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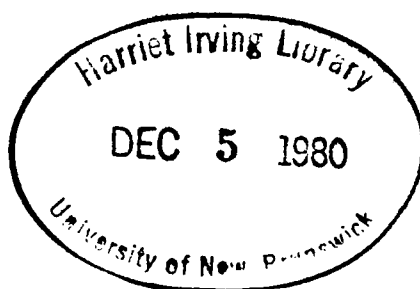
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## L'ACADIE DANS LA FRANCOPHONIE NORD-AMERICAINE

Albert Valdman

Indiana University-Bloomington

1. Les sources des parlers français du Nouveau Monde. Deux tendances se révèlent dans les travaux dont l'objet est de rechercher les origines des traits linguistiques des parlers français du Nouveau Monde. D'une part, le chercheur tente de localiser un trait structural ou un vocable particulier sur une aire dialectale où il précise--ou, dans le cas des parlers franco-créoles, de les assimiler à ceux d'une langue africaine déterminée. Ainsi, l'illustre autodidacte haïtien Jules Faine (1936) tenta-t-il de démontrer que le créole d'Haïti tirait son origine d'un patois normand transplanté au Caraïbes. Plus près de chez nous, Geneviève Massignon (1962), en s'appuyant sur une étude démographique approfondie, localisa les sources des parlers acadiens dans la zone dialectale centre-ouest.

Mais bien plus frappantes que leurs particularismes sont les traits linguistiques que partagent les parlers français du Nouveau Monde. Par exemple, sur le plan phonologique l'on retrouve de la Caraïbe à l'Acadie en passant par la Louisiane et la vallée du Mississippi la palatalisation des occlusives dentales devant les voyelles à aperture minimale antérieures ([t'i] 'petit', [d'iz] 'dix'). Dans le lexique, de nombreux auteurs ont relevé la large diffusion de vocables d'origine dite nautique: amarrer 'attacher', larguer 'laisser aller', haler/raler 'tirer', heler/réler 'appeler', paré 'prêt', virer 'tourner'. Enfin, sur le plan morphosyntaxique, cinq grandes tendances se manifestent, qui ont abouti totalement dans les parlers créoles:

- i l'élimination de la flexion verbale en faveur de l'emploi de tours périphrastiques et de particules préposées autonomes pour exprimer les catégories temporelles, aspectuelles et modales;
- ii l'élimination de la distinction de genre dans le système nominal;
- iii l'élimination d'une marque obligatoire pour le pluriel (ainsi, le créole haïtien ignore la marque de pluriel obligatoire lorsque le syntagme nominal contient un quantificateur, par ex., kat ti moun 'quatre enfants'; la particule pluriel, -yo, n'apparaît que dans l'absence de toute autre marque de pluralité, par ex., Koté ti moun 'Où est l'enfant?' de Koté ti moun-yo 'Où sont les enfants?');
- iv la réduction du système pronominal par l'élimination des distinctions casuelles (pronoms sujet vs. pronoms complément d'objet direct ou indirect) et de la distinction entre formes atones et toniques;
- v l'emploi de la parataxe au lieu d'un système de pronoms relatifs différenciés pour indiquer diverses fonctions syntaxiques.

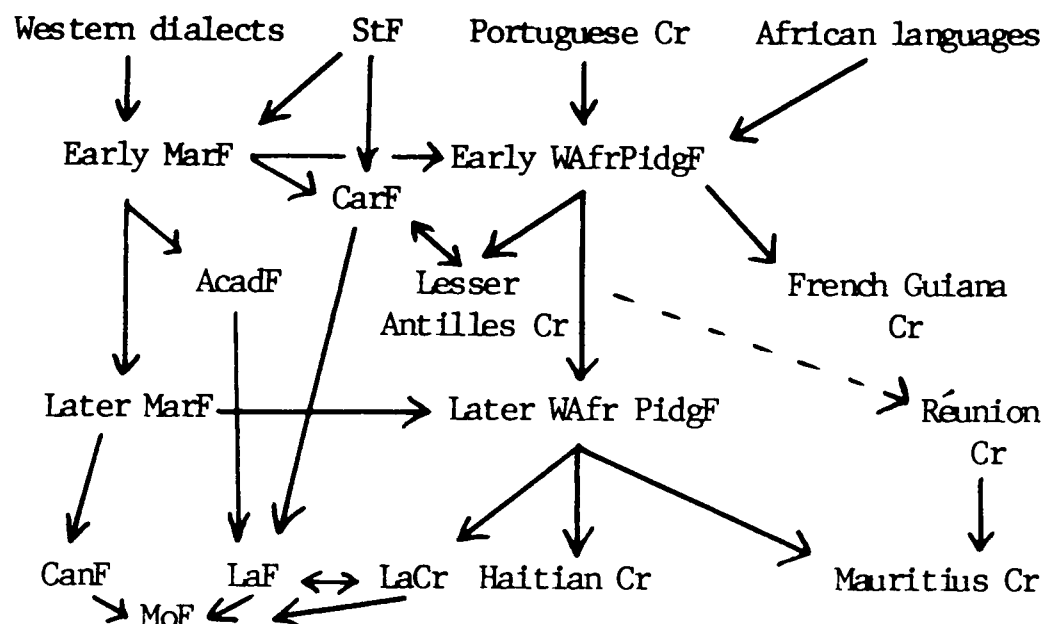
Pour expliquer la présence de ces tendances dans des parlers géographiquement distants et non-contigus, certains auteurs invoquent une source commune en une sorte de koiné maritime en usage dans les ports de la Manche et de l'Atlantique et sur les vaisseaux français assurant le notoire trafic triangulaire. Alexander Hull, le défenseur de la forme la plus extrême de cette notion, situe les origines de ce parler dans les parlers de la côte atlantique et souligne son homogénéité (1974:69-70):

... the language of the Atlantic ports and of ordinary sailors aboard French ships in oceanic trade was in the early seventeenth century a somewhat archaic regional French with many traits originating in Atlantic coastal dialects; by the eighteenth century it was being "modernized", adopting more recent StF usages to replace earlier western ones, but maintaining a special flavor of its own. It was surprisingly uniform in basic structure, although showing variation in certain areas. Overseas settlers tended to pick up this type of speech in port and during the long voyage that brought them to the New World.

Selon Gaston Dulong (1970:61), cette koiné se serait formée dans les colonies d'outre-Atlantique:

Effectivement, on voit en Nouvelle-Angleterre, au Canada français, la formation très rapide d'un français commun qui, en même temps, était en train de prendre naissance aux Antilles ... on doit penser qu'à ce moment-là, cette même 'lingua franca' aurait couvert également le centre des Etats-Unis, puis son aire géographique se serait restreinte à partir de 1760; puis à partir de la conquête de 1760, et jusqu'à 1840, c'est le français qui a été la langue de communication dans tout l'ouest du Canada, comme aussi dans le centre-ouest des Etats-Unis.

Notons que l'hypothèse d'une origine commune des parlers franco-américains en une sorte de koiné nautique n'exclue pas le caractère particulier de certaines variétés. Ainsi A. Hull explique-t-il la nature archaïque de l'acadien par son origine en une strate plus profonde de la koiné maritime et les particularités du français des Caraïbes par un lien plus direct avec le français standard, voir le schéma suivant:



Bien que nous partagions les idées de Hull, ainsi que de la plupart des auteurs ayant traité de cette question (Massignon 1962, Haden 1973), sur le statut spécial de l'acadien et l'existence de traits linguistiques généralement répandus dans les parlers français des Amériques, nous expliquons ces faits autrement. D'une part, nous voyons dans les similitudes structurales l'effet de certains universaux de langage et de tendances évolutives propres au français; d'autre part, nous attribuons les particularismes à l'effet plus direct de certains dialectes oïl. Nous tenterons d'étayer notre hypothèse en mettant en regard des données provenant des isolats francophones des Etats-Unis et celles tirées de descriptions des parlers acadiens et de certains dialectes de la zone centre-ouest de l'aire oïl.

2. Localisation dialectale et convergence. Avant d'aborder notre démonstration, nous voudrions discuter de certaines considérations méthodologiques. L'écueil sur lequel se sont brisés de nombreux spécialistes de dialectologie nord-américaine est la tendance à trop localiser l'origine de traits particuliers dans une variété dialectale française ou une langue de substrat ou d'adstrat particulière. Cette tendance provient elle-même d'une vue simpliste des contacts et des changements linguistiques et de la prédilection de certains dialectologues, qui pour tel dialecte oïl, qui pour les langues africaines (dans le cas du créole) ou l'anglais. Par exemple, Conwell et Juilland (1963:197) attribuent la simplification des pronoms relatifs du cajun louisianais à l'influence de l'anglais.

Comme le démontre G. Aub-Büscher (1970) "le jeu de la localisation précise ... pour tentant qu'il soit, est un jeu dangereux". Premièrement, bien que l'on retrouve effectivement dans diverses variétés américaines des vocables et traits structuraux localisés (G. Aub-Büscher donne en exemple des termes que le créole de la Trinité partage avec le normand: ak 'acre', koutchèt 'langes de bébé', kanni 'moisi', palaviré 'gifler du dos

de la main'), l'aire attribuée à telle ou telle variété régionale où il est d'ordinaire fort étendue. Des termes d'origine dite "nautique" se retrouvent dans l'ouest de la France loin à l'intérieur: maré 'lier, attacher' a été relevé en Normandie et dans le Bas Maine, halé/ralé 'tirer' en Normandie et dans la Basse Bretagne, had/rad 'vêtements, habits' dans l'Ouest et le Centre. Un simple coup d'oeil à quelques cartes de l'ALF suffit pour se rendre compte de la non-étanchéité des aires dialectales.

Deuxièmement, il est fort probable que de nombreux traits des parlers franco-américains reflètent la convergence de plusieurs sources. Dans le domaine du créole, par exemple, la diffusion de la nasalisation, un des traits marquants du vocalisme de cette langue, caractérise les parlers régionaux français tout autant qu'un grand nombre de langues de l'Afrique occidentale. La palatalisation des occlusives dentales et vélaires devant yod se manifeste sur une vaste aire où il s'étendait de la Normandie et des Charentes jusqu'à l'Yonne ainsi que dans l'éwé, le kpelle, et le gâ. Sur le plan lexical, la forme bay (ban, ba) 'donner' semblerait avoir une source sûre en bailler, qui survit dans les patois de l'ouest de la France, si elle ne se relevait pas en haoussa (bayes et ba 'donner') et en wolof (ba 'laisser, céder').

Le cas de l'actualisateur post-posé -la du créole haïtien illustre combien est arbitraire le choix d'une source unique pour un phénomène linguistique particulier. Tous les parlers créoles contiennent un actualisateur réalisé généralement par l'élément -la, dont la valeur sémantique est intermédiaire entre celle de l'article défini et de l'adjectif démonstratif du français:

- (1) Koté kabrit-la? Où est la chèvre (dont il s'agit,  
que l'on voit, que l'on sait)?

S. Comhaire-Sylvain (1936), qui a caractérisé le créole haïtien comme "un lexique français coulé dans le moule de la syntaxe africaine", attribue l'origine de cet actualisateur au transfert direct d'un trait éwé. Dans cette langue, en effet, il existe un fonctif ayant plus ou moins le même sens et se plaçant dans la même position:

| (2) <u>Créole haïtien</u> |             | <u>Ewé</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------|
| kay-la                    | la maison   | xɔ́ á      |
| kay-la-yo                 | les maisons | xɔ́ á wo   |

Mais une source française de l'actualisateur -la est tout autant plausible puisque nous relevons dans la plupart des parlers franco-américains l'emploi du déictique -là pour renforcer l'article défini. Par ailleurs, cette particule déictique post-posée accompagne obligatoirement l'adjectif démonstratif dans un grand nombre de parlers, dont l'acadien, le parler de St. Thomas, et celui de Frenchville:

## (3) Acadien (Péronnet 1975):

|            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| stø rwâ-lâ | 'ce roi'     |
| s pei isit | 'ce pays-là' |

St. Thomas (Highfield 1976):

|            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| stôm-la    | 'cet homme'    |
| set kaz-la | 'cette maison' |

L'effet de processus universels de restructuration doit aussi entrer en compte. L'emploi d'adverbes locatifs avec valeur déictique est une évolution linguistique bien attestée, et les faits observés dans les parlers franco-américains et le créole retracent le développement des déterminants et des actualisateurs gallo-romans. L'actualisateur du créole pourrait fort bien résulter d'une restructuration du français lors de son apprentissage par des alloglottes dans les conditions de contact spéciales de la traite des esclaves et des plantations coloniales. L'on retrouve dans le tât bôî, une variété approximative du français anciennement en usage en Indochine, l'emploi d'adverbes locatifs pour remplacer les divers déterminants français agglutinés au nom:

|                        |                                  |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (4) lamadam isi ale sa | 'Cette dame est allée faire ça.' |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|

|                             |                                          |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| moj fe lamilite lafrânše la | 'J'étais soldat dans l'armée française.' |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------|

Dans une variété pidginisée du français dénommée français populaire d'Abidjan il s'est formé un système symétrique d'actualisation du nom de grande simplicité dans lequel le déictique -là sert d'actualisateur et où le nombre est indiqué par le choix entre -lui et -leur:

|                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (5) Ti le louvri laport la | 'Tu as ouvert la porte.' |
| nəm la lui                 | 'cet homme'              |
| nəm la loer                | 'ces hommes'             |

Etant donné la convergence de ces trois sources, il n'est pas surprenant que l'actualisateur du créole tire son origine d'un locatif français placé en position finale.

3. Les isolats francophones des Etats-Unis. Les isolats francophones des Etats-Unis partagent avec les variétés vernaculaires de français en usage dans l'ancienne Acadie plusieurs importantes caractéristiques sociolinguistiques.

1° Ce sont des parlers de communautés minoritaires, donc dépréciés et soumis, dans chacune des communautés, à la pression de la langue dominante, l'anglais.

2° L'anglais est la seule langue officielle effective, et le parler du groupe minoritaire est exclu des domaines générateurs de prestige et des activités économiques et politiques. Par ailleurs, le vernaculaire est isolé de la variété standard de la langue. L'absence d'une norme et des diverses institutions codifiant et diffusant cette norme et assurant son instrumentalisation tend à fractionner le vernaculaire en une multitude de variétés et à le rendre incapable à exprimer les notions et de désigner les artefacts d'une société technologiquement avancée; pour citer G. Massignon (1962:I.88):

Le langage quotidien des Acadiens est un français appauvri, coupé d'anglicismes inattendus (où le mot anglais déformé prend une terminaison française), émaillé à tout moment de termes nautiques et d'expressions françaises vieilles ou provinciales, qui lui donnent une saveur particulière ... (Acadiens des villes) ils forgent à tous moments des calques de l'anglais pour les termes techniques, dont il ignorent l'équivalent français, et ils n'ont plus le vocabulaire traditionnel inhérent aux choses de la campagne.

3° Il s'agit de parlers en voie de disparition employés couramment seulement par les membres âgés de la communauté. Coupés des jeunes générations, ils se désagrègent et s'étiolent.

