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**PAMAPLA 30 / ACALPA 30**

**PAPERS FROM THE 30<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL MEETING  
ACTES DU TRENTIÈME COLLOQUE ANNUEL**

**2006**

EDITED BY / RÉDACTION

MARGARET HARRY  
STEPHANIE LAHEY  
CHRISTA BEAUDOIN-LIETZ

SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY



# **PAMAPLA 30**

## **PAPERS FROM THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION**

Saint Mary's University  
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# **ACALPA 30**

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Saint Mary's University  
Halifax, Nouvelle-Écosse, Canada  
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MARGARET HARRY  
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Dr. Elissa Asp (Chair),  
 Dr. Christa Beaudoin-Lietz,  
 Dr. Margaret Harry, Dr. Shelley Tulloch

Linguistics Program, Saint Mary's University

**and / et**

Anja Brendel, Chris Guthro, Megan Kane, Stephanie Lahey,  
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## Author Contact Information / Information complémentaire concernant les auteur(e)s

Asselin, Gabriel  
University of Alberta  
gasselin@ualberta.ca

Beaudoin-Lietz, Christa  
Saint Mary's University  
christa.beaudoin@smu.ca

Becker, Barbara  
University of Winnipeg  
bjbecker@shaw.ca

Bulhões, Elizabeth  
Concordia University  
elizabethbulhoes@yahoo.com

Cardoso, Walcir  
Concordia University  
walcir@education.concordia.ca

Cosper, Ronald  
Saint Mary's University  
ronald.cosper@smu.ca

Daveluy, Michelle  
University of Alberta  
michelle.daveluy@ualberta.ca

Duchaj, Karen A.  
Northeastern Illinois University  
k-duchaj@neiu.edu

Forintos, Eva  
University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary  
forintos@almos.vein.hu

Hung, Andrew  
National Chen-Kung University, Taiwan  
k2794102@mail.ncku.edu.tw

Lustanski, Joanna  
York University; McMaster University  
joasial@yorku.ca

Malcolm, Karen  
University of Winnipeg  
k.malcolm@uwinnipeg.ca

Mulo Farenkia, Bernard  
Cape Breton University  
bernard\_farenkia@cbru.ca

Ntuhirageza, Jeanine  
Northeastern Illinois University  
j-ntuhirageza@neiu.edu

Takam, Alain  
Dalhousie University  
alain.takam@dal.ca

Wu, Chu-Hsia  
National Chen-Kung University, Taiwan  
z8208005@mail.ncku.edu.tw

Zhang, Qi  
University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK  
qi.zhang@nd.ac.uk

## Keynote Address

Jean Briggs, Professor Emeritus, Memorial University of Newfoundland  
*Language Dead or Alive: What's in a Dictionary?*

## Other Papers Presented / Autres Communications Présentées

Hend Abdelkefi, Université de Sousse (Tunisie)  
*La variété des usages ou le rythme mémoire*

Patricia Balcolm, Université de Moncton (NB)  
*Caught in a Trap? Acquisition of Unaccusativity in L2 French*

Louise Beaulieu, Université de Moncton (NB); Wladyslaw Cichocki, University of New Brunswick; et Natalie Chiasson-Albert, École Ola-Léger Bertrand (NB)  
*L'emploi de la morphologie verbale par des enfants de 3 à 5 ans locuteurs natifs de français acadien*

Catherine Bodin, McDaniel College (MD)  
*Bilingualism or Diglossia in the Malberg Glosses?*

Yves Bourque, Dalhousie University (NS)  
*Stratégies de compensation des insuffisances lexicales chez les apprenants du français langue seconde*

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Wladyslaw Cichocki, University of New Brunswick; Louise Beaulieu, Université de Moncton (NB); et Natalie Chiasson-Albert, École Ola-Léger Bertrand (NB)  
*Acquisition of a Traditional Morphosyntactic Variant by Acadian French Children*

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*I.A. Richards' Role in the Development of Linguistic Theories of Metaphor*

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*Examining Igbo Language in the Context of Psycho-Terminology*

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*Using Culturally Based Communication Theory to Influence Interface Design*

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*Using Geographic Information Systems to Organize Linguistic and Cultural Data*

## **Conference Theme: Linguistic Communities**

Community is the framework within which languages, and specific ways of using them, are acquired, developed, and practiced. Speakers often value and use non-standard or minority speech varieties as a way of acting out solidarity and belonging. Contact between linguistic communities can lead to changes in speech varieties and the contexts in which they are used.

