish such as sturgeon and Atlantic salmon.

Traditionally, fish such as sturgeon and salmon were taken at a number of key locations along the Miramichi and its connecting rivers. Metepenagiag situated at the confluence of the Little South West Miramichi and the North West Miramichi River was a principal village site where the Mi'kmaq convened both to capture, dry and store large quantities of dried sturgeon and salmon. Today, the Mi'kmaq fishery is restricted to stretches of river in the immediate vicinity of the communities of Red Bank First Nation, Eel Ground First Nation and Big Hole Tract.

Selected descriptions of Mi'kmaq life begin as early as 1606 with Lescarbot (1911-1914) with subsequent contributions being made by Denys (1908), Maillard (1758), LeClercq (1910), Rand (1850, 1888, 1894), Bock (1966, 1978), Wallis and Wallis (1955) and Prins (1996). Most contain references to the Mi'kmaq fishery such as this one by Denys:

“At the narrowest place of the river where there is the least water they make a fence of wood clear across the river to hinder the passage of fish. In the middle of it they leave an opening in which they place a bag net like those used in France, so arranged that it is inevitable the fish should run into them. These bag nets are much longer than ours they raise two or three times a day and they always find fish therein, it is in the spring that the fish ascend and they descend in autumn and return to the sea. At that time they place the opening of the bag in the other direction” (Denys 1908: 437).

Indeed later, in direct reference to the Miramichi, Denys observes:

“If the Pigeons plagued us by their abundance, the Salmon gave us even more trouble. So large a quantity of them enters into this river that at night one is unable to sleep, so great is the noise they make in falling upon the water that after having thrown or darted themselves into the air” (Denys 1908: 193).

To draw on my own fieldwork, one aboriginal collaborator recounted how, when her father was a young man, “he would go down to the river and in an hour ... would have enough salmon to salt for the winter”. But this refers to a period of time perhaps in the late 1800's and certainly before the enforcement of regulatory measures which ultimately saw the closure of the salmon fishery in 1972. In fact it is hard to discuss the Mi'kmaq fishery of the Miramichi without reference to the non-

aboriginal fishery as it has developed over the past 300 years.

Although the Miramichi was largely unknown to the English in 1760, the French used the islands at the mouth of the river for drying and curing fish from the early 16th century (Dunfield 1985: 52). In 1688, Richard Denys, the son of Nicolas Denys, established a trading post on the Miramichi and although several settlements existed in the area by 1690, little attention was given to the salmon fishery. By 1765, however, this changed with the arrival of William Davidson. Davidson, along with an associate John Cort, received a 150 square mile land grant surrounding the lower reaches of both the Northwest and Southwest Miramichi rivers and proceeded to develop a fixed-net method of salmon fishing. This involved hanging nets from poles which had been driven into the river bed in lines stretching diagonally across the river from shore to shore. By the mid-1770's Davidson was annually exporting between 660,000 and 850,000 pounds of salmon. This ended effectively in 1777 with Davidson's departure but was re-opened by Davidson in 1784. The following year saw him exporting 472,000 pounds of salmon from the Miramichi. Nor did his aggressive fishing practices go unnoticed; the local sheriff for instance complained that the cross nets prevented fish from reaching their spawning grounds; and at one point aboriginal people situated above Davidson's fishery were "on the brink of starvation for lack of salmon (Dunfield 1985: 65)". Although a fisheries act was brought into effect in 1786, virtually half the province including the Miramichi was exempted. By 1789, just over 1.4 million pounds of salmon was taken from the Miramichi with that amount rising to 1.8 million pounds by 1800. By 1799, the Provincial Legislature found it necessary to invoke a new *Act for Regulating the Fisheries in the County of Northumberland*, a county which embraced the Miramichi, thereby establishing gear limits, weekly and seasonal closed times, and the appointment of an overseer for each town or settlement along the river. Even so, the Miramichi continued to support a prosperous local salmon industry. This was to change, however, with noticeable declines being reported in salmon stocks by the 1820's, and although there were slight increases during the 1830's, declines were once again being reported by 1843. In addition to the impact of fishing practices, the timber industry through stream driving and dam building created yet further obstacles affecting stock survival, a fact noted by Moses Perley in his report to the New Brunswick legislature in 1849. Indeed, in responding to Perley's report, the Legislature moved to draft new fisheries regulations which it enacted in 1851. As before, though, as one observer noted:

"All the rivers in New Brunswick are very much damaged by over netting, both in the tideway, along the coast, and also in fresh water. At first, it appears a miracle how any salmon can manage to pass the labyrinth of nets, set with hardly any restriction; for although there are very fair fishery laws, they are but seldom enforced" (Dashwood 1872: 31).

Finally, in 1843, salmon canning operations opened on Portage Island at the mouth of Miramichi Bay followed by, a short time later, a similar operation on Fox Island. By 1864, island canneries were exporting more than 400,000 pounds of salmon to the United States and the United Kingdom (Dunfield 1985: 128). Supporting these cannery operations on the islands were 30 fishing stands, which if combined, represented some seven miles of net on these two islands alone. In addition to this, on the Northwest Miramichi and its tributaries, for instance, over seventy nets were being used by 1865, “including nineteen on the freshwater reaches of the main stream, five on the Little Southwest branch, and three on the Sevogle” (Hardy 1855:118).

The overall effect of this intensive commercial fishing on the Miramichi was to see continuing reductions in stocks – a process which had started at least as early as the 1820's; along with increasing efforts to regulate the fishery with an eye to conservation – a process which had been initiated in New Brunswick as early as 1786 – both with reference to fishing times and equipment. There were as well implications from these developments for aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi. Perhaps one of the most dramatic changes was the transformation of the fishery from weirs and spears to the use of nets. It had the effect of changing the fishery from one of live capture which enabled a process of selection using spears to one where essentially the harvest was anything caught in the net. Further, while aboriginal fishers remained engaged in a communal food fishery throughout the period up to negotiations of the first *Aboriginal Fishery Strategy* (AFS) agreement in 1992, their non-aboriginal counterparts fished commercially around them. An aboriginal fisher of Eel Ground First Nation conveys his experience of this:

“A French fisherman from St. Louis de Kent or Buctouche area used to come in and fish gaspereau. Sometimes I remember there were about thirty or forty boats. Then you had your non-natives that live here and fish commercially with gaspereau and salmon. We were surrounded but the native people were not allowed to fish. They used to sneak in at night and set a net. And the Indian agents used to give the okay to the gaspereau fishermen ... to fish on the shores of the Indian reserve ...”

A rather different experience is related by another of Eel Ground First Nation:

“When my father had a commercial licence back in the ‘60's and ‘70's, and my grandfather before that, you would figure that a commercial licence was to sell ... commercial ... to sell and all that. But because he was native he couldn't make a living from it. He wasn't allowed to sell anything. He could eat all he want, but how

many people do you see out there in the commercial fisheries living off whatever they caught? They don't. It's sold so you can make money, so you can buy other things. But we weren't allowed to do that ” .

A traditionalist from Red Bank First Nation summed it up this way:

“When the Europeans came with their customs, traditions and values, it started a process of change and assimilation. To a degree, the native peoples have been assimilated or modernized. The change has devastated a lot of our culture, our traditional, holistic value system ... Nowadays everything is very, very commercial ... exploiting everything that moves. Today they are concentrating on a few areas that are good commodities. People got to eat, and if you have food people will buy that. One of the delicacies in this area is salmon. Therefore the fishery has become a focus and the industry is seen as an area where ‘you can haul in the cash’”.

But the process of change, certainly with respect to commercial interests, has not been a particularly smooth one. Examples of this began to surface in the 1970's amidst a more stringent enforcement of fishery regulations. What erupted were the so-called ‘salmon wars’ with violent confrontations between Mi'kmaq fishers and provincial authorities over issues of jurisdiction and access to the fishery. Indeed, one such hot spot was just up the coast from the Miramichi at Restigouche. The incident drew national attention and became the subject of a full length documentary film by the National Film Board of Canada¹.

On the Miramichi, initially protests took the form of legal challenges to do with a Band communal fishing license and fishing in waters outside the area specified in that license. This developed into a full blown dispute in 1995 with confrontations between Federal fisheries officers and local aboriginal residents of Big Hole Tract. An aboriginal fisher from Big Hole Tract explains:

“They blew all my windows out; while my family and I were in there. They came in the middle of the night, well 2 am in the morning, they pulled up outside and they blew all the windows out of my house ... and holes in the walls. ... We never once picked up arms, or ... any kind of weapon to attack Fisheries. ... [After this] everybody was just getting ready to, you know all out war ... Everybody had loaded guns”.

At issue was being able to fish using gill nets within reserve waters at this location.

This was problematic because of the narrowness of the river at Big Hole, the fact these were non-tidal waters, and resulting concerns for conservation. Fortunately an agreement was reached to use a trap net at this location.

What characterizes the fishery of the Miramichi is a process of intensive exploitation, typically difficult to regulate and manage, in which non-aboriginal and aboriginal fishers face-off over their access to a dwindling resource. Historically, that one has been able to sell their catch, while the other has been restricted to a food fishery, continues to be a source of tension. Although the *Aboriginal Fishery Strategy* (AFS) has brought Miramichi Mi'kmaq into the regulatory and management process, providing training and employment, as well as commercial possibilities, concerns continue to be expressed about the equitable distribution of these benefits within the aboriginal communities and the overall effect of these agreements on 'existing' aboriginal and treaty rights.

THE DISCOURSE OF ABORIGINAL FISHERS

The principal source of data in this study is an extensive collection of recorded interviews undertaken over the course of three summers of fieldwork among aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi River (Adlam, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999). These fishers live in one of three aboriginal communities: Eel Ground First Nation, Red Bank First Nation, or Big Hole Tract. The interview material, some of it collected by aboriginal research assistants, provides a running commentary about the place of the fishery in aboriginal life. The time frame covered by these interviews extends from the present back to about 1950. Over this period of time a number of major changes have taken place in the fishery which are reflected in the discourses of aboriginal fishers. Prominent among these changes was the beginning of the *Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy* (AFS) initiated in 1992, coming on the heels of the Supreme Court's ruling in *R. v. Sparrow*. These agreements, which started as single year arrangements, have grown into multi-year agreements. They include provisions for fish and stream enhancement, fisheries guardian programme, monitoring of fish stocks, and training. They have provided a valuable opportunity for the participation of aboriginal fishers in a co-management arrangement providing employment. But as promising as these agreements have been for some within the aboriginal communities, others contend that it has been at the expense of largely unrecognized 'rights' in the fishery.

We might begin, then, by asking: how do Mi'kmaq 'talk' about their

aboriginal fishery; are there recurring features embedded in these discourses; and finally, in what sense might it be said that the fishery is constructed through these discursive practices?

As already noted, there are two distinct and competing conceptions of the fishery among aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi river. These the fishers have framed using various terms to characterize one as traditionalist, conservationist or environmentalist, while in the instance of the other, they have applied terms such as assimilated, modernized or modernist. It is precisely from such vantage points that fishers articulate their concerns on a wide range of issues from their 'rights' as aboriginal people in the fishery through to their position on conservation, regulation and overall management of fishery resources. In what follows, then, I cast these two positions as *profiles* of the aboriginal riverine fishery of the Miramichi river.

Profile 1

The traditionalist conception of the fishery, as asserted by self-ascribed 'traditionalists' and other adherents to this position, is fundamentally about the relationship between nature and aboriginal society. It is described as long-standing, as broadly encompassing and as more than just about meeting the material needs of aboriginal society. Indeed it is in this sense that the relationship is presented as traditional, holistic and as central to the value system of aboriginal society. As one traditionalist explains:

"it incorporates a lot because it has to do with the right to be a people on the land – the original people on the land – to be able to hunt, to fish, to trap and to be able to do all those things that the creator has given us".

As this relates to the fishery, it is a relationship which embodies the principles guiding the use and management of fishery resources. As such, traditionalists argue that aboriginal people should have unfettered access to fishery resources as a matter of right – a right which they should not be required to justify or defend. Accordingly, for traditionalists, entering into agreements with government, such as under the AFS programme only serves to compromise such rights by offering short term benefits aimed at drawing aboriginal people into regulatory arrangements. A traditionalist explains:

"as I said, we go by government regulations, their set rules. They

basically set up the agreement. There is no 'let's sit down with the Natives and talk about an agreement that's equally balanced for one another, and work together'. It doesn't work that way. They make the agreement and tell you to read it and sign it. When people start to rebel on them, people wonder why, because they never sat down. Another reason why is that they always hold funding back".

In fact for some, such agreements are seen as having yet a further effect, namely, commodifying such rights so that they can be 'sold off'. Of course, part of the attraction to any such agreement with government, as one aboriginal fisher explains, has a good deal to do with the circumstances faced by many aboriginal people:

"there are some people with not enough employment. So that's why sometimes they look at it [the fishery] as gold, because they make their living by them fish and that river. They have been on welfare all winter and if you've been on welfare all winter, you want to catch a salmon and maybe catch one or two salmon – holy jumpin's, you gonna get a couple of dollars if you sell them. Turn around, that's the reason why its been exploited the way it has been because the lure of that almighty dollar over-rides your tradition, your heritage, But we're slowly trying to bring [our tradition] back into our way of life".

Yet another dilemma faced by aboriginal fishers has to do with the perceptions held by non-aboriginal fishers. As a traditionalist explains:

"if we set nets, the non-natives will say, 'If they can set nets, so can we' and poaching starts, wardens get hurt because of disputes at night. Non-natives say that it's the native people who are causing it. But natives say that it's their right to fish. They've always been here. They can't understand why there is the dispute".

Beyond this, an additional impact has come from the industrial fishery. As a traditionalist explains:

"One of the delicacies in this area is salmon. Therefore the fishery has become a focus and the industry is seen as an area where you can haul in the cash. It may do something for the economy if you put back into it and build the economy up. The value system has changed; there's a clash between traditional and modern ways. The people are forgetting about the holistic traditional value system".

But not only has the industrial fishery had an impact, other forms of industrialization

have had an effect on the larger eco-system. Again a traditionalist explains:

"I know that the environment is changing, I can see that happening. How does the DFO control the run of the salmon up the river. They are making all the rules and regulations but sometimes things happen like pulp mills dumping waste straight into the river. We can't touch them cause they're a multi-million dollar corporation. Heath Steel mines are dumping also, and that's also a big corporation and we can't touch them. But we can wrestle with the Indians. Let's blame it on them so that at least we can say we're doing something. But where else do you hear that the DFO is involved with a group of people? You don't hear it anywhere else; just with native people".

For traditionalists, then, access to the fishery is regarded as a right based on a long tradition of use. At least for some, the appeal of agreements with government, the perceptions of non-aboriginal fishers, the importance given to the industrial fishery, as well as the polluting effect of other forms of industrialization – have all worked to severely constrain the exercise of this right. Further, added to this are technical constraints linked to equipment and location. Here an aboriginal fisher explains, contrasting the fishery at Eel Ground with that at Big Hole Tract:

"Here [Big Hole Tract], they did it here because they could wade out. They could wade out, set their net and come in. You didn't need a boat, you didn't need all this equipment – safety gear, motors and everything. Where up where they've got the fishing spot now [Eel Ground] you do. You need that equipment. So a lot of people who traditionally fished with nets can't do it. The only ones who can are people ... who have motorboats and all these things that are at their disposal at any time because they also run the fishery programs and the fishery equipment. It's stuff like that that causes conflict".

For people like this aboriginal fisher, agreements with government have privileged some with access to equipment which enables them to participate in both trap net operations, as integral features of such agreements, as well as in gill netting. More troubling, though, for this aboriginal fisher and others is that these agreements have meant fishing outside traditional waters. Again this aboriginal fisher explains:

"In Eel Ground's agreement there's ten nets for traditionalists, but they're not in band waters. They're not in traditional water; they're not in places that are easily accessible. In my agreement, they would be. They would cover all band waters – which is traditional fishing ground. That would have to be in any agreement that I put together; it would have to have that right in there".

For those who subscribe to the traditionalist's position, then, fishery agreements under the AFS programme have worked to compromise the fundamental rights of aboriginal people in the fishery. Further, they have raised questions about who controls the aboriginal fishery as well as who really benefits under these agreements. In fact, this is part of a critique they offer of those they see as the principal promoters of the alternative position featured in the next section.

Profile 2

Modernists speak from a different experience of the fishery, often with the objective of trying to achieve an equal footing with Euro-Canadians in their access and use of the fishery. Indeed, this has grown out of situations where two standards seem to apply. Here an aboriginal fisher from Eel Ground First Nation provides one such illustration:

"When I was growing up I was about 15 years old and I was sitting by the shore one night, cleaning a salmon. I was putting the guts in the river and the smell of the blood was getting in the water. The eels came flocking into shore. Big, huge things. I was 15 years old and getting out of high school and get this big brain storm; I am gonna make lots of money. I'm going downtown and buy an eel licence – \$50.00. Anybody today can buy an eel licence. And you are suppose to be able to sell any eels that you want to sell. I went down and asked for a licence. 'No problem, just fill out the application...' Then it asked for 4 or 5 pieces of ID. At that time I gave my student ID, my Indian Status card, and my birth certificate. He looked at the card and said 'you're an Indian'. I said, 'Yes, I'm from Eel Ground'. 'You don't need a licence'. 'Geez, that's great, I don't need a licence. But can I sell?' 'Oh, you can't sell... you're an Indian'. 'If I buy a licence, am I allowed to sell?' 'You're not allowed to have a licence, because you're an Indian.' But anyone else could walk in that door and buy a licence for \$50.00 and make a living. We couldn't".

For this aboriginal fisher, this early experience embodies the central contradiction that really all modernist fishers have faced, namely, two different types of access to the fishery – one use-based essentially for food – the other commercially-based, and consequently, with one, the former, offering little by way of opportunity while the latter holds all the potential for social and economic gain. For modernists, then, a good part of the objective has been to find a mechanism which would legitimize an expansion of the aboriginal fishery beyond its traditional food-based roots. Indeed this opportunity surfaced for the first time in 1992, in the wake of the *Sparrow* decision, in the form of AFS agreements. These offered important wage-labour

opportunities around monitoring of fish stocks, enforcement through guardianship and in the area of habitat restoration. For a past Director of Fisheries at Red Bank First Nations, this translated into important employment opportunities:

"See, right now, the Red Bank people here has received that money. That means – the 99% of the people here that are unemployed for most of the season – that means \$400,000.00 really helps the reserve pretty good as far as employment goes. What that is, also, it creates the work plus we get a little bit of fish for the reserve".

Admittedly, a dilemma with such agreements is the potential for cut-backs in government funding. The past director explains:

"We'll be receiving \$469,000.00 this year. They cut our budget by 15%. What that means is about \$60,000.00 that we certainly could use, but the DFO decided to cut it and they said they'll give it to us later on. We'll get it back later on ... if there's other reserves in the province that don't sign these agreements ... the money will come to Red Bank".

Another issue has to do with ensuring community compliance under these agreements. A past Fisheries Co-ordinator at Eel Ground First Nation explains:

"In the early seventies, the Native really had to fight for any rights to the fishery without being hassled by fisheries people. Through protests and such, access was gained. Old timers that remember having these protests and struggles are the ones that want to fish the gill nets because it's something that they had to fight for ... Anglers on the Miramichi take their sport to heart and when their sport is threatened by Natives using the gill net, 'people get their feathers ruffled'. There has been a lot of tension on the river for a long time in terms of Natives using gill nets and taking catches in different times. The people who abused this resource really took a lot of fish and sold them on the black market".

A Fishery Guardian with Red Bank First Nation offers his perspective on the process:

"A lot of people didn't want the trap nets – they still wanted to fish. They didn't want their rights to be trampled upon. So whatever these little changes year after year, the federal government put the money up, so let's put the natives working with their own resource, manage their own resources and proper distribution. They going to do the

nets away and have the river regulated by their own people and this is what happened over these years here. That's what it is today.... There was violence, there was threats ... but it was our people that had to deal with our people, in a more friendly way.... Well, I think sometimes it was a little more forceful, doing things you didn't like to do. But it was a way of teaching. Maybe that's not the word for it, but teaching that there's a change here and we have to abide".

The transition from gill nets to communal trap nets has been difficult and has been handled differently by the three aboriginal communities. Thus Red Bank First Nation has curtailed its use of gill nets other than for a period of about two weeks during installation of two trap nets when it uses three or four gill nets; while Eel Ground First Nation installs four trap nets and has retained the use of some nine gill nets. For its part, after years of fighting for its rights in the fishery through the use of gill nets, people at Big Hole Tract have negotiated a co-management agreement with Eel Ground First Nation to operate a single communal trap net with no provisions for gill nets. The change from gill nets to trap nets has also meant a change from the two or so individuals needed to set up and run gill nets to where crews of ten to twelve are required to set up and operate the larger trap nets. In fact, it takes crews seven days to build the two trap nets in the waters off Red Bank First Nation.

A further consideration in this process is location. Thus at locations such as Red Bank First Nation and Big Hole Tract, the river is narrower and more shallow than at Eel Ground First Nation, where not only is the river wider but considerably deeper with four to six foot tidal waters. Yet while the former are restricted to traditional fishing water, Eel Ground First Nation has been able to establish an expanded fishing area which includes, in addition to waters within reserve boundaries, trap net locations on the South-west Miramichi river. Even so, a past Fisheries Co-ordinator at Eel Ground First Nation sums it up this way:

"Overall, I think that it turned out to be a better fishery. Now we are more conservation minded, more aware of the effects of how to utilize the fish. Our technicians are becoming more experienced in terms of the different habits, diseases and parasites, mating, etc.. The stuff we know today was not common knowledge eleven years ago. Over all, the best thing to come out of the contemporary fishery is - one, that everyone has access to the fishery and everyone gets their fair share - and two, those who want to utilize the gill [net] fishery can. But we only use a dozen stands, since people will all get some fish, most don't bother to go out and use the gill nets".

DISCUSSION

Traditionalists featured in *Profile 1* frame their construction of the fishery around the relationship of aboriginal society to nature. Indeed it is at this nexus that we find the holistic, traditional value system as the source of a fundamental right which aboriginal fishers argue they have to the fishery. For these fishers, then, agreements with government for access to a fishery to which they already have an established right of access, only serves to compromise or, in their words, ‘bargain away’ their right. Of course what needs to be remembered is the struggle of aboriginal fishers of the Miramichi to win recognition of this right – a right established by treaty some two centuries ago as well as recognized and affirmed by section 35 (1) of the Canadian Constitution. But modernists, as outlined in *Profile 2*, are not above using this established right themselves as a bargaining chip in their negotiations with government. However, modernists are equally as quick at referring to this struggle as part of the past and those who won it as ‘old timers’. They are also likely to see what was won, at least in reference to traditionalists, as more limited in scope – perhaps even as being won on a technicality.

Both traditionalists and modernists are acutely aware of the political and economic conditions surrounding the fishery. Here a traditionalist offers a critical perspective of the modernist position:

"... The leaders have to be more careful with what they sign. They may be anxious to sign those papers because they'll get \$500,000.00 or \$600,000.00 and create a lot of jobs in the community. It looks good for the next election or looks good publicly but that's dangerous 'cause they could be selling out the rights of the people".

Modernists might respond:

"Some of the traditionalists up here get me so mad because the talk is there but the walk isn't. It's great to know that we have community leaders going all over the country saying how wonderful it is, but in their own backyard it's falling to pot. But he or she is out there getting the benefits of the non-native culture – getting all that money – but their own children are dying because of drug abuse, mental, physical or sexual abuse – just suffering".

Broadly there are two issues at play here, one to do with the relationship of aboriginal society to the larger non-aboriginal society, perhaps particularly as this relates to the deployment of ‘traditional’ aboriginal culture [‘how wonderful it is’] but also to do with certain consequences [‘selling out the rights’ or ‘drug abuse, mental and physical abuse’] as a result of this relationship, and another which centers on the

internal dynamic of aboriginal society around governance [‘the next election’] and a responsibility to an emerging aboriginal generation [‘creating a lot of jobs’ or ‘but their own children are dying’]. In short, for traditionalists, financial partnership with non-aboriginal society produces short term employment benefits at the risk of jeopardizing longer term ‘rights’ – particularly those of future generations of aboriginal people. For modernists, by contrast, an evolving relationship with non-aboriginal society is inevitable and it is the consequences of this for younger aboriginal people which must be recognized and addressed.

Traditionalists and modernists also have a good understanding of the threatened state of fish stocks as well as knowledge of the technical aspects of the fishery to do with the behaviour of fish in their riverine environment, the life cycle of fish species, and habitat problems related to water and bed conditions. But they are likely to use this information in their assessment of various fishery strategies in different ways. The following assessment by a traditionalist offers one such illustration:

"Conservation, management, regulation, I can agree with. That has to happen. There has to be sometimes some tight restrictions, for instance, trap nets as opposed to gill nets in some areas as communal food fisheries. But there still has to be that option open for the individual who wants to get his own fish for his own family and teach his children to get his fish for his own family – and that can't be done with a communal trap net. That whole way of life is completely wiped out with communal trap nets".

There are essentially two issues here. One has to do with a more selective use of trap nets as part of a communal food fishery in contrast to the use of gill nets by individuals as part of the traditional aboriginal fishery. While the other has to do with ‘teaching one’s children’ to fish as part of a broader enculturative process. They are important issues because they are how Miramichi Mi’kmaq enter the fishery. Communal trap nets are installed and operated by waged fishery crews while gill nets can be set and run by one or two individuals. Indeed it is the very nature of gill net operations which lends itself to the ‘teaching’ just noted. But as one modernist observes, the use of gill nets can directly affect the access of others.

"Let's say he's fishing on 5 here – license #5, gill net license 5. So he fishes there for one week and he sets up his buoys and everything. Then, he says, ‘I don't want nobody using my buoys’! You know what I mean? That's the fishing they're going to have and some people don't have the buoys.... A lot of people complain that they don't have the chance to fish".

Alternatively, communal trap nets seem to solve the problem of access by offering, at least potentially, a more equitable system of catch distribution. But the trap net's limited means of capture often results in a catch which falls well short of meeting the needs of a food fishery. A traditionalist explains:

"The way it is now, I have to wait in line and wait for this process they go through with the trap nets. ... To me it doesn't work ... This year, so far they have only brought one grilt [grilse]. That's not a food fishery. Some people might be satisfied but I'm not. I don't eat a lot of salmon but if I had enough to last me the winter it would help me a lot, cause I'm unemployed. If you draw \$500 - \$ 700 a week salary you don't need that, but when you're on welfare - it makes you want to go out there and get those salmon".

Finally, added to this is a regulatory regime around the communal trap net fishery which some view as at odds with an older system of exchange. Another traditionalist explains:

"We still barter and trade fish here ... What fish I don't use, what fish I know I'm not going to use, people come here from Burnt Church or Big Cove, they bring me lobster from their fishery, I trade grilt [grilse] to them. People from Big Cove come with bass, we don't get bass here, we don't get lobster here. I trade grilt to them for bass, you know it still goes on. It goes on between Indians the same as it always has. ... There was no money changing hands two hundred years ago, but they're signing clauses in here that you can't do this".

While the communal trap net fishery, then, offers a means for the live capture of fish - ideal for fish monitoring activities as well as for food selection - it by no means guarantees an adequate supply of fish nor necessarily allows for the exchange mechanism just described. But perhaps most troubling for traditionalists is the loss created through the use of communal trap nets in terms of the enculturative process.

As a traditionalist explains:

"My husband taught my children to fish with gill nets and be able to supply fish for their families. He taught them how to walk them out, he taught them how to set them. He taught them how to check them safely and how to get the fish off, how to kill the fish, how to clean the fish, how to put them away. That way of life is destroyed with fishery agreements... ".

But a modernist might counter:

"For some of the traditionalists to come to me and say, 'you should be doing this or that' and you don't see them doing it here, but they are doing it everywhere else – a thousand miles away. Why can't they do it here? I think of one fella' so plain. He showed me a few things in life, but I look at his children and his grandchildren and wonder why he don't show his own children. Why are you even trying to show me? I had to learn his son how to fish cause that traditional person's son didn't know how to fish – didn't know how to sew a net – didn't know how to row a boat – didn't even know the difference between the tide coming in or the tide going out. Didn't know what a salmon or a trout looked like. ... But yet they have the traditionalist talk about the wildlife, habitat, the forests, yet his son doesn't know".

These competing discourses around fishery strategy form the backdrop which shapes the decisions and actions that traditionalists and modernists make in the fishery. As can be seen from above, they are the discourses of individuals embodying a particular history of engagement within the fishery. But among such discourses can be found areas of common representation from which are fashioned the two competing conceptions of the fishery profiled in this paper. That these conceptions vary to some extent from individual to individual simply reflects the different paths by which fishers arrive at this common ground. That these conceptions, constituted here as traditionalist and modernist positions, exist at all is suggestive of what Robben concludes about his work among fishers of Camurin, Brazil:

"... that what may seem like a coherent, logically integrated system of economic actions and decisions may actually be a complex of contradictory structures, practices and discourses" (1994: 897).

CONCLUSION

In their paper entitled 'Icelandic dialogues: Individual differences in Indigenous Discourses', Palsson and Durrenberger, in a tack similar to that taken by Gudeman and Rivera (1990), argue for an approach to indigenous discourse which recognizes:

"the continuity of the discursive community, the role of human agency, and the inevitability of difference and disagreement, embracing and participating in both the flow and unity of the Malinowskian 'long conversation' and the noisiness of the Bakhtinian

‘dialogue’" (1992: 303).

As demonstrated throughout this paper, the aboriginal fishery of the Miramichi is more than the physical presence of boats, gear and fishery crews – it is a fishery constructed through the discourses of its aboriginal practitioners. Further, these discourses serve to frame different conceptions of the fishery, which as we have seen, are cast along traditionalist and modernist lines. However even within such broad categories, the flow of discourse we encounter is not static or necessarily clear-cut – given instead to shifts and a certain level of ambiguity – and expected to change in the face of new circumstances. But even as conceptions of the fishery – they are more still – since they are constitutive of the actions and decisions made in the fishery. Indeed a major incident demonstrating this fact occurred in 1995 when residents of Big Hole Tract, long frustrated with growing fishing restrictions in their area, decided to take matters into their own hands and set gill nets. The ensuing confrontation with fishery authorities drew national attention to their situation and eventually led to an agreement. Finally, the incident highlights one further point, namely, that in the face of an emerging dominant discourse around government sponsored trap net operations, little room was left for the expression of alternative interpretations. Unable to effect meaningful change, residents of Big Hole Tract in this case, could see no other choice than to engage in resistance strategies.

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GLOTTOPOLITIQUE, INSÉCURITÉ LINGUISTIQUE ET LANGUES MINORITAIRES AU NIGÉRIA

Emmanuel AITO

Université de Regina

RÉSUMÉ

Irréversiblement hétérogène, la situation linguistique au Nigéria ne saurait aucunement s'accommoder aux tendances à la homogénéisation. Ceci dit, il mérite de signaler que ce multilinguisme est souvent caractérisé par une situation d'exclusion réciproque dont la coexistence demeure foncièrement asymétrique quant à l'effectif et à l'influence des langues majoritaires vis-à-vis des langues minoritaires prises isolément. Cette situation pourrait se modifier et s'améliorer compte tenu de l'ensemble des langues minoritaires qui luttent de plus en plus de concert contre l'assimilation et la domination.