Ignorés jusqu'à une date assez récente, les parlers des isolats francophones demeurent relativement inconnus des dialectologues s'intéressant au fait français dans les Amériques. Pourtant leur étude est d'incalculable valeur car, à l'encontre des deux grands groupements francophones de la Louisiane et de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, ces communautés sont restées relativement isolées du français standard et des autres communautés francophones d'Amérique. Ils peuvent donc receler des archaïsmes reflétant un état antérieur de la langue ou des innovations représentant l'évolution de traits déjà latents. La documentation que nous avons pu recueillir se rapporte à trois isolats: (1) le parler du Carénage, un quartier portuaire de la bourgade de Charlotte-Amalie dans l'île de St. Thomas, Iles Vierges américaines; (2) le parler de la région de la Vieille Mine (Old Mines) dans le sud-est de l'état de Missouri; (3) le parler de Frenchville, un village situé dans le centre de l'état de Pennsylvanie.

La communauté du Carénage a été fondée vers 1870 par des pêcheurs en provenance de la partie Sous le Vent de St. Barthélemy (St. Bart), un flot dépendant de la Guadeloupe. Les Carénageois

sont des Blancs occupant, de par leur occupation et leurs origines modestes, l'une des strates inférieures de la société saint-thomienne. Ils maintiennent un certain contact avec des parents à Saint-Bart et ont ainsi une certaine connaissance du FSt. L'établissement français à St. Bart date de 1664 et, bien que les St. Barts se disent Normands d'origine, une affirmation appuyée par certains traits ethnologiques, il est probable que leurs ancêtres provenaient de diverses régions de France.

Les francophones de la Vieille Mine sont les descendants de chercheurs d'or en provenance du Canada qui fondèrent le village vers 1720. Le nom de la communauté s'explique par la présence de mines de plomb et de baryte que les premiers colons prirent pour des mines d'argent. Aux fondateurs se joignirent des colons remontant le Mississippi à partir de la Nouvelle Orléans et amenant des esclaves noirs créolophones de Saint-Domingue. Plus tard, il arriva des habitants des forts français de Vincennes et de Kaskaskia refoulés sur la rive occidentale du fleuve par l'afflux de protestants anglophones. Le dernier contingent de francophones arriva vers 1860 et comptait un grand nombre de personnes originaires de l'est de la France.

Le village de Frenchville contient le groupe francophone le plus isolé du Nouveau Monde. Il fut établi vers 1830 par des bûcherons et des fermiers venus directement de l'est de la France, en particulier des départements de la Haute-Marne, de la Haute-Saône, des Vosges et du Haut-Rhin. Cette communauté se différencie nettement des autres groupes francophones d'Amérique par la nature tardive de son immigration et le fait que les colons n'avaient aucuns liens avec les régions du nord-ouest et du centre-ouest de la France qui ont alimenté la migration française en direction de la Nouvelle France et des Antilles au cours des dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles.

Les parlers de ces trois isolats francophones contiennent de frappantes convergences structurales qui ne peuvent s'expliquer par une origine commune dans un dialecte oïl particulier puisque, si l'on peut invoquer l'influence des parlers du nord-ouest et du centre-ouest de la France dans la formation des parlers du Carénage et de la Vieille Mine, le recourt à cette explication est totalement exclu dans le cas de Frenchville. Tout laisse croire que le parler de cette dernière communauté s'est formé à partir de dialectes lorrains, champenois ou bourguignons.

4. Mise en regard de certains aspects de la structure grammaticale de parlers des isolats francophones et de l'acadien avec certains dialectes oïl. Examinons de façon détaillée les convergences qui se manifestent dans plusieurs systèmes morphosyntaxiques, en particulier dans le système verbal et le système pronominal de ces trois parlers et comparons-les aux structures correspondantes de l'acadien et de trois dialectes oïl:

deux parlers de la zone centre-ouest (Vouvant et le Marais vendéen) et un parler lorrain (Ranrupt).

4.1. Le système verbal. Dans les trois isolats on observe une réduction du système des flexions verbales et, dans un certain sens, la réduction du nombre des radicaux. Le présent de l'indicatif se réduit à une seule forme par la perte des désinences du pluriel accompagnée du remplacement des pronoms nous et vous par on et vous aut', respectivement. La forme unique est composée du radical du verbe. Certains verbes correspondant aux verbes à deux thèmes (groupes -ir, -ir/-iss- et -re) du FSt ont une forme spéciale pour la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du pluriel: /ifini/ vs /ifinis/; à Frenchville, comme la forme la plus fréquente du pronom de la 3<sup>e</sup> personne pluriel (masculin et féminin), est /øz/, cette distinction s'exprime plutôt par la différence de pronom: /ifini/ vs /øzfini/. Dans les parlers acadiens, au contraire, les désinences du pluriel se maintiennent. Voici, par exemple, les formes du verbe 'sauter':

|                     |                                           |        |                     |                    |                     |          |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|
| (6)                 | St. Thomas<br>Vieille Mine<br>Frenchville | Acadie | Vouvant<br>(Vendée) | Marais             | Ranrupt<br>(Vosges) |          |
| <u>Present Ind.</u> |                                           |        |                     |                    |                     |          |
| Sg. 1               | sot                                       | sot    | sot                 | sot                | sot                 |          |
| 2                   | ↓                                         | ↓      | ↓                   | ↓                  | ↓                   |          |
| 3                   |                                           |        |                     |                    |                     |          |
| Pl. 1               |                                           | sotõ   | sotõ                | sota <sup>h</sup>  | sotõ                |          |
| 2                   | ↓                                         | sote   | sote                | sote <sup>i</sup>  | soti                |          |
| 3                   |                                           | sotõ   | sotõ                | sotãt              | sotõ                |          |
| <u>Imparfait</u>    |                                           |        |                     |                    |                     |          |
| Sg. 1               | sote                                      | sote   | sote                | sote <sup>i</sup>  | sotej               | soti:n   |
| 2                   | ↓                                         | sote   | sote                | sote <sup>i</sup>  | ↓                   | ↓        |
| 3                   |                                           | sote   | sote                | sotet              |                     |          |
| Pl. 1               |                                           | sotjõ  | sotjõ               | sotja <sup>h</sup> | sotj:r              | sotinj:r |
| 2                   | ↓                                         | sotje  | sotje               | sotje <sup>i</sup> | ↓                   | ↓        |
| 3                   |                                           | sotjõ  | sotjõ               | sotjãt             |                     |          |
| <u>Futur</u>        |                                           |        |                     |                    |                     |          |
| Sg. 1               | (sotre)                                   | sotre  | sotre               | sotra <sup>i</sup> | sotrei              |          |
| Sg. 2               | ↓                                         | sotra  | sotra               | sotra              | sotre               |          |
| Sg. 3               |                                           | sotra  | sotra               | sotrat             | sotre               |          |
| Pl. 1               |                                           | sotrõ  | sotrõ               | sotra <sup>h</sup> | sotrõ               |          |
| Pl. 2               | ↓                                         | sotre  | sotre               | sotre <sup>i</sup> | sotrã               |          |
| Pl. 3               |                                           | sotrõ  | sotrõ               | sotrãt             | sotrõ               |          |

On notera au tableau (6) la frappante identité de forme entre l'acadien et le parler poitevin de Vouvant (Vendée). On serait tenté d'en conclure à une origine poitevine localisée des parlers acadiens si le même type de système--désinence zéro au singulier et radical plus suffixe--ne se retrouvait aussi dans d'autres parlers oïl, y compris le patois vosgien de Ranrupt. Ce dernier parler partage avec l'acadien et le parler de Vouvant l'identité de forme entre la 1ère et la 3e personne du pluriel. Deux types de schémas se manifestent dans le paradigme du présent de l'indicatif du verbe français. L'un, représenté par la plupart des dialectes oïl et l'acadien marquent la différence entre les personnes du singulier et celles du pluriel principalement par la flexion verbale, les pronoms personnels tendant à être identiques, voir (13) ci-dessous. Dans l'autre schéma, le verbe est réduit à une forme unique, et le pronom personnel porte seul la marque de personne. Ce système se retrouve non seulement dans les isolats francophones et dans les parlers québécois et louisianais mais aussi, en puissance, en FSt. En effet, dans son étude sur le français populaire du début de ce siècle, H. Bauche déclarait (1951:101-2).

En somme, dans bien des cas, la flexion ayant disparu du langage parlé, le pronom seul indique, à l'ouïe, la personne. Il est possible qu'un jour, dans le français parlé, si on le laisse évoluer librement et s'écarter du français traditionnel écrit, la flexion terminale soit plus ou moins complètement remplacée par un préfixe ou une préflexion qui ne serait que le pronom, plus ou moins élide et faisant corps avec le verbe.

Dans les isolats francophones la réduction des flexions personnelles caractérise le système verbal entier. Excepté pour le présent de l'indicatif, les temps fléchis tendent à être remplacés par des tournures périphrastiques. Ces procédés syntaxiques offrent au locuteur la possibilité d'exprimer une gamme de modalités aspecto-temporelles aussi riche qu'en FSt. En fait, dans le parler de St. Thomas ce système contient un plus grand nombre de possibilités d'expression de l'aspect que le FSt. Les Carénageois possèdent une tournure consistant en l'emploi de l'auxiliaire être (/dɛt/) et l'enchâssement du verbe principal:

(7)

|                 |                                                                |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| T e ki vɛj.     | 'Tu es en train de regarder.'                                  |
| T ɛte ki vɛje.  | 'Tu étais en train de regarder.'                               |
| Te ki va l fɛr. | 'Tu es sur le point de le faire;<br>Tu t'apprêtes à le faire.' |

A la Vieille Mine l'imparfait s'exprime par la locution avoir coutume de, et l'emploi de la construction avoir plus l'infinitif sert dans les trois parlers à exprimer le futur.

Nous n'avons pas de données précises sur la fréquence d'emploi de tournures périphrastiques en Acadie, mais ce mode d'expression des catégories aspecto-temporelles est bien attesté dans les trois parlers où nous avons retenus. Des structures analogues à celle du Carénage se retrouve à Vouvant:

(8)

I se apre tira le vaš. 'Il est en train de traire les vaches.'

J e ete a kjaersa. 'Il était en train d'éclaircir...'

Kāt toe vēdra i sre apre māža. 'Quand tu viendras il sera en train de manger.'

Ce parler possède aussi un futur immédiat (i va partir) et deux tournures pour exprimer le passé immédiat: loe vē d partir; loe rēk partir. A Ranrupt, le progressif s'exprime par être de train de. Parmi les autres expressions aspectuelles syntaxiques l'on note, outre avoir fini de (/ε:tp̄ra de/), être sur le point de (/ε:t pra pu/), venir de (/vni de/), avoir failli de (/avu pr̄k/), quatre alternatives périphrastiques pour l'impératif:

(9)

Te pu ε:t trāk̃il. 'Sois sage.'

Te vε ε:t trāk̃il.

Te ta:šre ε:t trāk̃il.

Te sre ε:t trāk̃il.

L'acadien se révèle plus conservateur que ses congénères nord-américains par la préservation de traits morphologiques et syntaxiques dans le système verbal. L'emploi du présent du subjonctif semble y être plus vivace que dans les isolats, et l'on y trouve l'usage de l'imparfait du subjonctif:

(10)

Fali ž̃ disí. 'Il fallait que je dise.'

Sā ki dmādir ž̃ sorte. 'Je sortais sans qu'ils le demandassent.'

On note aussi en Acadie une opposition accompli/non-accomplì au passé composé:

- (11)
- |              |     |              |
|--------------|-----|--------------|
| Al a desady. | vs. | Al e desãdy. |
| Il a muri.   | vs. | Il e mor.    |

qui rappelle la même distinction attestée à Vouvant:

- (12)
- |                                 |                               |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| L e pase ol a d $\emptyset$ zã. | 'Il est mort à deux ans.'     |
| vs. L a pase dẽ sɛl ku.         | 'Il est mort d'un seul coup.' |

et l'opposition d'un imparfait proche à un imparfait distant à Ranrupt:  
/sotɛj/ vs. /soto:r/.

4.2. Le système pronominal. Le système des pronoms sujet de l'acadien corespond grosso modo à celui des isolats des Etats-Unis et se différencie nettement de ceux des dialectes de la zone centre-ouest. Dans ces derniers on observe une forme unique pour le singulier et le pluriel à la première et à la troisième personne. L'acadien a conservé cette forme unique à la première personne, bien qu'elle se réalise par /žə/ plutôt que par /i/. La nature "avancée" des parlers du Nouveau Monde se manifeste par la perte de distinction de genre à la troisième personne du pluriel:

(13)

|   |        | <u>Isolats</u> |       |       |        |         |                   |         |
|---|--------|----------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------------------|---------|
|   |        | ST             | VM    | FV    | Acadie | Vouvant | Marais<br>Vendien | Ranrupt |
| 1 | Sg.    | žə             | žə    | žə    | žə     | i       | i                 | ž/h     |
|   | Pl.    | õn             | õn    | õn    | žə     | i       | i                 | ž/h     |
| 3 | m.     | il             | il    | il    | il     | lə      | lə                | il      |
|   | Sg. f. | al             | al/ɛl | ɛl    | al     | al      | al                | ɛl      |
|   | neutre | --             | --    | --    | --     | ol      | ol                | --      |
|   | Pl. m. |                |       |       |        | lə      | lə                | il      |
|   |        | øl             | il    | øz    | il/iz  |         |                   |         |
|   | f.     |                |       |       |        | al      | al                | ɛl      |
| 2 | Sg.    | ty             | ty    | ty    | ty     | t       | t                 | t       |
|   | Pl.    | vuzɔt          | vuzɔt | vuzɔt | vuz    | vəz     | vuz               | voz     |
|   | Formel | vuz            | vuz   | vuz   | vuz    | vəz     | vuz               | voz     |

On notera au tableau (13) l'emploi de /vuzɔt/ pour la deuxième personne du pluriel dans les trois isolats. L'élément /zɔt/ y constitue la marque du pluriel pour les pronoms toniques /nuzɔt/, /vuzɔt/, /ɔzɔt/. Ce trait correspond à la forme renforcée des pronoms toniques à Vouvant et au Marais Vendéen: /atoernu/, /atoervu/, /atrø/ ou /ãtroezø/, /atrɛl/ ou /ãtroezɛl/ et a été relevé, précédant le pronom sujet, par Bauche dans le français populaire:

(14) Nous aut' on s'en fout.

Et nous avons nous même noté chez un locuteur méridional:

(15) Il faut le dire à eux-autres /ɔzɔt/.

Il est fort probable que ces formes en /zɔt/, que nous ne retrouvons citées ni par Massignon ni par Péronnet, sont en usage dans certains parlers acadiens.

La réduction des catégories sémantico-syntaxiques pronominales par rapport à celle des parlers régionaux oïl, plus nombreuses soit dit en passant dans ces dialectes qu'en FSt, a progressé beaucoup plus loin dans les isolats francophones des Etats-Unis qu'en Acadie. Ainsi le nombre des formes de la troisième personne du singulier est-il réduit à la Vieille Mine par la substitution des syntagmes prépositionnels à pronom tonique pour les pronoms atones complément d'objet direct:

(16) M a mǎže li. 'Je vais le manger.'

ou indirect:

(17) I di a li. 'Il lui dit (à lui).'

I di a hɛl. 'Il lui dit (à elle).'

Dɔn sa a zɔt. 'Donne-leur ça.'

Enfin un autre trait généralement distribué dans les trois isolats est l'emploi de se comme pronom réfléchi pour toutes les personnes:

(18) Si vu sǎnɥi. 'Si vous vous ennuyez.'