## **Thème du colloque: Les communautés linguistiques**

La communauté est le cadre dans lequel se développe, s'acquiert et se pratique une langue et ses usages. Les personnes qui parlent une variété non-standard ou minoritaire sont souvent très attachées à celle-ci, qu'elles utilisent aux fins de démontrer leur solidarité et leur appartenance. Les contacts entre communautés linguistiques peuvent mener à des changements dans les variétés de langue et dans les contextes dans lesquels celles-ci s'utilisent.

# CFB Esquimalt's French-Speaking Families: Social Networks and Linguistic Communities

Gabriel Asselin  
(University of Alberta)

## Abstract

In the early 1970s, the Canadian Forces first bilingualism programs were aiming for an increased participation of French speakers in the military, mostly in services other than the infantry, where they had traditionally been more involved. French Canadians were particularly absent in the Canadian Navy, which was a stronghold of British tradition in the Canadian Forces. The policies which were put into place in order to implement the Official Languages Act were mostly directed at the Halifax naval base, in hopes of creating at least one bilingual navy base, while the west coast base of Esquimalt, near Victoria, was deemed to have too small a French-speaking population to justify French-speaking or bilingual units. However, the policy demanding a certain percentage of French speakers in all English-speaking units, paired with an increased recruitment of French speakers, resulted in a greater number of francophones in the Pacific fleet. This increasing number of French speakers coming to live in the Victoria region with their families, combined with the Official Languages Act, created a need to provide certain services in French, not only for military members, but also for their families. As such, although a small French-speaking community already existed in Victoria, it was the emergence of a large number of Francophone military families which justified the creation of a French only school. Today, CFB Esquimalt's French-speaking military families form a community whose members can take part in many social networks, such as the anglophone military and civilian communities, and the Francophone military and civilian communities. In this paper, I present some preliminary conclusions based on fieldwork undertaken in CFB Esquimalt during the summer of 2006.

The workplace is only one part of the life of military personnel, especially for those with families. The French-speaking military employees of the Canadian Navy in both Canadian Navy bases, CFB Halifax, NS, and CFB Esquimalt, BC, along with their families, participate in various communities. Which ones?

There is no doubt that there are, in the Halifax and Victoria regions, French speakers and French-speaking organizations, but to what extent do French-speaking military families participate in these communities? Do they keep to each other? Does the military lifestyle make it easier for them to relate to English-speaking military families instead of seeking out other French speakers? To seek an answer to these questions, I decided to conduct research in the Canadian Navy community, especially with French-speaking families, in order to study the way that these individuals relate to each other as well as towards other communities. From the outset, I realized that a number of differences between Victoria and Halifax suggest that French-speaking military families are likely to interact differently with the local communities in both cities, in part because of the historical importance of the Acadians in the Atlantic Provinces, and among other reasons because of Halifax's geographical proximity to Québec. Already having a certain amount of data concerning CFB Halifax, in part through Dr. Daveluy's research (2006, and below:27–34), I decided to concentrate my efforts on the military community of CFB Esquimalt, in the Greater Victoria region.

The concept of *community* being elusive, I decided to use something else as the focus of attention throughout this research: the concept of *social network*. Instead of using first language proficiency as a way to define communities, I opted to see it as a possible contributing factor in ways of building social networks. In this research, I see linguistic community as a communicative network that is constituted by each individual's

interaction with others. It is, in fact, a speech community more than anything else. Members of French-speaking military families interact with individuals from civilian and military communities, as well as with French and English speakers. I wanted to know if these families are more likely to extend their social networks in one or more of these directions, and to find out if the orientation of their social network is primarily influenced by the fact that they are French speakers, or by the fact that they are military members. By trying to understand the experience of community life from an individual perspective, I hoped to be able to draw some conclusions about the community in general.

Along with the necessary documentary research, the data for the project were gathered during a six week stay in Esquimalt, BC, during which I participated in community activities, both military and civilian, met with various officials, and conducted interviews.