L'interface qui résulte de l'insertion de la langue au sein de la culture ou de l'attribution d'une autonomie à la culture renvoie à deux perspectives anthropologiques qui renforcent davantage le besoin impératif de maintenir son identité linguistique et culturelle.

Face à la situation linguistico-politique actuelle défavorable des langues minoritaires, nous nous proposons d'examiner ponctuellement l'impact des tendances glottopolitiques au Nigéria par l'intermédiaire d'une de ces langues minoritaires, à savoir l'ésan.

INTRODUCTION

Au Nigéria, dans une société irréversiblement hétérogène, l'anglais langue officielle exerce une forte influence sur les langues maternelles. Le multilinguisme est marqué par plus de 250 langues (Leclerc 1979:28; Mackey 1976:49). Les linguistes nigériens, selon leur formation américaine ou européenne, parlent souvent des dialectes (dans le sens de Leclerc:30) et estiment qu'il y a plus de 500 langues maternelles. Malgré la description linguistique des langues majoritaires (le haoussa, le yorouba et l'igbo), toutes ces langues maternelles emploient des éléments néologiques anglais (souvent naturalisés) pour nommer les réalités modernes, ce phénomène sociolinguistique remontant à l'époque coloniale. Entre ces langues, face au besoin de dénomination, il est peu d'éléments empruntés les unes aux autres. En voici quelques exemples d'intégration tirés de l'ésan. Nous adoptons ici la graphie française pour les mots en ésan bien que ceux-ci soient normalement écrits avec la graphie anglaise.

<u>Français</u>	<u>Anglais</u>	<u>Ésan</u>
<i>voiture</i>	<i>(motor)-car</i>	<i>imoto</i>
<i>école</i>	<i>school</i>	<i>isikou(lou); iskou(lou)</i>
<i>avion</i>	<i>aeroplane</i>	<i>arop(i)lé</i>
<i>électricité</i>	<i>electricity</i>	<i>eletrik(i)</i>
<i>table</i>	<i>table</i>	<i>itébou(lou)</i>
<i>radio</i>	<i>radio</i>	<i>irédio</i>
<i>télévision</i>	<i>television</i>	<i>(i)televisson</i>

On trouve aussi des cas exceptionnels:

<i>cuillère</i>	<i>spoon</i>	<i>ikouiyè</i>
<i>banane</i>	<i>banana</i>	<i>jéméka (oghede)</i>

Puisque le contexte colonial britannique du Nigéria exclut presque tout contact avec le français, on se demande comment il arrive que *ikouiyè* porte les traces de cette langue. De même, *jéméka* renvoie à l'emprunt toponymique de la Jamaïque. Il en existe certainement des raisons, telle le contact avec les Portugais à un moment donné dans l'histoire du pays, mais elles sont à creuser de manière probante. Il pourrait s'agir d'une correspondance fortuite, mais il serait intéressant de s'y pencher en profondeur, sans pour autant perdre de vue les pays limitrophes dont l'histoire coloniale implique nécessairement la France.

1 INSÉCURITÉ LINGUISTIQUE

Les langues minoritaires au Nigéria telles l'éсан se voient constamment devant l'impératif de combattre le système politique et économique et de se protéger contre la domination culturelle. Malgré ces efforts, on s'aperçoit de l'insécurité qui se manifeste faute de l'appauvrissement des moyens dénommatifs, de la moquerie, du dénigrement issu des préjugés nationaux, politiques, ethniques ou linguistiques. Cela se manifeste davantage à travers l'hésitation (Darbelnet 1970:48) entre des modes d'expressions. Mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que la culpabilisation linguistique (Leclerc 1979:35) entraîne également la valorisation d'une langue au détriment des autres jugées moins importantes. Certes, le concept d'identité culturelle est indissociable de la particularisation qu'apporte la langue qui facilite l'expression de soi et de son univers particulier.

Toute communauté (Leclerc 1992:157) s'attache profondément à sa langue, quel que soit l'état de sa description formelle. À titre d'exemple, devant la situation glottopolitique au Nigéria,

on lit éditorial de Pat Utomi (*Guardianews Editorial* du 02 novembre 1999) qui suggère une concertation lorsqu'il écrit ceci: "*If the truth be told, Nigeria is a country of minorities. Put together, the so-called minorities of Nigeria constitute a bigger bloc than the so-called majority groups put together*". De même Eskor Toyo (*Guardianews Features* du 22 septembre 1999) qui écrit que les minorités ethniques et religieuses au Nigéria sont trop fréquemment exploitées, opprimées, persécutées, tout en faisant face à la discrimination méthodiquement orchestrée par des groupes privilégiés, malgré la commission autrefois établie en 1957 par les colonialistes en réponse aux revendications des groupes minoritaires.

2 LA LANGUE ET SES LOCUTEURS

La langue est un instrument de communication employé par les membres d'une communauté linguistique donnée. Pour les linguistes, il s'agit d'un code, un ensemble structuré pour la transmission des messages. Mais "la langue est aussi une entité soumise aux conditions sociales, aux aléas de la politique et de l'économie, aux vicissitudes de l'histoire des hommes" (Leclerc 1979:15).

Cette institution appelée langue entretient des liens étroits avec ses locuteurs de sorte qu'ils deviennent tous les deux indissociables. Elle est même un reflet de la culture, de la mentalité collective, porteuse des marques de la réalité sociale, économique, scientifique et technologique.

Chaque langue dispose d'un nombre considérable de traits particuliers qui la définissent. Ces traits sont donc ce qui la distingue des autres langues. Les groupes sociaux se distinguent ainsi dans leur personnalité et dans leur mode d'envisager le monde. Même l'insertion de la langue au sein de la culture ou l'attribution d'une autonomie à la culture vue comme faisant partie intégrante de la langue (Hymes 1964:xxii) ne nuisent guère à cette observation anthropologique.

Étant une réalité sociale, la langue demeure un reflet de la société. Les transformations socio-politiques, économiques et technoscientifiques ont des retentissements à la fois perceptibles et sournois, subtils. Il est donc important de bien saisir les rôles que peut jouer la langue, à plus forte raison dans les communautés linguistiques où la langue cherche encore à se décrire. D'autres aspects pertinents sont les rôles des langues dominantes et véhiculaires, le choix d'une langue officielle et d'une langue nationale, et les situations où les langues ne sont pas nécessairement aux mêmes niveaux de description, d'où résultent d'énormes conflits. Le statut des langues minoritaires est bien illustré par Leclerc (1979:25) qui signale que: "[...] moins de 200 pays se partagent les 3 à 4 000 langues existantes", effectif qu'il met plus tard à jour (1992:135) et qui atteint "6 000 langues". Parmi le riche éventail de langues, certaines sont non reconnues par les forces politico-linguistiques dominantes qui assurent leur marginalisation et contribuent à leur appauvrissement. Le concept de

nationalisme linguistique n'est pas abstrait et il est bien exemplifié par la situation glottopolitique et glottonomique au Québec.

3 UNE LANGUE NIGÉRIANE EN TANT QUE LANGUE OFFICIELLE

Nous proposons de faire un survol rapide des déclarations et des éclaircissements sur la problématique de l'adoption d'une des langues nigérianes comme langue officielle du pays, c'est-à-dire une langue autochtone capable de remplacer l'anglais.

Osaji (1979) a tenté de faciliter cette discussion par le biais de la recherche qu'il a menée sous l'égide de l'Université de Lagon qui lui a fourni les subventions nécessaires. Son but consistait à établir le nombre exact de langues et bien définir l'aire de chacune tout en soulignant la parenté des groupes de langues. Son travail a du mérite quand on se rend compte du manque d'intérêt porté aux langues autochtones nigérianes au profit de l'anglais et des langues majoritaires favorisées par les colonisateurs britanniques, une tendance qui se poursuit même après l'avènement de l'indépendance.

Par ailleurs, on notera le sort d'un organisme académique, à savoir *The Institute of Linguistics* à Jos (au Nigéria) auquel nous devons toutes les esquisses importantes et d'autres études séminales, dont la classification et d'autres aspects démographiques des langues minoritaires au Nigéria. Cet institut a été fermé par le gouvernement militaire fédéral pour des raisons politiques auxquelles nous faisons allusion précédemment: le mépris dans lequel sont tenues les langues minoritaires qui constituaient la focalisation de l'Institut, dont les chercheurs (linguistes, ethnologues, etc.) travaillaient en collaboration avec *l'Ahmadu Bello University* à Zaria et *l'Université du Nigéria* à Nsukka grâce au soutien du *Summer Institute of Linguistics* qui s'intéresse au développement des langues minoritaires et minorisées à l'échelle mondiale afin de faciliter leur description, leur sauvetage et leur sauvegarde.

4 LANGUES AU NIGÉRIA

Si en 1963, la population du Nigéria comptait à peu près 56 000 000 d'habitants, en 1998, selon le tout dernier recensement (provisoire, car il est encore disputé), on remarque qu'elle est passée à 104 000 000 d'habitants, ce qui constitue une augmentation importante. Osaji (1979:9) en fait un tableau compréhensif, fruit d'un travail auquel ont participé des chercheurs indépendants

nigériens sur le terrain, par opposition à ce que proposait le gouvernement pour répondre à ses propres finalités. Ce travail jouit donc de validité bien qu'il soit incomplet et dépassé. La répartition d' Osaji (:9-43) regroupe les noms des langues comme ils sont sanctionnés par les locuteurs, l'aire, les sujets et leur situation géographique, et il offre une tentative de classification. C'est ainsi qu'il recense 368 langues dont les plus répandues sont le haoussa (locuteurs: 5 700 000), le yorouba (5 100 000) et l'igbo (5 500 000). Il y en a toutefois qui contestent ces chiffres. Il faut noter également que les Igbos ont été décimés lors de la guerre civile de 1966 à 1970 et qu'on estime le chiffre des victimes à plus d'un million. Par conséquent, les chiffres varient selon la source et la date du recensement.

Pour ce qui est de la langue numéro 98, l'ésan, Bede compte 183 000 sujets. Il indique par la suite que l'ésan appartient à la famille kwa (koua) du North Central Edo. La distribution selon les états du pays est approximativement la suivante: Anambra, 5 langues recensées; Bauchi, 20; Bendel, 22; Benue, 11; Borno, 23; Cross Rivers, 53; Gongola, 78; Imo, 2; Kaduna, 44; Kano, 5; Kwara, 11; Lagon, 2; Niger, 17; Ogun, 1; Ondo, 7; Oyo, 1; Plateau, 65; Rivers, 18; Sokoto, 12.

5 LANGUE MATERNELLE DANS LE SYSTÈME SCOLAIRE

La place de la langue maternelle dans le système scolaire est reconnue par tout intéressé comme étant primordiale au Nigéria. Malgré les diverses déclarations de l'ONU sur les minorités linguistiques et sur les droits de la personne (Leclerc 1992:214-219) les fondements psychologiques et sociologiques des politiques pertinentes n'ont pas toujours été scrupuleusement respectés partout comme au Nigéria. Pourtant, en l'absence d'une langue autochtone officielle, il incombe aux responsables de former les jeunes dans la langue de leur univers psycho-social. D'ailleurs, les groupes majoritaires assurent que les langues majoritaires sont les langues véhiculaires au moins dans les écoles primaires. Ces langues font souvent partie du cursus de nombreuses universités subventionnées par le gouvernement fédéral.

Nous avons souligné à plusieurs reprises ailleurs que l'enfant qui grandit sans se constituer des expériences dans la langue primaire qu'est sa langue maternelle, s'éloigne de son milieu, de sa famille et de son héritage. Osaji (1979:114-119) en discute exhaustivement en citant les sources nigérianes pour soutenir sa thèse qui pose que devant la situation du bilinguisme nigérian (langue maternelle et l'anglais, langue officielle), où il existe une situation asymétrique, le haoussa doit jouir de la promotion au rang national pour devenir langue officielle au même titre que l'anglais qu'il remplacera ultérieurement. Il faut noter ici que telle est trop souvent la conclusion de certains membres des groupes majoritaires qui ne représentent que leurs propres intérêts, et on n'y manquera pas l'enjeu glottopolitique.

Il ne faut pas oublier le statut du pidgin dans le pays. Bien qu'il soit répandu dans le grand public, dans le commerce, il ne jouit d'aucun prestige dans le système scolaire où on déconseille et décourage de l'employer. Ceci provient en partie du fait qu'il est considéré comme étant une langue défigurée et déformée avec un vocabulaire limité. De fait, il concurrence les langues nigérianes et l'anglais.

Le haoussa, selon Osaji (1979:163-173), mérite d'être adopté à la place de l'anglais et avant le pidgin pour diverses raisons. Il estime que le haoussa possède déjà un vocabulaire assez vaste et qu'il s'agit d'une langue internationale décrite, possédant une littérature importante par opposition à la multiplicité de langues nigérianes dont la majorité reste encore à étudier et dont l'effectif est inférieur à celui du haoussa. Mais il ne peut qu'être étonnant qu'il passe sous silence la résistance potentielle (de la part d'autres groupes linguistiques se voyant déjà menacés) devant la perception d'imposition et d'insensibilité aux conséquences politiques. Il va sans dire qu'une fois mise en place, une telle politique serait l'asphyxie des langues minoritaires souvent méprisées.

Le haoussa se développe grâce aux subventions des gouvernements fédéral et étatique; ce qui n'est pas le cas pour les langues jugées moins importantes. Il se développe non seulement selon des critères internes, mais également parce qu'il emprunte à d'autres langues comme l'anglais, fait que l'on reproche aux autres langues. A titre d'exemple, dans un travail sur la communication multilingue, Iso et Affendras (1970:9-10) montrent que le haoussa révèle, lui aussi, le phénomène d'emprunt à l'anglais comme dans ces quelques termes relevés dans le vocabulaire militaire: *soja* de *soldier*; *hafsa* < *officer*; *bariki* < *barracks*; *foli* < *fall-in (ligne)*. Et dans le vocabulaire employé à l'école: *latti* < *late*; *lula* < *ruler*; *yi sukola* < *scholar*; *sitati* < *starch*; *dirishi* < *dress, dressing up*; *lacca* < *lecture*.

Ces innovations sont permises pour faciliter le développement de la langue, quelle qu'elle soit, face au besoin de dénommer les nouveaux concepts et objets qui font irruption dans son univers.

Brann (1988:1420) établit un modèle spatial de langue et de communication de l'Afrique en détaillant les langues africaines. En terme d'importance, il place le haoussa, au même niveau que le souahéli (le swahili). Mais il parle de sa glottophagie, c'est-à-dire de son dynamisme, sa capacité à absorber d'autres langues environnantes. C'est précisément ce genre d'argument qu'attendent les revendicateurs de l'adoption du haoussa, puisque cela leur permettra de s'emparer des ressources linguistiques pour compléter le maintien du pouvoir politique que détiennent inlassablement les Haoussas-fulanis du nord du Nigéria. On ne peut que penser aux possibilités législatives que leur offrirait l'adoption du haoussa comme langue officielle du pays. L'adoption officielle sporadique, ces derniers mois, du système judiciaire "*sharia*" (droit, code pénaux et autres lois islamiques dont la langue arabe est langue véhiculaire) par l'état de Zamfara, et bien d'autres états, appesantit l'appréhension tout à fait légitime des locuteurs de langues minoritaires non musulmans qui y résident. Cette tendance risque de se propager dans le nord du pays où les Haoussas, majoritairement

musulmans, dominant en grand nombre. Pour renforcer cette crainte, Brann (1978:3-6) indique que d'après le recensement de 1973, il y avait 80 millions d'habitants au Nigéria dont plus de 10 millions de locuteurs parlent chacune des langues majoritaires: le haoussa, le yorouba et l'igbo. La carte géo-historique que fait Brann (:3) résume la situation hétérogène. Cette carte représente également les langues employées à l'école (:6) dont l'ésan est exclu.

L'éducation au Nigéria doit comprendre l'éducation traditionnelle qui touche un tiers de la population, l'éducation coranique touchant un autre tiers, et l'enseignement primaire pour lequel nous réclamons l'emploi de la langue maternelle. Pour atteindre le but qui est d'augmenter le taux de scolarisation du primaire au secondaire, la question des langues doit jouer un rôle primordial. D'où la nécessité de développer les langues autochtones localisées à des régions administratives définies. Ceci présuppose à ce niveau le recul de l'anglais devant les langues maternelles pour devenir la langue seconde étrangère qu'elle est en vérité.

Il est encourageant de remarquer que Brann (1978:21), qui a travaillé pendant de nombreuses années au Nigéria, reconnaît le mouvement irréversible des Ésan: "[...] les Ésan dont le peuple [...] cherchent actuellement une identité linguistique propre, selon l'information d'un comité sur la langue ésan, qui s'est créée dans les dernières années." Il ajoute que bien que les Ésan ne figurent pas dans le recensement de 1963, "l'on peut évaluer jusqu'à 200 000 locuteurs de la langue, qui est employée oralement dans les écoles et à l'église." On doit ainsi se rendre compte de la présence au Nigéria de plusieurs nations hétérogènes amalgamées pendant la période coloniale, d'où le concept de *peuple*.

Bien placé pour effectuer l'évaluation de la situation glotto-politique au Nigéria, grâce à ses longues années sur le terrain, Brann (1993:642) réitère le besoin impératif d'accorder au peuple nigérian les droits linguistiques que revendiquent les différents groupes ethniques et linguistiques. Il poursuit son argument en indiquant que selon la structure administrative et politique qui compte un territoire capital fédéral, 30 états et 589 unités administratives locales, il va sans dire qu'au niveau le plus proche du peuple, les langues autochtones jouent un rôle indéniablement important pour faciliter la participation à la vie politique du peuple concerné.

Il faut soulever qu'il est extrêmement difficile et compliqué de mettre à jour les informations provenant des documentations auxquelles nous avons accès. Exception faite du gouvernement civil actuellement au pouvoir, la situation politique et administrative du Nigéria est mouvante et cette instabilité n'épargne aucun secteur de la vie nationale. À titre d'exemple, depuis le commencement de ce travail, le pays, sous la mainmise des militaires, a subi de nombreuses transformations importantes, y compris l'augmentation du nombre d'états de 30 à 36 du jour au lendemain sans qu'il y ait jusqu'ici des frontières bien délimitées. Et l'on est finalement d'accord qu'il y a maintenant, en 1998, 104 000 000 d'habitants répartis en plus de 200 groupes ethniques distincts, chiffres encore provisoires. Selon *Ethnologue* (1996), il y a 498 langues dont 470 sont des langues vivantes, 1 est

langue seconde, et 7 sont des langues mortes. Le haoussa est censé avoir 18 525 000 locuteurs, soit 20,9% de la population; il est présent dans d'autres pays voisins tels que le Niger, 3 250 000; le Cameroun, 23 500; le Togo, 9 600 et le Burkina Faso, 500. L'igbo compte 17 000 000 soit 16,6% de la population et le yorouba 18 850 000 soit 20,3% de la population.

Dans le même numéro d'*Ethnologue*, on admet pour la première fois que l'ésan regroupe 200 000 locuteurs répartis dans la famille nigéro-congolaise, édoïde. Il est décrit comme une langue d'importance régionale employée à l'école primaire. Mais cette assertion est nécessairement trompeuse puisqu'il n'existe nulle part de professeurs ou instituteurs ayant subi la formation pertinente qui permettrait d'effectuer l'enseignement de l'ésan et d'enseigner d'autres matières par son intermédiaire.

Il nous semble opportun de récapituler les mots de James Geary (1997:36-41) dans *Time Magazine* sous le titre de "Speaking in Tongues". Il (:38) nous avertit en se lamentant que ces langues menacées, en voie de disparition sont importantes: "*But the death of a language [...] means more than simply the loss of another obscure, incomprehensible tongue. It marks the loss of an entire culture.*" Et il continue (:41): "*Linguistic revival is often associated with a resurgence of ethnic or national identity.*"

Certes, il est concevable que ceux qui n'ont pas vécu les mêmes expériences que les locuteurs des langues assiégées ne parviennent guère à saisir la problématique. Pourtant, il suffit de se rendre compte de la situation précaire de ces langues, une situation qui est bien captée dans ces mots de Geary (:42): "*For many of the world's indigenous tongues, a very thin line separates the dawn of language revival and the black hole of extinction.*"

Pour terminer ce segment de nos réflexions sur ce phénomène, voici la découverte que nous avons faite lors de notre recherche des documents pertinents. Le Nigeria, selon le *Quid* (1998:1117), a adopté le français depuis 1997 comme sa deuxième langue officielle après l'anglais qui l'est depuis la période coloniale. Il serait futile de hasarder une explication au-delà des incertitudes qui règnent dans notre pays natal. Il paraît que cette récente décision provient tout nûment de la politique de rapprochement avec la France qui a refusé d'appuyer les sanctions punitives imposées par plusieurs pays occidentaux face au manque de respect envers les droits de la personne de la part de la dictature nigériane. Il ne suffit pas de rappeler que le Nigéria est entouré de pays francophones avec lesquels il entretient des rapports commerciaux, diplomatiques, etc. Il s'agit manifestement d'une politique tardive, maladroite et potentiellement futile.

6 PROCÉDÉS DÉNOMINATIFS EN ÉSAN

Il serait profitable d'entrevoir des nouvelles tendances en socioterminologie afin de combler le besoin dénominatif qu'éprouve actuellement les locuteurs de l'ésan. Pour ce faire, examinons, ne serait-ce que rapidement, ce champ naissant des études terminologiques et interdisciplinaires.

La terminologie soucieuse du social nous mène à la socioterminologie, elle-même se prêtant déjà à une pratique qui dépasse la seule rubrique de la terminologie normalisatrice. Face au rapport entre la terminologie et des pratiques langagières dans le fonctionnement du discours scientifique et technique, on dégage un besoin croissant de dénominations, de transferts entre les domaines du savoir et du savoir-faire, de même entre langues décrites et celles en quête et en voie de description. La concertation entre les domaines et disciplines et entre science, technique et production révèle un besoin à combler selon les mécanismes linguistiques menant à la résolution des problèmes qui surviennent.

7 DE LA SOCIOLINGUISTIQUE À LA SOCIOTERMINOLOGIE

La conception historico-linguistique de la terminologie moderne, même dans les années 30 autour d'Eugène Wüster (Gaudin 1993:15), révèle qu'elle provient de la normalisation industrielle et de la traduction technique. On remarque par conséquent que la terminologie provient d'une demande sociale correspondant aux besoins économiques et parfois politiques, c'est de ces considérations que s'éloignent parfois les recherches linguistiques.

D'après Gaudin (:16), "une socioterminologie peut prendre en compte le réel du fonctionnement du langage et restituer toute une dimension sociale aux pratiques langagières concernées". Cette problématique de l'interaction nous amène à la négociation. Dès lors, la terminologie devient un travail démocratique, une activité associative car, selon Rey (1979:49), "le lexique d'une langue, produit cumulé des facteurs sociaux, est à la fois le milieu récepteur et le moyen créateur des systèmes de dénotation et, par épuration notionnelle, des terminologies". Et c'est précisément cet aspect sociosémantique de la terminologie, qui englobe son caractère social, économique et commercial qui touche le grand public, qui nous intéresse davantage. Les notions de glottopolitique et de glottonomie offrent un cadre théorique pour des réflexions pertinentes.

La glottopolitique a pour objet l'observation et le "réglage de communication par les divers contrats langagiers [...] elle est amenée à confronter [...] les diverses politiques linguistiques" (Guespin et Laroussi 1989:10). Elle peut même viser l'institution scolaire, comme d'autres

institutions sociales y compris la technocratie. C'est pourquoi nous proposons d'examiner le sort des langues minoritaires par le biais de notre langue maternelle, l'ésan, dont la situation est symptomatique des conséquences qui proviennent directement de la promotion des langues majoritaires. Cette promotion s'effectue dans le gouvernement, les institutions scolaires, y compris les universités, dans les forces armées, la police et dans d'autres organismes publics fédéraux. Ce problème qui naît des pratiques linguistiques et des politiques officielles se résume dans les mots de Gambier (1987:319): "[...] il n'y a pas de terminologie hors des pratiques sociales".

Pour arriver à une saisie adéquate de la problématique et pour en chercher l'issue, il faut un diagnostic glottopolitique clair selon les conditions de production terminologique, de communication et les manifestations de ce phénomène face au conflit linguistique inévitable dans le milieu concerné.

Nous nous intéressons à cette nouvelle manière de focaliser de la terminologie afin de contruire la base de nos premières tentatives de description des nouvelles réalités en ésan. En plus de poser que le non-développement d'une langue appuyé par des forces politiques appauvrit la langue en question, nous favorisons l'optique qui assure que la langue reste un système de valeurs idéologiques, philosophiques, psychologiques, techniques, scientifiques et sociales de la communauté en question.

Nous espérons parvenir à des outils qui aideront à revaloriser les capacités dénominales des langues minoritaires vues à tort comme étant incapables de véhiculer les connaissances abstraites et spécialisées faute de leur statut de langues non décrites.

8 SITUATION GLOTTOPOLITIQUE AU NIGÉRIA

Ce qui suit a pour but l'examen rapide de la situation glottopolitique au Nigéria afin d'asseoir les esquisses que nous tenterons ultérieurement à l'égard de l'ésan.

Dans notre optique, le développement des procédés dénominatifs fournira des solutions terminologiques. Ainsi faut-il que nous empruntions certaines notions à la socioterminologie qui a vocation d'appréhender les conditions et les faits linguistiques comme ils se manifestent dans les instances glottopolitiques. La politique linguistique nationale nigériane depuis l'indépendance favorise les langues majoritaires au détriment des langues parlées par un effectif plus restreint de sujets. C'est dans le but de libérer une de ces langues, en l'occurrence l'ésan, et de la revaloriser que nous entamons ces tout premiers pas vers sa description linguistique et terminologique.

Notre méthodologie consiste à voir la langue comme un instrument important et indispensable pour décrire le monde et l'univers des ésan. C'est pour lancer l'initiative qui vise à léguer aux prochaines générations des locuteurs et à tous les intéressés un moyen efficace pour conserver et transmettre le patrimoine que seule cette langue est capable de préserver. Par conséquent, les besoins sociaux sont tout d'abord bornés par la survie de l'éсан face à des faits glottopolitiques souvent hostiles et défavorables. Ces premiers efforts permettront de mieux se connaître et d'ouvrir la porte sur le passé tel que le conçoivent les Éсан à travers leurs propres vécus non imposés de l'extérieur. Nous cherchons à affirmer par ces réflexions que la langue, quelle que soit son étendue, reflète le milieu physique et social et les faits historiquement (diachroniquement) cumulés, soit l'identité culturelle et linguistique de ses locuteurs. C'est à ce point que nous faisons mention du concept de négociation dont nous dressons les traits pertinents imputables à l'étude de François Gaudin (1993).

9 CONCEPT DE NÉGOCIATION

Nous préconisons le concept de négociation dans le cas précis de l'éсан en remaniant la conception de Gaudin (1993:98). Si Gaudin fait allusion aux institutions terminologiques en collaboration avec les scientifiques et les producteurs, nous nous penchons plutôt sur le grand public, ce qui marquerait une démocratisation du processus décisionnel portant sur la langue et son emploi (Brann 1993). Notre approche s'enracine dans la convention dont les modalités directrices consistent à consulter les *éwaens*, soit *éwanlens* [les sages, les âgés traditionnellement censés être les gardiens des terminologies des domaines traditionnels], cultivés dans la langue et la culture ésan. Ces démarches lexicologiques et lexicographiques de caractère oral, informel assurent la survie de la terminologie dans le cas particulier de l'éсан. Ces mêmes démarches doivent se confronter à des faits modernes et au défi de la dénomination afin de faciliter l'exploitation de l'univers des locuteurs, soit le savoir, le savoir-faire et le savoir-connaître du peuple.

La négociation, suivant notre conception, s'effectue plutôt informellement à l'heure actuelle dans les circuits de communication, mais elle relie les individus et les groupes avec la seule volonté de trouver un langage et des pratiques appropriées et efficaces pour dénommer le vécu et les objets qui font inlassablement irruption dans leur espace psycho-social.

9.1 LA NÉGOCIATION DE LA DÉNOMINATION EN ÉSAN

En tant que langue en voie de description nous proposons, pour l'ésan, la négociation des dénominations. Puisque pour les notions et objets existants, les membres de cette communauté linguistique la pratiquent sous forme de legs de conventions qui régissent la langue, il serait utile de voir "le langage [comme] une forme d'activité coopérative" (Hilary Putnam 1990:58) au sein de laquelle "la signification est interactionnelle" (:74).

Cette démarche renforce le concept du locuteur collectif favorisant un consensus langagier par des processus internes rendus efficaces au fil du temps. La reformulation peut même aboutir à des reformulations des dénominations et des modes de dénominations existants. Cette négociation dénomminative collective et coopérative aurait pour but de mitiger surtout les effets déstabilisants provoqués par des nouveautés de la modernité encore inexistantes dans la langue.

10 TYPES DE REFORMULATION ET MODES DE NÉGOCIATION

D'abord, examinons ce que Gaudin dénomme (1993:201-203) la "reformulation d'apprentissage". Il entend par là un processus qui nécessiterait du locuteur qu'il reformule le nouveau dans des termes déjà connus. Cette négociation qu'il dit cognitive et linguistique a pour but d'intégrer l'inédit dans les schémas acquis. En revanche, inédit n'est pas synonyme d'indicible et d'ineffable. Sinon, on risquerait d'ignorer le dynamisme, la souplesse et les ressources inépuisables que détient la langue. Gaudin estime que cette négociation correspondrait à la phase d'apprentissage. En cas d'échec, un concept non assimilé resterait exclu de l'ensemble des connexions déjà tissées en attendant la dénomination adéquate.

Pour ce qui est du deuxième type de reformulation, Gaudin parle de "reformulation didactique". Ce serait celle où une certaine maîtrise autorise à reformuler le concept dans un code commun. Le locuteur serait donc capable de diffuser le concept. Gaudin pose alors que "ce qui se conçoit bien, s'énonce clairement".

Il y aura donc lieu d'appréhender l'acquisition de façon à concevoir avec souplesse les modes selon lesquels la reformulation s'effectue. Par conséquent, suivant le processus de réflexion de Gaudin, nous sommes d'abord devant la reformulation orale entre locuteurs, produit de négociation interactive, devant la reformulation individuelle dans le cadre d'une négociation cognitive. La reformulation d'apprentissage permet alors au sujet de mener une "négociation intériorisée" entre le connu, les catégories qu'il a construites, et l'inconnu qu'il doit appréhender et intégrer. En

revanche, la reformulation didactique est caractéristique d'une négociation "interactionnelle" qui cherche plutôt à trouver la bonne paraphrase qui peut permettre de parvenir à une construction conceptuelle adéquate (Gaudin:201). Ceci pourrait répondre à l'"impossible définition" dont parle Alain Rey (1977:113) puisqu'il s'agirait d'un discours mixte "correspondant à une structure notionnelle reconnaissable et capable d'en susciter l'élaboration".

Chukwu et Thoiron (1989) parlent aussi de la reformulation et du repérage des termes. Adoptant l'approche sémasiologique qui part de la forme vers le sens, il s'agit de la présence dans un discours de deux formes différentes pour un même sens, autrement dit la synonymie. D'autres concepts voisins comprennent la paraphrase, la définition, l'équivalent, l'anaphore et la description-figurant dans le plan linguistique et référentiel. Il s'agit surtout d'un processus intra-discursif et lexicographique.