Vu s pɔrt bjẽ. 'Vous vous portez bien.'

Žə se trôpe. 'Je me suis trompé.'

Nu s ãnalõ. 'Nous nous en allons.'

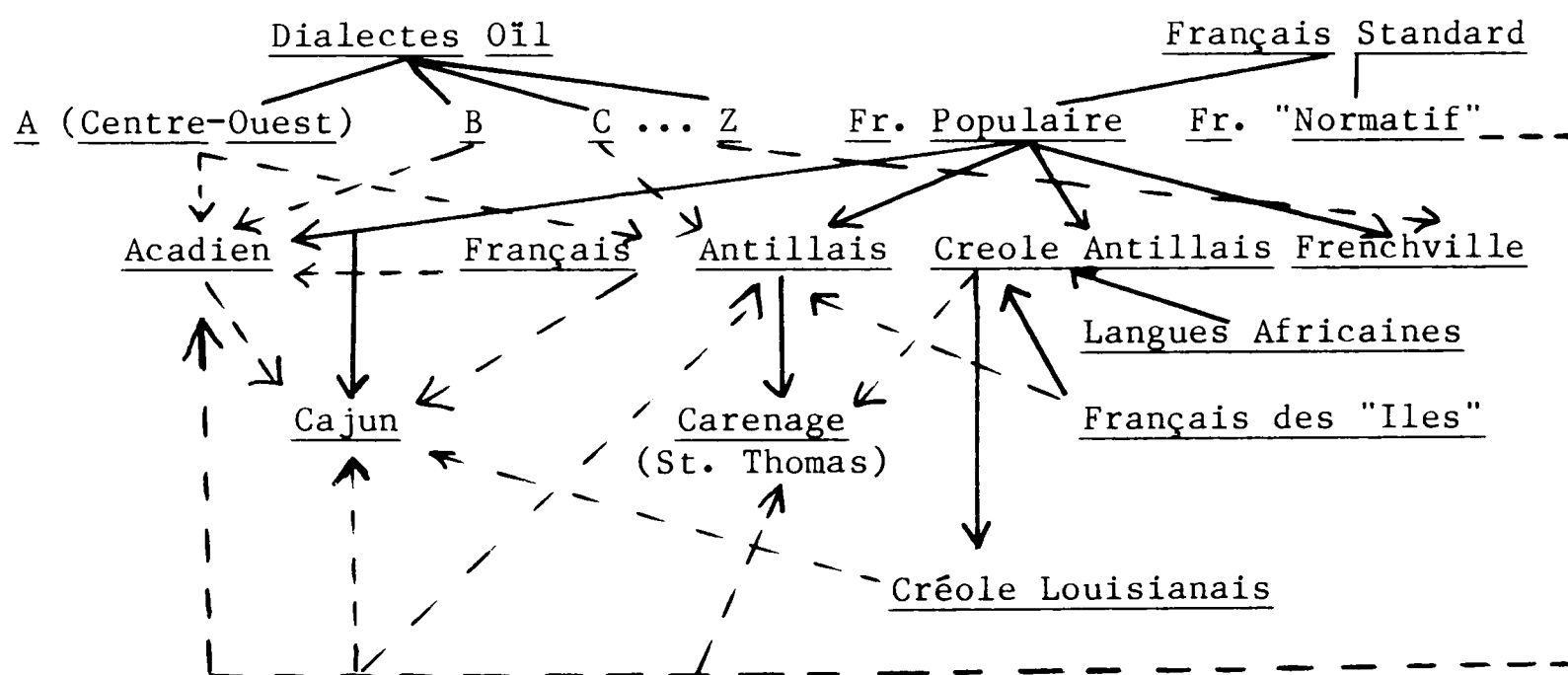
5. Conclusion. La comparaison rapide et, évidemment, superficielle que nous avons entreprise ici révèle, d'une part, des similitudes morphosyntaxiques frappantes entre les divers parlers français d'Amérique examinés (ces similitudes s'étendent aux parlers louisianais et franco-canadiens et, d'autre part, des particularismes de l'acadien par rapport aux parlers de trois isolats francophones situés aux Etats-Unis et aux Antilles. Nous avons vu que ces particularismes reflètent des traits conservateurs qui, toutefois, ne peuvent être totalement reliés à un parler oïl particulier. Les convergences que nous avons identifiées ne peuvent s'expliquer par une origine commune puisque les variétés régionales oïl dont sont issus les parlers vernaculaires américains examinés sont géographiquement distantes et, du reste, elles se situent sur des plans diachroniques distincts. En effet, si certains des descendants des communautés du Carénage, de l'Acadie et de la Vieille Mine provenaient des provinces de l'ouest de la France et avaient immigré à partir du dix-septième siècle, les fondateurs de Frenchville provenaient de l'Est de la France et ne s'étaient établis au Nouveau Monde que vers le milieu du dix-neuvième siècle.

Les innovations que partagent les parlers français d'Amérique et par lesquelles elles se démarquent des patois oïl caractérisent aussi la variété de français dénommée "français populaire" ou "français avancé". Il s'agit en fait de traits qui se retrouvent dans le discours familier des locuteurs de FSt et dont la fréquence augmente au fur et à mesure que l'on descend l'échelle sociale. Pour expliquer les similitudes que révèlent les vernaculaires d'Amérique, certains auteurs ont postulé l'existence d'une koiné nautique formée dans les ports desservant la Nouvelle France, les Antilles et les Mascareignes. Cet idiome aurait été une sorte d'amalgame contenant les traits linguistiques communs aux variétés populaires en usage dans l'ouest de la France. Mais nous avons démontré que les similitudes structurales observées dans les vernaculaires nord-américains ne provenaient pas des patois oïl de l'ouest de la France et, qu'au contraire, ils reflétaient davantage la structure du FSt. Par ailleurs, il n'existe aucuns documents historiques authentifiant cette koiné nautique ou coloniale hypothétique.

Il n'est donc pas sûr que les parlers français d'Amérique aient à leur base une variété particulière en usage dans la métropole et importée par les colons. Pour expliquer aussi bien les similitudes et les particularismes des vernaculaires d'Amérique nous optons pour l'opinion émise par I. Vintilă-Rădulescu (1970) et M. Carayol et R. Chaudenson (1973). Selon ces auteurs, la nature "avancée" des variétés de français d'outre-mer (y compris le créole) s'expliquerait par leur isolation du FSt. L'absence de la norme littéraire et du poids des institutions dont la nature est de codifier et de diffuser cette norme a permis l'accélération et le libre développement dans ces parlers de tendances déjà présentes en métropole. Parmi ces tendances évolutives les plus marquantes sont le remplacement de la flexion par des tours périphrastiques, c'est-à-dire, une orientation analytique plutôt que synthétique, qui a provoqué une restructuration globale du système verbal. Notons que dans le cas du système verbal il ne s'agit pas de l'émergence de procédés structuraux nouveaux. Plutôt, le changement consiste en la préférence donnée aux tournures périphrastiques qui,

dans les parlers populaires métropolitains, concurrençaient les temps fléchis. Il est fort probable que la situation de contact linguistique qui existait dans les ports, sur les navires et dans les établissements coloniaux a servi d'élément catalytique. Dans ce type de situation ne sont retenues que les structures qui facilitent l'encodage et le décodage de la part d'interlocuteurs multilingues et, du moins, multidialectaux: donc, préférence donnée aux procédés analytiques; fréquence accrue des tours emphatiques; réduction des alternances morpho-phonologiques, etc. La restructuration résultant de cette situation de contact aurait vu son aboutissement le plus complexe dans les parlers franco-créoles grâce au concours de certaines conditions ethnologiques et sociologiques spéciales de l'univers plantocratique et à une plus grande diversité linguistique. Dans le cas des isolats, où--à part la Vieille Mine dont la population consiste en plusieurs strates diachroniques--les fondateurs étaient démographiquement homogènes, il faudrait ajouter à ces facteurs le dépérissement de l'idiome face à la langue dominante (Dorian 1978). Dans ce type de situation les locuteurs sont forcés de faire appel à la langue dominante pour combler les lacunes lexicales résultant, non seulement des insuffisances du vernaculaire face au changement technologique et à sa position d'infériorité face à la langue dominante, mais aussi de l'oubli.

Pour conclure, nous proposons le modèle suivant pour tenir compte des liens entre les vernaculaires d'Amérique et les variétés métropolitaines de français:



#### Les sources des parlers français d'outre-mer

Les lignes continues fléchées représentent les sources principales; les lignes brisées, les sources secondaires. Les lettres A, B, C, etc. représentent des variétés régionales oïl particulières. Les influences secondaires indiquées ne sont qu'illustratives, de nombreuses influences secondaires directes et latérales devant être postulées.

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# A RE-EXAMINATION OF HARRIS'S SYNTACTIC THEORY:

## CONSTRAINTS ON TRANSFORMATIONS<sup>1</sup>

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1. Introduction. Zellig Harris's pioneering work has played an important role in the development of linguistics in this century. His descriptive studies have been highly influential, as has his development of both string analysis and transformational theory. With the advent of generative transformational grammar, much of importance in Harris's work was lost sight of. More recently, however, with an increasing sensitivity to its intellectual antecedents, linguistics has begun to rediscover Harris and to find that many of the syntactic "innovations" claimed by generative grammarians were overtly present in Harris's earlier work (Prideaux 1971). A couple of examples will serve to illustrate the point. In his 1955 presidential address to the LSA, Harris raised the issue of whether transformations (or a subset of them) should be meaning preserving, yet no reference of any sort is made to Harris in Katz and Postal 1964, where the meaning preservation hypothesis is also advanced. In the same paper, Harris proposed that prenominal adjectives be derived from full copula sentences containing the adjective in the predicate, that possessive structures be derived from full copula sentences containing the adjective in the predicate, that possessive structures be derived from full sentences containing have, and that wh and pro forms be included in a grammatical description. Yet in her paper on "Determiners and relative clauses in a generative grammar of English," Carlotta Smith (1964) failed to mention Harris either in the body of the paper or in the references, even though several of her proposals mirror those of Harris. Ignoring the history of one's discipline might be excused under some conditions, but it hardly seems excusable when we remember that the 1955 presidential address was later published in Language (Harris 1957), and that Harris was one of the world's foremost linguists. More recently, however, with some mellowing and more attention being paid to our intellectual progenitors, it is becoming more widely recognized that many of Harris's insights were indeed profound, regardless of the particular theory or version of a theory that one might espouse (cf. Kac 1973).

The purpose of the present paper is to examine another of Harris's insights, namely that an important class of transformations (Harrisian transformations, of course,) preserve grammatical structure and semantic information in an important way. Harris's notion of the kernel serves a far more important role than simply being the set of basic, "normalized" syntactic forms from which other, more complex sentences are derived. Specifically, Harris's kernel also provides a set of syntactic and semantic constraints on transformations and delimits just what sentential forms are allowable in a given language. Before the particulars of this

claim can be explored, however, it is useful to review briefly just what Harris's conception of a grammar involves.

2. Harris's Transformational Model. In numerous papers dealing with transformational theory and discourse analysis, Harris has presented a detailed transformational approach to linguistic structure. All of Harris's works referenced here are collected and reprinted in Harris 1970, to which all page references are made. Although details vary slightly depending on the source cited, his basic view is as follows. A grammar--the linguistic description of a language--can be formally represented as consisting of a kernel of basic syntactic forms, plus a set of transformations which operate on either the kernel structures or on structures derived from the kernel. The kernel is a very small set of structures which, according to Harris, are selected on the basis of overall descriptive simplicity. In fact, the kernel corresponds more or less to what Harris's predecessors often called basic sentence types. The kernel for English, taken from Harris (1964), is represented below, with Harris's notation to the left. To the right, the structures are recast in the more familiar constituent structure notation, where X represents a possibly null variable ranging over optional PPs.

| <u>Harris's Notation</u> | <u>Kernel</u>  | <u>Constituent Structure Notation</u> |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| N t V                    | K <sub>1</sub> | NP AUX V X                            |
| N t V N                  | K <sub>2</sub> | NP AUX V NP X                         |
| N t V P N                | K <sub>3</sub> | NP AUX V PP X                         |
| N t V N P N              | K <sub>4</sub> | NP AUX V NP PP X                      |
| N t V N N                | K <sub>5</sub> | NP AUX V NP NP X                      |
| N t <u>be</u> N          | K <sub>6</sub> | NP AUX <u>be</u> NP X                 |
| N t <u>be</u> P N        | K <sub>7</sub> | NP AUX <u>be</u> AP X                 |
| N t <u>be</u> De         | K <sub>9</sub> | NP AUX <u>be</u> Adv X                |

In addition to these nine kernel structures, Harris at times includes two more: it-structures, as in It rained and there-structures, as in There is hope. Following Harris 1956, we shall not treat these two problematical sentence forms as kernels since the former can be subsumed under the already existing K<sub>1</sub> and the latter can be given a transformational treatment, as Harris does elsewhere. Each of the kernel types is labelled here merely for convenience of reference. The subscripts on the verbs are, of course, indications of specific subclasses, and the particular

details of determiners are ignored. Since Harris's notation is not widely known or used, the more familiar constituent structure notation will be employed throughout this paper.

It is useful to pause at this point and notice that given the kernel for English, it is a short step to reformulate the entire set in terms of phrase structure rules. Once higher level categories such as VP and PRED are introduced and once abbreviatory devices such as parentheses and curly braces are permitted, the kernel can be represented by the following simple set of phrase structure rules:

$$S \rightarrow NP \quad VP$$

$$VP \rightarrow AUX \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V(NP) ( \{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ PP \end{array} \} ) \\ \underline{be} \quad PRED \end{array} \right\}$$

$$PRED \rightarrow AP, NP, PP, Adv$$

It appears that Chomsky 1957 took just this step and converted Harris's kernel set into a generative component of phrase structure rules. But that little episode is beside the point of the present paper, even though it does illustrate in an interesting way the transition from Harris's approach to syntax to Chomsky's.

In describing the nature of the kernel, Harris noted:

Those constructional features of grammar which are well known from descriptive linguistics are in general limited to the kernel. In the kernel, the constructions are built up as concatenations of various included constructions, down to morpheme classes; various classes or sequences of classes (and their members) are substitutable for each other in particular positions of those constructions (1970:447).

Harris realized, or course, that the specification of the kernel alone was quite inadequate for the description of a language. While describing the basic sentence types of a language, the kernel itself by no means exhausts the totality of syntactic forms, and, even more importantly, it does not provide any means for representing relationships among grammatical structures. To remedy this inadequacy, Harris introduced the notion of grammatical transformation. While the kernel represents the basic constructional types for sentences in a language,

Transformations cannot be viewed as a continuation of this constructional process. They are based on a new relation, which satisfies the conditions for being an equivalence relation and which does not occur in descriptive linguistics (1970:447-448).

Thus, for Harris, transformations "...can be viewed as an equivalence relation among sentences or certain constituents of sentences" (1970:384).