The Greater Victoria region provides us with a very interesting example of how language policies, institutions and local populations can interact to shape a linguistic community. Looking at it from a historical perspective, we can see the impact that the Canadian Forces language policies had on the community. While French Canadians did play a role in the foundation of British Columbia's capital (Forget 2006), their dispersal throughout the city and their continuously shrinking numbers in comparison to other groups caused them to become a barely perceptible minority by the end of the 19th century. Yet, by the end of the 1950s, things slowly started to change, in part because of the Canadian Navy base situated in neighbouring Esquimalt. While French Canadians were a small minority in the Navy, where they were under-represented compared to the overall Canadian population, the Canadian military felt that they had some responsibility to provide them with adequate spiritual support. Thus, for French-speaking Catholics, this meant religious counselling and services in French. In fact, chaplain services were one of the first elements of bilingualism in the Canadian military. By 1957, the Canadian military was changing, and a larger percentage of its members were bringing their families to live near or on the bases, including French-speaking families. The civilian French-speaking community of Victoria benefited from this, since the increased numbers of French-speaking Catholics in the region justified the creation of the Paroisse St-Jean-Baptiste, a French Catholic parish. At the time, the Church of the Paroisse St-Jean-Baptiste was the only physical French-Canadian institution on Vancouver Island.

Sixteen years later, a similar process led to the creation of a French-only school. Following the Official Languages Act (1985), the bilingualism programs in the Navy were mostly aimed at Halifax, since the French-speaking population of Victoria was deemed to be too small to justify more French services. However, the overall increase in recruitment of French speakers, and the decision to maintain a certain percentage of French speakers in all units created an increase in the French-speaking military members of CFB Esquimalt, despite the fact that the base did not have any French or bilingual units. The increase in French-speaking military members on the base led to an increase in French-speaking families in the region, and as the Canadian Forces had acknowledged responsibilities towards military families, a school for the children of French-speaking military members was created in Esquimalt in 1973. The school was named Victor-Brodeur, after Admiral Victor-Gabriel Brodeur, whose former residence housed the newly established school. Twelve years later, in 1985, Victor-Brodeur became a public school and opened its doors to children of non-military French-speaking families.

These two institutions, Paroisse St-Jean Baptiste and École Victor-Brodeur, are pillars of the French-speaking community in the Victoria region, and constitute rallying points for francophones who would otherwise participate in different social networks. While the Catholic congregation has significantly diminished in the last few decades, its creation and continued activities were crucial in the bringing together of the community during the 1950s, 60s and 70s. It created a public environment where French was the only expected language of socialization. Eventually, the creation of lay organizations to provide services to the francophone community shifted these community centres away from the church, but the importance of the Paroisse St-Jean Baptiste is still recognized, since many influential members of the community are part of the congregation, and also because of its important historical role and status as a repository of French-Canadian heritage in Victoria.

Today, the École Victor-Brodeur is arguably the most important institution of Victoria's French-speaking community. At least for military families, my fieldwork clearly indicates that the biggest incentive to participate in the civilian French community is having school-age children. All but one of my participants living in French-speaking families, unless they lived unreasonably far, were either sending their children to Victor-Brodeur, or were planning to when they came of age, even if French immersion programs existed much closer to their homes. Most parents with children attending Victor-Brodeur had some level of participation in activities organized by the school. Since Victor-Brodeur offers classes from kindergarten to grade twelve, involvement with the school can be quite a long-term relationship and creates the opportunity to develop many contacts, deepening one's social network within the French-speaking community.

We can thus see that the Victoria French speakers benefitted greatly from their proximity to the Naval base, which brought both an increase in the French-speaking population and also the extension, to the local community, of services originally intended for the military community.

French-speaking military members thus find themselves participating, and being solicited for participation, in two very different communities: the mostly English-speaking military community, and the mostly civilian French-speaking community. One could think that there are great advantages to belonging to many communities, and indeed there are, but when one lives across many social networks, it also becomes easier to fall between the cracks.

When I asked the Military Family Resource Centre and the Base Coordinator on Official Languages about their programs directed at French-speaking families, it was explained to me that the military support services try to not overlap with programs available in the civilian community. The general impression was that French-speaking spouses participate less in activities of the military community because they would rather use those provided by the French-speaking civilian community. However, when speaking with individuals from the civilian community, I was told that military spouses do not really need civilian services since they have their own adapted services provided by the military. On one side, the military thinks its obligation is fulfilled on account of the existing civilian society, while on the other the civilian society thinks that military spouses get services in the military community.