Un élément important qu'ils proposent porte sur les considérations pratiques permettant d'éviter l'ambiguïté et la confusion que les démarches interventionnistes cherchent à résoudre. Ceci pourrait aboutir à l'explication des termes pour les rendre plus transparents. Pour ce faire, il faut réévaluer la compétence du lectorat et la consultation continue des spécialistes. Mais dans l'immédiat, pour asseoir nos propositions, il faudra tenir compte dans les travaux ultérieurs, à l'échelle du pays, des contraintes intrinsèques inter-territoriales telles les langues majoritaires et leur dominance, sans négliger celles d'ordre extrinsèque, soit l'anglais, langue étrangère et officielle, jadis extra-territoriale, mais jouissant, implacablement, d'emploi irréversiblement répandu.

Notre but principal, à ce stade, demeure de faire appel aux ressources créatrices telles qu'elles existent et de peser comment elles arriveraient à dénommer les réalités venues de l'extérieur, réalités constituant une ouverture inéluctable à la modernité. C'est ainsi que nous démontrerons ultérieurement, après ces premières interrogations, comment fonctionne cette langue négligée délibérément par les pouvoirs politiques et décisionnelles détenues par les langues nigérianes dites majoritaires, dont l'envergure n'épargne pas la moindre politique linguistique. En étendant la perspective de Halaoui (1991:291-300), nous admettons que les fondements qui doivent se construire pour assurer la survie de l'élan et l'identité de ses locuteurs sont d'ordre individuel, culturel, linguistique, politique et économique.

CONCLUSION

En guise de conclusion à la fois récapitulative et prospective, nous ne perdons pas de vue les revendications des collectivités qui se poursuivent, ni le fait que le Nigéria est incessamment en mutation quant au nombre d'états et d'autres structures politico-administratives. Conçue par souci

d'alléger les appréhensions éprouvées par les régions où sont prépondérants les groupes linguistiques minoritaires, chaque nouvelle création d'état correspond à la dispersion des langues minoritaires sur de vastes territoires. Paradoxalement, ces mêmes langues menacées sont censées être ainsi protégées. Entre-temps, nous sommes amené à constater qu'il devient manifestement improbable que ces langues et les cultures qu'elles seules sauraient transmettre se voient florissantes et prospères. Pour éviter cette apparente fatalité, tous les intéressés doivent désormais se mettre à décrire ces langues minoritaires et à optimiser leurs capacités dénominatives.

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THE DOMAIN-SPECIFIC CONSTRAINT APPROACH TO PROSODIC PHONOLOGY: EVIDENCE FROM PICARD*

Walcir Cardoso
McGill University and Universidade Federal do Pará

ABSTRACT

This study presents a domain-specific constraint analysis for the processes of Semivocalization, Vowel Elision, Heterosyllabification and Across-Word Regressive Assimilation in Picard, a Gallo-Romance dialect spoken in the Picardie region in Northern France. In the study, I adopt the view hinted at in McCarthy and Prince (1995) and discussed in Pater (1996) that constraints can be decomposed into distinct domain-specific constraints, each with an independent hierarchical status within a single grammar. The advantage of such an approach is that it implies the existence of a single grammar. This is more advantageous from the point of view of language acquisition, since the language learner will have to master one single grammar. Moreover, the approach is more harmonious with other issues in the phonology of Picard, for which the decomposition of general constraints is necessary.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present investigation introduces and discusses the domain-specific constraint approach to Prosodic Phonology, within the framework of Optimality Theory. In the study, I demonstrate that the phonological processes of Semivocalization, Vowel Elision, Heterosyllabification and Across-Word Regressive Assimilation provide clear evidence for the need of an approach that recognizes that constraints are domain-sensitive and therefore they should not be extended to the entire phonological utterance.

The data for this investigation come from the Picard variety spoken in the village of Nibas, located in the Picardie region in Northern France. Picard is a Gallo-Romance dialect spoken not only in the Picardie region in France, but also in North-Eastern Normandy and in some areas of Belgium.

The goals and proposal of this research are: to contribute new data and analysis to the study of domain-sensitive phonological phenomena and promote and refine the discussion of the domain-specific constraint approach hinted at in McCarthy and Prince (1993) and discussed in Pater (1996); and to provide an analysis of domain-sensitive phenomena in Picard, that will serve as support for the aforementioned proposal. In order to account for domain-driven patterns of variation, I propose that constraints be decomposed into their domain-specific counterparts, each having a different hierarchical status within a single grammar. The advantage of such an approach is that, first, it implies

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the existence of a single grammar, which is more advantageous from a language acquisition point of view; and second, the decomposition of constraints into independently ranked domain-driven constraints is harmonious with other issues in the phonology of Picard and many other related and unrelated languages.

This investigation is organized in the following way: in section 2, I display the relevant domain-sensitive phenomena on which I will base my analysis: (1) the Resolution of Vocalic Hiatus, which includes the distinct repair strategies that Picard utilizes to repair illicit V.V sequences (i.e. an underlying sequence of two contiguous vowels), namely (a) Semivocalization, (b) Vowel Elision and (c) Heterosyllabification; and (2) Across-Word Regressive Assimilation (or AWRA); In section 3, I discuss how an analysis that does not take into account domain-specific idiosyncrasies is unable to account for the Picard data presented in section 2; finally, in section 4, I introduce the topic of domain-sensitive constraints, which accounts the problematic data discussed throughout this investigation.

2. THE DATA – DOMAIN-SENSITIVE PHENOMENA IN PICARD:

2.1. THE RESOLUTION OF VOCALIC HIATUS

In this section, I present the repair strategies that Picard utilizes to repair illicit vocalic hiatus (cf. Cardoso 1997); namely, I will discuss the processes of (a) Semivocalization (discussed under Case 1), (b) Vowel Elision (under Case 2) and finally, (c) Heterosyllabification (Case 3). These repair strategies, concomitantly with Across-Word Regressive Assimilation, will serve as the foundation for the domain-specific constraint analysis that I present in this research.

Case 1 (Monomorphemic words and suffixation) => *Semivocalization*
/i/ /y/ /u/ + V → [j] [ɥ] [w]

In Case 1, I show examples in which one of the two vowels surfaces as a semivowel. Observe that Semivocalization or Gliding applies in Picard when the high vowels /i/, /y/ and /u/ are followed by another vowel, in the context of a monomorphemic word or in suffixation, as I show in (01). Observe that in these cases, the first vowel of the underlying vocalic hiatus semivocalizes.

(01) Semivocalization or Gliding

(in monomorphemic words and suffixation = V.V → GV):

/uaj/ → [waj], *[u.aj] ‘flock’ (Monomorphemic word)
 /ɥu/ ‘1sg. play’ + /ab/ → [ɥwab], *[ɥu.ab] ‘playable’ (suffixation)
 /kɔlɔni/ ‘colony’ + /al/ → [kɔ.lɔ.njal], *[-lɔ.nil] ‘colonial’

In (02), I illustrate the domain-driven cases in which Semivocalization is not possible. Observe that Semivocalization does not apply in prefixation, procliticization, compounding and across words in higher morphosyntactic contexts.

(02) Inapplicability of Semivocalization:¹

Morphosyntactic contexts		Examples	
a. Prefixation	/mi avril/ →	[mi.a.vril], *[mja.vril]	'mid April'
b. Procliticization	/ty a3ut/ →	[ta.3ut], *[tʰa3ut]	'you add'
c. Compounding	/sezi arɛ/ →	[se.zi.a.rɛ], *[se.zja.rɛ]	'garnishment'
d. Across Words	/mi apruvø/ →	[mi.a.pru.vø], *[mja.pru.vø]	'neg. approve'

Case 2 (Cliticization) => Vowel Elision

Under Case 2, I illustrate the process of Vowel Elision, in which one of the two vowels in the vocalic hiatus gets deleted. Observe that elision of the first vowel or V₁ occurs in sequences of a clitic followed by a lexical word, shown in (03). If, however, the clitic follows the lexical word, as shown in (04), the second vowel or V₂ gets deleted.

(03) V₁ Elision (In function + lexical word sequences = V₁ → ø)

/ty a3ut/ → [ta.3ut], *[tʰa.3ut], *[ty.a.3ut] 'you add'
 /ty ekri/ → [te.kri], *[tʰe.kri], *[ty.e.kri] 'you write'

(04) V₂ Elision (In Lexical + function word sequences = V₂ → ø)

/di el/ → [dil], *[djel], *[di.el] '(I) say the'
 /ekri el/ → [e.kril], *[e.krjel], *[e.kri.el] '(I) write the'

Finally, observe in (05) that Vowel Elision is not possible in different morphosyntactic contexts rather than that of a lexical word followed or preceded by a clitic. In these morphosyntactic configurations, the result is the syllabification of the two underlying vowels as two separate syllables, i.e. Heterosyllabification.

(05) Inapplicability of Vocalic Hiatus (from (02)):²

Morphosyntactic contexts		Examples	
a. Prefixation	/mi avril/ →	[mi.a.vril], *[ma.vril]	'mid April'
b. Compounding	/sezi arɛ/ →	[se.zi.a.rɛ], *[se.za.rɛ]	'garnishment'
c. Across Words	/mi apruvø/ →	[mi.a.pru.vø], *[ma.pru.vø]	'neg. approve'

Case 3 (Prefixation, Compounding, higher morphosyntactic contexts
- and monosegmental morphemes) => *Heterosyllabification*

Finally, Case 3 illustrates cases in which the underlying vocalic hiatus surfaces unchanged and the two vowels are syllabified in two separate syllables. I will refer to these cases as Heterosyllabification.

Observe in (06), (07a) and (07b) that heterosyllabification is the result in prefixation, in compounding and in higher morphosyntactic contexts, which are the exact configuration in which Semivocalization and Vocalic Hiatus are not possible.

(06) Prefixed words: V.V → V.V

/mi avril/ → [mi.a.vril], *[mja.vril], *[ma.vril] 'mid April'
/semi arid/ → [sə.mi.a.rið], *[sə.mja.rið],*[sə.ma.rið] 'semi-arid'

(07) Lex + Lex sequences (compounding and higher domains)

a) Compounding: V.V → V.V

/sezi arɛ/ → [se.zi.a.rɛ], *[se.zja.rɛ] 'garnishment'
/tisy epɔ̃z/ → [ti.sy.e.pɔ̃z], *[ti.sɥe.pɔ̃z] 'sponge-cloth'

b) Higher domains: V.V → V.V

/ʒoli aʒ/ → [ʒo.li.aʒ], *[ʒo.ljaʒ] 'beautiful age'
/ʒezy ɛm/ → [ʒe.zy.ɛm], *[ʒe.zɥɛm] 'Jesus loves'

In (08), I display a summary of all the strategies that Picard uses to syllabify vocalic hiatus (where S-Voc = Semivocalization, V₁ Elision = deletion of the first vowel in the hiatus, V₂ Elision = deletion of the second vowel in the hiatus, and H-Syl = Heterosyllabification). Notice that the contexts marked with an arrow are the ones relevant for my analysis, since they directly involve domain-related issues.

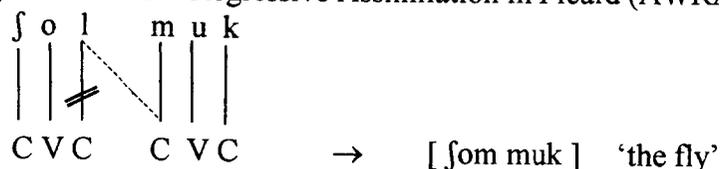
(08) Summary Of Vocalic Hiatus Repairs:

Contexts		Repair strategies			
		S-Voc	V ₁ Elision	V ₂ Elision	H-Syl
1. Monomorphemic words and suffixation	V _{hi} . V ⇒	√			
	V . V _{hi}				√
2. Clitic + stem (Fnc + Lex sequences)	⇒		√		
3. Stem + clitic (Lex + Fnc sequences)	⇒			√	
4. Prefixation	⇒				√
5. Compounds and other lex lex contexts	⇒				√
6. Monoseg. Fnc + Lex / Lex + Monoseg. Fnc					√

2.2. ACROSS-WORD REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION

In this section, I illustrate the process of Across-Word Regressive Assimilation, or AWRA in Picard. Observe in (09) that the output of the AWRA phenomenon consists of a complete geminate between a function word (i.e. *fol*) and a following lexical word (i.e. *muk*). Notice below that the lexical-word's initial segment completely assimilates to the clitic-final /l/, resulting in a geminate between the two words. More examples of AWRA are provided in (10).

(09) Across-Word Regressive Assimilation in Picard (AWRA) (Cardoso 1998a, 1999)



(10) Some AWRA data:

- a) /al kaʃ/ → [ak kaʃ] 'at the hunting'
- b) /dol grɛs/ → [dog grɛs] 'some fat'
- c) /ɛl fis/ → [ɛf fis] 'the son'
- d) /ʃol kurɛ/ → [ʃok kurɛ] 'the pork paté'

In (11), I demonstrate that the process applies exclusively at the juncture of a clitic and the following consonant-initial lexical word. Observe that AWRA does not apply if the following word is vowel-initial, in a heterosyllabic /l-C/ cluster within a monomorphemic word, in prefixation, in compounding and in higher syntactic contexts.

(11) Inapplicability of AWRA

Context	Examples
a) Vowel-initial following word	/al e/ → [al e] 'she is' /dol arb / → [dol arb] 'the tree'
b) Heterosyllabic /l-C/ cluster within a monomorphemic word	/belʒik/ → [belʒik] 'Belgium' /kalfa/ → [kalfa] 'caulker'
c) In prefixation	/malpoli/ → [malpoli] 'impolite' /malʃās/ → [malʃās] 'bad luck'
d) In compounds	/bel sœr/ → [bel sœr] 'sister-in-law' /belmer/ → [belmer] 'mother-in-law'
e) In other (or higher) morpho-syntactic contexts	/bel mezɔ̃/ → [bel mezɔ̃] 'beautiful house' /drol dø/ → [drol dø] 'funny (of)'

3. THE PROBLEM

This section consists of a discussion of the problems that the processes discussed so far present if we wish to have a unified one-grammar analysis without resorting to domain-specific constraints.

For the analysis of the Picard data, I use the framework of Optimality Theory. According to the framework: (1) a grammar consists of a set of universal constraints; (2) constraints are violable; and (3) constraint ranking is language-specific, which is how cross-linguistic variation is captured. In the analysis, I make use of standard OT conventions, that is, a solid line in the tableau indicates that the constraints are crucially ranked with respect to each other. The absence of a line indicates that the ranking is indeterminate. The hand on the leftmost column of the tableau indicates the winning candidate or output, that is, the candidate with the fewest violations of highly ranked constraints. Each constraint violation is indicated by an asterisk. An exclamation mark after an asterisk marks a fatal violation, the point where a given candidate loses out to at least one other candidate. After a candidate is out of contention, the cells for the lower ranked constraints are shaded to emphasize the irrelevance of these constraints for the selection of the optimal candidate. In addition to these conventions, I use the “*skull and crossbones*” symbol to indicate the correct Picard output that was wrongly rejected by an incorrect constraint ranking.

For the analysis of the resolution of vocalic hiatus in Picard, I adopt the three relevant constraints below.

(12) The relevant constraints:

(a) ONSET (Prince and Smolensky 1993):	Syllables have onsets.
(b) MAX-IO (McCarthy and Prince 1995):	Every segment of S_1 has a correspondent in S_2 .
(c) *COMPLEXONSET/RHYME (Noske 1996):	Complex onsets and rhymes are disallowed.

ONSET requires that all syllables have onsets. It is violated in all the cases in which Heterosyllabification is the output: e.g. /ʒu/ + /ab/ → *[ʒu.ab] ‘playable’ (a violation of ONSET: the second syllable (i.e. [ab]) is onsetless).

The constraint MAX-IO, on the other hand, militates against segmental deletion and is violated whenever an input segment is deleted in the output: e.g. /ʒu/ + /ab/ → *[ʒab] ‘playable’ (a violation of MAX-IO: /u/ was deleted in the output).

Finally, the constraint *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME disallows the presence of complex onsets (e.g. /ʒw/) and complex rhymes (e.g. /wa/). This constraint is violated whenever the output is Semivocalization: e.g. /ʒu/ + /ab/ → [ʒwab] ‘playable’ (a

violation of *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME: /u/ was semivocalized and further syllabified as a complex onset (e.g. (ʒw)_{Onset}) – or as a complex rhyme (wa)_{Rhyme}).³

For the process of Semivocalization, I propose the constraint ranking in (13), in which the constraints are organized in terms of hierarchy, going from highest ranked on the left, to lowest ranked on the right. Double arrowheads indicate that the constraints are crucially ranked while commas indicate that the ranking is indeterminate between the two constraints.

- (13) Constraint ranking (preliminary) (Cardoso 1997):
 ONSET, MAX-IO >> *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME

According to the ranking in (13), candidate (c) in the Tableau in (14) is the optimal form, which corresponds to the Picard data, as illustrated in (01) above.

(14) In suffixation (see (01))

/ʒu/ + /ab/	ONSET	MAX-IO	*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME
a. [ʒab]		*!	*
b. [ʒu.ab]	*!		*
c. [ʒwab] 			**

A problem arises, however, when we apply the same hierarchy to different domains, as I show in (15). Observe that at the segmental level, the context in the tableau below is appropriate for Semivocalization, since the high vowel /y/ is followed by the vowel /a/ in the input (i.e. /ty aʒut/). The only distinction between the form in (14) in (15) is the domain in which these two vowels appear. In (14), the two vowels appear in suffixation, the domain in which Semivocalization applies, while in (15) the two vowels are in a clitic plus lexical word sequence, a domain that is invisible for Semivocalization.⁴

(15) In procliticization (see (02b))

/ty/ + /aʒut/	ONSET	MAX-IO	*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME
a. [ta.ʒut] 		*!	*
b. [ty.a.ʒut]	*!		*
c. [tʲa.ʒut] 			**

← Correct form

3.2. VOWEL ELISION:

For the process of Vowel Elision, I propose the preliminary ranking in (16), which results in the selection of the optimal candidate in (17a). This result corresponds to the data set illustrated in (03) above in which the clitic-final vowel is deleted in the output.

(16) Constraint ranking for Vowel Elision (preliminary) (Cardoso, to appear):
 ONSET, *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME >> MAX-IO

(17) In procliticization (see (03))

/ty/ + /aʒut/	ONSET	*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME	MAX-IO
a. [ta.ʒut] ☞		*	*
b. [ty.a.ʒut]	*!	*	
c. [tʲa.ʒut]		**!	

Observe in (18), however, that the same ranking in (16) yields candidate (18a) as optimal, which is not correct. According to the data in (05a) and (06), Vowel Elision does not apply in prefixation.

(18) In prefixation (see (05a))

/mi avril/	ONSET	*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME	MAX-IO
a. [ma.vril] ☞		**	*
b. [mi.a.vril] ☞	*!	**	
c. [mja.vril]		***!	

← Correct form

3.3. HETEROSYLLABIFICATION:

For the results involving Heterosyllabification, the ranking in (19) is responsible for the selection of candidate (20b) as the optimal form, which conforms to the data provided in (06).

(19) Constraint ranking for heterosyllabification (preliminary) (Cardoso, to appear):
 *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME, MAX-IO >> ONSET

(20) In Prefixation (see (06))

/mi avril/	*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME	MAX-IO	ONSET
a. [ma.vril]	**	*!	
b. [mi.a.vril] ☞	**		*
c. [mja.vril]	***!		

If however, the same constraint ranking in (19) is extended to other domains such as those found in procliticization in (21), the incorrect candidate (21b) is selected as optimal. From the data in (03), we all know that in the context of a clitic followed by a lexical word, the first vowel gets deleted, as represented by the rejected form in (21a).

(21) In procliticization (see (03))

/ty/ + /a3ut/		*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME	MAX-IO	ONSET
a. [ta.3ut]	✘	*	*!	
b. [ty.a.3ut]	☞	*		*
c. [tʰa.3ut]		**!		

← Correct form

3.4. AWRA:

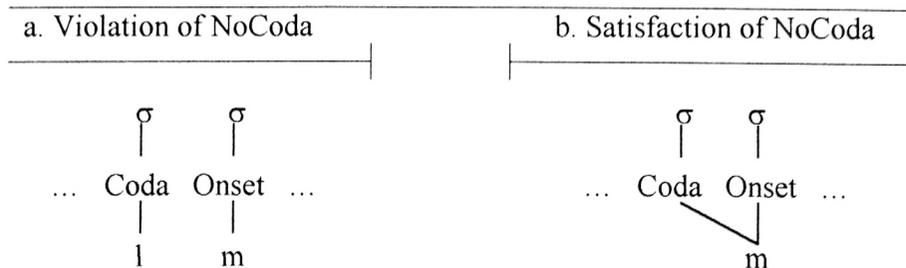
Finally, I discuss in this section the problem of domain-driven variation involving Across-Word Regressive Assimilation. In (22), I display the relevant constraint for the analysis of AWRA in Picard.

(22) Relevant Constraints:

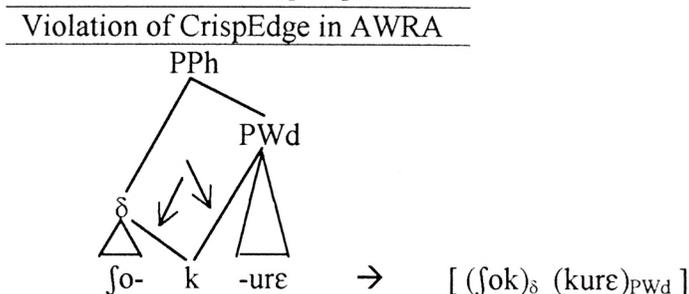
(a) MAX-IO: (McCarthy and Prince 1995)	Every segment of S ₁ has a correspondent in S ₂
(b) NoCoda: (cf. Prince & Smolensky 1993)	Codas cannot license a Root node
(c) CrispEdge: (Itô and Mester 1994)	(No Multiple Linking) Multiple linking between prosodic categories is prohibited

As previously discussed, the constraint MAX-IO militates against segmental deletion and is violated when one of the two vowels involved in the vocalic hiatus is deleted (see discussion under (12) above).

The NoCoda constraint expresses the cross-linguistic observation on syllabic well formedness that coda segments are marked. In contrast to Prince and Smolensky (1993), this constraint is formulated here in terms of licensing and therefore a syllable final consonant can only surface without incurring a violation of this constraint if it is licensed by a following Root node. In cases of regressive assimilation (AWRA) (see (b) below), NoCoda is not violated because the assimilated coda segment is licensed by the Root node of the initial consonant of the following word, e.g. /ʃol muk/ → [ʃom muk] ‘the fly’ (in which case the coda [m] is licensed by the following onset [m]’s Root node). Nevertheless, the constraint is violated in cases in which the clitic-final input /l/ surfaces in the output (e.g. /ʃol muk/ → [ʃol muk]) (see (a) below). This is shown in the representations below, using standard Onset-rhyme theory (segments stand for Root nodes).



Finally, as proposed by Itô and Mester (1994), the family of constraints CrispEdge rules out multiple linking between the edges of prosodic categories. In the specific case of assimilation (AWRA) in Picard, the multiple linking between the unstressed syllable (i.e. the /l/-final clitic [ʃol]) and the following Prosodic Word (i.e. the consonant-initial lexical word [kure]) results in violation of CrispEdge, as shown below.⁵



According to the proposed constraint ranking in (23) below, the correct candidate (24c) is selected as optimal, which corresponds to the facts shown in (10) (i.e. the assimilation process – AWRA – applies).

(23) Constraint ranking for AWRA \Rightarrow NoCoda, MAX-IO \gg CrispEdge

(24) In procliticization (see (10))

/ʃol kure/	NoCoda	MAX-IO	CrispEdge
a. [ʃol kure]	*!		
b. [ʃo kure]		*!	
c. [ʃok kure] ☞			*

If the same ranking is applied to other domains such as to those found in prefixation, notice that an incorrect form, represented by candidate (c), is wrongly selected.

(25) In Prefixation (see (11c))

/mal poli/	NoCoda	MAX-IO	CrispEdge
a. [mal poli] ☞	*!		
b. [ma poli]		*!	
c. [map poli] ☞			*

← Correct form

In order to account for these domain-driven disparities involving various phonological phenomena in the phonology of Picard, I provide in the following section an analysis in the form of domain-specific constraints that is able to account for the problematic data discussed in this investigation.

4. A SOLUTION: THE DOMAIN-SPECIFIC CONSTRAINT APPROACH

In this section, I discuss three different approaches that deal with domain-driven patterns of variation and I present my analysis for the Picard data within the approach that best capture the phenomena presented herein, the domain-specific constraint approach.

4.1. ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES:

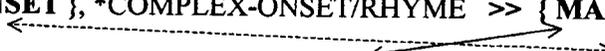
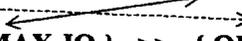
(A) The co-grammar or reranking approach:

One of the approaches that capture domain-sensitive phenomena is illustrated in (26), the co-grammar or reranking of constraints approach, proposed by Itô and Mester to deal with lexicon-internal variation in Japanese. For the authors, “constrain ranking is limited to a reranking of FAITHFULNESS constraints [for example, MAX-IO], within an otherwise invariant ranking order of constraints”.

(26) Itô and Mester’s (1995) co-grammar or reranking approach:

“[C]onstraint ranking is limited to a reranking of Faithfulness constraints [e.g. MAX-IO], within an otherwise invariant ranking order of constraints”.

From the Picard point of view, this approach cannot be applied to the language because, as I illustrate in (a) and (b) below, Picard offers empirical evidence that both wellformedness constraints (such as Onset or *Complex-Onset/Rhyme), and faithfulness constraints (such as MAX-IO) need to be reranked in order to account for the domain-driven facts found in the language, as I illustrate below:

- (a) Vowel Elision: { ONSET }, *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME >> { MAX-IO }

 (b) Heterosyllabification: *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME, { MAX-IO } >> { ONSET }


A second problem inherent to this approach is the implication that language acquisition involves the acquisition of several grammars to account for the different outputs found in several domain-driven phenomena. For instance, in order to acquire the resolution of vocalic hiatus in Picard, the language learner would have to learn at least the two distinct grammars in (a) and (b) above. In this respect, I am in agreement with Pater (1996) who points out, that “the tack of proliferating constraints over that of proliferating grammars [is preferable] because [...] it gives a clearer view of the limits that a language imposes

on reranking, and especially because the proliferation of lexically specific constraints seems independently necessary (e.g. alignment constraints [...]).”

(B) The constraint-domain approach:

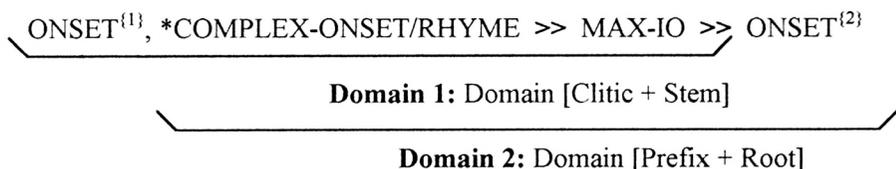
A second approach for the analysis of domain-driven phenomena is the constraint-domains approach, proposed by Buckley (1996), for whom ‘constraint domains’ delimit morphosyntactic domains of the surface representation, which are in turn subject to different constraint rankings.

(27) Buckley’s (1996) constraint-domains approach:

“‘constraint domains’ [...] [delimit] substrings of the surface representation which are subject to different constraint rankings”.

Applying his proposal to the Picard data, we obtain the results in (28), which yield the correct forms found in the language.

Ranking for the resolution of Vocalic hiatus (e.g. Vowel Elision vs. Heterosyllabification) (according to Buckley 1996)



(28) The evaluation in domains {1} and {2} in Buckley’s approach

(A)	Vowel Elision: Domain 1 (Procliticization)		
/ty aʒut/	ONSET ^{1}	*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME	MAX-IO
a. [ta.ʒut] ☞		*	*
b. [ty.a.ʒut]	*!	*	
c. [tʲa.ʒut]		**!	
(B)	Heterosyllabification: Domain 2 (Prefixation)		
/mi avril/	*COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME	MAX-IO	ONSET ^{2}
a. [ma.vril]	**	*!	
b. [mi.a.vril] ☞	**		*
c. [mja.vril]	***!		

The main problem with Buckley’s approach is its inherent assumption that domains are subject to different constraint rankings (and therefore distinct grammars), which yields unfavorable conceptual implications because it implies that there is a separate grammar for each domain. In (28), for example, there is one ranking for Domain 1, in which the constraint Onset is higher ranked, and another ranking for Domain 2, in which ONSET is ranked lower in the hierarchy.

(C) The domain-specific constraint approach:

Finally, the domain-specific constraint approach, illustrated in (29), provides a different approach to domain-driven phenomena. According to the approach, instead of the assignment of different grammars (or rankings) for specific prosodic domains, constraints are decomposed into their domain-specific counterparts, each having an independent hierarchical status in a single grammar.

(29) The domain-specific constraint approach (cf. McCarthy & Prince 1993, Pater 1996):
 Instead of the assignment of different grammars (or rankings) for specific prosodic domains, constraints are decomposed into distinct domain-specific constraints, each having a different hierarchical status within a single grammar.

For instance, the decomposition of the constraint NoCoda results in a series of domain-sensitive constraints such as NoCoda_{PWd} (which operates exclusively within the Prosodic Word domain), NoCoda_{Syll} (which only operates within the domain scope of the syllable), and so on.

In the next section, I provide an analysis for the domain-sensitive phenomena of Across-Word Regressive Assimilation and the Resolution of Vocalic Hiatus in Picard, in which I make use of the domain-specific constraint approach as proposed by McCarthy and Prince (1993) and Pater (1996).

4.2. AWRA:

In this segment, I demonstrate how the domain-specific constraint approach applies to the AWRA phenomenon. Having in mind that the domain of AWRA is the juncture of an unstressed syllable and the following Prosodic Word within the Phonological Phrase, or PPh, and that prefixation involves the domain juncture of two Prosodic Words (in which case the prefix prosodicizes as a separate Prosodic Word), or PWd-jnc, I propose the decomposition of the relevant constraint for AWRA into their domain-sensitive counterparts. This is illustrated in (30).

Domain of AWRA (domain of Procliticization)	Domain of Heterosyllabification (domain of Prefixation)
➤ The domain juncture of an unstressed <i>Syllable</i> and the following <i>Prosodic Word</i> , within the <i>Phonological Phrase</i> (PPh) (cf. Cardoso 1998a)	➤ The domain juncture of two Prosodic Words (PWd- jnc) (cf. Cardoso 1997).

(30) The decomposition of the constraints responsible for AWRA:

- NoCoda ⇒ NoCoda_{PPh}, NoCoda_{PWd-jnc}, etc.
- CrispEdge ⇒ CrispEdge_{PPh}, CrispEdge_{PWd-jnc}, etc.
- MAX-IO⁶ ⇒ MAX-IO_{PPh}, MAX-IO_{PWd-jnc}, etc.

The constraint ranking in (31) yields the correct results illustrated in the tableaux in (32).