Transformations are classified as either unary or binary (1970:540-546). Unary transformations are rules which either pair one sentence form with another sentence form (such as the PASSIVE or CLEFT transformations) or which pair one sentence form with a constituent (usually a NP), such as various types of nominalizations. Binary transformations are rules which serve to combine two sentences in various ways: some involve the embedding of (part of) a full sentence into another sentence, as in the derivation of nominal modifiers from full sentences, while others combine two sentences into a single sentence, as in conjunction and subordination. By and large, Harris treats the unary transformations as bidirectional. That is, each such rule defines an equivalence class such that if one member of the class is well-formed, then so is the other member. He seems not to view such unary transformations as taking one member of the pair as basic in principle, although in practice he seems to view the unary transformations as mapping kernel structures into non-kernel structures. The binary rules are generally unidirectional. It should be noted also that Harris did not employ the notion of transformation to account for such grammatical phenomena as subject-verb agreement, verbal suffixation, or nominalization affixation. Rather, he handled these phenomena by the use of morphological analysis, sometimes employing discontinuous morphemes, so that the morphology appears to be a kind of overlay on top of the syntactic structures.

In what follows, attention will be directed exclusively to unary transformations, and more specifically to those unary transformations which pair sentence forms with other sentence forms.

We shall ignore binary transformations altogether, as well as those unary transformations which convert a sentence into a sentential constituent which is less than a full sentence. Thus, only rules of the form  $S_i \leftrightarrow S_j$  shall be considered here.

3. Unary Sentential Transformations. Unary sentential transformations pair one sentential form with another, and Harris spent considerable effort in formulating such rules for English. When these rules are viewed in derivational terms, a given sentence form is, under the application of a particular transformation, converted into another, derived, sentence form. Such a way of viewing transformations is familiar from the practice of the generative grammarians who succeeded Harris. However, there is an important difference between Harris's notion of derivation and Chomsky's. For Harris, both the input and the output of such transformations are sentences, while in generative transforma-

tional theory the input to a transformation is an abstract syntactic representation which does not flesh out into a fully developed sentence until all the transformations have applied and the structure surfaces. This distinction is important, and ignoring it has led to considerable confusion in the understanding of both theories. When the unary sentential transformations are understood in Harris's derivational sense, for example, a full active sentence is converted into a passive sentence under the operation of the PASSIVE transformation. The unary rules can also be viewed as a means for extending the syntactic types of a language beyond the kernel set, and there is some indication that Harris views the unary rules in just that way--as a means for expanding the syntactic types by taking the kernel as input and deriving other sentential forms by application of the unaries.

In order to move from this fairly general discussion to a more detailed analysis, it is necessary to examine some of Harris's rules. The basic  $S_i \leftrightarrow S_j$  unary transformations, the original formulation for which can be found in Harris's 1956 paper "Introduction to transformations," are discussed below. Both Harris's notation and the more familiar constituent structure notation are provided for each rule, as was done with the kernel set discussed above.

The best known and essentially archetypical rule in all theories of transformational grammar is PASSIVE, which Harris formulated as follows:

$$N_1 \text{ t V } N_2 \leftrightarrow N_2 \text{ t } \underline{\text{be}} \underline{\text{Ven}} \underline{\text{by}} N_1$$

where t represents the tense or tense plus auxiliary such as will, can, etc. When formulated in constituent structure terms, PASSIVE is roughly:

$$NP_1 \text{ AUX V } NP_2 \leftrightarrow NP_2 \text{ AUX } \underline{\text{be}} \underline{\text{Ven}} \underline{\text{by}} NP_1$$

This rule, like all those to be discussed below, is bidirectional, which means that if a particular passive (or active) sentence is well-formed, then its corresponding active (or passive) is also well-formed.

Harris also treated sentences with the existential there as derived by transformation. His formulation of THERE FORMATION is:

$$N \text{ t V } \leftrightarrow \underline{\text{there}} \text{ t V } N$$

This rule is designed to account for such pairings as A girl appeared  $\leftrightarrow$  There appeared a girl. However, as is well-known, THERE FORMATION is notoriously difficult to formulate within any theory. Recast, in constituent structure terms, the rule can be stated as:

$$NP \text{ AUX V } X \leftrightarrow [\underline{\text{there}}] \text{ AUX V } NP \text{ X}$$

NP

Again, the rule must be constrained such that the NP is indefinite and the verb is either be or one of a small set of verbs including appear, seem, and the like.

A third unary rule is DATIVE MOVEMENT which Harris formulates as:

$$N_1 \text{ t Vg } N_2 \text{ P } N_3 \leftrightarrow N_1 \text{ t Vg } N_3 \text{ } N_2$$

where the class Vg contains such double object verbs as give and show. Reformulated in constituent structure terms, the rule is:

$$NP_1 \text{ AUX V } NP_2 \text{ P } NP_3 \leftrightarrow NP_1 \text{ AUX V } NP_3 \text{ } NP_2$$

and of course the rule must also be constrained such that it applies only in the case of the double object verbs, and the preposition must be either to or for.

The transformations which have come to be known as CLEFT FORMATION and REVERSE PSEUDOCLEFT FORMATION were also included among the unary rules. Harris ignored PSEUDOCLEFT FORMATION, but we shall formulate it later, in the spirit of Harris's approach. His treatment of CLEFT FORMATION required two different rules, one for subject clefting, which would pair such sentences as He saw the supervisors  $\leftrightarrow$  It was he who saw the supervisors, and another for direct object clefting, to handle such pairs as He saw the supervisors --- It was the supervisors whom he saw. His subject clefting formulation is:

$$N_1 \text{ t V } N_2 \leftrightarrow \text{it t be } N_1 \text{ wh-pro-} N_1 \text{ t V } N_2$$

where wh-pro- $N_1$  is the wh-form of  $N_1$ . His formation of object clefting is similar:

$$N_1 \text{ t V } N_2 \leftrightarrow \text{It t be } N_2 \text{ wh-pro-} N_2 \text{ } N_1 \text{ t V.}$$

Harris realized that the two rules could be generalized, and he introduced notation S which stood for the entire clause following the wh-form, but minus the relativized noun. Of course, clefting, like pseudoclefting and reverse pseudoclefting, can be carried out on almost any NP in a sentence. A generalized statement of the rule, in constituent structure terms, is:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} [ X \text{ } NP_1 \text{ } Y ] & \leftrightarrow & [ \text{it} ] \text{ AUX be } NP_1 [ \text{wh-pro-} NP_1 \text{ } X \text{ } Y ] \\ S & & \text{NP} \quad S \end{array}$$

and in fact, the  $NP_1$  and the following clause on the right-hand side of the rule can also be bracketed together as a NP, yielding a formulation of the rule as:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} [ X \text{ } NP_1 \text{ } Y ] & \leftrightarrow & [ \text{it} ] \text{ AUX be } [ NP_1 [ \text{wh-pro-} NP_1 \text{ } X \text{ } Y ] ] \\ S & & \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \quad S \end{array}$$

Such a formulation will account for clefting on the subject and object NPs as well as on the indirect object NP. The use of labelled bracketing simplifies the formulation of such rules greatly and at the same time allows them to be given in a very general form when variables are exploited.

Harris formulated REVERSE PSEUDOCLEFT FORMATION only for the direct object NP, accounting for such pairs as They sought fame  $\leftrightarrow$  Fame is what they sought. The formulation given by Harris for this rule is:

$$N_1 \text{ t V } N_2 \leftrightarrow N_2 \text{ is wh-pro-}N_2 \text{ } N_1 \text{ t V}$$

A reformulation of this rule in our notation, again generalized to all NPs in a given sentence, is:

$$\begin{array}{c} [X \text{ NP}_1 \text{ Y}] \text{ --- NP}_1 \text{ AUX be } [( \text{pro-NP}_1 ) [ \text{wh-pro-NP}_1 \text{ X Y} ] \\ \text{S} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{S} \end{array}$$

where pro-NP<sub>1</sub> is the optional pro-form for a NP, such as the one, the place, the thing, etc. Such a formulation accounts for reverse pseudoclefting on all NPs; for example, it can relate the following pair of sentences, where reverse pseudoclefting is carried out on the indirect object NP: Sam gave the book to Fred --- Fred was the one whom Sam gave the book to.

Finally, even though Harris did not formulate a rule of PSEUDOCLEFT FORMATION, one can be readily constructed which parallels the REVERSE PSEUDOCLEFT rule:

$$\begin{array}{c} [X \text{ NP}_1 \text{ Y}] \leftrightarrow ( \text{pro-NP}_1 ) [ \text{wh-pro-NP}_1 \text{ X Y} ] \text{ AUX be NP}_1 \\ \text{S} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{S} \end{array}$$

Such a rule accounts for pseudoclefting on all NPs in a given sentence, and will relate the following pair, for example, where pseudoclefting is done on the indirect object: Sam gave the book to Fred  $\leftrightarrow$  The one whom Sam gave the book to was Fred. It is interesting to notice, as many linguists have done, that the pseudocleft and the reverse pseudocleft forms can also be directly related to each other by a simple rule of pivoting the two matrix NPs around the copula. Thus, while there exists a transformational relation between simple sentences and the pseudocleft and reverse pseudocleft forms, there also exists a direct transformational relation between these two members of the cleft family.

Once these unary transformations are represented in terms of hierarchical constituent structure, an interesting fact emerges: the right-hand side of each rule is in fact a kernel structure. To demonstrate this, let us consider each of the above rules, starting with PASSIVE. The left-hand side of PASSIVE is clearly a kernel structure, namely K<sub>2</sub>, while the right-hand side is of the form NP AUX be Ven by NP. However, once it is remembered that Harris treats affixation morphologically, the above structure

reduces to the form NP AUX V P NP, which is a case of kernel type K<sub>3</sub>. Thus, PASSIVE does not convert a kernel structure into a non-kernel structure, but rather maps one kernel form onto another kernel form.

The rule of THERE FORMATION is a similar case; the left-hand side of the rule is a kernel structure, while the right-hand side satisfies K<sub>6</sub> when the verb is be and satisfies K<sub>2</sub> when V is some other verb. The rule of DATIVE MOVEMENT likewise maps one kernel type into another, since the right-hand side of this rule corresponds to K<sub>4</sub>. These three rules therefore do not expand the available syntactic structures for English but rather convert one kernel form into another.

Turning to the cleft family of rules, we notice that all share certain properties. First, any of the clefting rules can be applied to just about any NP in a simplex sentence. Consequently, the left-hand side of each of these rules, when stated in the most general form, simply selects an arbitrary NP in a simplex sentence and pairs that sentence with another structure in which the selected NP is placed in prominence. The specific manner of highlighting or focusing the selected NP is of course a function of the individual rule. Secondly, the right-hand side of each of these rules is quite complex, involving two clauses, with one embedded within another much in the manner of a relative clause embedding. However, if we direct attention to the main or upper clause, we notice in each case that it fits the general structure of kernel type K<sub>6</sub>, the copula structures, linking two NPs. However, for each of these cleft structures, one or the other of the higher level NPs is syntactically complex, involving as it does an embedding. There thus appears to be a kind of trade-off in terms of syntactic complexity at work here; the main clause structure is of a simple sort, but this simplicity seems to be compensated for by the syntactic complexity in one or the other of the NPs. Nevertheless, each member of the cleft family of transformations, like the other unary rules discussed above, actually maps sentences back into kernel structures. Furthermore, if the two nominalization rules which Harris included among his unary transformations are closely examined, exactly the same result is found. The generalization to be drawn about unary transformations is that each such rule pairs one kernel structure with another kernel structure. Put another way, the kernel, which was originally selected in terms of overall descriptive simplicity, also functions as a powerful constraint on transformations. Such a "structure-preservation" constraint predates the work of Emonds (1970, 1976) by many years.

A second interesting generalization also emerges from a close examination of the unary transformations: they are all meaning-preserving in the sense that the logical relations such as subject-of and object-of are maintained under transformation. The only real kind of semantic change involved in the unary transformations is of a change in emphasis, highlighting, or focus,

call it what you will. For example, the REVERSE PSEUDOCLEFT transformation operating on the direct object NP of Sam gave the book to Fred yields The book was what Sam gave to Fred. In both (semantic donor), logical direct object (semantic patient), and logical indirect object (semantic recipient) are maintained. The only semantic difference in the two forms of the sentence is that in the reverse pseudocleft form, the NP the book is placed in prominence. In fact, in one place, Harris (1964) actually formulates rules in terms of grammatical relations.

In summary, the unary transformations are syntactically constrained by the form of the kernel, and the kinds of semantic changes permitted by such rules are also tightly constrained. Consequently, the concept of the kernel has important implications extending well beyond its original motivation as the set of basic or normalized sentence types for a language.

4. Conclusions and Implications. The conclusions drawn here concerning the importance of the kernel in Harris's theory of grammar are more important, I feel, than mere historical observations about a relatively neglected linguistic theory. The reason is that a number of general trends and concerns in current linguistic theorizing focus on much the same issues as those discussed above.

For example, over the past several years, there has been a persistent concern for establishing some means to limit the expressive power of transformations and for discovering viable general conditions on the form of transformations. A second, superficially unrelated, issue is the recent emergence of trace theory which has even led to the proposal that all semantic information be read off the surface (e.g., Chomsky 1975; Chomsky & Lasnik 1977). A third area of contemporary interest centers on the importance of grammatical relations grammar (cf. Cole & Saddock 1977). These three general research areas all seem to converge in Harris's notion of grammar. The importance accorded to surface structure, to conditions and constraints on transformations, to structure preservation, and to grammatical relations all converge under the aegis of a single theoretical framework. It seems to me that the theory of transformational grammar as developed originally by Harris and modified over the years is a natural place to bring these different concerns together.

Finally, an entirely different area of linguistic research can also benefit from the view of grammar developed by Harris. Here I am referring to the sentence comprehension studies as carried out in experimental psycholinguistics. For example, much of the work of Bever 1970; Fodor, Bever & Garrett 1974, and others dealing with so-called "perceptual strategies" seems to cry out for some sort of coherent syntactic theory, as do the many studies dealing with the perceptual complexity of clausal structures and

syntactic closure. In fact, a great deal of psycholinguistic research yields up vast arrays of data but often invokes an utterly implausible or obsolete view of linguistic theory, as found, for example, in the continual resurrection of the derivational theory of complexity as an interpretation of generative grammars. More recently, however, functionally oriented grammars seem to be moving in new directions, incorporating functional notions while at the same time attempting to hug the syntactic surface (cf. Prideaux 1979).

In summary, I suggest that within linguistic theory the issues of the centrality of surface structure, grammatical relations, and tight constraints on rules can all be seen to converge in the kind of theory developed by Harris. Furthermore, his theory provides a more constrained set of options for interpreting experimental results than does any version of generative grammar currently available. This is not to say that Harris's work is perfected, but at least it provides, to my mind at least, a valuable starting place, and one not laden with elusive abstract structures and pseudo-issues of innateness.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. An earlier version of the paper was read at the annual meeting of the Alberta Conference on Language, Banff, Alberta, October, 1977.

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## BILINGUAL INTERFERENCE AND MODES OF REPRESENTATION

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Translators have long wondered why it is easier for a rich man to enter Heaven than for a bilingual to eliminate native features from his second language. Though attention to this problem has traditionally been normative rather than descriptive, by the end of the eighteenth century there had come into being an important body of linguistic doctrine pertaining to translation and contrastive rhetoric. This eighteenth-century rhetorical tradition gave way to the theories of the German Romantic circle, who postulated that each language had its peculiar modes of representation. Both eighteenth-century and Romantic streams of theory reappear in Stylistique comparée (Vinay and Darbelnet), which, in spite of its success as a linguistics of translation, has had little effect on interference theory.