Both the Esquimalt Military Family Resource Centre and the Société Francophone de Victoria create programs and offer services based on the perceived needs of their clientele. It is not a part of their mandates to provide new services that no one requested. So the lack of programs for French-speaking military spouses on both sides of the civil-military divide could be explained either by a general lack of participation in both communities, or by a lack of requests for specific programs. French-speaking military members do not insist on services adapted for them because of a lack of readily available services, while the organizations that could provide those services do not feel a need to develop new programs if they are not clearly requested.

Participation in community institutions and access to services are only some of the elements of social networks. Another important aspect of social networks that I studied during my fieldwork is friendship. For some, friends can constitute one of the main socialization opportunities outside of the workplace, especially for those without school-age children. Military members and their spouses mostly make friends in the military community. Shared lifestyle, workplace, and often interests, make other military members and their spouses good candidates with whom to develop friendships and spend leisure time. But although many French-speaking military members state that they do not have a preference as to the first language of their friends, most have predominantly French-speaking friendship networks. Three factors are often mentioned to explain this.

The first of these is simply linguistic. Although the majority of French-speaking military personnel and their spouses eventually develop a good level of proficiency in spoken English, most feel that to talk and think in English is still "extra work." They want to be able to kick back and relax as much as they can when they are with friends. They therefore prefer the company of other French speakers as friends. It is important to note that most of them do also have English-speaking friends, but French speakers form the majority of close friendships.

The other reason for the predominance of French-speaking social networks is cultural. A majority of the French speakers I spoke to during my research were from Québec, and many of them explained that they really felt the difference between themselves and their English-speaking counterparts when it came to cultural references. Discussions involving public figures, music, television, literature and many other subjects often revealed that many English and French speakers did not know of each other's culture as much as they thought. While many participants said that the discovery of such differences was very interesting, and wanting to learn about a new culture was one of reasons stated for joining the military and moving to Victoria, they also mentioned that when speaking with friends, they preferred to be able to talk freely about these topics without having to explain, or to have explained to them, most cultural references.

One more reason which explains why French-speaking military personnel have a majority of French-speaking military friends is structural. It was explained to me many times that while most friends are other military members, most close friends are not immediate co-workers. Without going in too much detail, as this would be the topic of another study, the promotion system in the Canadian Forces is such that public image and reputation are very important, as they can have an informal weight in the evaluation of candidates. Many military members prefer to keep elements of their private life away from their immediate co-workers, so that personal problems or special situations cannot be used against them in an evaluation, and hinder their career. I was told that the strongest and longest-lasting friendships of the Canadian Navy are those created during the various stages of training. Going through the life-changing process of basic training together, new military members develop a sense of shared experience which in turn develops strong bonds of loyalty. Many feel that those who underwent training with them are their most trustworthy friends. Furthermore, the Canadian Navy is different than the Army or the Air Force in the sense that with only two operational bases, individuals training together are more likely to be working in geographical proximity for extended periods of time, at least when their ships are not at sea. This makes it possible to create longer-lasting friendships with other recruits. However, what happens is that most military training is linguistically segregated. Although many advanced-training programs are only provided in English because of a lack of demand, shortage of French-speaking instructors, or of French training manuals, most of the initial training of an individual is provided in their first language. Thus, the bonding experience of training mostly happens between people who share the same first language. In providing training to French and English speakers separately, the Canadian Forces reinforce the tendency of French-speaking military personnel to have most of their close friends among other French speakers.

On some level, Esquimalt's French-speaking military families find themselves participating in many social networks, with varying degrees of integration. Couples with school-age children usually find themselves more involved with the civilian community, while those without children tend to keep to the military community. In both cases, their social networks outside of work and access to services are usually largely constituted of French speakers, especially compared to the proportion of English speakers in Victoria's general population. Their military identity allows them to create ties within the military community, while their first language offers them the opportunity to seek out individuals from the francophone community. In this case, being part of a military family and being French speakers become elements of integration in two different communities.