(31) Constraint ranking for AWRA:

NoCoda_{PPh}, MAX-IO, CripEdge_{PWd-jnc} >> NoCoda_{PWd-jnc}, CripEdge_{PPh}

(32) AWRA in procliticization and prefixation (compare with (24) and (25))

(A)	AWRA in procliticization				
/ʃol kurɛ/	NoCoda _{PPh}	MAX-IO	CripEdge _{PWd-jnc}	NoCoda _{PWd-jnc}	CripEdge _{PPh}
a. [ʃol kurɛ] _{PPh}	*!				
b. [ʃo kurɛ] _{PPh}		*!			
c. [ʃok kurɛ] _{PPh}					*
(B)	Heterosyllabification in prefixation				
/mal poli/	NoCoda _{PPh}	MAX-IO	CripEdge _{PWd-jnc}	NoCoda _{PWd-jnc}	CripEdge _{PPh}
a. [mal poli] _{PWd-jnc}				*	
b. [ma poli] _{PWd-jnc}		*!			
c. [map poli] _{PWd-jnc}			*!		

If you compare these results to those found in (24) and (25), you'll see that the ranking in (31) alone is able to account for what is found in both procliticization and prefixation, without the use of a distinct, separate grammar for each domain.

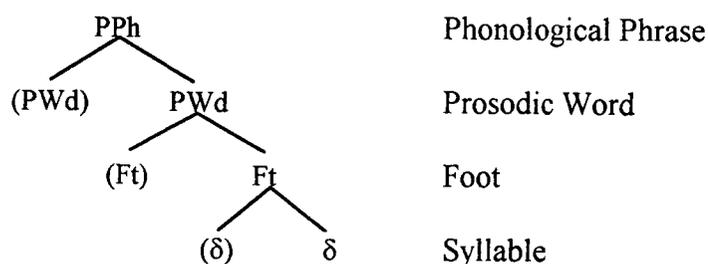
Notice in (32) that the constraint NoCoda_{PPh} is only violated within its relevant domain, that is, the Phonological Phrase, as shown in (32A). In (32B), on the other hand, the constraint NoCoda_{PPh} is not violated because prefixation involves the juncture of two Prosodic Words, which is invisible to the constraint. Notice however, that candidate (a) in (32B) only minimally violates the constraint NoCoda_{PWd-jnc}, and therefore is selected as the optimal form. The same rationale applies to the other domain-sensitive constraint, that is, CripEdge.

The main advantage of the domain-specific constraint approach is that it presupposes the existence of a single grammar, which is advantageous from the point of view of language acquisition. The decomposition of constraints discussed above is not an ad hoc solution to the investigation of the problems presented here. As a matter of fact, the decomposition of constraints is required for the analysis of other issues in the phonology of Picard; for example, the variation patterns at the segmental level found in AWRA (cf. Cardoso 1998b and 1999). Note that the decomposition of constraints has also been claimed essential in Optimality Theory, and can be found in the decomposition of the Strict Layer Hypothesis, proposed by Selkirk 1997, and in alignment constraints involving prosodic and grammatical (morphology and syntax) categories, proposed by McCarthy and Prince 1993.

4.3. THE RESOLUTION OF VOCALIC HIATUS:

In this section, I present my analysis for the Resolution of Vocalic Hiatus in Picard. Based on fact that all the processes included in this investigation are sensitive to prosodic domains, I adopt the framework of Prosodic Phonology, which claims that syntactic information is only accessed indirectly by the phonology, mediated by the Prosodic Hierarchy, illustrated in (33).

(33) The Prosodic Hierarchy (Selkirk 1978):



In (34), I summarize the domains of application of the four domain-sensitive phonological processes that are relevant to the domain-specific constraint analysis presented here. Observe that Semivocalization applies within the Prosodic Word domain, while Vowel Elision and AWRA apply at the domain juncture of an unstressed syllable and the following Prosodic Word, within the domain of the Phonological Phrase. Finally, Heterosyllabification applies in any other context.

(34) The domains of Semivocalization, Vowel Elision, AWRA and heterosyllabification (cf. Cardoso 1997, 1998a, 1999, to appear)

	Phonological processes	Prosodic Domain
1	Semivocalization (domain PWd)	
2	Vowel Elision and AWRA (domain PPh)	
3	Heterosyllabification (domain α)	Elsewhere

For the analysis of the Resolution of Vocalic Hiatus in Picard, I propose the constraint ranking in (35). Observe that the three general constraints responsible for the outputs found in Semivocalization, Vowel Elision and Heterosyllabification (i.e. ONSET, MAX-IO and *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME) were decomposed into their respective domain-specific counterparts. Consequently, each of these decomposed constraints has an independent hierarchical status in the grammar of the language.

Finally, in (36), I show the evaluation of some candidates based on the assumption that a single constraint ranking, the one depicted in (35), is responsible for the outputs found in Semivocalization, Vowel Elision and Heterosyllabification in Picard. Observe that the ranking in (35) selects candidate (A3) as the optimal form because the other two candidates each violates a highly ranked domain-specific constraint, that is, $\text{MAX-IO}_{\text{PWD}}$ and $\text{ONSET}_{\text{PWD}}$. Notice that the same grammar in (35) is capable of accounting for the results found in Vowel Elision, in (36B), and in Heterosyllabification, in (36C).

(35) Constraint ranking for the Resolution of Vocalic Hiatus in Picard

Constraint Ranking

ONSET_{PWd}, MAX-IO_{PWd}, ONSET_{PPh}, *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME_{PPh}, *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME_α, MAX-IO_α

>>

ONSET_α, *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME_α, MAX-IO_{PPh}

(36) Semivocalization, Vowel Elision and Heterosyllabification in Picard

(A)	Semivocalization (Domain = PwD) (Compare with (14) and (15))								
/ʒu/ + /ab/	Onset _{PwD}	MAX-IO _{PwD}	Onset _{PPh}	*Complex _{PPh}	*Complex _α	MAX-IO _α	Onset _α	*Complex _α	MAX-IO _{PPh}
1. [ʒab]	*!								
2. [ʒu.ab]	*!								
3. [ʒwab] ↗							*		
(B)	Vowel Elision (Domain = PPh) (Compare with (17) and (18))								
/ty/ + /aʒut/	Onset _{PwD}	MAX-IO _{PwD}	Onset _{PPh}	*Complex _{PPh}	*Complex _α	MAX-IO _α	Onset _α	*Complex _α	MAX-IO _{PPh}
1. [ta.ʒut] ↗							*		
2. [ty.a.ʒut]	*!								
3. [tʲa.ʒut]	*!								
(C)	Heterosyllabification (Domain = α) (Compare with (20) and (21))								
/mi avril/	Onset _{PwD}	MAX-IO _{PwD}	Onset _{PPh}	*Complex _{PPh}	*Complex _α	MAX-IO _α	Onset _α	*Complex _α	MAX-IO _{PPh}
1. [ma.vril]							*!		
2. [mi.a.vril] ↗							*		
3. [mja.vril]							*!		

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this investigation, I have presented and extended the domain-specific constraint approach in the context of domain-sensitive phonological processes of Picard. The main advantage of the approach is its intrinsic assumption that only one grammar (or constraint ranking) is responsible for domain-driven variation cross-linguistically. Also, I have provided an analysis for the domain-sensitive phenomena of Semivocalization, Vowel Elision, Heterosyllabification and Across-Word Regressive Assimilation in Picard, for which I stipulated one single grammar (or constraint ranking) to account for the domain-driven variation patterns encountered.

FOOTNOTES

¹ In addition, Semivocalization does not apply in cases in which the first vowel is non-high (if V_1 is non-high ($/V_{1[-hi]}.V_2/ \rightarrow [V_1.V_2]$) (see (a) and (b) below, where the capitalized output [O] and [A] represent a semivocalized version of /o/ and /a/ respectively). Since an analysis for these melodically-driven outputs is beyond the scope of this investigation, and the resulting output is not domain-related, I leave the subject aside. For a more comprehensive examination of the issue, see Cardoso (to appear).

- (a) /noel/ → [no.e], *[nel], *[nOel] 'Christmas'
(b) /dølae/ → [dø.la.ɛ], *[dø.lɛ], *[dø.lAɛ] 'a proper name'

² An interesting pattern is found when the clitic involved in the process constitutes a monosegmental morpheme. In these cases, the two vowels surface in the output form (i.e. $/V.V/ \rightarrow [V.V]$).

- (a) /ʒu a/ → [ʒu.a], *[ʒwa], *[ʒu], *[ʒa] '(I) play (at)'
(b) /i ɛm/ → [i.ɛm], *[jɛm], *[ɛm], *[im] 'he loves'

In order to account for the phenomenon illustrated above, Cardoso (1999) utilizes the constraint MAX-MS (Every input segment which is the only segment in its morpheme must have a corresponding segment in the output) (cf. Schuh 1996 and Casali 1997), a functional constraint that requires that monosegmental morphemes be preserved in the output: if a certain clitic (/a/ in item (a) above, for instance) is the only segment, its deletion will leave no remaining segmental trace of the clitic. Its presence, therefore, must be forced by a constraint that requires the preservation of features in monosegmental morphemes. Assuming that this constraint is highly ranked in the grammar of Picard, we can account for the absence of vowel elision when a monosegmental clitic is involved.

³ There is controversy on whether these semivocalized segments are syllabified as complex onsets or complex rhymes. Because the distinction between these two complex structures is irrelevant to this investigation, I group them into a single constraint, *COMPLEX-ONSET/RHYME. For a discussion of the issue, see Noske (1996).

⁴ As a matter of fact, this is the domain for Vowel Elision, which will be discussed in the next section.

⁵ At least four other possibilities exist to capture the violation of CrispEdge in cases of across-word assimilation: (1) Align-Left-Word or "No Resyllabification" (Kiparsky 1993, Reynolds 1994): No resyllabification is allowed across word boundaries; and (2) linearity (McCarthy and Prince 1995, Pater 1996): S_1 reflects the precedence structure of S_2 , and vice versa. As shown below, in cases of regressive assimilation, the precedence relation of S_1 /l-k/ is not reflected in S_2 [(k-k)]: /l/ precedes /k/ in S_1 but not in the output:

(i) /ʃo(l k)ure/ → [ʃo(k k)ure] 'the pork paté'

A slight variant of the Linearity constraint was proposed by Itô and Mester (1996) and Inkelas (1998), the NEIGHBORHOOD constraint, which differs from the Linearity constraint in which it is unidirectional. According to the authors, the constraint states that "[t]he neighborhood of a segment must be preserved. If α precedes β , then the correspondence of α precedes/follows β ."

Finally, a violation of the double linking in AWRA can be captured by the constraint NoLink, proposed by Selkirk (1984) and Urbanczyk (1999). NoLink rules out linked structures, as illustrated below:



⁶ Because the decomposition of MAX-IO is irrelevant to this analysis, I only use the general MAX-IO constraint (composed of MAX-IO_{PPh}, MAX-IO_{PWd-jnc}, etc.), which is ranked higher in the grammar of Picard.

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LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND THE DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT IN MALLORCA

Felipe Pieras Guasp
University of Alberta

ABSTRACT

This paper questions the premise that social identity and ethnicity are established mainly through language and argues for a subjective approach to determine individual self-ascription. Data from two investigations carried out in 1997 and 1998 in Palma, Spain, show that a) interaction between Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers generally takes place in Spanish; b) Catalan is mainly used as a symbol of identity rather than as a neutral code for communication; and c) Spanish speakers can and do use criteria other than language to identify their local social ascription. These factors prevent Catalan from becoming an ethnically unmarked and fully normalised language. A change in linguistic norms appears as an appropriate method of weakening the link between Catalan and a local identity.

INTRODUCTION

It is commonly accepted that language serves two basic functions. On the one hand, we use it to communicate contents and to share with others our vision of the world. On the other hand, language is an essential tool to identify individuals as members of a group and to express our loyalties and affiliation. The question is which of these two functions should prevail when, in a situation of language contact, we aim to maintain the minority language alive. What should be the strategy in a situation where one of two languages is undergoing a process of language shift? Should it be that of strengthening the links between the minority language and other elements of the culture so that the language becomes an indispensable symbol of the culture? Or should it rather be that of creating opportunities to use the minority language in every context, even in those that have traditionally been reserved to the majority language? What consequences can the choice of either strategy have on the evolution of a language conflict? To answer these questions, I will draw on data

from two investigations carried out in 1997 and 1998 in Palma (Pieras 1999), a traditional Catalan-speaking city on the island of Mallorca. Palma is the largest urban concentration on the Island and also the home of most of the Spanish-speaking immigrants who live on Mallorca.

CONTACT BETWEEN SPANISH AND CATALAN

I will start my presentation with a brief summary of the history of the contact. Since the 15th century, the relationship between Spanish and Catalan can best be described as an ongoing process of substitution of Catalan in the so called "high" functions of the language, such as those of government, education and culture, as well as its confinement in the area of informal communicative exchanges. The political norms that have regulated its use have remained for centuries in the hands of speakers of Spanish and French and, until very recently, France and Spain's language policies have been devoted exclusively to increase the prestige of their respective national languages. Before the massive social changes that would start in the fifties and consolidate during the sixties, we can talk of a strict separation of functions, so that Spanish would be the language used in formal situations and Catalan the preferred code in informal exchanges, that is, a typical situation of diglossia. Many Catalan-speaking families decided at that time not to teach their children in Catalan, given the lack of prestige and instrumentality of the language. Thus, intergenerational transmission started to be interrupted.

In addition to the political reasons just mentioned, demographic factors have also contributed to diminishing Catalan's functions. From the second half of the 20th century onwards, the economic growth resulting from industrialisation in Catalonia and from a rapid development of tourism in Mallorca attracted large numbers of Spanish speakers from the south of Spain, who moved to Catalan speaking territory in search of job opportunities and eventually to live. At that time, Catalan was not official and therefore the newcomers felt neither the obligation nor the motivation to learn it. As a consequence, in addition to the inability of Catalan to work in the high functions due to political constraints, a competition was started with Spanish to control the so-called "low" functions of the language, in other words, common social interaction. As the presence of Spanish on the street was more and more pervasive, unilateral bilingualism became the norm: Spanish was the *lingua franca*, a neutral code for between-group communication, and the only bilinguals were the speakers of Catalan. One of the consequences of this norm was that the children of mixed couples became Spanish monolinguals.

A third and more recent factor that could explain the persistent weakening of Catalan is that in the city, as the rest of the island, modern language policies intended to revitalise the language have been much less enthusiastic than in other well-studied conflict areas like Catalonia. Currently, because of the official status of Catalan and its presence in the education system, most people, especially the younger, have a reasonable knowledge of both languages. However, the social norms regulating their use remain the same: interaction between Catalan-speakers and Spanish-speakers generally takes place in Spanish, although all the participants are able to use either language with a reasonable level of fluency. It is a paradox that although literacy in Catalan is the highest in history, its real use is the lowest.

An additional aspect of current linguistic norms is the use of Catalan as a symbol of identity, instead of as a neutral, functional code for communication (Bibiloni 1991:148). Catalan is used to designate local institutions, traditions, holidays, foods, the things of "ours", whereas actual communication takes place in Spanish. This practice is considered by some as a false idea of respect and language loyalty and a very dangerous norm leading to what has been termed 'relapsing illiteracy', that is, people, usually youngsters, tend to forget the language skills they learn at school because they cannot find enough opportunities to use Catalan in daily interaction. According to a population census carried out in 1991, 41.7% of the city's residents were not able to speak Catalan, and 56.7% said they were able to at least maintain a brief conversation on an informal topic in that language (IBE 1993, LXXXIV, Anexo IV).

PERSPECTIVES ON GROUP MEMBERSHIP: OBJECTIVE CRITERIA

The first issue to be considered is the variety of perspectives to determine an individual's membership in a group. In the first place, one can take into consideration objective criteria, that is, one can define someone's ethnicity based on their institutions and specific cultural patterns: a distinctive language, distinctive folk tales, food, clothes, etc. (Appel and Muysken 1987:13). Among these elements language plays a paramount role given that, as a vehicle of social interaction, it provides the speakers with an opportunity to build their own images (Meyn 1983:56). According to Bourhis (1979), spoken language often is the most important vehicle of ethnicity (Bourhis 1979:158). Furthermore, Gumperz states that classical parameters of creation of social identity, that is, gender, ethnicity and class, are not constants that we can take for granted, but they are produced during communication (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:3). The key argument is that social identity and

ethnicity are established and maintained mostly through language. Today, communicative resources constitute an integral and essential part of the social and symbolic value of an individual (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:5). Particularly, in situations of intergroup conflict, individuals can feel that it is especially important that their true group identity is reflected in their speech at all times. According to Ryan, language is an important marker of the new ethnic groups (Ryan 1979:147).

Let us see to what extent can the objective criteria of origin and native language shed some light onto the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan in Palma. The data I am about to comment on belong to a study on language attitudes aimed to investigate the attitudes of a group of secondary school students towards the Catalan language and bilingualism. The method was a direct attitude questionnaire adapted from the survey used by Baker in three schools of Wales (Baker 1992). The questionnaire was delivered to a sample of 54 students. The general results revealed that the situations where Catalan was valued favourably included a combination of instrumental and integrative attitudes. Catalan was best valued in situations related to school and the job market. Interestingly enough, the three situations where Catalan obtained a higher evaluation were exactly the same, and in the same order, as those found by Baker in Wales: students decided that Catalan was most important to talk to teachers, to pass exams and to find a job. Catalan also received a positive evaluation in some abstract social dimensions, such as educating children, living in Palma and being accepted by the community. Negative evaluations were concentrated in the integrative dimension: Catalan received a less favourable evaluation in social interaction contexts. The association between two variables concerning origin and native language of the students and their attitudes towards Catalan was significant. Children born from local couples valued Catalan more positively than did the children of mixed or immigrant couples, especially with regards to its value in a social dimension. This is a proof that the children of immigrant parents are not integrated linguistically and that the social dynamics allows for the use of Spanish in every situation. For these children, Catalan is necessary only at school for certain functions, but not to interact with friends or with people in general. In terms of native language, the informants who claimed Catalan as their first language evaluated this language more positively in a social dimension and thought that it was important to speak with friends and with people in general. This result is an indication that Catalan is confined within the social exchanges that take place among its native speakers.

SUBJECTIVE APPROACH

The second approach to determine group membership is the subjective approach. This perspective assumes that ethnicity reflects a feeling of *us* or that of *us against them* that invalidates the importance of objective factors (Appel and Muysken 1987:13). Connor, when characterising this national bond, says that "because it is based upon belief in common descent, it ultimately bifurcates humanity into *us* and *them*." (Connor 1994:207). This is the approach used by Woolard (1983) in her study about identity in Catalonia. As Edwards states, one problem with the objective approach is that the important thing is not the content of the cultures, which may change, but the boundaries between cultures, whose continuation is more longstanding: "the decline of an original group language may represent a change in cultural content [...] but, to the extent to which language remains as a valued symbolic feature of group life, it may yet contribute to the maintenance of boundaries" (Edwards 1985:7). In other words, ethnicity and culture are concepts that can mean something slightly different for each member of the group (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:244). As Connor puts it: "It is not what is but what people perceive as is which influences attitudes and behaviour" (Connor 1994:197).

There are at least two mechanisms that allow us to portray an individual's self-ascription. First, we can consider the definitions and understandings of ethnic identity offered by individual informants. Secondly, we can measure to what extent the individuals identify with and express solidarity towards members of their own group versus members of other groups. The elements that Catalan speakers and Spanish speakers considered to be relevant in order to decide one's identity were found to differ in a study aimed to find the connection between identity and phonetic transfer. When directly asked *Who is Majorcan?*, most Catalan speakers felt that language was an important element of their local identity and agreed that he or she who speaks Majorcan (the local dialect of Catalan) is Majorcan. Some of them said that, in order to be Majorcan, living on the island or being born on the island was not enough. One had to adapt to the culture, and one of the premises of doing so was learning the language. According to the view of Catalan speakers, it all depends on the attitudes. Everyone can be Majorcan who wishes to be so; the only condition is speaking the language. Most Spanish speakers, on the contrary, felt that to be Majorcan one just needs to be born on the island and identify with the land, the customs and the people. Some of them described a sentimental allegiance, a feeling of the heart, and others mentioned sharing a philosophy of life as necessary conditions to consider themselves Majorcan. As in Woolard's study in Catalonia, the

place of birth criterion of group identity was the one given most often by Spanish speaking informants when directly asked (Woolard 1983:101-102).

In a contact situation, an alternative method to elicit self-ascription depends on the evaluations and sociocultural attitudes towards the groups in question. Although individuals derive their attitudes based on the information they obtain from the society to which they belong, there is no necessary link between the individual's objective description (of which language is a part) and his or her attitude, given that attitude is intervened by emotional factors. In many attitude studies, the matched guise technique has been used to uncover implicit attitudes. In particular, two scales have been used to measure those attitudes: the dimensions of power and of solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1972). The dimension of power assesses the status of a person in the social hierarchy and normally implies an instrumental motivation on the part of language learners. In other words, power measures the practical utility of a given language in social advancement. Solidarity, on the other hand, is associated with the emotional component of attitude and the features of personal attraction and identification. It usually implies an integrative motivation on the part of language learners, who seek to become part of a group.

Going back to the secondary school study, the same informants who filled out the survey of language attitudes were asked to classify 8 speakers of both languages through a semantic differential made up of 18 adjectives belonging to both dimensions. The results showed that, irrespective of their native language, the informants identify Spanish with power. Most interesting for our purpose is that the speakers of Catalan gave a better evaluation in solidarity to speakers of their own language, which is considered a closer, more intimate code that characterises frequent interaction. Thus, Catalan speakers evaluate more favourably members of their own language group, but only in the solidarity dimension. This finding is in line with other studies where speakers of non-standard or low prestige varieties evaluate more positively the speakers of their own variety. There was no evidence, however, that Spanish speakers evaluated members of their own group higher in solidarity.

There are some historical and social reasons that explain why Spanish is not an ethnic language in Mallorca. First, there is a generation of speakers born on the island, children of immigrant parents, who have Spanish as their first language. Second, there is a group of local members of the upper social classes whose parents switched from Catalan to Spanish. to which we can add the children of mixed couples whose first language is Spanish. The fact that both groups, second generation immigrants and autochthonous, use the same language explains why

Spanish is not automatically associated with a specific ethnicity. Although Catalan equals local, Spanish does not equal non-local (or immigrant). As one of the informants said: "A speaker of Spanish can be Majorcan, but when he or she speaks I still don't know". Among the elements that constitute the identity of Spanish speakers, language is probably not the most salient of all. Following Edwards, we should not lose sight of the non-unique status of language as a marker (Edwards 1985:3). As we have seen, Spanish speakers can construct their identities through other means and it could be the case that when they had to evaluate Spanish speakers in the solidarity dimension, language itself was not enough to elicit a favourable response.

I want to turn now to other studies about identity conducted in Mallorca. A survey carried out by the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB-CIM 1986) showed that Catalan was an element of identity for Catalan speakers more than it was for Spanish speakers. Sixty-two percent of Catalan speakers thought that he or she who speaks Majorcan is Majorcan, whereas 51.6% of Spanish speakers believed that he or she who is born in Mallorca is Majorcan. *Majorcan* was the preferred adjective for self-definition by more than 90% of Catalan speakers. Among Spanish speakers, however, only 16% would say, in Mallorca, that they are Majorcan (UIB-CIM 1986, 129).

According to another study conducted in 1997 (Melià 1997:169-173), 63% of all the informants, when asked about their identity defined themselves as Majorcan, and only 13.5% preferred the adjective Spanish. Although variables such as origin, place of residence and native language had an effect on the results, even Spanish speakers preferred the use of an adjective that could express their local identity (Majorcan, Balearic or Catalan). My own study about identity and phonetic transfer revealed that all the informants, irrespective of native language, consider themselves Majorcan rather than Spanish (Pieras 1999).

To summarise what has been said so far, the results of several studies point to the following language situation: The only bilinguals are Catalan speakers given that between-group exchanges tend to take place in Spanish. Catalan is used more as a valid symbol to designate local institutions and less as an actual code for communication. Only Catalan speakers value their language positively in a social dimension and think that it is important to talk to people. Only Catalan speakers feel that language is an essential element of local identity and only they identify with their own group in terms of solidarity. Spanish speakers, on the contrary, feel that their local identity can be built by means of sharing customs and a philosophy of life

and through an emotional attachment to the land and the people. They do not show feelings of solidarity towards other Spanish speakers based solely on language and tend to be monolingual, since Catalan is not, in their view, an instrumental language.

Given all these elements, we can raise the question: Why should a Spanish speaker of Mallorca learn Catalan? It seems that learning Catalan is still an overwhelming task conducive to no identifiable reward. Returning then to the initial question, what strategy should be used to slow down the process of language shift? It all comes down to one simple choice: either maintaining the language itself or rather keeping a separate identity.

MAINTAINING THE IDENTITY

There are several examples (see Loveday 1982) in which a separate ethnic identity has been preserved without a particular ethnic language, as is the case of the anglophone Irish (Loveday 1982:15). Appel and Muysken cite some ethnolinguistic groups in the United States, such as the French, Spanish and Yiddish, who although wishing to maintain their specific identities, could dispense with their languages (Appel and Muysken 1987:14). In Alsace, it has been found that the youngest generations tend to use French without losing their Alsacian identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:237). The Basques do not show either a particularly strong tendency to use their own language, although their nationalist feeling is militantly rooted; and the same can be said about the Scots and the Welsh (Connor 1994:177). Most of these national groups have in common the tendency to use their languages as national symbols, and this strategy has proven fruitful to the survival of the national bond. As Le Page and Tabouret-Keller put it, "feelings of ethnic identity [...] can survive total language loss" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:239-40).

MAINTAINING THE LANGUAGE

For those who prefer the maintenance of the language, its symbolic uses, although important, are not enough to achieve their purpose. The very positive role of affective elements in increasing a minority's self-esteem and language pride is undeniable. Symbols can play a particularly important role to prevent language shift and lead to language loyalty. But any language planning policy that intends to truly reverse language shift should not resign itself to preventing the language's native

speakers from shifting to the majority language. It should also aim to gain new speakers. This is especially true in Mallorca, where demographic tendencies show that the population continues to grow due more to the arrival of new non-Catalan speaking immigrants than to natural growth. To the classical question of *Why do low prestige language varieties persist?* Ryan's answer is that their speakers do not want them to die - citing factors of an emotional type (Ryan 1979). But as Weinreich reminds us, "a speaker's emotional involvement with his mother-tongue is rarely transferred to another language in full" (Weinreich 1968:76). It is essential, then, that language planners consider who are the targets of their policies and ensure that there are enough good reasons to learn the language. Linking the language to the local identity and making it an indispensable symbol does not seem good enough, since, as we have seen, Spanish speakers can use alternative symbols to identify their local ethnic ascription. In fact, the relationship between language and identity can affect negatively both the uses and the attitudes. Woolard and Gahng (1990) assert that in Catalonia, the use of Catalan used to imply a symbolic value associated with the local, that impeded its adoption by non-native speakers. It was precisely the weakening of the link between language and identity that allowed Catalan to lose its ethnic label and be seen as a neutral and suitable code for between group interaction.

CONCLUSION

An effective language policy is one that is able to motivate speakers of other languages to learn the target language, and the tools to do so have to be essentially of an instrumental nature. The results of my study show that most of the adolescents who think that they are able to use the language do not have opportunities to do so. Therefore, the process of learning Catalan becomes a bureaucratic procedure required by the educational system that can provide, at most, certain advantages with respect to employment. The effort needed to acquire a reasonable competence is still very costly for such a small reward. Although Catalan will survive, basically because its speakers do not want it to die, we should wonder if a within-group transmission of the language is sufficient to insure Catalan's well being. If current demographic tendencies continue, the challenge for Catalan will not only be in keeping its speakers, but in gaining new speakers. For that to happen, Spanish speakers have to perceive that learning Catalan is indeed worth the effort. This can only be achieved through a language planning policy that makes knowledge of Catalan a requirement to access the job market and also to get promoted. In addition, this requirement should be reflected in social reality and especially in personal interaction, so that

Catalan could become the preferred code in all communicative exchanges. Students must see that the language they learn is useful beyond the school doors. It is imperative that a change in linguistic norms takes place, so that Catalan speakers do not switch to Spanish when talking to a Spanish speaker. This might be achieved through a public campaign addressed to speakers of Catalan that would encourage them to maintain their language in all situations. Making Catalan the preferred code between groups is a useful way to make Catalan an ethnically unmarked language. Losing the bond between language and identity is, then, a necessary condition for reversing language shift.

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IS THERE A FUTURE TENSE IN CHINESE?

Anthony C. Lister
Fredericton

The general consensus is that verbs in Chinese do not have tense and that adverbial expressions of time fulfil the role played by tense in Indo-European languages. Thus in the Chinese translation of the English sentences *it rained yesterday* and *it will rain tomorrow*, the verb is the same in both cases and need not be modified in any way: *zuo tian xia yu*, *ming tian xia yu*, literally *yesterday fall rain, tomorrow fall rain*. There are a large series of post verbal particles, but it is agreed that these express aspect rather than tense.

However when one looks at newspaper Chinese, one cannot fail to be struck by the abundant use of at least three terms which are used to express one tense in particular, namely the future tense, and it is surprising that little mention is made of this in the literature. The three terms are *hui*, *jianghui*, and *jiang*, all of which occur abundantly and all of which can be translated as *shall* or *will*, and yet they receive only passing reference in two recent major grammars of Chinese: *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar* (Charles N. Li and Sandra A Thompson, 1981) and *Cantonese: A Comprehensive Grammar* (Stephen Mathews and Virginia Yip, 1994).

Li and Thompson only mention *hui*, stating that it is an auxiliary verb and it is given the meaning of *will, know how to*. They give no example of the verb being used to express the future. Mathews and Yip discuss the use of *wuih* (Cantonese for *hui*) and write (1994:230): “*wuih* has a complex set of meanings relating to possibility or probability. Although most closely glossed as ‘will’ or ‘would’, it should not be thought of as a future tense as such. Firstly, reference to the future is made largely by adverbs and does not require *wuih*. Moreover, the verb *wuih* itself has a number of related functions, of which predicting the future is only one.” Four other functions are to express the conditional, willingness, habitual actions or occurrences, and knowing how to. They give the following example of *wuih* expressing the future (ibid.):

Ngoh wuih hou gwa-jyuh leih ge
Literally I will very miss-CONT you PRT
I’m going to miss you a lot

They do not mention the other two auxiliary verbs *jiang* and *jianghui* commonly found in newspaper Chinese. While *jiang* does not seem to occur frequently in spoken Cantonese, *jianghui* (*jeungwuih* in Cantonese) certainly does.

Mathews and Yip base their view that there is no future tense in Chinese on the fact that the auxiliary *wu* is not obligatory, and also that *wu* has other meanings. However, Comrie (1985:47) points out that even in English, it is possible in certain circumstances to replace the future with the present although in main clauses this only occurs when the situation referred to is one that is scheduled. Moreover *will* and *shall* may express concepts other than the future, and Comrie (p. 47) gives the following example where *will* expresses volition with present time reference: “he will go swimming in dangerous waters”. There are in fact very few languages where “there is a separate grammatical form used for future time reference, but where the use of this form cannot be treated as a special use of a grammatical category with basically non-tense meaning”(p. 46). He also points out (p. 44) that in many European languages, the present tense is the normal verb form used to express the future, as in German “ich gehe morgen”, or in French “je vais demain”. Concerning Finnish in particular he writes (p. 45): “the so-called present tense is by far the most usual form to express future as well as present time reference”. In English the present is also used with future reference in temporal and conditional subordinate clauses when the main verb is in the future. It might be added that the future seems to be even weaker in French than in English and the present tense can often be used to replace the future. In addition while verbs in the subjunctive occur frequently in French, there is no future subjunctive. Overall, Comrie is not convinced that a future tense is a widespread feature in languages (p. 48):

“In European languages, in particular, the future tense seems to be weak or non-existent as a grammatical category (though substantiation of this point would require demonstration that future time reference can be deduced from other features of the meaning of the forms used to express future time reference). It is not impossible, however, that more detailed work on the tense systems of languages less well studied to date, such as indigenous languages of Africa and New Guinea might lead us to change this assessment in favour of the more widespread occurrence of the future tense as a separate grammatical category”.