Its basic concept, which, though receiving its first precise formulation in the work of Charles Bally, was developed from Humboldt through Völkerpsychologie, is that

...il y a deux grands types de représentation dans le langage, l'un où nous essayons de nous représenter les faits et les événements tels qu'ils sont, objectivés dans le réel, l'autre où nous essayons de nous expliquer ces faits et ces événements, de les saisir, de les manier plus rapidement, en les reconstruisant sur un plan à nous, sur une scène subjective, en les arrangeant, en les simplifiant, en leur donnant un aspect qui non seulement nous soit utile, mais qui s'accommode à nous-mêmes, à notre caractère et à notre intelligence comme à notre affectivité et à notre activité. (Malblanc 1944:7)

The first type of representation, "objectivé dans le réel", Malblanc terms le plan du réel; the second, "construit sur une scène subjective", he terms le plan de l'entendement. Significantly, a similar contrast is central to the translation theories of the French poet, Yves Bonnefoy (1962:239):

...le mot anglais est ouverture (ou surface) et le mot français fermeture. D'une part un mot appelant la précision ou l'enrichissement d'autres mots (plus de 21.000 mots chez Shakespeare, remarque Jespersen) et de l'autre un lexique aussi réduit que possible pour protéger une unique et essentielle expérience.

As does Malblanc (1968:83), Bonnefoy develops the theme that, while English evokes "l'aspect tangible des choses" (1962:236), "le mot français, dans son emploi classique, ne posait son objet que pour exclure le monde et la diversité des existences réelles" (1962:243).

Though these discussions of the modes of representation on which languages depend are practical, even normative, by them is postulated a deep structure from which interference can flow. This structure rests on three major differences in modes of representation. The first is what Malblanc (1944:7) ascribes to mot-image and mot-signé. Le mot-image evokes immediate sense-impression, while the mot-signé rests on intellectual mediation of perception, so that "le français réussit moins bien que l'anglais à rendre le détail de la réalité concrète." (Darbelnet 1972:7). Again, compare Bonnefoy (1962:237):

...l'anglais peut saisir le plus concret, le plus immédiat, le plus instinctif de l'acte d'être... Tout autre, vraiment tout autre, est la poésie française-...il est sûr que le mot ne semble poser ce qu'il désigne que pour exclure aussitôt de l'espace du poème tout ce qui n'est pas désigné.

This implies another characteristic of French, noted witheringly by Bally (1932) in particular, that it finds generalities more congenial than particularities (cf. Darbelnet 1972:8). One consequence of this is different perceptions of the role of sound in the word. The lexical richness of English onomatopoeia is kept in being by the English ability to conceive sensorially, cf. thump, bang, slither, etc. As it takes more account of the appearance of the word, there is in English a higher degree of what Saussure called "motivation"; for example, blindness is derived from blind, length from long, etc. French, on the other hand, conceiving intellectually, exploits phonological shape less in both derivation and kinaesthesia. Where, therefore, English has a wide repertoire of words denoting sound or movement, French relies heavily on general words to cover the range.

Our second point is that French representation is basically static, and that of Germanic languages kinetic (cf. Bally 1932:Sect 580):

- a. le verbe allemand trace le trajectoire du mouvement et de l'action;
- b. certaines prépositions composées de l'allemand insistent sur la direction du mouvement.

In English such kinesis is most usually expressed morphologically, especially by present participles, and by phrasal verbs. This most characteristic method of indicating kinesis in the English verb usually is handled lexically in French: e.g. get out/sortir; get in/entrer; get up/se lever; get across/traverser; etc.

The third difference was gleefully epitomised by Eléazar de Mauvillon in his *Lettres françois et germaniques* (1740:90):

...les François veulent qu'on leur parle clair et net, qu'on ne leur donne rien à deviner, en un mot, qu'on leur parle François.

This is still a rhetorician's commonplace, cf. Bonnefoy (1962:247): "...la langue française exige qu'on décompose logiquement et qu'on développe ce qui est implicite..."

This dependence of la clarté française on explicitation has evoked considerable research during the twentieth century. Wandruszka (1967:329) makes the point that this tendency is common to Romance languages, and the opposite to Germanic in both internal linguistic relationships and messages embodied in the sentence, (cf. Gode 1962:75): "English tends never to say what it supposes the second party in communication to know." To a far greater extent than French, English is context-bound, the instrument of the plan du réel being juxtaposition of linguistic units. To attain clarity of message, the plan du réel demands that inferences be drawn from the stream of speech, while the plan de l'entendement makes explicit only what is absolutely necessary for understanding. French inevitably aims for a lower colour than English or German. Indeed, while the plan de l'entendement demands mediation of perception before creating a linguistic sign, the plan du réel demands it after. Inherent in the opposing characteristics of these "plans de représentation", as Bally (1965:82) points out, is the different role affectivity plays:

Le langage, intellectuel dans sa racine, ne peut traduire l'émotion qu'en la transposant par le jeu d'associations implicites. Les signes de la langue étant arbitraires dans leur forme -- leur signifiant -- et dans leur valeur -- leur signifié -- les associations s'attachent soit au signifiant, de manière à en faire jaillir une impression sensorielle, soit au signifié, de manière à transformer le concept en représentation imaginative. Ces associations se chargent d'expressivité dans la mesure où la perception sensorielle ou la représentation imaginative concorde avec le contenu émotif de la pensée.

How do these "plans" work? Let us consider the following:

The proposal was laughed off the floor. 'L'assistance a tué la proposition par le ridicule.'

In English, the message is embodied in the mot-images, laughed off the floor, which the French replaces by a more congenial mot-signé, tuer, (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958:sect. 41), metaphor though it is. Second, through the kinesis in the vectorial preposition, off, and the passivisation of this normally intransitive

verb, laughter becomes a process of rejection: specification of agent is not necessary. In contrast, the French translation avoids kinesis by lexical choice and, owing to the exigencies of its grammatical shape, specifies agent. Third, the intended message in English is inferred from both image itself and its kinesis. The metonymy of floor implies the human presence made explicit in the French assistance, and the kinesis in the phrasal verb connotes result, which the French explicitates by the word, tuer. Seeing that explicitation demands choice between possible alternatives, the French takes as read that the reception of the idea was rough, admittedly, the most reasonable of the English implicitations, though certainly not the only natural one. And the affective statement in English becomes objectivised in French.

Though the term, *plan de l'entendement*, is clearly apt, the above example would indicate that *plan du réel* is inadequate as a technical term. For, far from being completely objective, as Malblanc implies, it is rather a subjectivity mediated through sense-impression: one never perceives the whole of a reality, and therefore, in a communicative act governed by the *plan du réel* one symbolises what is perceived through speech reflecting the impressions most striking to the senses. In our English example, metonymy is the representational instrument by which impression passes to expression. Metonymy and synecdoche are so deeply rooted in the meaning system of this "plan" and so instinctive, that they are rarely adverted to. One ruling characteristic of the *plan du réel* is the value accorded the approximate from which workably exact senses can be inferred. The *plan de l'entendement*, however, aims at exactitude to ensure that the act of interpretation referred to by Malblanc can be unambiguously made. Elsewhere it has been suggested that *plan du visuel* should be substituted for *plan du réel* (Kelly 1979:18). But on further consideration, *plan du sensoriel* reflects the representation mechanism better.

This leaves us, then, with three possible bases of interference in the representation level: predominance of sign and image in different languages, the contrast between stasis and kinesis in representation, and the balance meaning systems keep between implicitation and explicitation.

Take, for example, this howler from one of my students:

Elle a glissé sur un pantalon et ainsi est sortie au jardin. (She slipped on a pair of slacks and went out into the garden.)

Explaining this as a fault in segmentation merely isolates symptoms. In Malblanc's terms, the root cause is taking *mot-image* as *mot-signe*, thereby misinterpreting the English metonymy, which, through the visual and tactile aspects of fast movement, depicts the act of clothing oneself at speed. Much interpretative interference on the part of French speakers rises from such misplaced Cartesian precision. Take, for instance, Simone Wyss's discussion of The book fell open... Her recommended translation, Le livre

s'est ouvert en tombant..., in taking fell in its full literal sense, misses the point of the modal use of fall, which, in modern English, merely sketches an impression of spontaneous downward movement, not, as is implied in the French version given, a change of position (Wyss 1975:134). My classes suggested a translation based on the phrase, Le livre s'est ouvert de lui-même..., which it may be remarked, is satisfactory only under certain circumstances. The same Cartesian reflex results in the translator of the exercise headings in Marcel Moyse's flute method, De la sonorité, constantly missing the pictorial aspect of English. Veillez sur l'égalité du mécanisme becomes Watch over the evenness of the mechanism, where fingering, finger-work or even fingers is what is meant. Or again: ...the rhythmic poise which could be troubled by this inverted articulation is ...l'équilibre rythmique qui peut être troublé par cette articulation invertie. My own preference would be upset. In each case, Moyse's translator has violated the Fowler brothers' rule that the Anglo-Saxon word is to be preferred to the Romance. This consideration gives weight to Bonnefoy (1962:236) who hints that, in his view, the English "croyance à la réalité de ce qui s'offre au regard" is due in large measure to the Anglo-Saxon wordstock.

The counterpart in French is misplaced pictorialism. For example, the French text of the 1971 Arts Calendar of the University of Ottawa is highly influenced by English patterns of symbolisation through mots-image, e.g.:

Il ne pourra être réinstallé dans ses droits que par l'autorité du Conseil de la Faculté. (He may be reinstated in his academic rights only by the authority of the Council of the Faculty of Arts).

The English pictorial representation is due largely to the legalistic collocation, reinstated in his rights, which the French tries to reproduce through the preposition dans, which cannot carry the semantic load. Likewise the constant phrase exigeant une pleine année scolaire (requiring a full academic year) uses the mot-image, pleine, whose status as such is confirmed by its being placed before the noun, a position which reinforces the emotivity inherent in the plan du sensoriel. My own suggestion here would be une année complète.

The plan du sensoriel is almost inevitably kinetic. Though the notorious difference between French and English in frequency of verbs and nouns often produces little else than stylistic stiffness, it can also cause error. Again, Marcel Moyse's translator: During the slow work of this study... (Pendant le travail lent de cette étude...). A correct English version will introduce kinesis, either by substituting verb for noun, or by changing the preposition: While practising this study slowly... or During slow work on this study... Compare this example from the programme of films shown under the aegis of the Students' Federation, Antonio makes a false testimony (Antonio fait un faux

témoignage). My own translation would be Antonio gives false evidence, contrasting the kinesis of gives with the stasis of fait. Even when a French-speaker is sensitive enough to the nuances of English to give a kinetic equivalent when it is appropriate, he often opts for a less marked alternative. Thus, Les prix continuaient à monter was correctly translated in class as Prices kept going up, where kept on is equally possible, and more graphic. This loss of colour is more comfortable for the plan de l'entendement, thus illustrating a point made by Levenston (1971).

For an English-speaker, there is a consistent temptation to use verbs where good grammar and style would assume nouns. Again the 1971 Arts Calendar: Le candidat qui désire obtenir un baccalauréat ès arts... This is a direct crib of the corresponding English sentence. The noun obtention is required: Le candidat qui vise l'obtention d'un baccalauréat... When we consider interference in the opposite direction, one very revealing index of the French preference for stasis is the constant announcement over the PA system of the Morisset Library at the University of Ottawa: Will John Smith please come at the Circulation Desk? The French pattern preposition is obviously à which can be translated both ways.

Our third point is the high degree of implicitation in English as against the French need for explicitation referred to so solemnly by de Mauvillon. In the Wyss example, for instance, there are traces of the older meaning of fall, to happen (cf. befall), which appear in the translation suggested by my class. And in one of the translations suggested for the Marcel Moyse example, the evenness of the fingers, the implicitation of movement in the fingers is obvious. One of the more amusing features of the example, to come at the Circulation Desk, is that this preposition implies hostility. Nuances of implicitation often surfaced unexpectedly in class. Paul Valéry, speaking about his translation of Vergil's Eclogues says, Je n'ai même pas songé à faire rimer ces alexandrins... Those who translated I did not even think to rhyme these Alexandrines... were quite unconscious that they were putting into Valéry's mouth a penitence that was not in any way intended.

Juxtaposition being the instrument of the plan du sensoriel, English structural words carry a heavier semantic loading than their French equivalents. Hence English-influenced French will omit structural units that explicitate grammatical relationships: again the 1971 Calendar, On peut obtenir un grade de diverses manières et dans différentes branches du savoir. The opposed French reflex shows the opposite tendency. From the Student film catalogue again: ...she complains to the police...to protest and to work in favour of other forms of social relations. (...elle porte plainte...pour élever une protestation et militer en faveur d'autres relations sociales). I would write work for. Not that this impulse to be kind to prepositions always produces mistakes. Again, Marcel Moyse: Set a light accent on the marked note in order to restore the rhythmic poise (Donner un léger accent à la

note marquée de façon à rétablir l'équilibre rythmique). A simple to restore would be enough. This reflex also transfers the specifying function of the French article into English: The men are all the same. (Les hommes sont tous les mêmes), a common fault in class. One other salient problem was the idiomatic use of the verb to be followed by a preposition, a juxtaposition that leaves much to be inferred. In the sentence, L'industrie se trouve dans une position pénible, the majority of French-speakers to whom this was offered translated the verb quite literally: Industry finds itself in a difficult position, a version that is not unacceptable. But English-speakers used the more natural Industry is in a difficult position, an example of what Vinay and Darbelnet call *dépouillement*, a translation technique by which lexical units are changed into implicit structural relationships. The importance of the opposite tendency in French is illustrated by a sign outside the Financial Aid Office at the University of Ottawa:

Tous les étudiants de l'Ontario doivent présenter leur  
feuille d'autorisation émise par ce bureau.

All Ontario students must present their authorisation  
emitted by this office.

This notice is not hand-written, but produced with all the sophistication the visual aids section of the university is capable of. Between drafting and posting, the original text obviously passed through a fair number of hands, who it seems, found this padded preposition natural.

My classes in contrastive grammar of French and English who furnished some of these examples acted inadvertently as an interference laboratory. The standard exercise was translation of sentences and extracts from one language to the other and exegetical comment on the texts produced. Even where translations furnished were acceptable, important differences between what was expected by French and English speakers were illustrated many times by remarks made as part of the exercise. For instance, on our first point, that of the difference in pictorial quality between *mot-image* and *mot-signe*: in the French version of John helped me saw the firewood into useable lengths, by common consent useable lengths became bûches de longueur convenable. Length here was taken by the French-speakers of the class to be an abstract noun, and therefore "c'était impossible de scier du bois en longueurs," which came as somewhat of a surprise to the English-speakers present; the plural, lengths, makes the noun into a *mot-image*, thus concretising it. Bûches, though concrete, rejects the visual and imposes the logical boundaries discussed by Bonnefoy. Hence, the suggestion from an English-speaker that longueurs utilisables was an appropriate translation was rejected as an inadmissible mixture of abstract and concrete. Attitudes showed that, though the boundary between *mot-signe* and *mot-image* is quite strict in French, the extensive use of fossilised and near-fossilised metaphor in English means that this boundary is not felt with anywhere

near the same cogency by the average speaker of English. The juxtaposition by which the plan du sensoriel creates images must be interpreted by an adept translator to avoid faulty segmentation: a considerable number of students could not decide whether a large, black-hatted man was a large man in a black hat, or a man in a large black hat.