But on another level, and for the same reason, Esquimalt's French-speaking military families find themselves more isolated than other groups. As discussed earlier, linguistic and cultural differences isolate them from the military community. In the worst cases, military spouses abandon the idea of participating in the military community for the reason that they do not speak the language altogether, but subtle differences in cultural background and references are enough to discourage some individuals. The same individuals can find themselves isolated from civilian society because of lifestyle differences related to military life. Most military spouses express a sense of alienation from their civilian friends who do not understand the hardships of military life, especially when it comes to deployments, which are frequent in the Navy. The services that are available in the military community are specially adapted to this reality, and are therefore often preferable to those offered by civilian organizations. If one speaks English!

In conclusion, being a military member and being a French speaker can both be isolating and integrating elements. When observing the social networks of CFB Esquimalt's French-speaking military families, we can see that various elements can push individuals towards developing relationships in one direction or the other. Some families find themselves very integrated in one, or both, of these communities, but most of them do tend to some level of isolation because of various factors. This is the analysis that I now want to research more deeply before I complete my final report on this project.

## Readings

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## Weak and Strong Adjective Alternations in German

Christa Beaudoin-Lietz

(Saint Mary's University)

### Abstract

Inflectional marking on attributive adjectives in Modern German, though well known and traditionally described as strong, weak, or "mixed," has been a recurring topic of discussion (e.g., Netter 1994; Olsen 1991; Pafel 1994, 2005; Plank 2002); questions remain concerning the explanation of certain co-occurrence patterns of adjective endings. One such pattern is discussed in this paper: two attributive adjectives in the same NP may in actual use show alternation in inflectional marking (e.g., mit schönem weitem Blick "with a beautiful wide view" (Plank 1992:460) though only identical endings (e.g., mit schönem weitem Blick) would be expected according to some grammars. These alternations are often dismissed as idiosyncratic usage and then excluded from consideration. In contrast, in this paper they will be the focus of discussion and explained as reflecting a systematic difference. Corpus analyses of the use of quantifiers (Dipper 2005, Pfeffer and Linder 1984) shed light on this difference since, when preceding attributive adjectives, the use of certain quantifiers will result in alternations of inflectional marking on the adjectives. This paper aims to explain the alternations by suggesting that they reflect a difference in meaning. It is also shown that contextual syntactic information is essential. Furthermore, the results may lead to re-examining the presentation of teaching materials on adjectives for the German as a Second Language (GSL) classroom.

### Weak and Strong Adjective Alternations in German

The distribution of inflectional endings on attributive adjectives in Modern German has long been a topic of discussion and a major concern for Second Language learners of German. In German, in contrast to English, most attributive adjectives show co-occurrence patterns with the following noun. The type of inflectional ending depends on what precedes the attributive adjective. The adjective endings are traditionally referred to as strong, weak, or "mixed." Grammars of German provide paradigms of the different attributive adjective endings (e.g., Curme 1960, Dippmann and Watzinger-Tharp 2000, Duden 1984, Durrell 2002, Griesbach and Schulz 1962, Helbig and Buscha 1993). Nevertheless, there are areas within the study of adjectival agreement that are generally not addressed systematically. This paper discusses one such case of adjective agreement, namely when, in the same NP, two attributive adjectives co-occur that differ in inflectional endings. Such examples are frequently cited as exceptions or are described as idiosyncratic use of language and then excluded from points under discussion. They are not acknowledged in all grammars, though they do occur. This paper focuses on the use of the weak inflection in such cases. As will be shown, an issue somewhat related, namely that of quantifiers co-occurring with descriptive adjectives, can shed some light on the aforementioned pattern.

The structure of the paper is the following: first some background about German adjective agreement is provided, and then some examples with several descriptive adjectives which do not have the same endings will highlight the issue under discussion. It will be suggested that these co-occurrences cannot be dismissed. A suggested explanation for some of these occurrences will show that two features are necessary to explain German adjective features. Context is also important in the choice of the adjective ending. Co-occurrence patterns of quantifiers with descriptive adjectives will highlight the explanation.