The generally held opinion is that while a future tense exists in English, French and the other major Indo-European languages, a future tense does not exist in Chinese. The truth may well be that while the future is weaker in the European languages than generally believed, there is not a complete absence of a future tense in Chinese. The number of languages which either have no future tense at all, or which have obligatory use of a future tense to express future time reference are probably quite rare. As will be shown in this article, modern Chinese does indeed have a future tense, which may be used though may not be obligatory. However,

further research would be necessary to ascertain whether there are circumstances in Chinese where use of the future would be usual, if not obligatory.

In classical written Chinese, there was little formal grammatical marking. According to Kratochvil (1968:143), one of the major tendencies in modern Chinese is an increased occurrence of formal marking. For example, it appears that there is an increase in the use of *bei* to express the passive, while Chinese verbs are supposed to be voiceless and would therefore not require this marking. This development is decried by Chao (1970:115) and it is worth quoting his remarks concerning *bei* since they are applicable also to the use of the future auxiliaries:

“A Chinese translator ... uses a preposition *bei* ‘by’ whenever he sees a passive voice in the original, forgetting that Chinese verbs have no voice...Once this sort of thing is done often enough, it gets to be written in originals, even where no translation is involved....Such ‘translatese’ is still unpalatable to most people and no one talks in that way yet, but it is already common in scientific writing, in newspapers, and in schools”.

Likewise, it seems that Chinese translators use a future auxiliary whenever they see a future tense in the original, especially in newspapers. Many of the reports are translated directly from Reuters, Associated Press, Agence France-Press (which has apparently switched to English) and it seems quite likely that *will* and *shall* are regularly translated as *hui*, *jianghui*, or *jiang*. There is certainly a very heavy use of these markers. Further research should concentrate on examining whether there has indeed been an increase in their use and also whether and to what extent the spoken language has been influenced. To some extent, this influence on the spoken language is already quite apparent in radio and television newscasts, though of course spoken newscasts often are read and are not therefore true spoken language. Still, this pervasive form of the spoken language could influence everyday speech.

As in all studies on marked forms in Chinese, it is desirable to not only look at the marked forms themselves, but also to compare their frequency of occurrence with that of the non-marked forms. It would also be desirable to compare these frequencies with those in earlier texts to ascertain whether any sort of language change is occurring. Another reason for examining the frequency of the marked forms is to be able to conduct cross language comparisons. In the case of the future it would be interesting to know whether the marked future forms are more or less frequent than future forms in English or French and by how much.. However, in this short study, I have restricted myself to an examination of the marked forms themselves. One of major difficulties with comparing the marked and non-marked forms is that the identification of the non-marked forms is often somewhat subjective, while it is easy to identify the marked forms. However, since an increase in formal marking

seems to be one of the major trends in Chinese, it is an area which deserves more attention than it has received until now. Another difficulty specific to the marked future forms is deciding whether the auxiliary verbs being examined are in fact expressing the future, or just possibility, since *hui* at least has other meanings as pointed out above. Again, the interpretation of the exact meaning is sometimes somewhat subjective, though in most cases it is obvious from the context that it does indeed express future reference.

From just a cursory examination of any news report, the marked forms seem as common as the future tense in English or French. Every time *will* is necessary in English, *hui*, *jianghui* and *jiang* seem to occur in Chinese, even though grammars state that tense is expressed mainly by temporal adverbs and context (just as French grammars state that the future events are expressed in French by the future tense, at least in the main clause, and largely ignore the use of the present to express the future).

In my study of the marked future, I went through eleven articles from two Hong Kong newspapers *Ming Pao* (May 12, and June 2, 1997) and *Dong Fang Ribao* (June 23, 1997), and examined all occurrences, which totalled 48, of *hui*, *jianghui*, and *jiang*. There follows one example of the use of each of the three verbs:

Kuibeike Rendang dang diyi zai yedang *hui dongchang* gai shengdi fenli huodong shengshi.

Literally: Quebec People Party being first among opposition parties *will encourage* that province's separation movement impact.

That the Bloc Québécois is the main opposition party *will increase* the momentum of the separatist movement in that province.

Yuliao *jianghui tanji* ruhe jiajiang liang di zhian guanxi lianxi.

Literally: expected (he) *will discuss* how increase two places public security connections contacts.

It is expected that he *will discuss* how to increase contacts and connections concerning public security in the two places.

Suizhe Gangdu qiyue yiri liqu, zhengzhi guwen bangongshi renyuan ye *jiang likai* Xianggang.

Literally: Following Hong Kong Governor July 1 leaves, political advisors office members also *will leave* Hong Kong.

Following the departure of the Hong Kong Governor on July 1, the members of the political advisors office *will also leave* Hong Kong.

A fourth form *jijiang* also occurred three times in the corpus. The compound verb is composed of two verbs, *ji* 'to approach, to be near' and *jiang*. *Ji* is also an adverb meaning *immediately, at once, in the immediate future*. One dictionary translates *jijiang* as *to be on the point of*, while another translates it as *very soon*, classifying it as an adverb. The following sentence from the corpus is an illustration of its use:

Xin ren Yingguo shouxiang Beiliya yi *jijiang lai* Gang chuxi yijiao yishi.

Literally: New appointed English Prime Minister Blair already *is on the point of coming* Hong Kong to attend handover ceremony.

The newly appointed English Prime Minister Blair *is already on the point of coming* to Hong Kong to attend the handover ceremony.

The expression *jianglai* is both a noun and an adverb. As a noun it means *the future* and as an adverb it means *in the future*. In the corpus, there occur two cases of the use the adverb in conjunction with the auxiliary verb *hui*. The following sentence serves as an illustration:

Dong Jianhua xiangxin Gangren *jianglai* dui jiefangjun *hui* jinyibu *renshi*.

Literally: Dong Jianhua believes Hong Kong people *in the future* towards liberation army *will* further *know*.

Tung Chee-hwa believes that Hong Kong people *will in the future* have a better understanding of the Peoples Liberation Army.

In one other case, the adverb occurs without the presence of an auxiliary:

...dan ye you ren xuanze zanshi likai Xianggang, xiwang *jianglai* you jihui zai huilai.

Literally: however, also there are people chose temporarily leave Hong Kong, hope *in the future there is* opportunity again return.

...however, there are also people who chose to leave Hong Kong temporarily, and hope that *in the future there will be* an opportunity to return.

As mentioned above, *hui* may express the idea of an habitual action. In the corpus there are at least eleven occurrences of *hui* being used in this manner while there are seventeen cases of *hui* expressing future reference. The following sentence, in which a policeman in Macao is describing his job, contains an example of the use of *hui* to express an habitual action:

Women yige ren xunjie *bu hui* cha zhengjian.

Literally: we one person patrol roads *not will* examine papers.

When we patrol the streets on our own, *we do not* examine papers.

As in German, the modal auxiliary expressing the future is often separated from the main verb by prepositional phrases which in Chinese usually precede the verb. Thus, the word order in Chinese of the sentence “I will speak to you” is “I will with you speak”. The following sentence from the corpus is an example of this pattern:

Lujun zuchengde chedui *jiang* you Luomazhou *ru* jing, zhi shiru
zhongqude Weiersi Qinwang dasha.

Literally: army composed convoy *will* from Luomazhou *enter*
territory, straight drive enter central district Wales Prince building.

The army convoy *will enter* the territory from Luomazhou, and drive
straight to the Prince of Wales building in the central district.

It can also be seen from this example that the auxiliary verb can govern two main verbs as in English, but that a conjunction such as *and* is not necessary in Chinese.

Bu hui, literally *not will*, is the negative form of *hui* and it occurred four times in the corpus. The last but one quotation contains an example of the negative form. In all four cases the negative particle *bu* immediately preceded the auxiliary *hui*. There were no cases of *jiang* or *jianghui* being used in the negative. The negative form of *jianghui* is in fact, *jiangbuhui* in which the negative particle is placed between the two auxiliary verbs. However according to my informants, there is no negative form of *jiang*.

Another common negative form of *hui* is *huifou*, ‘will or will not’. *Fou* is a verb meaning *to negate, to deny* and when placed before another verb it means *whether or not*. The following is one of two examples in the corpus:

Bei wen ji jiefangjun tizao jinzhu Xianggang *huifou* zaocheng wenti,
ta biaooshi bu ying zai zai zhe wenti jiuchan.

Literally: *bei* (passive marker) ask about liberation army earlier enter
remain Hong Kong *would or would not create* problems, he stated not
should again in this problem get entangled.

Asked *whether* the liberation army entering and being stationed in
Hong Kong earlier *would create* problems, he stated that they (the
reporters) should not get involved again with this question.

Huifou occurred in both cases in reported speech, and therefore *hui* would be

translated into English as *would*.

There occurred two cases, both in reported speech, where passive verbs marked by *bei* were preceded by *hui* or *jijiang*:

...zhi yao shi hefa, heping de shiwei, *hui bei yunxu*.

Literally: only must be legal, peaceful *de* demonstration, *will bei* (passive marker) *permit*

...the demonstration only has to be legal and peaceful, and it *will be permitted*

... min xuan de lifa jiguan *jijiang bei jiesan*.

Literally: people elect *de* legislature *will shortly bei* (passive marker) *dissolve*.

The democratically elected legislature *will shortly be dissolved*.

In these examples the main verbs are marked both for the passive and the future. Traditionally, both markers would have been considered as unnecessary.

Shi 'to be' may also be preceded by an auxiliary. In the corpus there was just one example (reported speech) and the auxiliary was *jianghui*:

Ruguo Manning lingdao de gaigedang chengwei zui da fandui dang, *jianghui shi* Jianadade zainan.

Literally: if Manning lead *de* Reform Party becomes most big opposition party, *will be* Canada's disaster.

If the Reform Party, lead by Manning, becomes the biggest opposition party, *it will be* a disaster for Canada.

There were no examples of *shi* occurring with either *hui* or *jiang*. However, the English verb *to be* plus an adjective is replaced by a stative verb in Chinese. In other words, the verb *to be* is omitted and the adjective becomes a verb. There was just one case where a stative verb was preceded by a future marker, *hui*:

Er tequ zhengfu renshouxing reng *hui hen gao*

Literally: And special region government recognition still *will very (be) high*.

And the recognition of the Special Administrative Region's Government *will still be very high*.

The Chinese for *there is, there are* is *you*, which is simply the verb *to have*. This expression also occurred with a future marker, in this case *jiang*:

Zhongyangshe baogao: Zhong Ying yi dacheng xieyi, qiyue yiri nongchen *jiang you er qian duo ming jiefangjun jinzhu*.

Literally: Central news agency report: China England already reach agreement, July 1 early morning *will there be* two thousand more liberation army troops enter be stationed.

Central News Agency report: England and China have already reached an agreement that in the early morning of July 1, *there will be* two thousand or more liberation army troops entering and being stationed (in Hong Kong) / or two thousand or more troops will enter and be stationed (in Hong Kong).

It is generally agreed, as mentioned above, that future time reference in Chinese is expressed by adverbial time phrases, such as *tomorrow*, *next year* etc. However, in the corpus, there were 13 cases of one of the auxiliaries being used in conjunction with one of the following time phrases: “at 3pm”, “today” (twice), “in future” (twice), “before the month’s end”, “within two or three years”, “after the July handover”, “in December of this year”, “from now on”, “tomorrow”, “on July 7” and “1999”.. In seven of the cases the auxiliary was *hui*, and in six it was *jiang*. One example of each will suffice as illustrations:

Dong Jianhua *mingtian yi hui* yu Xinjiapo neige zizheng Li Guangyao *huiwu*.

Literally: Tung Chee-hwa *tomorrow* also *will* with Singapore Cabinet Senior Advisor Lee Kuan Yu *meet*

Tomorrow Tung Chee-hwa *will* also *meet* Singapore’s Cabinet Senior Advisor, Lee Kuan Yu.

...“huang maque xingdong” chengyuan *jiang yu ben yue di qian cheli* Xianggang.

Literally: “yellow sparrow movement” members *will at this month end before leave* Hong Kong.

The members of the “yellow sparrows movement” *will leave* Hong Kong *before the end of the month*.

In these examples, future time reference is indicated twice, both by the adverbs of time, and by the auxiliaries.

As mentioned above, there were 48 occurrences of the four auxiliary verbs. The statistical breakdown was as follows: *hui*:28; *jiang*:14; *jianghui*: 3; *jijiang*: 3. Of the 28 occurrences of *hui*, 17 expressed the future, and 11 expressed habitual action. *Jiang*, *jianghui*, and *jijiang* expressed the future in all cases. Thus, of the four auxiliaries, *hui* occurred slightly more often than *jiang* to express future reference, while *jianghui* and *jijiang* occurred far less frequently than the other two. While *hui*

also means *to know how to*, there were no occurrences in the corpus of the auxiliary with this meaning. I did not attempt to discover whether there is any difference in meaning between the four auxiliaries, though *jijiang* refers to an action which is about to happen very shortly, while the other three refer to any time in the future. Moreover, *hui* and *jianghui* occur in both written and spoken language, while *jiang* or at least its Cantonese equivalent *jeung* does not seem to occur, or occurs only rarely, in the language spoken in Hong Kong. A cursory analysis seems to indicate that *jiang* tends to be used to report factual news items, while *hui* seems to be used more in reported speech. It also appears that *hui* rather than *jiang* tends to be used in the main clause of a conditional sentence. However, further research would be necessary to examine any differences in meaning and usage between these two forms. Further research could also focus on whether or not there is an increase in their use, and on comparing the frequency of their use with future tenses in other languages.

In conclusion, if only because of the very common and probably increasing occurrence of the four auxiliaries in newspaper Chinese, they merit much further attention than has been paid to them until now. Whether or not there is a future tense in Chinese depends very much on how one defines the term “future tense”, but there would appear to be at least the beginnings of a rudimentary future tense.

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CHINESE CHARACTER TEXT OF QUOTATIONS

- 1.魁北克人黨當第一在野黨會助長該省的分離運動聲勢。
- 2.預料將會談及如何加強兩地治安關係聯繫。
- 3.隨著港督七月一日離去，政治顧問辦公室人員也將離開香港。
- 4.新任英國首相貝理雅亦即將來港出席移交儀式。
- 5.董建華相信港人將來對解放軍會進一步認識。
- 6.但也有人選擇暫時離開香港，希望將來有機會再回來。
- 7.我們一個人巡街不會查證件。
- 8.陸軍組成的車隊將由落馬洲入境，直駛入中區的威爾斯親王大廈。
- 9.被問及解放軍提早進駐香港會否造成問題，他表示不應再這問題糾纏。
- 10.只要是合法，和平的示威會被允許。
- 11.民選的立法機關即將被解散。
- 12.如果曼寧領導的改革黨成為最大反對黨將會是加拿大的災難。
- 13.而特區政府的認受性仍會很高。
- 14.中央社報導：中英已達成協議，七月一日偈晨將有二千多名解放軍進駐。
- 15.董建華明天亦會與新加坡丙閣資政李光耀會晤。
- 16."黃雀行動" 成員將於本月底前撤離香港。

ÉTUDE DE LA REDONDANCE BILINGUE DANS LES ROMANS DE JEAN BABINEAU: BLOUPE ET GÎTE

Chantal G. Richard
Université de Moncton

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude présentera une analyse descriptive des formes et fonctions de la redondance bilingue en tant que marques transcodiques dans deux romans, *Bloupe* (1993) et *Gîte* (1998) de l'auteur acadien, Jean Babineau. Par redondance bilingue, nous entendons la reprise de deux ou plusieurs signifiants dans des langues ou registres de langues distincts, et dont le sens est plus ou moins équivalent. L'approche est transdisciplinaire, inspirée de spécialistes en linguistique et en littérature pour construire les grilles de classification des multiples formes (niveau d'intégration dans la phrase, identification de la langue de base/langue enchâssée, etc.) et fonctions (choix marqué, effet de réel/effet d'œuvre, etc.) des marques transcodiques redondantes. Finalement, la comparaison des deux romans permet d'observer l'évolution de l'attitude de l'auteur envers ses langues et son identité plurilingue.

INTRODUCTION

Le bilinguisme d'expression est un phénomène propre aux groupes linguistiques vivant dans un milieu social où deux ou plusieurs langues sont accessibles pour un certain nombre de locuteurs. C'est le cas pour l'Acadie et ses auteurs qui se trouvent en contact constant avec la domination de l'anglais. On y trouve donc un lieu idéal pour l'étude de ces contacts non seulement sous forme orale, mais également sous forme écrite puisque de plus en plus, les écrivains acadiens tentent d'intégrer leur réalité socio-linguistique aux textes. L'analyse qui suit tentera de décrire cette intégration du bilinguisme en littérature par l'étude d'une forme particulière: la redondance bilingue.

APPROCHE

L'approche est transdisciplinaire, s'inspirant des travaux de Sylvia Kasparian (1992) et de Rainier Grutman (1997), ainsi que d'un nombre de spécialistes de la linguistique et de la littérature. Plus spécifiquement, nous nous référons à la socio-linguistique, la psycho-linguistique, aux théories littéraires sur le roman et particulièrement aux théories élaborées sur le plurilinguisme dans la

littérature. Le but est d'arriver à une analyse descriptive d'un phénomène contemporain propre aux littératures minoritaires co-habitant avec une langue dominante qui est ici l'anglais.

OBJECTIF

Cette étude propose une description des formes et fonctions de la redondance en tant que *marque transcodique*¹ dans un corpus littéraire qui est composé de deux romans acadiens, *Bloupe* (1993) et *Gîte* (1998) de l'auteur Jean Babineau². La redondance est une forme de *mt* qui a été repérée parmi plusieurs dans ce corpus et nous nous limiterons à celle-ci dans la présente analyse. Nous appellerons *redondance bilingue* la répétition ou la traduction d'un segment pouvant aller d'un mot à une phrase; c'est la reprise superflue d'un signifiant dans plus d'une langue ou d'un registre. En plus de démontrer le fonctionnement de la grille, l'isolement d'une seule forme permettra d'approfondir sa/ses fonction(s)³ dans chacun des romans.

DESCRIPTION DU CORPUS

Bloupe et *Gîte* restent, jusqu'ici, des cas exceptionnels de plurilinguisme littéraire, exhibant un niveau très élevé de la fréquence ainsi que de l'intégration des langues en jeu. Parmi les langues et registres dans les romans, nous identifions le français standard, le français «acadien», le chiac et l'anglais. En ce qui concerne le chiac, nous nous référons à la thèse de Marie-Eve Perrot (1995) et le français acadien ou familier est conçu comme déviation par rapport au français standard soit au niveau sémantique («au *faîte* de la trash»), phonétique («*plusse*») ou syntaxique («*entrer dedans*»). Toutefois, ces langues et registres ne se distinguent l'un de l'autre que graduellement et nous proposons plutôt de les conceptualiser sur un continuum qui va du français standard à l'anglais, en passant par le français acadien et le chiac. De façon générale, le texte est dominé par le français standard, c'est-à-dire que suivant le modèle de Carol Myers-Scotton (1995), la langue de base est le français standard et les langues enchâssées sont l'anglais ou le français régional (le chiac étant un système complexe composé d'éléments de français et d'anglais, nous préférons éviter l'ambiguïté et de classer les formes soit du côté de l'anglais, comme c'est le cas pour «napkins» (*Bloupe* 17) ou du côté du français régional, comme pour «forme» (*Bloupe* 71) dans le sens de formulaire, qui est néanmoins un calque de l'anglais). Toutefois, le français standard demeure le point d'appui qui fournit les structures syntaxiques au texte.

¹ Cette appellation désigne l'ensemble des phénomènes de contacts de langues qui sera désormais désigné dans le texte par le sigle: *mt*.

² Jean Babineau est un auteur Acadien contemporain, originaire de Moncton.

³ Nous tenons compte du fait que la même forme remplira souvent plus d'une fonction.

MÉTHODOLOGIE

Étant donné la complexité des langues en jeu, nous avons commencé par repérer et cataloguer toutes les occurrences de redondance bilingue dans le corpus Babineau selon leurs caractéristiques purement formelles. Suite à cette description de la forme, nous cherchons à déterminer sa/ses fonction(s) dans le contexte du roman. Les deux romans sont ensuite comparés, ce qui nous permet d'effectuer une étude chronologique de l'évolution de l'écriture de l'auteur. La figure 1 démontre les catégories principales établies pour les deux romans; ces catégories ne sont pas mutuellement exclusives, certaines s'entrecoupent ou se superposent.

Figure 1 - Formes et fonctions de la redondance bilingue dans *Bloupe* et *Gîte*

- | |
|--|
| <p>1. Formes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">1.1 Niveau d'intégration de la langue enchâssée à la langue de base<ul style="list-style-type: none">1.1.1 intraphrastique1.1.2 interphrastique1.1.3 extraphrastique1.2 Détermination de la langue de base et de la langue enchâssée<ul style="list-style-type: none">1.2.1 couple français (tous les registres)/anglais1.2.2 couple français standard/français acadien <p>2. Fonctions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">2.1 la «mesure de marquage» (“Markedness Metric”)<ul style="list-style-type: none">2.1.1 choix non-marqué2.1.2 choix marqué2.2 - effet de réel<ul style="list-style-type: none">2.2.1 ancrage référentiel2.3 - effet de style (ou effet d'«œuvre»)<ul style="list-style-type: none">2.3.1 intertextualité signe d'une identité multilingue/multiculturelle2.3.2 humour, parodie, ironie, emphase2.3.3 jeux de langues/de mots (co-énonciation) |
|--|

Au niveau formel nous tenons compte du niveau d'intégration des langues (1.1) ainsi que de l'identification de la langue de base et de la langue enchassée (1.2). Nous adoptons le système de classification de Poplack (1980) qui comprend les alternances intraphrastiques, interphrastiques et extraphrastiques. Dans le premier cas, la redondance a lieu à l'intérieur de la phrase, dans le deuxième, les éléments redondants sont séparés par un signe de ponctuation et les alternances extraphrastiques désignent les «‘fillers’, ‘tags’, expressions idiomatiques, etc.» (Hamers et Blanc 1983:198). Chacune de ces formes sera ensuite analysée pour déterminer sa ou

ses fonctions dans le roman selon trois critères majeures: 2.1, la mesure de marquage; 2.2, l'effet de réel et 2.3, l'effet de style.

1. Formes

Les occurrences de redondance dans *Bloupe*, catégorisées selon les couples de langues sont énumérées dans la figure 2:

Figure 2 - Formes de la redondance bilingue dans *Bloupe*

(langue enchâssée en gras et élément correspondant dans la langue de base en italiques)

A) COUPLE FRANÇAIS (TOUS LES REGISTRES)/ANGLAIS:

a.1.) intraphrastique:

- > «Sur les **napkins** *serviettes de papier.*» (17)
- > «...la neige blanche en **chain-saw** (*scie-mécanique* pour certains avec beaucoup de dents tranchantes)...» (69)
- > «...**with a sparkling twinkle in her eye**, *aye, avec un scintillement étincillant dans ses yeux...*» (166)
- > «...sur la *plage des Belliveau* appelée **Belliveau`s Beach.**» (183)
- > «...il faut garder la *foi*, **faith** comme disent les anglophones.» (185)
- > «She has a **full moon face.** (*Face pleine lune.*)» (190)

a.2.) interphrastique:

- > «**Looking for the Lady of the North.** *La Belle Dame Blanche.*» (17)
- > «*Oui, il l'avait bien dit*, ce maudit avocat avec ses lunettes si brillantes et ses livres reliés en cuir, avec son air ensoleillé en ouvrant des comptes dans les porte-monnaie privés. **Yes, he spelled it out nicely...**» (24)
- > «*Les wagons glacés.* **Icicles hanging down.**» (35)
- > «*Pas pire p'en toute!* **No, not worse!**» (40)
- > «*Lancer la boule contre la solitude de la maison.* **Throw the ball and it might talk back.**» (91)
- > «*La température a définitivement haussée.* **Temperature on the rise.**» (103)
- > «...sur deux côtés *tellement entassés.* **Piled up high.**» (183)

a.3.) extraphrastique:

- «**Cough! Tousse! Cough! Tousse!**» (15)
- «**Click! Click! Click! Clique! Clique!**» (100)
- «**Ththink! Ththink! Clink! Clink!**» (156-157)
- «**Well! Well! Well! Ouelle! Ouelle! Ouelle!**» (193)

B) COUPLE FRANÇAIS STANDARD/FRANÇAIS RÉGIONAL:

b.1.) intraphrastique:

- «Les champs pour lesquels il a tellement **trimé peiné...**» (14)
- «...ailes de souvenir de poulet dans les **côtes cage thoracique...**» (17)
- «De toute façon, les **gances** ou **gonds** ou **pentures** ne sont pas la solution idéale (ou même proche de l'être) ...» (137)
- «Suzanne S*** a des lèvres **pointues, pointuses** comme on dit à Monckton.» (144)
- «En poussant un, deux ou trois **boutons-pitons-leviers.**» (161)

b.2.) interphrastique:

- «Oui, des gaffes, j'en ai fait **ma part. En masse.**» (15)
- «Sur **une demande. Une application. Une forme. Un formulaire de demande d'emploi** si tu veux être spiffy.» (71)
- «...le **trou. La perforation.**» (101)
- «Les films porno commencent à **rouler. Tourner.**» (106)
- «La tête entre les **pentures. Gonces. Gonds?** J'ai besoin d'une meilleure base en linguistique. Pour arriver à manier les mots. » (127)

La distribution des couples de langues est majoritairement en faveur du couple anglais/français (A) plutôt que le couple français standard/français régional (B) qui comprend beaucoup moins d'occurrences (17 occurrences pour la catégorie A et 10 pour B⁴). Proportionnellement au nombre total d'occurrences dans chaque catégorie, les alternances interphrastiques et intraphrastiques ont une distribution à peu près égale (7/13 occurrences interphrastiques pour A, donc 54% et 5/10 occurrences, donc 50% pour B). Toutefois, les alternances interphrastiques du couple français standard/français régional se limitent à des segments très courts, normalement un seul mot, alors que la grande majorité des alternances

⁴ Pour une synthèse de ces statistiques, voir le tableau A.

intra- et interphrastiques du couple A sont des segments de plusieurs mots qui constituent parfois même une proposition complète.

En général, lorsque la langue enchâssée est le français régional, l'auteur démontre une forte tendance à placer la *mt* avant la reprise dans la langue de base (c'est le cas pour 8 des 10 occurrences du groupe standard/régional). Toutefois, cette tendance est moins évidente lorsque l'anglais est la langue enchâssée, car l'auteur place l'anglais après la langue de base dans seulement 9 des 17 cas (53%).

Dans certains cas l'auteur accompagne la redondance d'un commentaire métatextuel, par exemple: «De toute façon, les **gances** ou *gonds* ou *pentures* ne sont pas la solution idéale (ou même proche de l'être) ...» (*Bloupe* 137). Ces commentaires nous éclairent sur les réflexions de l'auteur car il effectue un retour sur la redondance, dans ce cas-ci «**gances** ou *gonds* ou *pentures*», signalant par ce fait la multiplicité des signifiants d'un registre de langue à un autre en plus de nous révéler sa préoccupation pour la langue comme thème récurrent du roman. Le commentaire qui suit: «ne sont pas la solution idéale (ou même proche de l'être) ...» sert donc à accentuer l'emphase déjà présente dans la redondance bilingue.

On a essentiellement les mêmes catégories de redondance dans *Gîte*. Mais l'opposition cette fois-ci se manifeste surtout entre le français et l'anglais, ne comprenant pas beaucoup de registres de langues entre les deux. C'est-à-dire que les couples présents sont majoritairement de la catégorie français/anglais alors qu'une seule occurrence du couple français standard/français régional est présente sur un total de 16 occurrences (donc environ 6%).

Figure 3 - Forme de la redondance bilingue dans *Gîte*

(langue enchâssée en gras et élément correspondant dans la langue de base en italiques)

A) COUPLE FRANÇAIS (TOUS LES REGISTRES)/ANGLAIS :

a.1) intraphrastique:

- « -Tu ne vas pas écrire un livre **about** elle?
- *À propos de qui?*» (19)
- «...ses nombreux achats d'animaux *empaillés, stuffés...*» (21)
- «Le chemin de l'amour est si long, pourtant, on a dit qu'il est moins *cahoteux* (**bumpy** si tu veux).» (45)
- «Bien que nous aussi on peut avoir une langue affectée quand on utilise des termes comme: J'ai *right* aimé ça. Ici *right* doit signifier **really**.» (48)
- «Je fais un peu de *plongée (d'apnée)* (**snorkeling**).» (98)
- « -Écoute, je ne sais pas si c'est une *table ronde, une table tournante* ou une **turntable...**» (100)
- « -Vous avez pas fait grand *haigne*, hein?
(*haigne = grand chose* ou vient de l'anglais **hang**?)» (101)
- «...en train de fumer du *youknowquoiwhat...*» (109)

a.2) interphrastique:

- « "**Les mooses sont su' la loose!** *Les orignals sont icitte!* **Les mooses sont su' la loose!** *Les orignals sont icitte! [...]*» (43)
- «**My mirror.** *Mon miroir* est rempli de vieilles histoires. *Notre miroir* est rempli de vieilles histoires.» (48)
- «**disabilities** = fr. *invalidités.*» (77)
- «Toute la pièce est *vernée*. We will never get away from our **shine**.» (89)
- «...je me suis fait réveillé [sic] par une *lampe de poche* qui projetait sa lumière dans mes yeux. **Flashlight.**» (102)
- «Il retourne chez lui et se couche de travers sur les **joists**. Il n'a jamais entendu parler de *solives* même s'il côtoie, depuis un certain temps, le monde de la construction.» (113)
- «Le seul blanc par ici, c'est la brume et elle est gratuite de même que les *moutons blancs*. **Whitecaps.** » (123)

a.3) extraphrastique:

- «**Crunch! Crunch! Croc!**» (19)

B) COUPLE FRANÇAIS STANDARD/FRANÇAIS RÉGIONAL:

b.1) intraphrastique:

► «Afin que tu puisses hausser tes **culottes**. *Pantalons.*» (77)

Outre la dominance de l'anglais très marquée comme *mt*, toujours au niveau de la forme on remarque que les segments sont surtout très courts, majoritairement constitués d'un seul mot. Les alternances intra- et interphrastiques sont à peu près équilibrées (8 des premières et 7 des deuxièmes). La catégorie des alternances extraphrastiques est encore présente sous la forme d'onomatopée, mais il n'y en a qu'un seul exemple. L'anglais vient plus souvent après le français standard dans la phrase (59% des cas) alors que l'unique exemple du couple standard/régional place la langue enchâssée avant la langue de base.