On our second point of stasis or kinesis, the known preference of French for nouns over verbs often produces hypercorrection. In A lawn must be watered for three weeks after turfing it, the preferred version for to turf was poser la tourbe, and there was a strongly held opinion that the verb, gazonner, a normal commercial word, and listed in Robert to boot, was incorrect, and, worst of all, un anglicisme. Though vectors can be made pictorially explicit, as in the sentence, I am sending you across to Slavic Studies, few translators from French to English trouble to add such vectors to simple verbs. The fact itself is hardly a reliable indicator of interference, but again, attitudes were revealing: the reason often given for not reproducing across in French was that "it was not necessary." As well as reflecting the economy of linguistic resource in French as against the prodigality of English, it shows a lack of the need for affectivity. But before the necessary vectors of Come in out of the rain, the general consensus was that the movements represented by in and out were logically contradictory. There was general refusal to think of this sentence in pictorial terms: in and out are two moments on the same vector, in specifying goal, and out the starting point of movement. The commonest way of transforming this kinetic representation into a more abstract French one was invoking intellectual representations of action and purpose. The two vectors were lexicalised according to the logical priorities of the plan de l'entendement: Entrez et abritez-vous de la pluie! One other popular suggestion was Entrer pour vous abriter de la pluie. The value given the approximate by the plan du sensoriel was sensed and explained away thus: pictorially, one can be "in the rain", but logically, one can only be "sous la pluie." Consequently out of cannot be translated by a preposition. As one might expect, there was constant suspicion of the verb to be, especially when followed by a structural adverb or preposition. Though le livre est sur le lit is correct, it was clear that le livre se trouve sur le lit was more natural. And in response to John is on the bed the natural reaction was Jean est couché sur le lit, although assis is possible too, given a context demanding it.

Bonnefoy (1962:247) sees implicitation as the major problem in English. The classes would agree. Howlers could come about by over-generalisation: Clean your teeth down after eating. (Brossez vos dents à fond après les repas). This after discussing the ramifications of cleaning down a house before repainting. Where the implicit was unambiguous there was no problem: the type of howler represented by glisser sur un pantalon was rare. But most revealing of all was the slightly annoyed reaction to sentences of multiple, and, at times, incompatible, implicitations.

For example, The building time for this ship was two years. Out of context this sentence can mean either time taken or time projected. Hence, il a fallu trois années pour construire ce navire, or, on a prévu trois années.... Admittedly, the first meaning is more natural. Similarly, in dealing with this fragment of a sentence from Kipling: "The Elephant's Child sat back on his little haunches", the class took the implication here to be comfort, on the model of he sat back and lit a pipe. But, on production of the context, "and pulled, and pulled, and pulled", the opposing explicitation of effort became clear. Similarly kinesis has its own affectivity. To slip something on is not completely translated by passer: the sense of speed in passer is not quite that of urgency or carelessness one has in the English.

Especially with the vectorial preposition that is part of the phrasal verb, it is difficult to escape affectivity. For instance, the word across in I am sending you across to Slavic Studies, through sketching a visual impression of separation and underlining the kinesis of going, also indicates a certain feeling of difference. There is asperity in the sentence, Will you come in out of the rain! that is only partly due to the pseudo-courteous imperative used: the emphatic double vector also plays its part. In class there was long discussion on whether it was possible to go up or down to Montreal from Ottawa. Most French-speakers opted for down, because Montreal is downstream. This is only partially the point, because up to Montreal and up to Quebec are both possible by an affectivity that is not really definable. And indeed, the expression up to Toronto was rejected with suspicious heat by a dyed-in-the-wool English Montrealer. But one of my English-speakers made the point that, even if the direction of the vector was controlled intellectually (i.e. by compass points, terrain, etc.), these vectors were added only where the places concerned were familiar or had some emotive value. He proposed the locution out to Vancouver as an example of emotive attitude towards the distance and direction involved.

What does this approach have to offer? Various attempts have been made recently to widen horizons, for example Schachter and Rutherford (1979:1):

Our conclusion is that for any research that purports to shed light on the dynamic processes of language acquisition, it is necessary that the researcher focus attention on that particular property that makes of language itself a dynamic phenomenon: namely discourse.

Agreed, but controlling discourse is the more dynamic process of symbolisation, which has long been taken as the basis of grammar and style. The choice of a native grammatical pattern over one more appropriate to the language being spoken, or a hypercorrection, is largely controlled by a symbolisation reflex akin to that postulated by a long line of linguist-philosophers beginning with von Humboldt. In terms of stylistique comparée, interference reflects mishandling of both "servitudes" and "options". This

issue has already been raised in Levenston (1971), who points out that interference often comes from the comfortable use of the familiar. One danger is forgetting that, like grammars, modes of symbolisation leak. For example, French does have a plan du sensoriel as in C'est toujours difficile de mettre le nom sur le visage (It is always hard to put a name to a face). And English does have a plan de l'entendement. But, seeing that their frequency is reversed, not only can one be mistaken for the other, but also the plans themselves differ from language to language.

Second, from the differences between plan de l'entendement et plan du sensoriel come shifting priorities between signification and valeur. Owing to its Aristotelian history, the Saussurean theory of meaning fosters the assumption that signification is intellectually based and valeur affective. Obviously, in a language whose symbolisation is predominantly mot-signe, affectivity will be occasional, and furthermore, the boundary between affective and intellectual meaning will be strict, as indeed will be that between mot-signe and mot-image. On the other hand, in a language depending on mot-image, there will be considerable affective elements central to signification, the boundary between the plans being somewhat permeable.

The importance paid the sensorial aspects of language will be reflected in the freedom of derivation, or to put it in Saussurean terms, the relative frequency of motivated and unmotivated vocabulary and grammar. The Symbolist collapsing of the traditional Aristotelian distinction between signifiant and signifié (cf. Kelly 1979:29-31) was a protest against the mot-signe, which abstracts completely from phonological shape. As the Symbolists saw it, the sound of a mot-image contributes an essential part of its meaning. In languages like English, for which the mot-image forms the predominant language reflex, words easily acquire meaning through the suggestive power of sound, for instance, thud among British children, the common British term, clot, and clunk in my own schooldays in New Zealand, to mean a dimwit. It is the tangible phonological qualities of a word that are exploited by Saussure's motivation. In this light, the connection made by Bally between affectivity and sound is very much to our purpose. English, in opting for the surface representation of the plan du sensoriel, has entered on a circular process where sound-values reinforce affectivity and vice-versa; French has entered on another circular process, where the intellectual values of the language devalue sound to some extent, and lack of concentration of sound reinforces the intellectualist reflex.

Since France first discovered English literature in the seventeenth century, the high colour of English and its comparative freedom of structure have aroused comment. The usual expressions of envy or reprobation are beside the point. Each language has its own customs: French attitudes are akin to the classicism that will produce the disciplined but compelling use of restricted resources in a Mozart symphony, and the English akin to the full-blooded Romantic prodigality of Elgar or Nielsen. Through such

markedly different attitudes, the plan du sensoriel exploits the approximate to make an exact point, while the plan de l'entendement demands exactitude, and even pointillism, in representing intent. Therefore, while languages like French, for the sake of la clarté, put the main weight of meaning transmission on the semantic units themselves, English and German habitually rely on context to filter the message, cf. building time and sat back on his little haunches. In a word, while French and other Romance languages aim for clarity, English and Germanic languages seek transparency. This was evident in class discussion, especially in the way both linguistic groups sought linguistic effects: the French sought elegance, precision and exact proportion between means and effect, the English sought force rather than elegance, sensorial appropriateness rather than intellectual precision.

Our treatment of interference takes a leaf from the book of the French linguist, Gustave Guillaume: "C'est un principe de mon enseignement ... qu'on exprime à partir du représenté" (quoted in Garnier 1975:181). Agreement with this does not entail adoption of strong forms of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: the themes we have taken from Stylistique comparée merely indicate that grammatical and discourse systems rest on habitual forms of representation. That these ideas find confirmation outside linguistics argues for their completeness. It is important, as both Levenston and Schachter and Rutherford point out, to widen the scope of interference studies beyond the grammatically wrong. Indeed, this double concern has been evident in translation studies since the Roman orator, Cicero. It is equally important to find a way of relating the interference studies of Weinreich, his structuralist successors, and his transformational successors to work in translation which seeks a different and complementary explanatory adequacy. The sketch above, based largely on the mentalist structuralism of Saussure, Bally, and those influenced by them, suggests that further investigation of the stylistics and linguistics of translation may usefully supplement more familiar work on contrastive linguistics and interference.

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## REFLEXIONS SUR LA TERMINOLOGIE FEODALE EN GALLO-ROMAN

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L'étymologie traditionnelle renvoie la plupart des mots du vocabulaire féodal - institutions juridiques, relations sociales, rapports de vassalité, etc. - à des racines germaniques.

Il semble, en effet, que beaucoup de ces institutions soient d'origine germanique et que, par ailleurs, les mots qui les désignent relèvent d'aires (gallo-romane, nord italique) profondément pénétrées par les invasions. Ajoutons enfin, car cela n'est pas sans importance, que l'étymologie romane, et spécialement gallo-romane, a été dominée, de Diez à Wartburg en passant par Meyer-Lübke, par des linguistes de langue et de culture allemandes.

Quoi qu'il en soit, tout terme relevant de cette sphère sémantique est réputé germanique a priori et fait l'objet d'hypothèses en conséquence souvent approximatives et au mépris d'étymons latins infiniment plus évidents, sémantiquement et morphologiquement.

Examinons le cas de félon (cas sujet fel). Voici le résumé de la question telle que le donne le Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue française de O. Bloch et W. von Wartburg qui nous servira désormais de référence sous le sigle B.W.

FELON, vers 980 (Passion; en anc. fr. la forme du cas sujet est fel. A. prov. fel, felon. Lat. carolingien fellō, cf. fellones, plur. dans les Capitulaires de Charles le Chauve. Très probabl. d'un francique \*fillio, réduction de \*filljo "celui qui fouette, qui maltraite (les esclaves)", nom d'agent dér. du verbe francique correspondant à l'anc. haut all. fillen "fouetter". L'it. fello, fellone vient du gallo-roman. Dér.: félonie, vers 1050 (Alexis). BW.

Tout est incertain dans cette conjecture: l'étymon, l'évolution sémantique, la dispersion géographique. En fait la forme latino-médiévale fellones, confirmée par l'italien fello, fellone (ainsi que par le prov. et l'esp.) postule un dérivé latin de fel "fiel", dont le radical est fell- (cf. les formes obliques fellis et les dérivés felleus, fellosus). La forme appartient au système de dérivation latine qui forme des noms de personnes à partir du suffixe -o, -onem (baro, latro, Cicero, etc.). Fello est 'un homme qui a du fiel', c'est-à-dire, au sens métaphorique, de la 'colère', de la 'méchanceté', de l' 'aigreur', de la 'rancune'. Or c'est là très exactement le sens de felon, en anc. français: 'cruel, méchant, furieux, dépité, coléreux'.

C'est de ce sens primitif que découle l'acception féodale 'déloyal envers son seigneur': le traître médiéval, dont le Ganelon de la Chanson de Roland est l'archétype, ne trahit pas par vénalité mais par dépit. Ganelon passe à l'ennemi et complot la mort de Roland, parce qu'il est furieux que Charlemagne ait confié à ce dernier un commandement qu'il estimait lui revenir de droit. Sa félonie est inspirée par la colère et la rancune. C'est bien un "fielleux".

Cette étymologie si simple, si cohérente et si pertinente à tous les niveaux -et qui a d'ailleurs été envisagée- a cependant été refusée au profit d'une conjecture très faible et dont la seule raison d'être (non avouée) est de justifier l'origine germanique d'une relation féodale.

Considérons, dans la même optique, le mot lige.

LIGE, vers 1080 (Roland); en outre liège. Terme de droit féodal. Letus "sorte de vassal" des Gloses de Malberg et litus de la Loi salique font supposer en francique \*lepu, d'une famille de mots à laquelle appartient l'all. ledig "libre": les formes lige, liege (cf. aussi a. prov. ligera "droit du seigneur lige") font supposer un dér. \*leticus "qui a la position d'un letus". Les Lètes, c'est-à-dire les colons établis en Gaule avant l'invasion franque, furent aussitôt admis dans la communauté franque comme hommes libres, faisaient donc partie de la classe privilégiée du nouvel Etat.

BW.

Outre son caractère conjectural et approximatif, cette conjecture est très faible. D'abord le mot est roman (prov. litge, it. ligio, anc. cat. lige); ensuite la relation entre 'lige' et 'homme libre' n'est nulle part établie.

Lige désigne un lien de vassalité très précis: est dit lige le vassal (ou le suzerain) qui est tenu à un engagement absolu et sans réserve vis-à-vis de son lige et ne peut sous aucun prétexte se dérober de ses obligations (militaires, judiciaires). La société féodale est, en effet, très complexe, et l'on peut se trouver le vassal de plusieurs seigneurs qui peuvent entrer en conflit, auquel cas le vassal lige doit ses services à son suzerain lige à l'exclusion des autres; il doit épouser la querelle de son lige et l'assister soit en guerre, soit en champ clos, soit devant les tribunaux où il se constitue son garant.

Lige est, vraisemblablement, le déverbal de lītigare 'se disputer, être en procès'; il pourrait aussi représenter un adj. \*līticus formé sur lis (litis) 'querelle', 'contestation'.

L'homme lige est, sans doute, un vassal qui s'engage à soutenir la querelle de son suzerain en toutes circonstances et sans restrictions.

PLEGE, PLEVIR. Ceci nous amène à une autre institution spécifiquement féodale qui est le plège ou 'garant'; le mot existe sous deux formes plege ou plevine 'garant', 'garantie', auxquels correspondent les verbes plegier ou plevir 'garantir'. BW n'enregistre pas ce terme qui est hors d'usage, mais le FEW (Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch) le place sous une racine francique \*plegan 'garantir'. C'est, encore une fois, ignorer le caractère roman du mot (attesté en anc. it.), l'incertitude de l'étymon et les difficultés phonétiques que pose le rattachement de \*plegan à plege et à plevir; ce qu'on explique, sans grande conviction, par un hypothétique croisement de \*plegan avec le latin praeber 'offrir'.

Les gloses de la basse latinité font apparaître l'existence d'un verbe plebere 'garantir' dans un texte latin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et d'un subst. plebium 'droit de citoyenneté' (dans une glose du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle avec des variantes plevium et plibium dans la Loi Salique).

C'est plebium qui serait à l'origine de la forme plege alors que plebere aurait donné plevir par changement de conjugaison. Mais restent obscures à la fois l'origine de ces mots et leur relation sémantique, problème que l'hypothèse d'un francique \*plegan ne résoud pas.

Pour ma part, je considère que plebium représente l'adjectif plebeius 'de la plèbe'; il s'agit d'un adjectif substantivé (sous la forme du neutre) qui désigne par ellipse une institution relative au peuple: 'le droit de citoyenneté', mais aussi, sans doute, (encore que non attesté) 'l'assemblée du peuple'; l'acception plebs 'peuple (en général)' est bien attestée dans la basse latinité où le mot désigne aussi 'les soldats', 'la paroisse'.

Le lien entre le 'peuple' et la 'garantie' est mal établi mais, en tous cas, bien attesté; l'anc. prov. a pleu 'peuple' et 'garantie' (l'un et l'autre représentant plebem); l'allemand montre la parenté entre burger 'citoyen' et burgen, verburgen 'garantir'.