## Background

Within a DP, descriptive adjectives in most cases show agreement in number, gender and case with the noun (adjectives which do not agree are not discussed in this paper). While English has natural gender, German has grammatical gender — with distinctions of masculine, feminine and neuter — and four cases. In German, there are basically two different sets of forms, traditionally called strong forms and weak forms (there are also so-called mixed forms). The following examples illustrate the weak forms:

- ‘this cold coffee’ MASC SG:  
NOM **dieser kalte** Kaffee, ACC **diesen kalten** Kaffee, DAT **diesem kalten** Kaffee, GEN **dieses kalten** Kaffees
- ‘this warm water’ NEUT SG:  
NOM **dieses warme** Wasser, ACC **dieses warme** Wasser, DAT **diesem warmen** Wasser, GEN **dieses warmen** Wassers
- ‘this warm milk’ FEM SG:  
NOM **diese warme** Milch, ACC **diese warme** Milch, DAT **dieser warmen** Milch, GEN **dieser warmen** Milch
- ‘these cold beverages’ PL:  
NOM **diese kalten** Getränke, ACC **diese kalten** Getränke, DAT **diesen kalten** Getränken, GEN **dieser kalten** Getränken

(Adapted from: Dippmann and Watzinger-Tharp 2000:147)

The *-e* is found in the NOM SG of all three genders and applies in the ACC to the NEUT and FEM. All other forms end in *-en*. Attributive adjectives with weak inflectional endings (WK) cannot occur without a determiner in modern German except in certain contexts, for example, in appositions, in contrast to attributive adjectives with strong inflectional endings. Strong forms (ST) occur under certain conditions, i.e., when the descriptive adjectives are not preceded by a determiner.

The following examples illustrate the pattern of the paradigm with strong forms:

- ‘good coffee’ MASC SG:  
NOM **guter** Kaffee, ACC **guten** Kaffee; DAT **gutem** Kaffee; GEN **guten** Kaffees
- ‘warm water’ NEUT SG:  
NOM **warmes** Wasser; ACC **warmes** Wasser; DAT **warmem** Wasser; GEN **warmen** Wassers
- ‘warm milk’ FEM SG:  
NOM **warme** Milch; ACC **warme** Milch; DAT **warmer** Milch; GEN **warmer** Milch
- ‘cold beverages’ PL:  
NOM **kalte** Getränke; ACC **kalte** Getränke; DAT **kalten** Getränke; GEN **kalter** Getränke

There is also the so-called mixed declension, in which the inflectional ending is in most cases weak, but strong if the determiner does not have an inflection, as in the following example for the masculine singular forms with the forms indicating case in bold:

- ‘a good coffee’ MASC SG:  
NOM **ein guter** Kaffee, ACC **einen guten** Kaffee; DAT **einem guten** Kaffee; GEN **eines guten** Kaffees

Thus the following applies:

The strong endings are used if there is no determiner in the noun phrase with an ending which indicates case, gender, number of the noun as clearly as possible. The weak endings are used if there is a determiner with an ending in the noun phrase. (Durrell 2002:127)

Hence, within a DP, "determinierheit" is expressed once (see also, for example, Helbig and Buscha 1993).

### Alternations of Strong / Weak Forms

The focus of this paper is on the weak forms in alternations of strong / weak forms when two or more attributive adjectives co-occur. If several attributive adjectives co-occur, in most cases the forms will have identical agreement patterns. Examples in (1) illustrate this case:

- (1) a. *guter* [ST] *starker* [ST] *Kaffee* 'good strong coffee'<sup>1</sup>  
 b. *der gute* [WK] *starke* [WK] *Kaffee* 'the good strong coffee' (Adapted from Curme 1960:127)
- (2) *Octavia ist von frommem* [ST], *kaltem* [ST], *stillem* [ST] *Temperament*.  
 (Quelle: William Shakespeare: *Antonius und Cleopatra*, II. Aufzug, 6. Szene)  
 (wortschatz.uni-leipzig: *kaltem*)

In general, the principle is that two or more descriptive adjectives which modify the same noun take the same inflection. Nominalized adjectives keep their adjectival inflections.