Tableau A - distribution des langues et des formes de la redondance dans *Gîte* et *Bloupe*

romans:	<i>Bloupe</i>		<i>Gîte</i>	
distribution des langues:	A. couple anglais/français 63%	B. couple fr. régional/anglais 37%	A. couple anglais/français 94%	B. couple fr. régional/anglais 6%
alt. intraphras.	35%		50%	
alt. interphras.	41%		44%	
alt. extraphras.	24%		6%	
placement de la langue enchâssée avant	français régional: 80%		français régional: 100% (*Attention: exemple unique)	
après	anglais: 53%		anglais: 56%	

Ce tableau permet de saisir rapidement les différences importantes ainsi que les traits communs des deux romans. La dominance du couple français/anglais se manifeste déjà dans *Bloupe*, mais se prononce beaucoup plus nettement dans *Gîte*. Dans les deux romans, lorsque la langue enchâssée est l'anglais, on peut retrouver la *mt* soit avant ou après la langue de base dans la redondance, alors que lorsqu'il s'agit du français régional, l'auteur place cette langue presque toujours après la langue de base.

FONCTIONS

En ce qui concerne la forme comme telle, son contenu étant redondant et donc, superflu, il faut s'attarder à son aspect formel. La pertinence de la marque transcodique, critère de sélection du texte bilingue que souligne Grutman, n'est pas au niveau du signifié, mais du signifiant. Selon Carol Myers-Scotton (1993: 138), le medium lui-même peut être le message, c'est-à-dire que l'auteur cherche à faire signifier les langues en les juxtaposant dans une relation intersystémique égale, mais non-équivalente. En effet, les traductions ne correspondent pas toujours au sens d'une langue à une autre; "**the Lady of the North**" devient «*La Belle Dame Blanche*» (17), «*Pas pire p'en toute!*» a des connotations positives pour le locuteur acadien, alors que "**No, not worse**" (40) est une traduction ironique du sens littéral de cette expression (nous y reviendrons plus loin dans la partie 2.2 - effets de style).

2.1 - modèle de marquage

En premier lieu, la mesure de marquage de Carol Myers-Scotton (1993) permet une classification générale basée sur l'intention du locuteur (auteur). D'après Myers-Scotton, tout choix d'alternance de codes peut être expliqué par la motivation de l'énonciateur à l'intérieur d'une interaction. Son modèle suppose que l'énonciateur cherche à produire un certain effet et possède un mécanisme interne qui lui permet de mesurer le «marquage» de son choix linguistique.

Selon le modèle Myers-Scotton, le locuteur bilingue peut choisir de ne pas marquer son alternance de codes par rapport au discours. Ce choix sert à maintenir la norme, représente l'acceptation des règles de l'interaction de la part de l'énonciateur, ici, l'auteur. Ou encore, il peut choisir de marquer son choix, mais afin d'être reconnu comme tel, le choix marqué doit contraster avec le choix non-marqué. C'est ce que Shana Poplack (1988) appelle l'alternance fluide ou balisée. Une alternance serait fluide si elle suivait les droits et obligations reliés au chiac (Marie-Eve Perrot, thèse: 1995), où l'alternance peut faire partie de la norme, ou s'en démarquer. Toutefois, l'alternance est balisée quand le locuteur/auteur la signale par un élément quelconque (débit de parole, hésitation, etc.). C'est le rôle des commentaires métatextuels qui servent à faire remarquer les marques transcodiques ainsi que des éléments d'hésitation tels que: «je ne sais pas si» (*Gîte* 100). Mais le fait d'effectuer un retour sur le processus de signification démontre chaque fois une volonté d'y mettre l'emphase, d'attirer l'attention du lecteur non seulement sur les relations signifiant-signifié, mais sur le phénomène même du bilinguisme.

La redondance est donc un exemple clair d'une alternance balisée et d'un choix marqué. Dans le contexte d'un roman, la spontanéité de l'énoncé est exclue. En préservant l'esthétique de la répétition, par l'alternance de codes linguistiques, l'auteur exprime une intention de faire remarquer son choix. Si Babineau fait des choix marqués par la redondance, c'est qu'il désire exprimer quelque chose qui ne peut être dit autrement. Dans une étude de la répétition en littérature, Hélène Gaudreau spécifie que: «Le retour du même est bien ici le signe d'un impossible à communiquer... autrement que par la répétition.» (1996:112). Mais en plus de la répétition comme telle, il faut tenir en compte le bilinguisme de la redondance.

La redondance bilingue va ensuite créer un *effet de réel* et/ou un *effet d'œuvre* (ou effet de style). C'est une distinction importante explicitée par Grutman entre «la *connotation contextuelle* à laquelle Barthes réservait le nom d'«effet de réel» [et] la *connotation intertextuelle* que l'on pourrait appeler l'«effet d'œuvre»» (1997: 44). Un exemple de l'effet de réel est le «technolecte» ou le langage technique relié à une certaine occupation ou encore l'ancrage référentiel dans lequel quelques mots de la langue enchâssée rappellent au lecteur qu'il se trouve dans un contexte spécifique. L'«effet d'œuvre», pour sa part, est souvent retrouvé sous forme d'intertextualité, de parodie, d'emphase ou d'ironie (Grutman 1997).

2.2 - Effet de réel

Les commentaires métatextuels nous permettent de mieux saisir l'attitude du narrateur par rapport à ses langues. Des sous-catégories peuvent alors être établies selon le message véhiculé par la *mt* dans chaque cas:

A. *Bloupe* (les commentaires métatextuels sont soulignés)

A.1: changement de groupe social et linguistique:

- ◆ «...la neige blanche en **chain-saw** (*scie-mécanique* pour certains avec beaucoup de dents tranchantes)...» (69)
- ◆ «Suzanne S*** a des lèvres *pointues*, **pointuses** comme on dit à Monckton.» (144)
- ◆ «...il faut garder la *foi*, **faith** comme disent les anglophones.» (185)

A.2: signale sa compétence plurilingue et sa connaissance des niveaux de langue:

- ◆ «Sur *une demande*. **Une application. Une forme. Un formulaire de demande d'emploi** si tu veux être spiffy.» (71)

A.3: signale son insuffisance linguistique:

- ◆ «La tête entre les *pentures*. **Gonces. Gonds?** J'ai besoin d'une meilleure base en linguistique. Pour arriver à manier les mots. » (127)
- ◆ «De toute façon, les **gances** ou *gonds* ou *pentures* ne sont pas la solution idéale (ou même proche de l'être) ...» (137)

A.4: signale l'assimilation:

- ◆ «...sur la *plage des Belliveau* appelée Belliveau`s Beach.» (183)

B. *Gîte*

B.1: signale sa compétence plurilingue et sa connaissance des niveaux de langue:

- ◆ «Le chemin de l'amour est si long, pourtant, on a dit qu'il est moins *cahoteux* (bumby si tu veux).» (45)
- ◆ «Bien que nous aussi on peut avoir une langue affectée quand on utilise des termes comme: J'ai *right* aimé ça. Ici *right* doit signifier **really**.» (48)
- ◆ «-Vous avez pas fait grand **haigne**, hein?
(haigne = grand chose ou vient de l'anglais hang?)» (101)

B.2: jeu de mots, non-équivalence:

- ◆ «disabilities = fr. invalidités.» (77)

B.3: signale la connaissance incomplète de la langue du personnage:

- ◆ «Il retourne chez lui et se couche de travers sur les **joists**. Il n'a jamais entendu parler de solives même s'il côtoie, depuis un certain temps, le monde de la construction.» (113)

En plus d'une prise de conscience de la diversité sociale et linguistique (A.1), le narrateur signale sa compétence plurilingue (A.2), mais aussi son insuffisance linguistique (A.3) et souligne les dangers de l'assimilation des francophones par les anglophones (A.4). Dans *Gîte* nous retrouvons également des situations où le narrateur signale sa compétence linguistique en expliquant le sens de la *mt* (B.1), dans un cas il montre la non-équivalence de termes dont l'étymologie est pourtant semblable (faux-amis) (B.2) dans la catégorie B.3, le narrateur illustre le fait que le personnage peut très bien fonctionner dans son travail sans maîtriser le français dit standard. Toutefois, en ce faisant, le narrateur souligne sa propre compétence plurilingue.

La redondance et de façon plus marquée, les commentaires métatextuels qui l'accompagnent, servent à faire remarquer les multiples possibilités de signifiants auxquels a accès le groupe social de l'auteur; il s'agit alors de l'effet de réel. En d'autres mots, pour le narrateur de Babineau, les *pentures* ne seront jamais que des *pentures*, mais pourront aussi être des *gonds* ou des *gances* ou même des *gonces* (cf. ex: p. 127&137 *Bloupe*). La langue est dynamique, n'ayant jamais été fixée.

2.3 - Effet d'œuvre

Nous rappelons que le roman est considéré comme lieu d'interaction où l'acte de communication se déroule entre l'auteur et le lecteur. Dans cette perspective, l'effet de style est un moyen de communication parmi d'autres, c'est-à-dire qu'il cherche à transmettre une information métatextuelle par une méthode stylistique. Les effets de style tels que l'humour,

l'ironie, etc, sont présents autant dans les dialogues oraux de tous les jours que dans le genre romanesque, où ils prennent une forme plus complexe et préméditée, mais dans le même but.

En d'autres mots, si l'auteur choisit de représenter la pluralité linguistique par des techniques de style littéraire, il s'y trouve un effet d'œuvre. C'est le cas lorsque les *mt* ont pour but de mettre l'emphase sur la multiplicité lexicale du locuteur acadien ou de produire une certaine ironie, voire une parodie du discours autour de la conservation de la langue française en Acadie. Ces effets de style permettent à l'auteur de transmettre son idéologie à travers son narrateur ou ses personnages de façon moins directe, mais plus efficace puisqu'elle invoque la participation de l'interlocuteur-lecteur. En général, la redondance bilingue crée une esthétique de l'emphase sur la langue et sur la situation linguistique du milieu social de l'auteur. La répétition traduit une obsession thématique surtout linguistique, forçant le lecteur à effectuer un retour constant sur le processus de signification. Quelques exemples particuliers de l'effet d'œuvre permettront d'illustrer son rôle:

2.3.1 - intertextualité signe d'une identité multilingue/multiculturelle

- ▶ «sur la *plage des Bèlliveau* appelée **Bèlliveau's Beach**.» (*Bloupe* 183)

2.3.2 - humour, parodie, ironie, emphase

a. humour:

- ▶ «Sur une demande. Une application. Une forme. Un formulaire de demande d'emploi si tu veux être spiffy.» (*Bloupe* 71)
- ▶ «**Cough! Tousse! Cough! Tousse!**» (*Bloupe* 15)

b. parodie:

- ▶ «Bien que nous aussi on peut avoir une langue affectée quand on utilise des termes comme: J'ai *right* aimé ça. Ici *right* doit signifier **really**.» (*Gîte* 48)

c. ironie:

- ▶ «Il retourne chez lui et se couche de travers sur les **joists**. Il n'a jamais entendu parler de *solives* même s'il côtoie, depuis un certain temps, le monde de la construction.» (*Gîte* 113)

2.3.3 - co-énonciation (une langue joue sur les sens de l'autre):

- ▶ «*Pas pire p'en toute! No, not worse!*» (*Bloupe* 40)
- ▶ «*Lancer la boule contre la solitude de la maison. Throw the ball and it might talk back.*» (*Bloupe* 91)

- ▶ « -Écoute, je ne sais pas si c'est une *table ronde*, une *table tournante* ou une **turntable**...» (*Gîte* 100)

L'emphase n'est pas identifiée dans une catégorie à part puisque nous considérons que tous les cas de redondance bilingue contiennent cet effet de style. Dans la quatrième catégorie, la redondance sert à donner une information supplémentaire, entretient d'une certaine façon une interaction ou un dialogue avec l'autre langue: «*Lancer la boule contre la solitude de la maison. **Throw the ball and it might talk back.***» (*Bloupe* 91) La solitude de la maison laisse place à l'espoir d'un dialogue en L₂ ("talk back"). Ou encore l'élément redondant évacue le sens par une expression calquée qui provoque le retour sur le sens littéral de l'expression en L₁: «*Pas pire p'en toute! **No, not worse!***» (*Bloupe* 40). L'interaction entre les codes linguistiques établit des liens entre ceux-ci et l'auteur marque non seulement la non-équivalence des expressions calquées, mais il en tire un effet stylistique original qui met l'emphase sur l'apport positif du contact de langues.

Le narrateur veut signaler sa compétence plurilingue dans les deux romans. Dans *Bloupe*, les commentaires nous révèlent quelquefois le sentiment paradoxal d'une insuffisance linguistique malgré la pluralité (ex: «J'ai besoin d'une meilleure base en linguistique. Pour arriver à manier les mots. » (*Bloupe*: 127)). Toutefois, ce sentiment est moins marqué dans le deuxième roman, *Gîte*, où la connaissance incomplète de la langue est tout simplement signalée, mais sans être vécue avec autant d'angoisse (ex: «Il n'a jamais entendu parler de *solives* même s'il côtoie, depuis un certain temps, le monde de la construction.» (*Gîte*: 113)). Que conclure de la quasi-absence du couple français standard/français régional dans le deuxième roman? Une hypothèse est que les langues présentes dans le milieu social sont plus axées sur le français standard et l'anglais (y compris le chiac) en laissant de côté le français acadien, aussi appelé «français archaïque» parlé par une génération qui est en train de disparaître. Mais il faudrait se tourner vers les études de champ pour confirmer cette hypothèse.

CONCLUSION

Notre objectif était de décrire les formes et fonctions de la redondance bilingue dans les deux romans de Jean Babineau, *Bloupe* et *Gîte*; cette étude de cas d'une forme spécifique de marque transcodique permet d'observer le fonctionnement du bilinguisme en littérature ainsi qu'une évolution entre le premier et deuxième roman. Entre autres, les formes retrouvées s'échelonnaient de l'alternance intraphrastique, interphrastique à extraphrastique et les deux couples de langues identifiés sont le français/anglais et le français standard/français régional avec une domination plus prononcée dans le deuxième roman du premier couple. Les fonctions identifiées sont aussi diverses qu'elles sont révélatrices du rôle de la redondance bilingue dans les romans: ce sont des choix qui cherchent à marquer l'importance de la multiplicité des signifiants chez le locuteur bilingue et son rapport complexe à ceux-ci soit par référence à la réalité sociolinguistique de l'environnement, soit par effet de style. Babineau cherche à expliciter

les rapports entre les langues, agissant comme interprète et réduisant la distance entre les codes, mais tout en incitant parallèlement et paradoxalement une prise de conscience de leur non-équivalence chez le lecteur. Bien que ce jeu entre les langues ait ses risques, il s’y trouve une volonté de créer une interlangue. En explorant cette interlangue, l’auteur multiplie les possibilités d’expression. C’est-à-dire qu’au lieu de remplir le rôle d’hétérofacilitation, ce qui est le cas dans d’autres romans bilingues et qui n’exige pas une compétence bilingue de la part du lecteur puisque tout est traduit ou expliqué, la redondance comme *mt* revêt une fonction plus complexe ici, non seulement d’un point de vue référentiel et donc identitaire, mais aussi stylistique. Les *mt* ne sont pas que des facteurs strictement formels, mais participent au récit même en remplissant des fonctions bien concrètes dans la construction de l’interaction entre l’auteur et ses lecteurs.

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LANGUAGE, MODERNITY AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY: GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PRESCRIPTIONS

Robert E. Summerby-Murray
Mount Allison University

ABSTRACT

Over the last two decades geographers and linguists have begun to analyse language as a social determinant of place. While there are numerous traditional studies of regional vocabulary and linguistic geographies, few of these studies have moved towards a perspective of language as a key element of a cultural politics of resistance. This paper argues that language offers both a means of resistance and a method of cultural recovery for regions and communities facing increasing marginalisation at the end of the millennium. As a means of reviewing the role of language as a mechanism of place creation, status distinction and political resistance, this paper offers a case study of Westcoast, New Brunswick, that highlights the role of language variation in the shaping of a politics of identity.

INTRODUCTION

The analysis of linguistic variation as a function of community identity is an established arena for scholars working within the fields of linguistic geographies and geo-linguistics (Trudgill 1975). Traditionally, these variations have been mapped and their patterns used to describe and define the boundaries of cultures and communities. A considerable amount of work has been done at regional and national scales, ranging from relatively descriptive works such as Kurath's (1949) classic geography of north-eastern United States dialect vocabularies, to more impressionistic and popular analyses of Canadian language (Orkin 1970). In the past two decades, the Canadian literature has grown apace beyond such solely descriptive studies. By the early 1990s, Chambers' 1975 summation of a "quite manageable" literature had been replaced by Clarke's description of "apparent abundance" as scholars turned to both national and regional variations and the development of specific local studies and dictionaries (Chambers 1975; Chambers 1979: 168; Pratt 1988; Clarke 1993: vii; Falk and Harry 1999). Despite veiled references in many of the studies cited here, particularly those studies that have sought to set 'Canadian'

English apart from 'American' or have analysed language as an element of regional identity, only recently has attention turned to charting linguistic variation specifically as a marker of social and political resistance. National and regional scale studies such as those discussed in Chambers and Trudgill (1998) contribute considerably to this broader context for linguistic variation and increase our understanding of the role of language in political movements as diverse as Welsh nationalism, Quebec separatism, and some African-American urban sub-cultures (Aitchison & Carter 1997; Mufwene et al. 1998). Less research has focussed on local processes of resistant language, although the beginnings of such a discussion are apparent in analyses of street talk, rap and other counter-cultural examples, including the development of distinctive subversive lexicons of cyberspace (Kitchin 1998). In all cases, however, these communities articulate political opposition, resistance, a sense of otherness and its converse, associative identity. Community language functions as a specific form of resistance, a code known to community members with a distinctive vocabulary that unifies, identifies and challenges. In this paper I explore the idea that such community-based resistance through language often represents microscale cultural politics and that, even at the highly localised level, communities and their means of expression reflect opposition to broader modernist processes. Implicit here is the idea of linguistic resistance as an anti-modern process for communities. My central argument is that this is an inherently geographical project, investigating language as a form of spatially-specific resistance.

In what follows, examples from a 1997 oral history project in Westcock, New Brunswick, illustrate the point that community language can be used in the various processes of resistance. My broad theme is the manner in which place is constituted and reconstituted through collective memory and community identification; my more detailed task is to investigate how language is used to create a place-specific resistance. The original intention of this project was to assess how a small community had responded to economic changes throughout this century, changes which left the community increasingly dependent on its larger neighbouring town and which, through the removal of significant institutions such as schools, retailing and localised employment, threatened its existence as a viable community. In carrying out this study, it quickly became clear that the 28 respondents in the project articulated a strong sense of place identity, with many using particular linguistic terms that operated as a distinctive community code. In what follows, these are interpreted as spatially-specific forms of resistance.

LANGUAGE AND MODERNITY: RESISTING WHAT?

Our modernist expectation is that dramatic changes in the geographies of information exchange, particularly through mass media such as television and radio but also printed forms such as newspapers and magazines, will result in increasingly standardised language elements, the breaking down of micro-scale linguistic variations, and their replacement with supra-community lexicons, if not regional and/or continental languages. Such a convergence process (Chambers, 1999) envisages local dialects being subsumed within more broadly based vocabularies and pronunciations, and changing technologies of the workplace giving rise to new lexicons and the abandonment of the old. Regional accents become less pronounced as speakers consciously and unconsciously conform to what are perceived to be new progressive societal norms [various overt and covert prestige effects (Chambers and Trudgill 1998)]. Clearly, such processes are bound up in the perceived power of particular languages, accents, dialects and vocabularies, what Giles et al.(1977) describe as ‘ethno-linguistic vitality’ and what Aitchison and Carter (1997) in their study of the recent rise of a nationalist Welsh language call simply ‘empowerment’. Beneath these broad concepts lie subtle issues of community power, powerlessness and resistance.

Further, language continues to shape place and reflects the broad modernist forces of centralisation, standardisation and corporatisation that have been fundamental to regional economic integration through the twentieth century. Scholars continue to debate the extent to which modernist processes have devalued place, with many arguing that both place and the related concept of community have been degraded and made less meaningful by “the interactions between the extra-local forces of political economy and the historical layers of local social relations” (Agnew 1989; Oakes 1997: 509). In this view, the linguistic forms and codes that make up local social relations come under attack, eventually becoming marginalised and obsolete.

In contrast, however, while modernistic processes such as economic and spatial integration under late capitalism and increased cultural homogeneity under dominating media regimes suggest convergence on the broadest scale, there is also growing evidence of increasing local fragmentation, destabilisation and variation. Many cultural geographers criticise as amoral a modernist impulse that, through its abandonment of past traditions in pursuit of the new, has turned against community and markers of local place identity (Hay 1998). Harvey, for example, calls for

resistant strategies that react negatively to the time-space compression of modernity and the paradoxical creative destructionism of late capitalism by seeking out places and times of innocence and moral certainty, embarking on a “quest for visible and tangible marks of identity” (Harvey 1990: 427). Cultural resistance, in varying forms, represents the failure of the modernist project of convergence, rationalism, efficiency, progressive order and economic materialism to destroy place (Entrikin 1989; MacKay 1994; Rose 1994; Oakes 1997). Resistant or subversive community language then becomes a means of fostering a spatially-specific identity, part of what Moore (1997: 87) refers to as a “topology of resistance”. Before turning to examples, I set the geographical context for the remainder of the paper.

WESTCOCK, NB

In keeping with the theme of this paper, even the place-name of the location of this study is a corrupted linguistic appropriation from another language. To the native Mi’kmaq peoples, this location on the upper Bay of Fundy with its wooded hillsides, meandering creeks and marshes flushed daily by some of the highest red mud tides in the world was ‘Veskack’. The Acadians who settled here in the early 18th century appear to have retained that name. By the time of British occupation in the years after 1755, the name had become ‘Westcock’, thoroughly British-sounding and with some geographic logic as it lies at the northwest edge of the Cumberland Basin at the head of the Bay of Fundy. Although intended as the town site of the New England-based settlement of Sackville in 1761, by the mid-nineteenth century Westcock was a small scattered community of around 300 people with an economy based on marsh agriculture, lumbering, fishing and shipbuilding. Its population growth was slow and was easily outpaced by neighbouring Sackville to the north. Sackville had the locational advantage of being closer to an easier bridging point on the Tantramar River (bridged first in 1840) and being subsequently more successful as a commercial, industrial and educational centre. By 1861, many settlements on the periphery of the Tantramar region had begun to lose population to expanding Sackville. As this process continued into the twentieth century, Westcock saw its shipbuilding industry relocate to better harbour facilities in Sackville and lost its local dry-goods store. Employment opportunities in the rapidly-expanding foundry industries and on the railway in Sackville drew many Westcock residents to the larger community. Seasonal activities such as lumbering, fishing and some aspects of marsh agriculture continued but increasingly with labour no longer resident in Westcock. By the late 1960s, Westcock’s small elementary school had closed, rural

mail delivery had removed the need for post office facilities in a local home, roads had been paved and few people still walked the five kilometres to Sackville. And yet, unlike many of its small neighbouring resource-based settlements, this community retained its identity and forged a cultural resistance through such means as the appropriation of a regional novel set in Westcock and the maintenance of St. Ann's Anglican Church as a community icon (Summerby-Murray 2000, forthcoming). Language played its part also and in what follows, I concentrate on just three words or phrases from the oral history transcripts, 'uptown', 'bideau' and 'burying ground', arguing that these are language markers of a spatially-specific resistance which are used to establish and reinforce the place of Westcock and offer some form of cultural survival against the processes of modern economic change.

'PAST THE BIDEAU' AND THE CREATION OF THE OTHER

Many respondents in the oral history project referred to the crossing of Carter's Brook separating Westcock from Sackville by way of the term 'bideau' or 'bito'. A local corruption of the Acadian French term 'aboideau', which Pratt (1988: 3) notes as still being similarly present in parts of Prince Edward Island, bideau expresses resistance on two levels. The first is the language corruption process itself, if indeed we ignore for the moment the ideologically-loaded term 'corrupted'. 'Aboideau' refers to the clapper valve technology used in building dykes on the tidal marshes. Set in the earthen dyke, the aboideau is a boxed tunnel, between 1 and 2 metres in width and height which allows water to move between enclosed marshland and sea. On the outgoing tide, the clapper valve swings open, allowing freshwater to drain from the marsh and stream. As the tide rises, the valve closes, preventing saltwater from inundating the marsh. This technology remains vital to protecting the productivity of marshland along the northeastern seaboard, the Northumberland Strait and within the estuaries and rivers rimming the Bay of Fundy and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In appropriating and modifying the Acadian term, a reflection of the appropriation of the technology itself, Westcock respondents write their own culture on the landscape. Second, the bideau becomes both a means of crossing the brook and a point of separation. The municipal limits of the Town of Sackville end at the bideau and Westcock lies in an unincorporated area. Both figuratively and literally here the town's influence ends, its water and sewer services stop, its taxation abilities are bounded and the province of New Brunswick becomes responsible for road maintenance and snow removal. To go from Westcock past the bideau is to cross out

of Westcock and into 'town', into a place constituted as the 'other'. This is not simply fanciful but has a very real history. Oral history transcripts record various stories about the bideau, noting the significance of the structure itself, describing the brook it crosses as the dividing line between local school districts and often referring to it as a barrier (McLeod, R, in Summerby-Murray and Coombs 1997: 190):

"...she used to sit in the window and look down on the bideau"
(Campbell, K., in Summerby-Murray & Coombs 1997: 41);

"...at the time the first Westcock bideau was being built. It was quite a sight to see that.... ..nearly every man around the country who had a horse or a team of horses and a dump cart and they hauled mud and they put so many layers of mud, they put large trees and then they'd put mud on top of the trees and that's the way they built up the bideau... By golly, four years later the bideau started to settle in the middle and they had to dig it out and resettle the sluice way. About 1915.

...the bideau went out three times. And there was a Mr Brown and his son that repaired it the second time... and when the bideau was being repaired they had to put the road around the right hand side and bridge the river... But finally the third time they repaired it...and it has stayed all these years without any repairs." (Campbell, O., in Summerby-Murray & Coombs 1997: 61).

Crossing the bideau connected Westcock residents to town, and like many transport improvements, the building of the bideau also hastened the processes of economic centralisation. While respondents' comments generally dealt with the building and repair of the bideau, events in 1999 similarly confirmed the perception of the bideau as a barrier between Westcock and Sackville. As Hurricane Gert moved up the coast in September, severe flooding in this region made the bideau impassable. Many people who live on the Westcock side were left stranded on the town side. Although the bideau was not damaged, local residents resurrected stories of past occasions (about 36 years ago) when the bideau had been impassable and Westcock was again physically separated from Sackville. Physical and cultural separation is apparent also in the use of the term 'uptown'.

UPTOWN AND ACTIVE RESISTANCE

'Uptown' holds a long and respected lineage in North American culture. It is the centre of things, the place of excitement, bustle and change. It can also be 'downtown', perhaps the same physical space but reflecting diametrically-opposed vantage points. 'Uptown' implies some superiority of position, perhaps economic advantage, and certainly symbolises some stronger political power and greater sophistication. Perhaps the use of the term also reflects physical topography, relating to upper class houses and commercial structures being built on the highest ground, the least subject to flooding and less prone to the miasmas of the marsh. Similarly, 'downtown' carries in part negative connotations: down, under, beneath, beneath one's social standing or upper middle class sensibilities, or redolent of the dirty activities of commerce which were best not transacted in polite society. By the late nineteenth century there was a gendered space component also. For women to be downtown, unchaperoned, particularly at night, they must be of dubious reputation and probably engaged in the vice trade. The relative positions symbolised by uptown and downtown therefore tell us much about the attitudes of the users of these words. Compare these with the use of 'downstreet' and 'upstreet' in Prince Edward Island (Pratt 1988: 48, 161).

In the Westcock case, 'uptown' is used as a shorthand for Sackville. Uptown appears as the source of opposition and implied economic and political oppression for some respondents. It is a place in which to shop and work but the respondent always returns home to Westcock. There are numerous discourses at work here in the creation of 'uptown' as a place of the 'other' that contrasts with Westcock residents' sense of their home community: class, socio-economic status, and political distrust. Language, then, becomes a site of resistance. In the statements reported below, much of this resistance centres on St. Ann's Anglican Church and its iconographic role as a focus for opposition to Sackville's 'uptown':

"...We used to go uptown, we used to go up to St. Paul's [in Sackville] for our Christmas concerts" (Campbell, K, in Summerby-Murray & Coombs 1997: 52);

“... I wouldn't go uptown to church...” (Johnson, P., in Summerby-Murray & Coombs 1997: 59).

Some of the references to uptown are implied and economic [... this was supposed to be the main town but whatever happened to make them start going to Sackville, I don't know” (Johnson, P., in Summerby-Murray & Coombs 1997: 45)] while some might be conceived of as unpleasant (“Whatever became of the chandelier in St. Ann's, I don't know. Probably St. Paul's took it. Well they'd have had electric lights long before we would” (Campbell, K., Johnson, P., in Summerby-Murray & Coombs, 1997: 51).

Periodic suggestions of incorporating Westcock into the Town of Sackville and renaming it West Sackville compound the strength of continuing local resistance to Sackville as 'uptown'. Similarly, the imposition of a new civic addressing system throughout New Brunswick in 1997 prompted Canada Post to assign new addresses to the Westcock area, renaming the area, yet again, West Sackville. Strong political opposition from residents forced the postal corporation to back down and to revert to the name Westcock, maintaining the community's sense of separation from Sackville's 'uptown'.

LANGUAGE AS SUBVERSIVE CODE

Language also functions as a marker of localised political subversion. While the oral history transcripts do not indicate that Westcock residents are about to mount a major political party, riot on the streets or storm the Sackville Town Hall, they do provide evidence of a rather more subtle and covert resistance. For example, no one in the community needs to be told where uptown is; it is a relational place, defined by being where Westcock is not. Similarly, local place names, found in collective memory, mark the distinctiveness of the community, providing a barrier for incomers and forming resistance. For example, houses may continue to be referred to using the names of former owners, as in 'down by the Throop house', or physical features may continue to be assigned names long since departed from the standard topographical map sheet but retained in collective community memory: Ogg's Hill, for example. There are even more overt forms of resistance. When the provincial government named a local road 'Barren Ground Hill Road' in the 1950s, only Westcock community members retained the earlier usage of 'Burying Ground Hill Road', named for the location of the Westcock Cemetery at the top of the hill. The official

renaming apparently reflected a corrupted hearing of the road's name but it remains the formal provincial name. Respondents in the oral history were aware of this error but continued to use the local term, content in the knowledge that officials from outside Westcock (and probably from 'uptown' as well) had simply got it wrong. As the example below suggests, some respondents even argued that the legal name was still 'Burying Ground', despite the provincial road signs:

“...It's called the Barren Ground Hill. We used to call it the Burying Ground Hill. But it is really Burying Ground legally. It's not Barren....” (Campbell, M., in Summerby-Murray and Coombs 1997: 48).

The continued use of the term 'Burying Ground Hill' functions as both a mechanism of resisting the provincial government's renaming and of maintaining a local coded language that separates community insiders from those outside Westcock. Understanding the coded language is one means of gaining entry to the community.