Plevir dans son acception la plus ancienne signifie 'promettre, jurer, contracter un engagement' et, en particulier, 'se fiancer'; le sens de 'garantir' est sans doute secondaire, tout engagement comportant une garantie dans le droit féodal.

Il est donc vraisemblable que plebere, formé sur pleb-s 'peuple' a dû signifier 'venir devant le peuple', 's'engager devant le peuple', 'publiquement' et l'adjectif plebium (forme tardive de plebeium) a pris le sens de 'engagement public' et, secondairement, 'garantie, caution matérielle ou personnelle' qui accompagne un tel engagement.

L'intéressant dans cette situation d'ailleurs commune aux autres mots étudiés ici, c'est que l'institution est germanique, mais que le vocabulaire, contrairement à ce qu'on a supposé jusqu'ici, est en général latin. Tel est aussi le cas de saisir qui est un terme juridique à l'origine.

SAISIR. Propr. terme de droit féodal signifiant à la fois "mettre en possession", de là se saisir de (cf. aussi la locution jurid. le mort saisit le vif, XIIIe, Beaumanoir, encore usuelle aujourd'hui), et "prendre possession", d'où "saisir vivement (en général), dès la Chanson de Roland. Mot d'origine germ., qui présente des difficultés: au sens de "prendre possession" est attesté par les Lois Barbares par le verbe sacire, cf. ad proprium, ad proprietatem sacire qui paraît représenter un francique \*sakjan "revendiquer des droits" qu'on restitue d'après l'ancien saxon saca "procès", anc. haut all. sahha "id.", sahhan "contester" (cf. aussi le lat. de la Loi Salique gasocio "adversaire" et sacibarones sous baron); mais dans ces conditions, le sens de "mettre en possession" ne s'explique pas bien; il semble que saisir en ce sens représente un francique \*satjan (cf. gotique satjan, anc. haut all. sezzen, d'où all. setzen "poser, mettre") qui aurait dû donner un bas latin \*satire; satire et sacire ont pu se confondre facilement parce qu'ils appartiennent tous deux à des notions jurid. du même ordre. L'a. prov. sazir signifiait aussi à la fois "mettre en possession" et "prendre possession". Quant à l'it. sagire c'est un emprunt du gallo-roman, comme ordinairement, les termes féodaux. BW

On relèvera encore une fois le caractère incertain et mal assuré de cette conjecture aux explications alambiquées. Aussi, en dépit des faits, l'hypothèse d'un emprunt de l'it. au fr. en vue de justifier une origine germanique.

En fait le latin satiare 'rassasier, satisfaire', par l'intermédiaire d'un doublet \*satiire (dont sacire est la graphie médiévale) satisfait à toutes les conditions, phonétiques, sémantiques, géographiques, de cette étymologie.

En effet, saisir quelqu'un de quelque chose c'est 'le satisfaire au moyen (de la possession) de cette chose'.

Saisir quelqu'un d'un fief c'est 'mettre quelqu'un en possession d'un fief qui satisfait, rassasie, ses désirs'; d'où la forme pronominale se saisir de .. 'prendre possession'. Le mort saisit le vif signifie: 'le mort comble le désir de possession du vivant'.

Quant au développement d'une forme transitive (saisir une épée) il est issu de la construction pronominale sur le modèle du verbe vêtir dont le sens et l'emploi juridiques sont très voisins. (cf. Ch. de Roland: ne il n'en fut [du fief] ne vestut ne saisit). On dit de même vêtir quelqu'un d'une robe, se vêtir d'une robe et vêtir une robe.

LEUDE, 1748 (Montesquieu); leudien au XI<sup>e</sup> s. Empr. du mérovingien leudes, fait sur le francique \*leudi, plur. "gens", au sens de "gens d'un chef", cf. anc. haut all. liuti, plur. de liut d'où all. Leute sans sing. (BW)

Le rapprochement de leudes 'compagnons du roi' avec leude 'taxe, impôt' qui représente \*levīta 'levée', suggère qu'il pourrait s'agir du même mot le leude < \*levītus étant un homme 'levé' par le prince. Lever a, d'autre part, en anc. fr. le sens de 'élever à une dignité'.

LOT, XII<sup>e</sup>. Du francique lôt, id., cf. gothique hlauts, anc. angl. hlot "sort, héritage". Dér. lotir, 1300; lotissement, id., allotir, 1611. (BW)

Lot est d'abord un terme de droit qui désigne la 'portion d'un tout qui se partage entre plusieurs personnes (surtout en matière d'héritage)'. C'est d'abord un mot de la France du Nord et Nord-Est, ce qui rend très vraisemblable l'origine francique proposée par BW.

Ceci dit, on ne saurait manquer de rapprocher lotir et sa variante alloter 'partager, diviser en lots' du latin locitare 'louer', en l'occurrence 'attribuer une place à' (v. alleu) qui rend compte du redoublement du -t- et de la fermeture de l'o accentué, mal expliqués par l'étymon francique.

Encore un de ces mots en apparence sans problèmes et qui malgré une origine latine très probable, ont fait l'objet de conjectures extravagantes dans la mesure où leur emploi juridique implique--au regard de l'étymologie traditionnelle--une origine germanique. Ainsi bâtard:

BATARD, XII<sup>e</sup> s. En a. fr. aussi fils, fille de bast (souvent altéré en bas), terme de féodalité, designant l'enfant reconnu d'un noble qui l'a eu d'une épouse illégitime où bast représente probabl. le germ. \*bansti "grange"; cf. gothique bants, de même sens. Ou peut donc considérer bastard comme un dérive de ce bast qui aurait ensuite éliminé fils, fille de bast; la principale difficulté vient de la disparition de l'n de \*bansti qu'on peut toutefois attribuer à l'accumulation insolite des consonnes. (BW)

Bâtard est un mot roman attesté par le prov., l'it., l'esp. et la forme bastardus de la basse-latinité.

Le mot est, de toute évidence, formé sur bât et a dû désigner un 'mulet' (c-à-d un animal de bât) sur le modèle barde 'bât' bardot 'mulet'. Le 'mulet' produit d'un âne et d'une jument désigne traditionnellement le 'bâtard'; ce sémantisme est bien attesté par des mots comme mulet 'bâtard' (Cotgrave 1611), mulâtre 'né d'un noir et d'une blanche' et en anc. fr. bort 'bâtard' à côté de bordon 'mulet'.

Quant à la locution filz, fille de bast, elle est sans doute calquée sur bête de bast 'mulet'; mais son emploi dans la terminologie féodale 'postule' une origine germanique tirée par les cheveux aux dépens d'un étymon latin parfaitement cohérent sur tous les plans.

Ces exemples, qui seraient facilement multipliés, montrent les faiblesses d'une étymologie historique qui ignore les structures fondamentales de l'idiome. En l'occurrence, il est exact qu'une partie importante des institutions féodales est d'origine germanique et que la présence ou l'absence de telle de ces institutions dans telle aire dialectale est liée à la géo-politique des invasions germaniques à travers la Romania.

Dans ces conditions, il pouvait sembler logique de conclure que ces institutions portaient des noms germaniques. En fait, l'observation montre qu'il n'en est rien; et, sans nier l'existence d'un certain nombre de mots germaniques dans cette terminologie, il apparaît qu'ils sont en fait très peu nombreux et que la plupart de ceux qu'on nous propose sont avantageusement remplacé par des termes latins ou reconstruits à partir du latin.

Tout se passe donc comme si en important et en imposant leurs institutions, les germains en avaient latinisé le vocabulaire; ce qui d'ailleurs n'exclut pas la possibilité d'éventuels croisements de ces formes latines avec des mots indigènes.

Cette observation est d'ailleurs générale et s'applique à l'ensemble du vocabulaire gallo-roman dans lequel les germanismes sont infiniment moins nombreux que ne le disent les dictionnaires étymologiques traditionnels. En fait, la plus grande partie de ces germanismes sont romans - communs à l'ensemble des langues romanes; ce sont donc des emprunts du latin aux langues germaniques, sans doute antérieurs aux invasions. Quant à ces dernières, leur impact politique, culturel, juridique, etc. sur les aires colonisées est certes considérable, mais leur influence sur la langue semble faible, dans la mesure où la terminologie correspondante a été rapidement latinisée.

# THE LANGUAGE OF KINGS COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

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## Introduction and Methodology

This paper is based on research done for a doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan, 1965. The dissertation includes a listing of 71 linguistic field records gathered throughout Nova Scotia by Henry Alexander, Rex Wilson, and me between 1939 and 1963. (Wilson's dissertation was The Dialect of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, University of Michigan, 1958.) Also relevant is the master's thesis of Nora Alice Rowe, A Linguistic Study of the Lake Ainslie Area of Inverness County, Nova Scotia, Louisiana State University in New Orleans, 1968.

The survey of Kings County included a representative sampling of the speech of older residents of the county and adjoining areas in western Nova Scotia. It was an attempt to provide more data for a linguistic atlas of the United States and Canada in a district where only two speech records had hitherto existed. Most of the informants were active or retired farmers and their wives or widows whose language had not been greatly affected by training or travel.

Since many of the uninhibited folkways are disappearing, it is essential to record conversation of the oldest residents now if one wishes to chart speech habits without having to allow for additional influences. With the passing away of the aged, local speech habits are vanishing, and a more uniform pattern of speech is already resulting from the establishment of consolidated schools and the effect of mass media of communication. Professor R.J. Gregg has aptly commented on this problem, emphasizing the desire of the young to conform in conversation as in most other social activities.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the analysis of field records that I gathered, consideration was given to existing samples of vernacular speech, both in standardized field work and writing, for Nova Scotia as a whole. Only passing reference was made to informal writing about speech habits in the whole region, an attempt having been made to note what data are available and what remains to be done to complete a provincial survey according to a consistent pattern.

As far as the field worker is concerned, dialect geography consists of pure rather than applied research. Although practical applications of the collected information are tempting, the main purpose of this survey was to answer such questions as the following: What has already been achieved in the analysis of language (speech) in Nova Scotia? What are some of the speech

habits of people in Kings County and environs? What still remains to be done? There are always other researchers eager to explore new avenues opened up by documented reports on areal usage. Such studies are useful to anyone with more than a passing interest in how language actually functions, and are essential for teachers and dictionary-makers.<sup>2</sup>

A broad linguistic assessment had already been made in Nova Scotia. In 1939-40, Professor Henry Alexander, then at Queen's University, completed a wide-mesh survey of the province, using a short work sheet of some 500 items.<sup>3</sup> Professor Rex Wilson, adding to Alexander's data with his own field records, provided a study of language for Lunenburg County in 1958. When I finished my report, Wilson was still actively engaged in compiling new records. Thus, the language of western Nova Scotia, especially for the Annapolis Valley and the South Shore, has been fairly thoroughly investigated. Much still remains to be done elsewhere. Alexander laid a broad foundation which now needs to be reinforced. He completed 30 records for the 18 provincial counties, of which 6 were in Cape Breton and 24 on the mainland. One county provided 4 informants, and 1 county supplied 3; in 7 counties 2 informants respectively were used, and in 9 only 1 person respectively was chosen for interrogation.

In addition to linguistically-trained researchers, various scholars and writers of fiction have been active in the formal or informal writing of Nova Scotian vernacular. Murray Emeneau has studied the speech of Lunenburg.<sup>4</sup> Helen Creighton has long been outstanding as a folklorist and collector of local songs and stories; W. Roy Mackenzie's Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia is a standard reference. Among novelists and short story writers, two of the best known are Thomas H. Raddall, who has written extensively about early immigrants and historical events, especially along the South Shore; and Will R. Bird, good examples of whose use of folk speech are to be found in Here Stays Good Yorkshire (1945) and The Shy Yorkshireman (1955), novels about settlers who came from England to Cumberland County in northern Nova Scotia.

The foregoing names are merely representative, and no attempt has been made to make a complete list. The use of dialect in literature, although a profitable study, is beyond the scope of this report.<sup>5</sup>

The area investigated is one of approximately 1,500 square miles. The population, some 60,000, is mainly rural, and the largest town (Kentville) contains about 5,000 people.

Of the 21 informants used, 12 lived in Kings County, 5 in western Hants, and 4 in eastern Annapolis. The area of Kings County was chosen as the center for research because Wilson had already surveyed much of western Annapolis, and eastern Hants is somewhat removed from the region of those New England settlers

("Planters") who came to this part of Nova Scotia in 1760, following the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755. Localities for field work were chosen (in consultation with Wilson) to provide a sampling of the speech of rural and non-rural residents, and a contrast between those on main highways and in more remote areas. Informants were distributed in towns and smaller settlements along Highway 1 (Halifax-Yarmouth) and in the rural hinterland, including farming districts and fishing villages along the Bay of Fundy shore.

The method used in collecting the raw material for this study was that of direct interrogation with a standardized set of questions. This approach for dialect geography has now become highly refined through use in various parts of Europe and North America.<sup>6</sup> Replies are elicited by oblique questioning, the field worker avoiding the use of the word or phrase which he hopes to gain in the informant's reply. Only as a last resort does he ask such a question as "Do you talk about a skim of ice?" An item obtained in this way is marked "suggested" in the field notes. Unless otherwise stated below, no forms obtained by suggesting the item have been used in preparing this report.

In recent years the tape recorder has been used to assist the ear and hand of the researcher. Advantages and drawbacks of machine recording in the field have been discussed at length by McDavid and Wilson, among others.<sup>7</sup> Since 1952 Wilson has perpetuated his field studies on tape, and I used a tape recorder for all interviews. Thus, of all records analyzed for this survey, only the two by Alexander were obtained without machine recording.

The interviews with most of the informants were conducted during two sessions, usually within a period of three or four days, although one required three sessions, and one was completed during the same afternoon and evening. The average total length of time was six hours, and conversations were held in the homes of informants under relaxed conditions that were as free from distractions as possible. In several places where other members of the family were present, their participation in the discussion was discouraged.

The work sheets were adopted after consultation with Rex Wilson to provide comparable data for all Nova Scotia field records.

The informants were chosen to provide a representative sampling of older inhabitants of the area. This approach complements the type of survey made by Alexander and by Wilson, who concentrated on older, native, rural residents. Of the 20 records used for this study, 16 were completed by Wanamaker, 2 by Wilson and Wanamaker, and 2 by Alexander.

The ages of those interviewed varied from 57 to 96, with only 2 under 60, and two-thirds of the total number over 70. Education is hard to assess when one receives such replies as, "Completed

the fourth book", or "Went to grade 8, mostly during winters". However, according to individual responses, the education of these informants ranged from grade 4 through postgraduate university training, as follows: grade school--10; high school--9, of whom 4 completed grade 11; two years college--1; postgraduate study--1. Of the 4 who completed high school, 1 attended business college and 1 went to normal school.

An analysis of the background of informants by age and general level of culture, according to the categories developed for use in the Linguistic Atlas of New England, gives the following distribution: I-A (older or old-fashioned type with little formal education)--12; II-A (better education, but either aged or old-fashioned in usage)--1; II-B (better education, younger and/or more modern)--5; III-A (superior education, more old-fashioned)--1; III-B (well educated and more modern)--2. The male-female ratio of informants was 16:5.

#### General Conclusions

Western Nova Scotia, including West Hants and the counties of Kings, Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne, Queens, and Lunenburg, has now been intensively investigated by field workers, although much of the data have not yet been published. According to Rex Wilson, Lunenburg County shows more variants and unique linguistic features than do the adjacent counties.