There are, however, instances of attributive adjectives, especially in the DAT SG, where speakers seem to have a choice between the strong and the (unexpected) weak inflection on the second attributive adjective. Having the possibility of two forms is generally restricted to the masculine and neuter as the following examples illustrate:

- (3) a. *mit schön-em weit-em Blick* [MASC] 'with (a) beautiful vista'<sup>2</sup>  
 b. *mit schön-er weit-er Aussicht* [FEM] 'with (a) beautiful wide view'  
 c. *mit schön-em weit-en* [WK] *Blick*  
 d. \**mit schön-er weit-er Aussicht* (Adapted from Plank 1992:460)
- (4) a. *in langem grauen Mantel* [MASC] 'in a long gray coat'  
 b. *mit vollendetem fünfzehnten Lebensjahr* [NEUT] 'on completion of the 15<sup>th</sup> year of one's life'  
 (Adapted from Curme 1960:113)

Curme (1960) suggests that the weak form on the second attributive adjective from the left may be possible to show subordination. Examples in (4) illustrate this case, i.e., a difference in bracketing of the two adjectives within the NP. However, Duden (1973), as does Duden (1984), refers to the principle noted earlier, stating that the older rule to which Curme refers does not obtain. Duden (1973) cites phonological reasons for examples with alternations (see Duden for details.). Though syntax and phonology are part of the complex picture, forms with alternations in the adjective endings warrant closer inspection. Some grammars (e.g., Durrell 2000) acknowledge that another pattern occurs. Examples such as the following are found especially in the MASC and NEUT DAT SG:

- (5) a. *Ich bleibe zu Hause bei nebligem kaltem* [ST] *Wetter*. 'I stay at home in foggy cold weather.'  
 b. *Ich bleibe zu Hause bei nebligem kalten* [WK] *Wetter*.

(Fioretta 1996)

<sup>1</sup> All translations are by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Though *Blick* and *Aussicht* can be both translated by 'view,' I have used alternative terms to illustrate the difference.

In the following comment on alternations Durrell (2002:130) states, “Using the weak ending *-en* in such a context is considered ‘incorrect’ by some authorities. However, although it is less frequent [than] the strong ending *-em*, it is by no means unusual in all kinds of written German,” as the following examples illustrate:

(6) *mit dunklem bayrischem/bayrischen Bier* ‘with dark Bavarian beer’<sup>3</sup>

(7) *nach langem beunruhigendem/beunruhigenden Schweigen* ‘after a long disconcerting silence’  
(Durrell 2002:130; italics and bolding mine)

The following examples are from the German corpus available at the University of Leipzig ([http://wortschatz.uni-leipzig.de/html/suche\\_2.html#adje](http://wortschatz.uni-leipzig.de/html/suche_2.html#adje); bolding mine).

(8) *Sie wurden mit Bakterien infiziert und in ein Becken mit kaltem und warmem Wasser gesetzt.*

‘They were infected with bacteria and placed in a basin with cold and warm water.’

(Quelle: Die Welt 2002)

In the corpus “mit kaltem und warmem Wasser” (‘with cold and warm water’) is found a number of times.

(9) *mit klarem, kritischen Verständnis* ‘with clear, critical understanding’ (Quelle: Die Zeit 2002)

A preliminary result of surveying some of the adjectives in the corpus indicates that for each adjective surveyed there are a number of alternations. Thus, these alternations cannot be dismissed as idiosyncrasies, but deserve attention. Within the theoretical framework of sign theory, this paper would suggest that these variations are meaningful, especially since minimal pairs exist. Before further discussion of the difference in meaning in the alternations, a brief examination of the diachronic data will be made.

## Some Diachronic Notes

The definite article in modern German developed out of demonstrative forms. In Germanic the adjectives (with now strong endings) had a demonstrative inflection and therefore a different inflection from the noun. The starting point of this distinction was the nominative plural (Meillet 1930). The extension of the demonstrative inflection to the adjectives (now strong) happened slowly and to different degrees in the different Germanic dialects. For example, in the DAT SG MASC and NEUT the extension took place in all the dialects, but in the Gothic FEM SG, the inflection of the noun was preserved. The expressed reference could be definite or indefinite. However this “demonstrative inflection” was heavy and by extending the *n*-inflection (originally used for nouns and then nominalized adjectives), the weak inflection on adjectives was developed. Weak inflection became associated with definite individualization. This did not necessarily mean an association with the definite article with which it is now found except for remnants of older usage (see Curme 1960). Thus, historically included in the adjectival meaning was the reference to an individual, the referent.

(10) Germanic: \*Jungo (weak) sunuz ‘young son’

(Hewson 1972:55)

The form has the notion of “son to whom the notion of son is totally attached” (Hewson 1972:57)<sup>4</sup>. This means it can have a referential and anaphoric force, “son that is known to be young.”

<sup>3</sup> Duden (1984) disagrees with the alternation in this example. Nevertheless, it is still cited in Durrell’s recent grammar.