CONCLUSIONS AND PRESCRIPTIONS FOR GEO-LINGUISTICS

I have tried to point here to a few small examples of the way in which community language might be seen to constitute resistance. My argument is that the language of resistance has a spatial specificity and that coming to an understanding of the role of language and linguistic variation in social conflict is an inherently geographical project. Further, this view of language allows a more critical look at the processes of modernity and post-modernity, countering apparently monolithic forces with contextual variations that individually and in aggregate may constitute resistance. The wider geography here involves a reassessment of the places that we think we know, the regionalisations we make, even the maps we draw. The analytical component involves first a recognition that, contrary to many expectations of convergence, modernist processes have not erased place, and second that language has become an effective tool of spatial resistance. Understanding this spatial specificity and its associated discourses provides a direct challenge to the cultural homogeneity of modernism, and instead argues for the positing of place as a mediator and the reassertion of the contingency of humanist geography. A new research agenda opens up from this, building in particular on Chambers and Trudgill's call for greater integration between socio-linguistics and cultural and human geography

(Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 188). Such an agenda envisages analysis of continued linguistic variations as expressions of social and political resistance for many communities. Atlantic Canada provides fertile ground for carrying out such an agenda because of its considerable linguistic variation and its numerous marginalised communities (economically and politically). There has been a considerable amount of work done in this region on comparative dialectology. Further work is required, however, to demonstrate the manner in which communities use language as a political tool, consciously and unconsciously as in the Westcock case, to resist centralising and standardising forces and thereby actively shaping their continued identity and distinctiveness.

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LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: AN INUIT PERSPECTIVE

Shelley Tulloch
Université Laval

ABSTRACT

The Inuit of Nunavut are calling for the protection, preservation and promotion of their language. At the root of these demands is the belief that their ancestral language is fundamentally linked to their culture and to their identity. Listening to the voices of Inuit who, faced with the threat of losing their language, express its fundamental importance, one gains new insight into the relationship between language and identity. This paper presents the voices of Inuit from Nunavut who were asked to speak about the significance of their language, and the link that they see between their language and their identity. Piercing the theoretical debate, these voices express the relationship between language and identity, as seen by those who may consider themselves at risk of losing both.

INTRODUCTION

The question of the importance of an ancestral language for ethnic identity is a pertinent one for the Inuit, who are faced with the decline in the use of Inuktitut. Attempts to show the relationship between the Inuit language and identity from the exterior meet with limited success, as it is difficult for foreigners to adequately grasp both the essence of Inuit identity and the subtleties of Inuktitut, a variety of the Inuit language. When the Inuit themselves speak of the importance of Inuktitut for their identity, they reveal first of all insights into two elements at the essence of their being. Secondly, they hint at the motivations behind certain behaviours and the likelihood of undertaking other actions. This paper presents the voices of Inuit, revealing their perspective of the importance of the Inuit language for Inuit identity. The comments of the Inuit show that Inuktitut is indeed an important part of Inuit identity, and that the significance of Inuktitut to Inuit identity depends largely on the role that Inuktitut plays in Inuit communities.

METHODOLOGY

This discussion of language and identity from an Inuit perspective is based on responses given during semi-directed interviews, which were conducted with volunteer participants in Iqaluit, Nunavut. These interviews, part of a project aimed at evaluating the possibilities for language planning in Nunavut, prompt the informants to speak on several themes, including daily choices of language use, motivations for choosing one language over another, and the importance of Inuktitut. The responses of three representative informants were chosen for analysis in the present article. These informants are Inuit, with Inuit parents. They all speak Inuktitut fluently as their mother tongue, and are also fluent in English. They have all lived in Iqaluit for a number of years, and each one has also lived elsewhere in Nunavut as well as having spent some time in Southern Canada. All have at least some post-secondary education. Two are female, one is male, and they represent the three age groups targeted in this study: 20-29, 30-39 and 40 to 49. One informant is a full-time student, another is an executive in an Inuit organisation and the third is a stationary engineer. During the interviews, which were conducted in English, each informant alludes to identity while speaking of Inuktitut and language choice.

DISCUSSION

Analysing the informants' comments as an ensemble, both the direct and indirect comments, two main themes emerge regarding the importance of Inuktitut for Inuit identity. First, the informants seem to consciously assert that Inuktitut is an important factor for their individual identity as well as for the collective identity of the Inuit, both because it is now (stated as an assumption) and because it was in the past. Secondly, and this point carries the greatest weight when the comments are subjected to analysis, the informants' comments reveal that Inuktitut is important for Inuit identity because it is a tool, a resource, for creating, developing, maintaining or even denying Inuit identity. Before proceeding to the overall analysis, though, it is pertinent to consider what the informants say when they are consciously speaking of the importance of language for identity.

Throughout the interviews, the informants make comments that reveal ways in which their ancestral language is important for their ethnic identity. When asked about the importance of Inuktitut for Inuit identity, informant A1 speaks of the

importance of Inuktitut for communication, thus the maintenance of the social structure:

[What if you didn't speak Inuktitut at all, what would that mean to you as being Inuit?]

"I think that's becoming more and more apparent. There are a lot of beneficiaries, Inuit beneficiaries [of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement], who do not speak Inuktitut. It's new, you know. They are Inuit, but they don't speak it. I think, for the adults, it's hard for them to communicate. Then the communication becomes a problem. There's not enough, they're not communicating with their elders or their extended family members who are older, like older aunts or uncles or grandparents. ...There's no interaction. The same goes with the workplace when they don't speak Inuktitut, even if they understand it. Then they're missing out on something that connects you to the social structure, and as well as culture" (A1:August 1999).

A2 originally expresses that speaking Inuktitut is an essential element of Inuit identity, but softens her position as she reflects on the question:

[If you didn't speak Inuktitut, would you still be Inuk?]

"I don't think so. Maybe. But language is a big part of being Inuk in our tradition. ...There was a person, and she said she was an Inuk, but she didn't speak the language. And I said, but to be an Inuk, you need to speak Inuktitut, because that's a part of the tradition. I don't know now if I sounded right.

[...] I don't know. If their parents were Inuit, then I guess I would consider them, in some ways, Inuit. I guess, biologically they are Inuks.

[...] The more I think about it, Inuks are not so much language, it's the culture. The language doesn't necessarily make up the culture, so it's part of it. But I based it on just the language, but there's other things now, like hunting, having [raw meat] to base it on.

[...] [Language] is a big thing, but it's not everything. I think one of the most important parts of being Inuit is, it's always been, the surviving in the cold, and they had to help each other out, and that's stronger. So it's one of the stronger bases than Inuktitut" (A2:August 1999).

A3 also expresses a strong link between Inuktitut and Inuit identity, stating the presumption that speaking Inuktitut is essential for Inuit identity and, further, that the importance of speaking Inuktitut is based on communication needs, particularly for communication with elders:

[What if people can't speak the language, what will that mean to them?]

"It's like you lose your identity. You just lose who you are, I guess.

[What's the difference between an Inuk who speaks the language and an Inuk who doesn't?]

I don't know. He can't speak it.

[What about if you only spoke English, what would that mean to you?]

It would mean... talking to the elders. That's about it" (A3:October 1999).

These quotations give an idea of the relationship that the informants consciously perceive between Inuit language and identity. The analysis of their comments as a whole reinforces the positions expressed in these quotations and also suggests other ways in which the Inuktitut language is important for Inuit identity in Iqaluit.

The first point that emerges from the overall analysis is that Inuktitut in and of itself is important for Inuit identity. The informants express this conscious, significant link between Inuktitut and Inuit identity in two ways. First, it is expressed as an assumption, without any supporting evidence to backup the position: "Inuktitut... it's part of our identity in some ways. It's part of who we are" (A2:August 1999); "[If you lose your language] It's like you lose your identity. You just lose who you are " (A3:August 1999); "In any presentation that I have to do, I'm much more comfortable doing it in Inuktitut, because that's what makes me who I am" (A1:August 1999). Each informant expresses that Inuktitut is important for Inuit, either for his or her individual identity or for the collective identity of the Inuit. However, relatively little supporting evidence is provided to substantiate this claim.

The primary support for the position that Inuktitut in and of itself is essential for Inuit identity that emerges from the informants' comments relates to Inuktitut's status as part of the Inuit past and heritage: "To be an Inuk, you need to speak Inuktitut, because that's part of the tradition" (A2:August 1999). A3 expresses the same idea, though in a different light, claiming that speaking Inuktitut is essential for

Inuit, although writing it is less important: "As long as they can speak it. The written language is not even ours. It's not our language. It's not our written language. We never had one. As long as they can speak it" (A3:October 1999). For A3, the importance of the spoken language is based on its relationship and belonging to the past and to Inuit tradition. Inuktitut is important for Inuit identity because it is an element of the past and tradition: it externalises and brings Inuit back to what Inuit were.

The second point that emerges from the informants' direct and indirect comments is that Inuktitut is important for Inuit identity, not so much because of any inherent characteristic, but rather due to the role that the language plays in society. Inuit use Inuktitut to mark their own identity and that of their interlocutors, to include or exclude others from their circle or from their community and, finally, to build and maintain relationships and thus the social network. Language is, of course, used in other ways as well to create, develop and maintain identity; though the three aforementioned methods are the most significant, based on the interview responses.

The use of Inuktitut in Iqaluit marks identity. A bilingual Inuk can choose to speak in Inuktitut to demonstrate his or her own identity as an Inuk. It is important to speak Inuktitut in order to characterise oneself as an Inuk: "He wears all the seal clothing and all that to make himself look Inuk. Well, you want to look like one but you won't try to speak it. They're the ones that make me mad" (A3:October 1999). Bilingual Inuit in Iqaluit may also choose to speak in Inuktitut in order to demonstrate their recognition of their interlocutor's identity. In fact, the most important factor in language choice among the informants in question is the ethnic identity of the interlocutor. (Neither those under 20 nor those over 50 are included in this sample population; had they been, the results would likely be different). Inuit speak Inuktitut to Inuit: "I know the town hall, the reception there, it's an Inuit person. I'll speak Inuktitut with her" (A2:August 1999). Furthermore, the act of speaking Inuktitut to another Inuk (or another speaker of Inuktitut) denotes sameness. A3 recounts the importance of other Inuit speaking Inuktitut with him, even those who were not at ease in this language: "We just told him, "You're Inuk. You'd better speak Inuktitut to us"(A3:October 1999). The Inuit language is an important marker of Inuit identity in Iqaluit, for designating both one's own identity and the identity of those with whom one speaks, as well as for marking sameness.

If speaking in Inuktitut with other Inuit is a means to mark sameness, it is also a means to reinforce bonds of belonging or, on the contrary, to exclude those who do

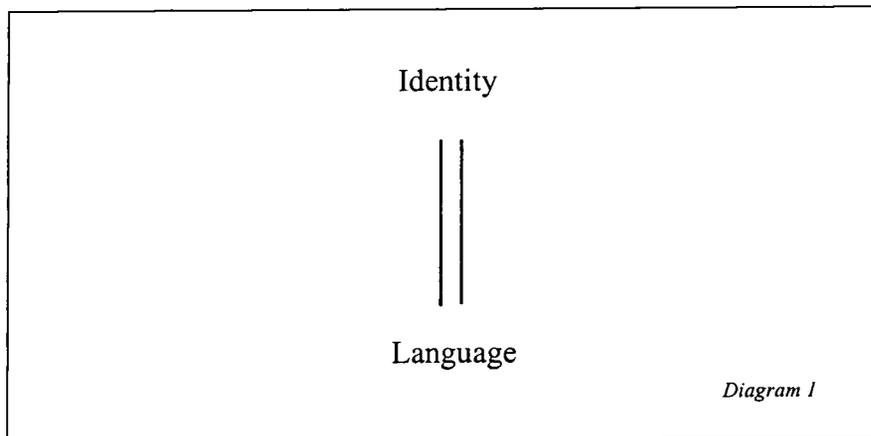
not speak Inuktitut from one's group. Speaking in Inuktitut is consequential to one's participation in the Inuit community and to one's complete sense of belonging to that community, "But that's part of the social and culture again. I think that [those who don't speak Inuktitut] get discouraged and feel like they're not really part of that, unfortunately. So when they say, "So and so, she's Inuk, but she doesn't know how to speak Inuktitut, so she's not really Inuk," that's what they're meaning. ...Social acceptance, we all want to belong to something" (A1:August 1999). At the same time, Inuktitut is used consciously to exclude others, by impeding them from understanding and thus communicating and participating. A3 expresses this outrightly, "We speak in Inuktitut when we don't want other people to understand" (A3:October 1999). Thus, in the multilingual community of Iqaluit, the use of Inuktitut serves to demarcate those who belong to the Inuit community and those who do not, reinforces or negates feelings of belonging, as well as enabling or impeding people from participating in this community.

As the use of Inuktitut enables or disables communication, Inuktitut is a tool for building and maintaining relationships among Inuktitut-speaking residents of Iqaluit. Each informant mentioned that speaking Inuktitut is essential for communication with the elders: "If it's an elder, for sure [I speak in Inuktitut]" (A2:August 1999). Moreover, the inability to speak Inuktitut impairs one's ability to communicate with other members of the community and thus detracts from the social network: "[Not speaking Inuktitut] would mean... talking to the elder" (A3:October 1999). "They are Inuit but they don't speak it. I think, for the adults, it's hard for them to communicate. ...They're not communicating with their elders or their extended family members who are older..." (A1:August 1999). Relationships are an important element in establishing and maintaining identity, and these are threatened by the decrease in the use of Inuktitut and the increase in the use of English. This particular threat to Inuit identity may be occurring because the transfer from Inuktitut to English is happening so quickly. In Iqaluit, it is not rare to have grand-parents who speak only Inuktitut and grand-children who speak only English. The rapidity of the language loss, then, threatens the maintenance of relationships and impairs the establishment of relationships between monolingual members of the older and younger generations.

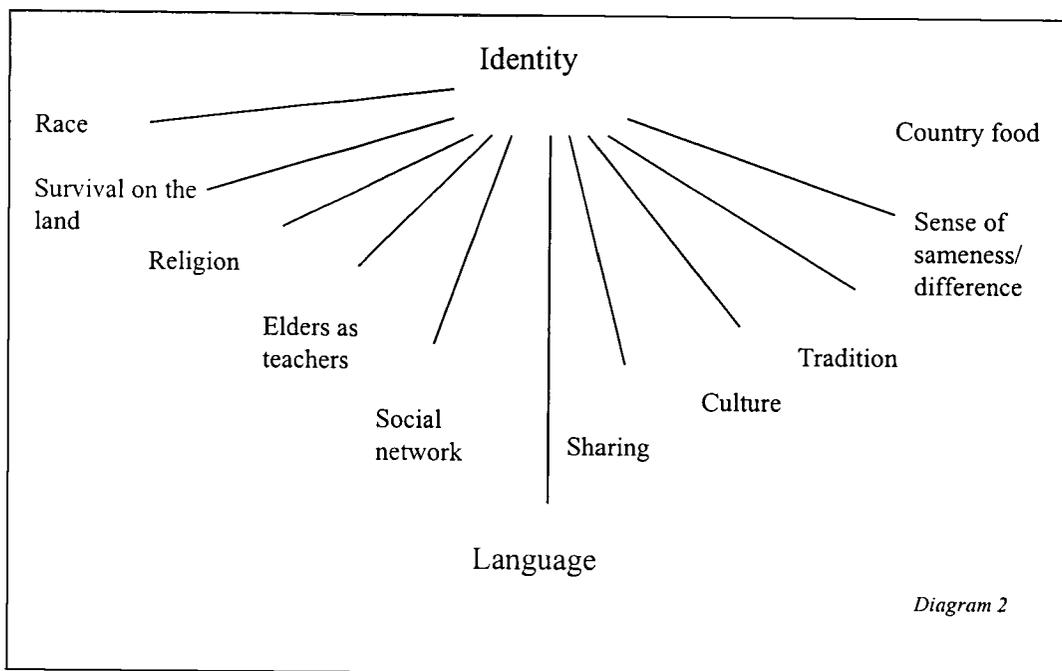
IMPACT OF LANGUAGE LOSS

Comments such as, "Our language is our identity" and, "If you lose your language, you lose your identity" are frequently heard among the Inuit, who are faced with the decrease in use of their ancestral language. Although such comments do reflect one aspect of the Inuit perspective of the relationship between language and identity, the above analysis reveals that, when invited to reflect on the importance of Inuit language for Inuit identity, the conscious and unconscious comments of the informants express a qualified and pragmatic relationship between language and identity as opposed to the absolute, inherent link that the initial statement, "Our language is our identity" suggests.

When one says, "If we lose our language, we lose our identity", it implies that the only component of one's identity is one's language, as if the following figure were complete:

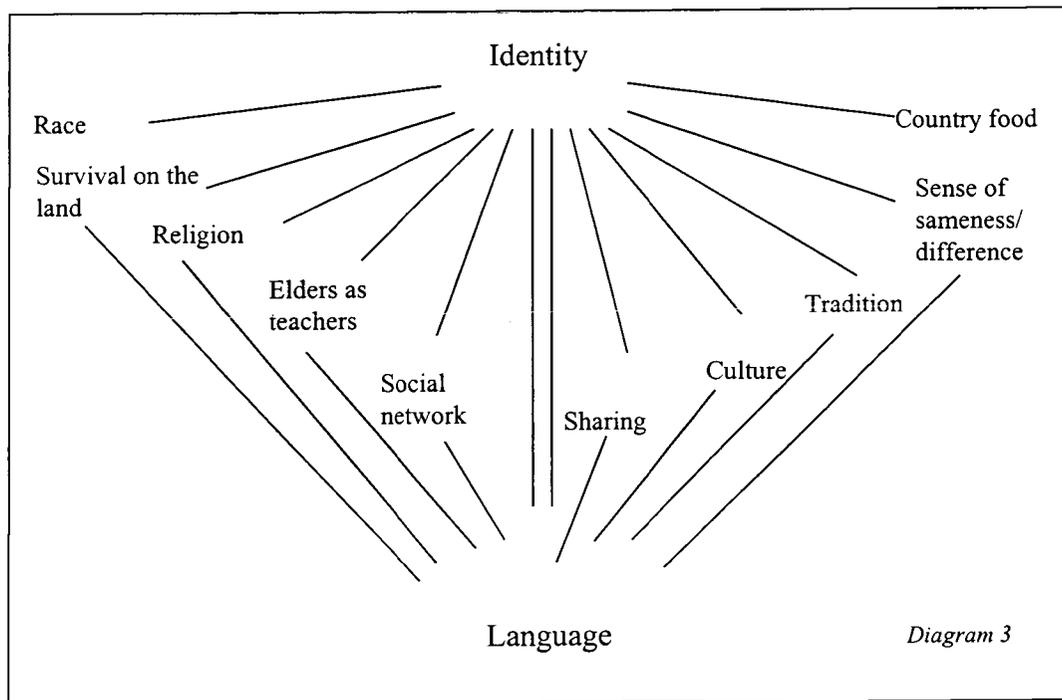


If language were the only remaining element of one's identity, then such a diagram could be accurate. However, in the interviews, the informants also mention numerous other elements essential to Inuit identity, such as tradition, culture, racial heritage, survival on the land, the role of elders as teachers, religion, culture, the feeling of belonging to the group, eating country food, sharing, religion and the social network, just to name a few. In light of this knowledge, an illustration of Inuit identity would have to include many aspects other than language. A non-extensive diagram, incorporating the above components, could resemble the following:



Evidently, Inuktitut is not the sole component of Inuit identity; it is one component among many. Even were the Inuit as a whole or any individual Inuk to lose the language, the other components of Inuit identity would remain.

However, in light of the informants' comments, one can appreciate the role that Inuktitut plays in maintaining and supporting other aspects of identity. The importance of Inuktitut to Inuit identity is perhaps not found so much in the language itself then, but rather in the role that Inuktitut plays in society. The loss of Inuktitut may not categorically lead to the loss of Inuit identity, but it does represent the loss of an important element of identity in and of itself, as well as the loss of the mainstay to other elements of Inuit identity.



Therefore, the significance of the loss of Inuktitut lies in the role that Inuktitut plays in society. Even though the loss of Inuktitut, seen in this way, does not constitute the complete loss of Inuit identity, it does represent the loss of an essential tool and resource for building and maintaining many of the other elements of identity. Indeed, although language may be an element of identity on equal footing with the others, it is the backbone, or at least a support, to many of these other elements. For example, although language is separate from tradition, Inuktitut is an essential part of the tradition, as well as being fundamental to the transmission of tradition through communication with the elders. The loss of Inuktitut, then, represents the loss of an important part of the tradition and of the tool for passing on the tradition. The same could be said about culture. In the same way, although the loss of language does not necessarily constitute the loss of the social network, it does represent the loss of a significant tool for maintaining the social network. Although the loss of Inuktitut does not have to destroy the sense of sameness among Inuit and the feeling of difference from other ethnic groups, it does remove one tool that is currently used to maintain this component of identity. The significance of Inuktitut

to Inuit identity, then, seems to lie in the role that Inuktitut plays in society, supporting and maintaining other aspects of identity.

APPLICATION

The Inuit perspective of the importance of language for identity is significant and has observable consequences within Iqaluit. The belief that speaking Inuktitut is essential for Inuit identity has both positive and negative impacts in this community. One positive application of the belief is for language promotion. Placing value on Inuktitut by emphasising the importance of speaking Inuktitut in order to maintain one's identity as an Inuk will likely increase one's level of commitment to preserving, protecting and promoting Inuktitut. Promotion of Inuktitut in Nunavut may well start with such a demonstration of the importance of Inuktitut for the Inuit.

With this in mind, it is essential to present a well-grounded explanation of the importance of Inuktitut for Inuit identity. Although such an assertion can have a positive impact, it is also having a negative effect in some instances. The claim that one must speak Inuktitut to be Inuit has led to denigration of people of Inuit ancestry who do not speak Inuktitut: "Some people say you're not proud of who you are [when you don't speak Inuktitut] ... kind of ruins things when they say you're not proud "(A3:October 1999). "I used to get teased a lot when I got back and I only spoke English. ...I felt pretty bad " (A3:October 1999). Similar affirmations have also led to feelings of not belonging to the group. Speaking of instances where Inuit are unable to participate due to restricted communication skills in Inuktitut, A1 comments: "We all want to belong to something. And I think that's where sometimes there's a bit of friction. Not friction, but discontent " (A1:August 1999). In other cases, individuals are explicitly ostracised because they do not speak the language. Another informant recounts an anecdote of an Inuk being told repeatedly by his peers, "You're not Inuk, you're Indian", meaning, "You are not one of us", an exclusion based solely on language, on the fact that the individual does not speak Inuktitut. Such comments and anecdotes reveal the negative consequences of strict adherence to the position that language is essential for identity.

CONCLUSION

Language is important for identity; there is no doubt. The interview responses reveal that the informants do consider their language to be important for who they are as Inuit. The present analysis of direct and indirect comments of Inuit participants in this study seems to demonstrate that the importance of Inuktitut to Inuit identity lies primarily in the practical role that Inuktitut plays in the community, as a marker of identity, as a tool for including members of one's group and excluding others and for building and maintaining relationships. Reflection on the repercussions of language loss on Inuit identity suggests that language loss does not necessarily lead to loss of one's traditional ethnic identity. However it does represent the loss of one element of identity, which is a support to many others. One's beliefs about language and identity are likely to influence one's linguistic behaviour. For this reason, a clearer understanding of the importance of Inuktitut to Inuit identity is hoped will illuminate appropriate and beneficial ways to promote positive linguistic attitudes in Iqaluit.

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THE LANGUAGE OF SHAMANS: COMMUNICATION AS PHYSICAL, SYMBOLIC AND SUBTLE

Marilyn Walker
Mount Allison University

ABSTRACT

Shamanism is a complex discipline of considerable temporal and geographic diversity. Shamanic cultures, too, are diverse culturally and linguistically, yet all use language in communicating in the physical, symbolic and subtle¹ realms. Can we even talk about a language of shamans, and if so, how would we characterize it? While the study of language offers insights into shamanism and the work of shamans, exploring shamanism leads us towards an emerging metaphysics of language. I explore the terms 'shamanism' and 'language,' investigate the nature of shamanic language and consider how the physical and metaphysical realms are integrated through shamanic language. I also consider how shamanism and language have been studied by researchers in a variety of disciplines and look at emerging paradigms in both fields.

INTRODUCTION

Much of my own fieldwork as a cultural anthropologist has been in the Arctic and Subarctic regions with Indigenous Peoples in Canada, Alaska, and more recently in Russia, and with ethnic minorities in Southeast Asia. All are shamanic cultures, though not all practitioners of shamanism use the term. Mi'kmaq and Tlingit, for example, self-identify as 'medicine man' and 'medicine woman'. Siberian practitioners use 'shaman' and 'shamanness', recognizing that both sexes may be practitioners; this is so in all the contexts I discuss here although the ethnographic literature, generally, has ignored women practitioners.

Almost universally, shamanism as a practice has been devalued, suppressed, even outlawed, by dominant religions and cultures. Practitioners have been persecuted, even put to death. Some communities say there are no practicing shamans

left; in others, the practice went underground. In some areas - Siberia, for example - shamans say their tradition remains unbroken. In all the contexts I discuss here, shamanism has persisted. In some situations, the shaman acted as "the guardian of linguistic traditions...especially among the people of the ex-Soviet Union, the shaman texts are always heard, even today, in languages which the authorities had almost succeeded in making these minorities forget" (Hoppàl 1999:58). It may be difficult to locate practitioners in many contexts, but at the same time, shamanistic traditions throughout the world are undergoing a renaissance. As a flexible and adaptive tradition, shamanism has syncretized elements of the dominant religion/ ideology of an area and time period - Buddhism in Russia; Christianity in Canada and Alaska; and Buddhism and Christianity in Southeast Asia - which has contributed to the continuity as well as the diversity of shamanic traditions.

Recent explorations of my own and those of others recognize commonalities across cultures; at the same time, shamanism is a complex and diverse phenomenon. Is it even appropriate to use the singular 'shamanism', for example, or is 'shamanisms' more cognizant of its temporal and geographic diversity? In the research I draw from for this paper, I use the singular to address underlying commonalities in practice and ethos in several cultures / culture areas, all of which likely have common arctic origins in Siberia² - Inuit / Eskimo of the circumpolar regions, the Tlingit of Southeast Alaska, the Hmong of Southeast Asia, First Nations of Canada, and Siberians. Although each area is distinct culturally and linguistically, shamanic language in each context has similar communicative functions that operate on the physical, symbolic and subtle planes.

Shamanic studies is a contested field of study, with debate amongst scholars and the lay public as to what it is. And what it is not. New Age philosophy uses the term to describe an individual's journey of personal development or self-awareness but this is not its traditional meaning in shamanic cultures where shamans work on behalf of their community's well-being in the holistic sense of mind, body, spirit and emotion integration and balance. 'Community' is also used in a broad sense to encompass the individual in a family, the larger group of the living as well as the ancestors of the spirit world, and the plants, animals and other entities of the place in which people live.

At an international conference on shamanism held in Moscow in 1999, anthropologist Joan Townsend proposed a working definition based on a single 'raison d'être' to which all defining characteristics should be related: shamanism interacts with the spirit world for the benefit of those in the material world:

"My working definition of a traditional shaman is a person who has direct communication with spirits, is in control of spirits and altered states of consciousness, undertakes soul (magical) flights to the spirit

world, and has a this-material-world focus rather than a goal of personal enlightenment." (Townsend 1999:32)

Research in shamanic studies is undergoing a paradigm shift in what is studied as well as how it is studied. Townsend's definition, because it does not question the actuality of the shaman's experience, represents this shift from a biomedical, rational approach to an intuitive, experiential epistemology that I term 'intuitive science'. Anthropologist Jeremy Narby, in *The Cosmic Serpent* refers to this coming together of ways of knowing that have been separated in Western science: "All things considered, wisdom requires not only investigation of many things, but contemplation of the mystery."

This 'direct communication' with the spirits in Townsend's definition is mediated through a variety of means, including language. But what is language? And can we talk about a shamanic language given the cultural and linguistic diversity of shamanic cultures? Van Deusen's comment that, "The spiritual function of music in Tuvan and Khakass shamanism has been little studied by outsiders" (1997:24) can be extended to apply to the spiritual function of language which has received little attention in the ethnographic and historic literature.

SHAMANIC STUDIES

Shamanic studies continue to be directed by western scientific models. Materialist, symbolic and evolutionary models are embedded in the ethnography of shamanism which has been secularized, objectified (that is, turned into an object of study in comparison to a subject of study), and decontextualized (or studied apart from its cultural context).

Museum collections are comprised mainly of objects - costume, paraphernalia, and instruments such as drums. Curating emphasizes the physical description of shamanic artifacts. Publications about these collections are material culture-oriented. Film footage and tape recordings are scarcer. While they give a greater sense of shamanic ritual as "event" and of the praxis of objects in use, we must consider the context in which these were made. For example, were they 'performance', that is, enacted for the camera as was Flaherty's classic film of Inuit, *Nanook of the North*, and Edward Curtis' photographs of Native Americans? Another consideration is that for some parts of shamanic ritual, filming may not be permitted³ so documentation is partial. Segments may not be readable as representative of the whole.

Folklorists over the years have written down the texts of many shamanic

chants and songs. These have been analyzed in terms of content but the sensory power of the words that comes from the contextual action of speech is not recorded. In the transition from an oral culture to Western culture, "sound has been spatialized into writing, a visually-based textual analysis which can remove us from the sensory world of taste, smell, hearing and touch" (Laderman and Roseman 1996:10 in Stoller 1996) As Laderman and Roseman go on to point out, "If such textual analyses are left to stand alone for the event, they limit our understanding of cultural sentiment" (p.10).

In the ethnographic literature on the Arctic and Subarctic regions, which provides a rich resource from which we continue to draw for information on 'classic' shamanism, the cultural orientation of the researcher that is embedded in interpretations of shamanism continues to influence how we observe, document, analyze and interpret shamanic phenomena today. The resources from which we draw for scholarly interpretations of shamanism are rich in some cultural contexts, especially Siberia, but limited by the ideology of contemporary ethnography.

For example, in an article initially published in the 1950s, Anisimov (1963) writes that the "intuition of primitive man inevitably had to reach beyond the limit of his experiences [in order] to substitute imagined reasons for real ones. Under the impact of the feeling of impotence in regard to nature, the imagination of primitive man inevitably inclined towards illusory generalizations, endowing an object with supernatural powers" (p. 158). Taking an evolutionary perspective, he describes shamanism as a "primitive view" of the world, at a "simple level of development and consciousness". He discusses the "imaginary world of spirits" (p. 158) and "the interrelations of the primitive's rational and illusory views of nature" (p. 160). Western science still reflects this interpretation of shamanism and the implications for how it is studied. Shamans themselves, on the other hand, describe their experiences not as hallucinatory or imaginary but as real⁴.

These traditions have affected what we have documented about shamanism as well as how we have documented it. Mircea Eliade's classic work, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, is broad-based geographically and historically and remains authoritative but he did not interview a single shaman; nor was it written from his direct experience of the activities described. There has always been controversy in ethnography about how to 'get at' the insider's view without compromising the objectivity or critical, 'outside' view that traditional western science argues is at the core of 'good science'. Methodologically, anthropology has relied on participant observation and fieldwork as ways of 'entering' another culture. In his pioneering work in shamanic studies, Michael Harner suggests radical participation⁵ as an experiential way of knowing. And shamans themselves are acting as their own researchers.