Although there are unusual features of vocabulary and morphology, it would seem that the Kings County area is not greatly different from mainland Nova Scotia in general. The province as a whole is a conservative area, in general culture as well as a language, but conditions are changing. The two records by Alexander used in this survey were obtained more than two decades before my investigation, at which time the informants, who lived on back roads, were aged 90 and 77. Many of the "relic" forms in this report came from these two informants. Fewer old-fashioned words were given by most of my informants, and it would appear that various sociological factors are at work that have resulted in linguistic changes aside from those to be expected with the passage of a quarter of a century.

This part of Nova Scotia, then, has characteristics of language that are both relic and transitional. Rex Wilson has written that "Nova Scotia is . . . a typical relic area, a region where older forms are preserved."<sup>8</sup> This statement is true with modification. I was not able to discover as many "relic" terms as was Wilson, nor were any of the items obtained that are listed by Kurath as lexical relics for New England.<sup>9</sup>

Since the questionnaire contains many items relating to rural life, it was highly suitable for use with the non-urban informants chosen for this study. Much lexical information was elicited with regard to fences, barn construction, and farm animals. The tap-

faucet, vest-waistcoat contrasts suggest the dual influence of British and American English. Among unusual or unique items were shiretown, salute (saluting), vault, grade (verb), frolic, and kitty-cornered.

Morphological data show that in the speech of 18 informants, 4 used a majority of non-standard verb forms. The proportion of those using a majority of undeclined plurals was 3/18. The ratio for total non-verbal forms (undeclined plurals, plus anywheres, ways, them for "those", that for "who", and poison for "poisonous") was 5/18. This suggests that speakers in this area have been well drilled in such grammatical forms as appear in the questionnaire, although the figures might differ if one obtained a large corpus of free conversation. In addition, certain unusual forms were obtained, such as swimmed (preterite) and skun (preterite for skin).

The following consonant phonemes and allophones are worthy of comment. The only pronunciation elicited for whinny, whicker, and wharf was /w/. For wheelbarrow, the ratio of /w/ to /hw/ was 15:4; for whip--14:6; for whetstone--11:6. The addition of /r/ in such words as afterfeed, afternoon, pasture, and wash is not uncommon, especially in the speech of older rural residents. Usage is almost evenly divided between /j/ and /hj/ for the initial sound in humor, the respective ratio being 9:7. For words like new, due, Tuesday, and student, the usual pronunciation is the /u/ of boot, although some speakers use /ju/, especially when influenced by British usage.

The pattern of vowel phonemes and diphthongs warrants a summarizing comment on several prominent features of Kings County pronunciation. Although /a/ in such words as half, glass, and pasture, rather than /æ/, is an acquired, prestige pronunciation in some parts of Nova Scotia, it is natural in the language of most of the informants used for this survey. The low back vowel /ɔ/ and its allophones is the standard pronunciation for law, dog, lot, and crop in this area, and indeed for much of Canada. This sound is replaced by /a/, however, in the word father. Further evidence is needed to discover the extent of this usage; in certain other parts of the Maritime Provinces the use of /ɔ/ is common. There is no contrast between Mary and merry, each having the phoneme /ɛ/, but married is pronounced with both /æ/ and /ɛ/ by different speakers in the same region. The use of [ɔv, ev] in words like mountain, down, out, and about, as well as the sounds of [ov ~ ov̥] in coat, road, and know, is the standard pattern of speech for natives of Kings County, although they may change these sounds if they are later found to be lacking in prestige.

Language in the Kings County area is in a fluid state. Long an economic and cultural backwater, Nova Scotia is now making progress toward a higher standard of living and improved cultural development. The examination of the language of younger people and those with more education would probably modify the suggestion

given that this is a region of old-fashioned usage. The lack of a large urban center to serve as a focal point means that language in the hinterland changes slowly, but the recent development of Greenwood by the armed forces, expansion of industry, improved roads, and consolidated schools are having a marked effect on mobility of population and the development of a more cosmopolitan outlook. The influence of radio and television on language still has to be assessed, but here, as elsewhere, it is a powerful one.

In a short survey such as this, one cannot cover all the implications of dialect geography. My purpose was to provide certain data which may be used in a variety of ways. Raven I. McDavid and others have commented on by-products of the Linguistic Atlas and related surveys.<sup>10</sup> It is not easy to separate pure and applied research in areal linguistics. One of the problems in collecting unbiased material is the uncertainty of the informant about the correctness of his response, indicated by such questions as "What should I say?" or "Is that the right answer?" There is a real need for the interpretation of raw material by linguistically-trained scholars. Fortunately, that need is now being met to some extent, especially in relation to what could and should be taught in the public schools about language, and how the general public should react to linguistic variants--answering the vexing question, "What is standard usage?"

Facile generalizations about Canadian pronunciation and vocabulary can be avoided only if one has accurate data to assess; hence the importance of making further progress towards the development of a Canadian linguistic atlas, work on which has been lamentably slow.

What remains to be done in Nova Scotia to complete this section of the Canadian atlas? As already indicated above, western Nova Scotia has been investigated by means of a narrow-mesh survey; for the rest of the province there are only scattered records of Alexander's wide-mesh sweep. Following his summer of field work in 1939, Alexander assessed his progress and outlined the settlement history of Nova Scotia.<sup>11</sup> His notes provide a basis for considering gaps that still exist in an adequate study of the whole province.

English settlers came directly from England and via the United States (both pre-Loyalist and later immigrants). Cumberland and Colchester counties contain descendants of those who came from England; Guysborough County received disbanded soldiers from the United States. There is, of course, overlapping in this highly simplified outline of national and racial backgrounds; nor should any of the areas mentioned in this section be considered mutually exclusive.

The language of the Germans of Lunenburg County has been examined by Rex Wilson; the Irish, scattered here and there, do not constitute a large, single area; the Acadian French (Digby,

Yarmouth, Cape Breton) are outside the investigation of English in Nova Scotia, but require study as part of the bilingual aspect of Canadian speech. Blacks are comparatively numerous in Nova Scotia, but not in any one locality to the extent of having an appreciable effect on language. They are descended from slaves who came to Nova Scotia with American masters, or from those who emigrated directly from the West Indies. Their children attend racially integrated schools.

As the name of the province suggests, Nova Scotia's history has been closely connected with that of Scotland, and a useful survey could be made of Scottish language, both Highland and Lowland. The influence of the Scots has been pervasive in the central and eastern parts of the province, and the sections to be investigated range from Pictou County, east through Antigonish and beyond, to cover most of Cape Breton Island (where Gaelic is still kept alive by a faithful few).

The areas mentioned above would probably be the most fruitful ones for further research. There is, of course, ample opportunity for specialized studies using different questionnaires; for example regional and/or occupational expressions for farmers or fishermen or those of Scottish descent. The field worker in Nova Scotia can usually be assured of a cordial reception and the hospitality and cooperation of his informants. Most of the people are sober and industrious, having a high regard for education and a keen interest in the way that others act and speak.

Finally, this was a fascinating and rewarding study for me, and, I think, for many of the informants as well--those who must remain anonymous, but who deserve the real credit for any success which a field worker achieves. Often one wishes that the public image of a college professor were different: one might elicit more spontaneous responses if he could approach farmers in the guise of a fertilizer salesman. Certainly field work has a salutary effect on the academician. It is a humbling experience, and teaches one not to be hasty in arriving at conclusions about levels of language, or in rejecting phonological and lexical usage that differs from the idiolect of the researcher.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Notes on the Pronunciation of Canadian English as Spoken in Vancouver, B.C., Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March, 1957), 20.

2. A good example of applied linguistic geography is to be found in Jean Malmstrom, A Study of the Validity of Textbook Statements about Certain Controversial Grammatical Items in the Light of Evidence from the Linguistic Atlas (University of Minnesota Doctoral Dissertation, 1958).

3. For details of Alexander's procedure see Wilson, The Dialect of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, pp. 3, 8-9.

4. The Dialect of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Language, Vol. 11 (1935), 140-147.

5. For a useful discussion of this topic see Jean Malmstrom and Annabel Ashley, Dialects--U.S.A. (National Council of Teachers of English, 1963), Dialect in Literature, pp. 53-59.

6. See Hans Kurath, Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1939), pp 39-50.

7. Wilson, The Dialect of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, p. 5, n. 1.

8. Ibid., p. 50.

9. Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England, pp. 5-6.

10. See Two Decades of the Linguistic Atlas, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, vol. 50 (1951), 106.

11. Linguistic Geography, Queen's Quarterly, vol. 47 (Spring, 1940), 43.

## WALTER SPENCER AVIS, 1919-1979

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Walter Spencer Avis was born in Toronto on 4th June 1919. After overseas service with the Canadian Army during the Second World War, he returned to Canada to take his B.A. at Queen's University in 1949 and his M.A. at the same university in 1950. His Ph.D., from the University of Michigan, followed in 1955. In 1952, he had been appointed to the teaching staff of the Royal Military College of Canada, where he was ultimately to hold a full professorship of English, a post which he combined with that of Dean of the Canadian Forces Military College. In 1978, the Royal Military college honored him most fittingly by devoting the second of its Occasional Papers of the Department of English, R.M.C., to Walter S. Avis: Essays and Articles (Vincent, Parker, and Bonnycastle 1978). Avis's death, which took place in his home in Kingston, on 11th December, 1979, was peaceful, but was as unexpected as it was saddening to all who knew him.

Walter Avis was a scholar so outstanding in his field of Canadian English that even to outline his achievement is to limn the history of scholarship on this topic over the past three decades. His early work (Avis 1954, 1955a, 1956) was devoted to defining Canadian English, by differentiating it from its southern neighbor, and this was soon followed by articles on every aspect of the topic. His concern for the totality of the study was shown by his series of bibliographies of writings on Canadian English, of which the first (Avis 1955b) appeared in the first volume of the Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association,<sup>1</sup> as its title then was, which he had helped to found. These culminated in the first independently published bibliography of Canadian English (Avis 1965) and, true test of seminal scholarship, this has provoked other similar works since. It was natural, however, that his major interest should have been in the vocabulary of Canadian English for, as he wrote himself, "That part of Canadian English which is neither British nor American is best illustrated by the vocabulary" (Avis 1967: vii). His many articles on the vocabulary of Canadian English led naturally to the seven major dictionaries (Avis, and others 1962; Avis, Gregg, and Scargill 1963; Avis, and others 1967; Avis, ed.-in-chief 1967, and 1973; Avis, and others 1973; Avis, Gregg, and Scargill 1977). One measure of the importance of these is shown by their having produced, by 1975, nearly one hundred advance notices and reviews; a measure of the dictionaries' success lies in the fact that only three of these reviews (Hewson 1972; Moore 1967; Story and Kirwin 1971) contained comments which could be interpreted as adverse.

Any attempt to assess the value of Avis's work<sup>2</sup> must inevitably begin by reporting its sheer volume; up to 1976, when circumstances required that Avis send the present writer a bibliography of his publications, talks, and other scholarly activities, he had written or edited nine books, had published forty-six articles, and had given fifty-six talks to various organizations. But mere volume is of little account, and it is the excellence of Avis's work that matters. If, as many scholars hold, examples be the lifeblood of linguistics, then one has but to glance at the barest summary of his work to see how vital it is. It was common for him to produce over fifty examples to support his views; on occasion, his score was over a hundred. Not only to lexicography, but to all his writing, he brought a width of experience and a depth of understanding by no means common in modern linguistics; he never lost sight of language as a social and historical phenomenon, and his work now touches and now illuminates many parts of Canadian life of yesterday and today. The scholarship, modernity, and balance of his lexicography mark it unmistakably as great. In scholarship, he could distinguish immediately and clearly what was American, what British, and what truly Canadian. As a modern lexicographer, he insisted that a dictionary should reflect and inform about, but should not try to legislate, the common use. The balance of his mind led him to insist that the only sensible criterion for Canadians to follow was the usage of educated natives of Canada (Avis 1967:viii); but he was equally firm in rejecting the idea that Canadian English was a language separate from that spoken by Americans and British (Avis [1966]:3). But the true measure of his scholarship is its effectiveness; learned and unlearned men will long argue about what Canadian English is, but, thanks greatly to Avis's work, none can doubt that it is there.

As a servant of his discipline, Avis was untiring. He was a founding member of the Canadian Linguistic Association<sup>3</sup> and, after a long period of service to that association, first as its secretary-treasurer (1956-1959) and then as its secretary (1959-1967), was ultimately its president (1968-1970). In 1972, the Association appointed him an Honorary Life Member, and in the following year the Canadian Journal of Linguistics 18, 2 (Fall/Automne 1973) was dedicated to him, his portrait appearing as its frontispiece. In 1965, he was a member of the founding committee for the Canadian Association for Applied Linguistics. From 1969 till its completion, he was a member of the Advisory Council for the Survey of Canadian English, conducted by the Canadian Council of Teachers of English, of which body he was a director-at-large from 1971 to 1974. But his interests were not limited to Canada. In 1959 he was secretary, and in 1960 chairman, of the Present-day English Section of the Modern Language Association. From 1954 to 1975, he was Canadian Secretary of the American Dialect Society; in 1980 he was to have become the Society's vice-president, and would have been its president in 1982.

These, however, are but a few of the highlights from a life of energetic support for scholarship; the full list of Avis's achievements occupies a legal-sized page of single-spaced typescript. On the lighter side, it is refreshing to record that his life-long interest in hockey was recognized in 1975, when he was made an Honorary Director of the International Hockey Hall of Fame. Perhaps the most agreeable thing to report is that two of Avis's early aspirations were realized before he died. Already in 1957, he was stressing the need for a dictionary that would be specifically Canadian, and he was also looking for a nation-wide survey to determine Canadian practice in pronunciation and spelling (Avis 1957:255-56). It is most pleasant to think that the dictionaries were in print and the Survey of Canadian English was completed while he was still leading his active and busy life. It is, alas, much less pleasant to look at the field of scholarship on Canadian English as it is without Wally's genial, inspiring, and well-loved figure.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. With the issue of 7, 1 (Fall/Automne 1961), this became the Canadian Journal of Linguistics.

2. A complete list of Avis's writings on Canadian English up to 1975 appears in Avis and Kinlock ([1978]) as items 102 through 153, and items \*676 and \*677; his work thereafter appears as items 675 and 678 through 680 in the same publication. To these should be added Avis (1975), Avis (1978a), and Avis (1978b).

3. It is significant that his name appears twice on the cover/title page of the Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association 1, No. 1 (October 1954).

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\* \* \* \* \*

JEAN-PAUL VINAY, former Head of the Department of Linguistics, University of Montreal, and currently Director of the Canadian Bilingual Dictionary Project, was unable to complete the preparation of an article on automated lexicography for this issue of JAPLA, due to illness. We wish Professor Vinay a speedy recovery, and we hope that a contribution from his pen will grace these pages in the future.

JEAN-PAUL VINAY, ex-directeur du Département de linguistique de l'Université de Montréal et aujourd'hui Professeur à la retraite terminant la rédaction d'un second Dictionnaire Canadien bilingue, préparait pour ce numéro de RALPA un article sur des questions de sémantique résultant du traitement informatique des entrées du dictionnaire bilingue. Nous regrettons que la maladie ait empêché le Professeur Vinay d'achever une contribution que nous espérons publier dans un numéro prochain.

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