The area of shamanism that is well-studied in anthropology is its 'this-material-world focus' identified by Joan Townsend above. Current studies such as *The Performance of Healing* by Laderman and Roseman provide materialist and secular interpretations of spirit work. The volume addresses the metaphorical nature of elements of shamanic seance (Laderman 1996:124); the mediation, in healing ceremonies, of power relations between social groups (Laderman and Roseman 1996:11); the shaman's seance as venue to express in socially acceptable ways strong emotions that are not acceptable in everyday existence⁶ (Laderman 1996); and the individual-community dynamic that is reinforced through enactment of shamanic ritual⁷ (Laderman 1996). Considerable work has been done on the symbolism of shamanic elements especially of the drum [as summarized in Eliade 1964, and referred to by Li 1992, for example].

Shamanic rituals, however, as Townsend's definition suggests, as shamans themselves describe, and as I have experienced, are multi-level events. Language in shamanic ritual, likewise, communicates on more than one plane - physical, symbolic and subtle - and may mediate several levels of communication - between this world and the other, between the shaman and audience, between shaman and spirit, between the inner and the outer worlds of the shaman, and between the physical and the subtle realms. [The connection is not one-way from spirit world to shaman; shamans also describe interactions within each world.]

A paradigm shift is emerging in the study of shamanism which contradicts the premises on which Western science is based - rationality and observable phenomena. We are undergoing a shift from analysis to experience, from materialist models of culture to existential models with a holistic orientation that acknowledge the spiritual or subtle realms as identifiable, accessible and describable. Some researchers point to even broader implications, to a shift in consciousness in the sciences and in Western thought. Jeremy Narby's *The Cosmic Serpent*, marshals the evidence of molecular biology to argue for an epistemic correspondence between the knowledge of Amazonian shamans and modern biologists⁸. In the study of language and shamanism, cymatics, metaphysics and new work in imagining rather than theorizing language, offer new insights into the spiritual function of shamanic language.

STUDYING LANGUAGE

Can we even talk about "shamanic language"? Probably not if we divide the study of language, as linguistics generally does, into four parts: "semantics, syntactics, pragmatics and phonetics, each of which highlights a different aspect of the way language works" (Martin & Yakayama 1997:149). What if we use the term

(discourse), meaning "language in use" (Martin & Nakayama 1997:160) instead of language? 'Discourse' focuses attention on the action of language and on interaction between speaker and listener but all these categories orient us to the physicality of language.

Perhaps semiotics ["the analysis of the nature and relationships of signs in language"] or the study of semiosis ["the process of producing meaning"] (Martin & Nakayama 1997:345) "with the goal of establishing entire systems of semiosis and the ways those systems create meaning" (p. 163) offer possibilities⁹ for understanding language in the shamanic experience - of shaman and audience. Within the "ethnography of communication [the idea] that text and context are mutually constitutive in performance highlights the active, emergent quality of these events" (Laderman 1996:3). Viewing communication in this broad sense suggests we may consider language on several levels - physical, symbolic and subtle¹⁰.

Much has been written about language as physical, and about shamanic features including words as symbolic¹¹. Little attention has been paid to shamanic language as subtle; however, the study of language, like the study of shamanism, continues to evolve. Anthropology once defined humans through our use of language. Now, we are becoming comfortable with the idea that animals use language. Developments in interspecies communication are leading us to consider language in a broader sense. Shamans and scientists refer to the songs of plants (for example, Narby 1999). Shamans also describe stones, mountains, and phenomena such as wind, echoes and other elements of landscape as entities with whom they communicate. Recent research suggests shamans may have special abilities to "hear", tune into, or communicate with such phenomena. These possibilities suggest a metaphysics of language.

In ethnographic research, decontextualization to text from the event in which shamanic language takes place predisposes us to analysis rather than the experience of shamanic language. In contrast, 'literature', as a creative field, offers possibilities for understanding shamanic language that linguistics may not. The volume *Imagining Language*, as "a linguistics of the singular and the heterological¹²", assembles "the multiple ways in which language has been used or conceptualized in relation to reality". The selections include "bizarre" language practices and "deviant" literary texts. In making their selections, the editors put the emphasis "on the creative ability to imagine rather than to theorize language" (Rasula and McCaffery 1998:xii). The selections, taken from writings of the last three millennia, document many devices,

imaginings, and techniques, that shamans also describe in their work. Kenin-Lopsan (1997) refers to the creative power of shamanic language when he says about Tuva: "It might be said that shamans created worlds through words" (p. 11).

About shamanism, Townsend argues that we must "open up our study to approaches other than psychoanalytic, neuro-physiological, biochemical, and reductionist materialist. By definition, those perspectives require that non-material, spiritual kinds of phenomena cannot exist" (Townsend1999:37). She urges that research into shamanism "should not be limited to the scientific materialist/positivist epistemology" (p. 35). Likewise, with language. Jolas calls for "a new art of the word... that has nothing to do with the pedantry of modern philology, or the sterile dogmas of 'estheticism.' It is related to the existential, to anthropology, to depth-psychology, to metaphysics" (Rasula and McCaffery1998:34). He refers to something of this in the "liturgical, hymnic attitude to the word" of the anonymous poets who created their hymns in 'mystic Latin'. And writes that we are beginning to sense the metaphysics of language:

"It is 'the unconscious vision which created language, and we stand before the task of re-discovering the knowledge of the daemonic-magical things that lie hidden in words and have been lost to modern man'".

"In the magical texts of the past there are to be found extraordinary sound-formations that refer to the sacred element of language. These forms of ancient wisdom were transmitted liturgically, they represented enigmatic sigils, they had exorcistic potency... the mythological mind approached the hidden or supernatural powers" (Rasula and McCaffery 1998:44).

"THE SOUNDS COMING DOWN FROM HEAVEN I AM . . ." ¹³

Where does language come from?¹⁴ In physical anthropology, language is attributed to physical evolutionary changes. Other perspectives suggest its origins are outside of the physical realm and outside of the physical body or mind of its speaker.¹⁵

In this Caribou Inuit shaman's song, recorded in Rasmussen's 1930 *Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos* (Merkur 1992:90) inspiration is metaphysical, originating 'from above' and called forth through a deep breath which links the shaman's inner life with the outer world and with this 'power above':

"I hear of distant villages
And their miserable catch
And draw a deep breath...
As I call forth the song
- From above -
Aya - haye
Aya."

In many traditions, breath is life, breath is soul. Another example from the Arctic describes the connection between the physical breath and the breath soul:

" ... because physical breath is a function of the breath-soul, breath has a metaphysical dimension. 'The souls can speak'.¹⁶

Breath, then, is the language of the soul. What does this make of language? Is it an outer manifestation of an inner world? Is it a gift from the gods? It is a means of communication across sound worlds - human and spirit, and dimensions - the physical and the subtle.

Shamans, as well as storytellers, poets, and artists, describe their work emanating not from themselves, but being carried out through them. They are told what to say, and pass it on, acting as a conduit from one realm - physical/metaphysical, inner/outer - to another. Language may 'appear' through seance. Shamans describe suddenly being able to converse in a language they have not spoken or understood before. Tuvans describe how, in dreams, shamans may hear words in other languages they do not normally understand (Van Deusen 1997:100). In eastern Canada, Mi'kmaq elder and Medicine Woman Jeorgina Larocque (pers. comm. October 26, 1999), speaks about the old language of the grandmothers and grandfathers by which she is given information in healing ceremonies; this is a language most people have forgotten, she says. A Hmong woman shaman (pers. comm. December 1999) spoke about an old language a few of them still know, a language given by the spirits as a means of communication between worlds. Songwit

Chuamsakul¹⁷, answered my question about how this language is learned, by pointing out how . . . "It is not learned. It is a gift, given by the spirits," making reference to this language as a non-rational, non-thought-based process.

In this first line of a Tuvan shaman's auto-eulogy, the shaman is a medium for, or a transmitter of sound. Further, he is the sound, not in a metaphorical or symbolic sense, but in an actual sense: "The sound coming down from the heavens I am..."¹⁸

'A.E.' (see footnote #16) noted in the ancient literature, the "belief in a complete circle of correspondences between every root sound in the human voice and elements, forms, and colours . . . Every flower was a thought. The trees were speech. The grass was speech. The winds were speech. The waters were speech." (Rasula and McCaffery:147) "The roots of human speech are the sound correspondences of powers which in their combination and interaction make up the universe. The mind of man is made in the image of Deity, and the elements of speech are related to the powers in his mind and through it to the being of the Oversoul" (p. 148).

The science of cymatics, or the study of wave phenomena, provides a western scientific corroboration of shamanic language as "divine" or other worldly in origin, and of the shaman as the sound A.E. describes above. Cymatics was pioneered by the Swiss physician, natural scientist and artist, Dr. Hans Jenny (1904-1972). In his work on wave phenomena, he experimented with animating inert substances with audible sound/vibration. Doctors have applied this work in healing; for example, the British Dr. Guy Manners uses audible sound to balance acute and chronic conditions in body tissue.

Considerable work has been done in studying the effects of music, especially of the shamanic drum. Michael and Sandra Harner, for example, report on the physiological effects of the drum in shamanic journeying:

"First the practitioners call for spiritual help and then enter Nonordinary reality. This is done by going into the SSC, most typically with the aid of sonic driving in a range of about four to seven Hertz, a range that approximately corresponds to the range of theta EEG waves [e.g., see Neher (12,13); Maxfield (14,15), and S. Harner (16,17)]. The sonic driving can be supplied by a live drum beaten by an assistant, by a rattle, or can be supplied in recorded form

through headphones worn by the practitioner(s)" (Harner and Harner 1999:26).

I am not aware of comparable work in the study of language; however, cymatics allows us to begin to comprehend, from the western scientific viewpoint, how through language, and in seance, shamans participate in the creation of the cosmos. Shamanic language, as a vehicle for interaction with the subtle world, is a carrier of consciousness, a bridge between the physical and subtle worlds, and a representation of what is called variously 'the divine', the 'spirit world', the 'other world' or 'spirit'.

ACTIVATING THE INNER SENSES

Shamanic language is part of a constellation of activities/tools/techniques/vehicles via which shamans interact with the spirit world and which includes

- costume
- movement - dance, shaking, gesture
- smoke and fire
- offerings of food and drink,
- percussion and rhythm instruments
- voice

The burning of resin-rich plants as incense or smudge produces smoke that in the shamanic event is said to permeate the thin membrane between this world and the other. It is also offered as a gift. Spirits are said to like the scent, and 'feed off' the smell of the burning offering¹⁹. Smoke from a fire or smudge purifies and cleanses a drum, or a person in preparation for travel to the other realm.

Food and drink are offered to the spirits in shamanic ritual. Hmong shamans place rice and whiskey on their altars. Siberians offer rice [the Buddhist influence], vodka and fermented mare's milk. At First Nations' feasts, a plate of food may be offered to the spirits, or hunters will return a small piece of an animal they have killed to the land.

The horse in Siberian traditions is a key symbol. In Southeast Asia, it

becomes the shaman's bench which is ridden to the spirit world. The drum, and the rhythm of the drum, like the horse's hoofbeats, is a vehicle of transport in Siberia, North America and across the Arctic. The Hmong, as in other areas with Buddhist influence, use a metal gong. Other ceremonial percussive instruments include the bell, rattles and finger cymbals²⁰. The jew's harp or jaw's harp, an instrument of entertainment in Western culture, is used ritually in Siberia and amongst the Hmong. In Siberia and Mongolia, it is used to induce trance and heal the sick as well as for entertainment.

Language is spoken and sung. It may be improvised in shamanic events or recited. In the Itako tradition of Japan, for example, a blind shamaness specializes in spirit possessions and performance of sacred narratives (Tanaka 1999). There is a vast literature documenting the use of such vehicles of communication but little on interpreting their role from an emic or experiential viewpoint. As Western analysis of the myths, legends and histories of shamanic cultures derives primarily from written text, so has language been isolated from other elements of the shamanic event. While words are key, they are carriers of meaning in conjunction with the other elements of shamanic séance. In the shamanic / Indigenous world view, this world and the spirit world are not segregated along Western lines. Western science has also separated the "sacred" from the "secular" - useful terms in ethnographic description but not necessarily contiguous with indigenous concepts of differentiation.

Smoke, along with movement, sound, and offerings of food and drink, activates the inner senses, as Van Deusen describes:

"Tuvan and Khakass shamanism is based on the principle that the spiritual world may be contacted through the inner senses in trance. The finely tuned traditional Turkic kamlanie is designed to activate these inner senses and the ways of using them. Shamans often cover their physical eyes during kamlanie in order to enhance the visual images seen with the inner eye. Inner smell is aroused by the burning of artysh, or juniper, during the ceremony. The shaman's inner kinetic or touch sense is enlivened by dance movements, mostly connected with the playing of the drum. Inner taste is activated through offerings of food and vodka to the spirits" (Van Deusen 1997:24).

Shamanic ritual activates the inner senses - of the shaman and of the

audience. Much has been written about the 'inner eye' or the looking within of the shaman in seance. We may also talk about the inner ear, but this is not simply aural hearing. It is hearing with the body, through the body. Our inner body rhythms of the pulse and the breath are activated through the interaction of the various elements of shamanic ritual, including language. Through this inner ear, a shaman connects with the vibration of the universe, becomes one with "the sound of the heavens."

LANGUAGE AS MEDIATION

Describing the relationship between the two realms, and how language reflects this relationship, Silva (in Rasula and McCaffery 1998:55) writes about Huichol cosmology and the changing of names on the peyote journey:

"Well, let's see now. I shall speak about how we do things when we go and seek the peyote, how we change the names of everything. How we call the things we see and do by another name for all those days. Until we return. Because all must be done as it must be done. As it was laid down in the beginning. How it was when the mara'akáme who is Tatewarí [Huichol name for the deity with whom the shaman has a special affinity, roughly translatable as Our Grandfather Fire] led all those great ones to Wirikuta. When they crossed over there, to the peyote country. Because that is a very sacred thing, it is the most sacred. It is our life, as one says. That is why nowadays one gives things other names. One changes everything. Only when they return home, then they call everything again what it is".

In the Western tradition, too, language reflects the reversal of worlds and the reversal of consciousness that takes place in moving between worlds. Kerner writes about the hidden language of Frau H. Among its characteristics: "...she did not think this language with her head; and, one which came from the depths of the heart... She was able to speak and write this language only in a condition of half-awakedness, and when she was awake she knew nothing whatever about it". Further, "Frequently in her condition of half-awakedness she said that the spirits spoke a similar language, in fact she had several times spoken with them against her will as this language threw her into a somnambulist state". Frau H wrote herself: "Although the spirits read

thoughts and have no need for language, yet this language belongs to the soul, the soul carries it into the other world, because the soul rules man and forms his body over there... This language passes over with the soul and forms a soaring body for the spirit" (Kerner in Rasula & McCaffery 1998:41).

Swedenborg (in Rasula & McCaffery 1998:135) a theologian, heretic, visionary and scientist (1688-1772) who inspired William Blake and his "Marriage of Heaven and Hell," describes characteristics of the angelic language and how humans, on one plane, communicate with angels and spirits on the other:

"When angels and spirits turn their attentions to people they know nothing but what is given in human language. This is because they so thoroughly enter into human speech that they forget their own; but as soon as their attention strays from humans they're fully absorbed into the angelic language, where they no longer understand a word of human tongues. The same thing happened to me when in my companionship with angels, when I conversed with them in their speech and knew nothing of my own; but when I passed from their fellowship I was back in the human language again . . ." (Rasula and McCaffery 1998:136).

Shamanic language connects the speaker with the subtle world. As Rasula & McCaffery write, "language partakes of the cosmos as much as it is governed by it" (p. 327).

CALLING THE SPIRITS: WORDS AS POWER

Western analysis of the myths, legends and histories of stories has worked primarily from written text, analyzing the content and isolating it from other elements of culture and event. The secularization of language and of the role of the shaman and the story-teller has removed much of the power of spoken language, eliminating the experiential resonance of the word. The power of the story-teller and the shaman is in the action of the words, as it remains in other traditions:

Rasula and McCaffery write that language in Kabbalah²¹ may be:

"(1) a technique of mystical striving; (2) an instrument of creation that is at the same time a component of the created world; (3) a structural homology between the mundane and the divine, and the locus of an encounter between macrocosm and microcosm; and (4) a talisman, or receptacle, for collecting divine emanations... The emphasis on the written text is predominant in Kabbalah, as it is in Judaism in general; but the Abulafian school of ecstatic Kabbalah engages the acoustic dimension of language in ways that bring it into alliance with recitation techniques and sonorous iconography common to Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist mysticism" (p. 329).

We also see parallels in traditions that use chant, hymns, and mantras with shamanic use of voice/sound/language.

". . . shamans must recite long texts, sing them, recite them, and in many cases improvise them on the spot. This means that the shaman, though he is familiar with the tradition, the traditional melodies and rhythms, must still create the poetic text with the help of which he²² can summon the spirits. The use of poetic text on such a festive occasion, not only lifts the atmosphere of the ritual above the everyday, but allows the audience to participate in a kind of artistic experience" (Hoppàl 1999:58).

Preservation of the linguistic texts, Hoppàl goes on, also means

"survival of ancient linguistic rhythms, which, on the one hand, help improvisation, and on the other, phonetically preserve the mythological information which allows the texts to be re-created from time to time. V.V. Ivanov and V.N. Toporov wrote very interesting dissertations in the 70s on what this mythological information might be, in volumes, still unsurpassed, by the excellent Russian school of semiotics. According to their deliberations, the names of gods and the naming of local spirits, mountains, rivers, guardian spirits or rocks, can be considered as micro-texts which concentrate information within them, from which collective memory and the shaman's individual poetic creative skills can reconstruct the shaman world view. This world view contains ethic judgments, provides models for standards of behaviour and thus makes orientation in the world easier

for the individual" (Hoppàl:58)

This is an insightful but essentially secular interpretation of shamanic texts as micro-texts. Other interpretations provide a perspective on shamanic texts as invocatory. Malinowski (1965) has written on the magical power of words. Basso, in his work on Apache place names, demonstrated how the name of a place can function as condensed text, evoking and recreating the experience. Hood describes how Mayan elders, in whom authority is vested, use oral narratives that seek to transform rather than reflect life. Mayan shamans start their ceremonies with 'Heart of the Sky' and 'Heart of the Earth'. Through these words, they invoke the Divine, invoke the Heart of the Sky and the Heart of the Earth to work through them. The words themselves are very important - they are key words in Mayan cosmology, words of respect. Each Mayan word is like a prayer, an invocation. Further, in the Mayan language they have a resonance, not just a sacred meaning. What does the resonance effect? In Hood's view, it connects with chakra levels in the body that relate to achieving higher levels of consciousness. Mayan ceremonies incorporate a lot of repetitive invocations. Like a chant, these set up a resonance and a state of receptivity that allows one to enter into an elevated state of consciousness and access the Divine (Robin Hood, pers comm November 3, 1999).

Shamanic activities are based on control of what Mader calls "power elements"- magical darts, little arrows of light or objects in the Ecuadorian Amazon, and spirit helpers. "The knowledge of songs and the possession of magical stones (nantar) are further assets of shamanic power", he writes (Rasula and McCaffery 1998:370). All these enable a shaman to exercise influence upon other persons' bodies, thoughts and emotions". (p. 371) Amongst Inuit, Merkur notes that, "A secret language is employed whenever they converse with spirits. Magic words or spells and magic songs may be used to control both malicious and helping spirits" (Merkur 1992:5). Words themselves are power:

"The Eskimo poet must - as far as I have been able to understand - in his spells of emotion, draw inspiration from the old spirit songs; which were the first songs mankind ever had; he must cry aloud to the empty air, shout incomprehensible, often meaningless words at the governing powers, yet withal words which are an attempt at a form of expression unlike that of everyday speech. Consequently, no one can become a poet who has not complete faith in the power of words. When I asked Ivaluardjuk about the power of words, he would smile

shyly and answer that it was something no one could explain; for the rest, he would refer me to the old magic songs I had already learned, and which made all difficult things easy." (Rasmussen 1929:234)

This strategic use of words as power effects shamanic healing.

Tanaka (1999:301), in her work on Ainu shamans in Japan, provides insight into the connective or bridging role of words, as well as their activating, dynamic nature. She describes how "prayers are not only verbal expressions but are living actions; they are incantations. Prayers²³ affirm a bond between you and the addressee, be it a deceased relative, a spirit being". Describing the shamanic festival at the Temple of Kawakura in Japan, Tanaka describes the chanting of repetitive set phrases. "Some", she writes, "quietly meditate and begin mirroring the words of the spirit being called; some sings [sic] the words of the deceased in some parts, and responds [sic] in dialogue form to the client's questions in others; some are quite abrupt and not eloquent at all" (Tanaka 1999:302).

Kira Van Deusen, who is herself a musician and story-teller, discusses this transportive role of sound in Tuva:

"Shamanic drumming and chanting play central roles in helping the shaman and other participants in *kamlanie* to open their spiritual ears and eyes and to journey into the inner world. Music transports the shaman on the journey into the spirit world, and musical sounds also call the helping spirits, who especially enjoy hearing their names called . . .

"Sûzûkei told me that Tuvan shamans use sound as a bridge or tunnel connecting the inner and outer worlds: 'There is a bridge in these sound waves so you can go from one world to another. In the sound world, a tunnel opens through which we can pass - or the shaman's spirits come to us. When you stop playing the drum or *khomus*, the bridge disappears'" (Van Deusen 1997:24).

The transportive and transforming power of words is effected through the speaker, the shaman who receives the gift of language from the spirit world. In this work, word, action [speaking the word] and intent [respect] are inseparable. Meaning is conveyed through the word itself, through the act of speaking the word and the act

of carrying out shamanic work, and through the intent [respect] of the healer/shaman. Likewise, meaning is contained in the praxis of words and music, in the (voicing) itself which produces resonance. "Without the musical instrument of the drum, without the music composed by the shaman himself, and without his performance of it, [these] archaic determinants lose their emotional force" (Kenin-Lopsan 1997:140).

Referring to speech as act, Hoppál describes how Kenin-Lopsan collected Tuva shaman folklore and writes about one of the two genres Kenin-Lopsan recorded:

"The first is the *algysh*, a song, or prayer, invocation, blessing, request, appeal to the spirits - "I use all these European concepts only tentatively since none of them corresponds precisely to the type of text sung and recited by the Tuva shamans. It is, however, certain that the *algysh* is a kind of sacral communication, a 'speech act' and specifically an illocutionary performative act. The characteristic of such an act is that it is not a declaration or communication of something but an action performed through speech. Research has not paid adequate attention to this modality aspect of the shamanic song (prayer, blessing, spell) although attempts have recently been made in this direction. (Lovász 1993a,b)." (Preface by Hoppál in Kenin-Lopsan 1997a:xiv-xv).

Van Deusen compares the art of storyteller to that of shaman - both having the ability to heal individuals and societies, and provides information about the power of words and the care that must be taken to acknowledge this intrinsic power:

"While there is no ownership or restriction on the retelling of Udegei magic tales by outsiders, as there is among many North American peoples, it is considered spiritually dangerous to speak of spirits or the inner lives of shamans directly. So perhaps the stories are a way to speak of that reality in an oblique way, much as sacred animals like the tiger and bear are called by nick-names. Especially if the teller were a shaman, subtle ways of 'speaking around' the subject would protect the speaker" (Van Deusen 1999:99).

While words carry meaning in the shamanic event and have power in and of themselves, the act of speech is also about power and about the activation of power.

Through the act of speech, resonance connects the participants and the shaman with one another, with the place that surrounds them, and with the spirit world. Resonance connects language, action [the act of speech], and intent, and it connects and mediates the physical world in which the act takes place with the subtle energies of the spirit world. In her study of Malay shamanistic performances, Laderman describes how the shaman's rationality and emotions are awakened or mobilized through the chanting of invocations and singing of songs. The words are not sacred but they do carry power, "a power that proceeds from his breath, the outward manifestation of his *bomoh*'s Wind, without which no amount of study could prepare him for his profession". (Laderman 1996:120) The Malay shaman must open the shaman's gates and move his "Winds" through the quality of the poetic language of his song. His words strengthen and guard his 'gates' (p. 121).

Words strengthen and protect the shaman. They send greetings and reverence to the other world; invite the powers of sacred ritual objects and of the shaman's helping spirits, guardians and ancestors; and they open the way for the shaman's powers or gifts to be used for healing or reclamation.

SHAMANIC LANGUAGE

If we can talk about 'shamanic language', what can be said about it?

1. Shamanic language is part of a constellation of techniques/bridges/means of communication with the spirit or subtle world. Western science sees language primarily as a physical act. Shamanic language operates metaphysically also.
2. Westerners are used to listening and to hearing with our ears. The language of shamans is multisensory; it is intuitive as well as intellectual/ideological.
3. Shamanic language is active and emergent. It does something and thus it does more than reflect experience; it produces and transforms experience.
4. Westerners are used to thinking about the past, present and future as linear²⁴. The language of shamans transcends time as linear, connecting 'this world', physical time with a realm that exists 'outside of time'.

5. Shamanic language is incantatory. Thus it is experiential and emic - it derives from the experience of the moment and from the experience of the speaker although it may be both repeated by rote and/or improvised.

7. It is sonorous (resonant, full, deep or rich in sound). Meaning is produced from the speaking of the words. These words do not simply represent power, they are power.

8. Shamanic language is about process as well as about content. In the process of travel to the spirit world, language is a dynamic link that shamans activate through seance. Shamanic language is not simply a representation of phenomena, it is phenomena.

Shamanic language merges the intuitive and rational into intuitive science. Western science is beginning to acknowledge the subtle realms or planes of consciousness as existing and describable. It is interesting that in writing down shamanic texts, recorders have often selected a poetry format²⁵, poetry representing in the literate mind, the intuitive and creative; whereas prose is used more to represent the world of ideas - the rational and ideological.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ethereal, unsubstantial.

2. I did not realize this until I had been working in each area for some time.

3. During a *kamlanie* by the Siberian shaman, Bair Rinchinov, the audience was asked not to film when the spirit entered his body, *International Congress Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices*, Moscow, June 1999. Rinchinov is a hereditary shaman from the Buryat-Aginsk region.

4. For example, "I also saw a vision of a huge garden...I was seeing all of this in clear daylight. It wasn't a hallucination, nor was it coming from my imagination - these were visions": Peruvian shaman, DonAgustin Rivas Vasquez, in *Plant Diets in the Training of a Peruvian Healer* by Don Agustin Rivas Vasquez, as told to Jaya Bear. *Shaman's Drum*, No. 54, 2000:40-47.

5. Radical participation goes beyond participant observation. The ethnographer enters as fully as possible into the world of the shaman, seeking first-hand knowledge. Shamanism is a path of knowledge, not a faith. To acquire this knowledge, it is necessary to step through the shaman's doorway. Researchers can test for themselves the reality of spirits. (Michael Harner), presentation given at *International Congress Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, Moscow, June 1999*).

6. Different personality types find expression through the trance of shamanic healing in Laderman's study: "Malay village society, where neither material goods nor overt expressions of affection and admiration are in plentiful supply, is a difficult setting for the Dewa Muda personality. The expression of strong emotions is not only frowned upon in rural Malaysia; most people deny that they ever have any. Malays rarely cry or complain. Women suffer through difficult and prolonged labors without raising their voices, and mourners at funerals remain dry-eyed.... Behavior inappropriate to one's station has been discouraged by Malay law and custom" (Laderman 1996:118).

7. "The patient's suffering is ennobled by the tropes of Malay legend..." (Laderman 1966:123).

8. "I began my investigation with the enigma of 'plant communication'. I went on to accept the idea that hallucinations could be a source of verifiable information. And I ended up with a hypothesis suggesting that a human mind can communicate in defocalized consciousness with the global network of DNA-based life. All this contradicts principles of Western knowledge" (Narby:132).

9. "Semiotics has developed with an explicitly broad perspective, disposed to think of signs as evidence of sophisticated philosophical practice if not of explicit awareness" (Rasula and McCaffery 1998:80).

10. "Subtle" is used to describe the reality that is mundane or "not material". (for example, Faidysh 1999:137).

11. For example, "Words and sounds had a definite symbolism" (Kenin-Lopsan 1997:132).

12. Hetero, meaning "different" or "another".

13. Shaman's Auto-Elogy (Kyrgyz 1993:47).

14. Narby asks a similar question in his book *The Cosmic Serpent*, about DNA and the origins of knowledge: "The origin of knowledge is a subject that anthropologists neglect - which is one of the reasons that prompted me to write this book. However, anthropologists are not alone; scientists in general seem to have a similar difficulty. On closer examination, the reason for this becomes obvious: Many of science's central ideas seem to come from beyond the limits of rationalism. René Descartes dreams of an angel who explains the basic principles of materialist rationalism to him; Albert Einstein dreams in a tram, approaching another, and conceives the theory of relativity..." (1999:158).

15. A.E. writes, "...among the many thoughts I had at the time came the thought that speech may originally have been intuitive...". A.E. is George Russell (1867-1935), a close friend of the Irish nationalist, poet and mystic W.B. Yeats. Yeats' own interest in Celtic shamanism is reflected in his poem "The song of the Wandering Aengus", written in the 1890's. Yeats' Aengus may have been a shaman on a soul journey whose experience took place outside of the mind in non-ordinary reality.

16. Merkur (1993:92) drawing from various ethnographic sources.

17. Hmong researcher / academic.

18. Kyrgyz (1993:47).

19. Personal communication from the helper at Bair Rinchinov's ceremony, Moscow, 1999.

20. Of which we have evidence from © 1545 though it may have been in use 1000 years ago in iron form (Gohrin, unpublished notes).

21. The Kabbalah or Cabala is the Jewish esoteric philosophy. In the name, derived from the Hebrew word *kabel* "to receive", is the implication that it was received in the form of special revelations. Comprised of two systems, the theoretical and the practical, practical Cabala is based on the belief that the mystic

doctrines can be translated into action such as the performance of miracles. It is also concerned with the use of divine words and names, among other objects, to achieve particular ends. Angels may be invoked, and spirits and demons silenced through amulets and prayer. Without going into further detail, the connections between language in the kabbalah and in shamanism are explicit.

22. Author use of male term is inappropriate.

23. Harner and Harner (1999:20-21) discuss the limited role of prayer: "Ordinary people and priests in a great range of cultures commonly appeal to these spirits by means of prayer. Although supplication through prayer can often facilitate spiritual help from the other reality, and is indeed part of shamanic practice, prayer is not usually recognized in shamanism as being as effective as journeying into non-ordinary reality to work in cooperation with the compassionate spirits firsthand, or as effective as bringing the spirit to the Middle World to embody it there". Further, "Through this intimate alliance, shamanic practitioners in indigenous cultures are typically expected by their peoples to produce healing results beyond those considered possible by prayer alone".

24. Anthropologist Michael Harner describes it this way: A core feature of shamanism is that the Universe is divisible into three worlds: the Upper, Middle and Lower. The Middle World, in which we live, has both its OR [ordinary reality] and NOR [non-ordinary reality] (or non-spiritual and spiritual) aspects, and belongs only to this immediate moment in time. The Upper and Lower Worlds, in contrast, are purely spiritual and are found only in nonordinary reality, where they exist "outside of time" .

25. For example, Kenin-Lopsan 1997a, who relayed this information about materials he collected to Hoppàl in conversation: "The shamanic myths are our philosophy. The shamanic hymns (*algyshtar*) are our poetry" (Kenin-Lopsan 1997a:xv).

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