<sup>4</sup> It is here necessary to talk about referent and lexeme. In nouns these often coincide, but not always. The following example illustrates the difference (Hewson 1991:145). The example is from French: *un méchant écrivain* ‘a lousy writer’ NOT a lousy person; his writing is lousy. In French the adjective that precedes modifies the lexeme ‘writer’ but in *un écrivain méchant* ‘a writer who is nasty’ it modifies the referent.

## Further Discussion of Forms with Weak Inflections

Particularization and (in the plural) total unit are part of the explanation for the use of weak adjective inflections where one might expect strong endings or where both may be possible. For example, with personal pronouns adjectives are inflected strongly though not in the NOM PL; weak forms occur in DAT SG and the NOM PL as in (11). Examples such as (11) show how particularization and total unit are included. For example,

- (11) a. *Wir jungen Kollegen* 'We (the) YOUNG colleagues' (Durrell 2002:132; emphasis mine)  
 b. *Ihr armen Kerle!* 'You poor old chaps'  
 c. *Wir fleissigen Schüler* 'We INDUSTRIOUS students'

In (11c) *Wir sind die fleissigen Schüler* ('We are the industrious students.') is reflected, i.e., "We are the industrious students (and not the lazy ones); we are known as the industrious students," which expresses a built-in reference to the whole group, and thus results in a weak ending.

The weakly inflected adjectives are distinct from the strongly inflected ones in referring to the referent and particularization into a total unit (plural), while the strongly inflected adjectives can be indefinite and do not carry the notion of a particularized unit. This pattern appears to become even clearer when quantifiers precede the attributive adjective. It appears that empirical results (Pfeffer and Linder 1984) tend to reflect what was said above about the notional difference between weak and strong forms. As Pfeffer and Linder (1984) point out, grammars do not necessarily agree on whether adjectives following quantifiers carry weak or strong inflections. According to the results of the corpus study of 2,200,000 spoken and written words, grammars may not necessarily reflect usage accurately. In the following data, the quantifiers investigated in terms of co-occurrence with strong or weak endings on the following adjectives are listed on the left; use of the type of inflection of the following adjective is listed on the right.

**Table 1: Quantifiers with Inflection Type on the Following Attributive Adjective**

all- 'all'	weak
ander- 'other'	strong
beid- 'both'	strong/weak
einig- 'some'	strong (PL); weak (DAT MASC SG)
einzel- 'single, separate'	wrong
folgend- 'following'	In PL 80% strong, 20% weak; in SG predominantly weak
gewiss- 'certain'	(but not to be precisely defined) strong (except GEN PL)
irgendwelch- 'any, which'	~50% strong, ~50% weak (57.9% in the PL)
manch- 'many (a)'	in SG weak; in PL more strong than weak
sämtlich- 'all'	weak (error)
mehrer- 'several'	strong
solch- 'such, like this'	in PL 74% weak, 26% strong; in SG weak/strong
sonstig- 'others'	strong (except GEN PL)
verschieden- 'various'	strong (predominantly)
viel- 'many'	close to 100% strong
welch- 'which'	weak
wenig- 'few'	strong

(adapted and abbreviated from Pfeffer and Linder 1984:154–160)

The uninflected forms are followed by strong forms. That result corresponds clearly to the general principal described earlier. Those quantifiers which notionally can express a unit and particularization are the ones that appear to be followed by weak forms on the following adjectives, for example *sämtlich-* and *all-* (in the plural). *Welch-*, for example, includes in modern German the notion of the particular. It can also function as interrogative and asks for a particular thing: “Der Sprecher fragt nach einem ganz bestimmten Einzelwesen” (Duden 1973:290) (‘The speaker asks about a definite individual’). Those quantifiers that do not include the notion of particularization or a total unit tend towards strongly inflected forms, such as *mehrer-* ‘several,’ *verschieden-* ‘various’ and *sonstig-* ‘others.’ *Irgendwelch-* is interesting in that it combines the notion of indefinite and particularization as in ‘any’ and ‘which’ respectively. This seems to be reflected in the percentages of usage. Durrell’s description confirms what has been said above: after *irgendwelche* and *solche*, either weak or strong endings are used (see (12) a below).

Though the percentages are not as detailed as in Pfeffer and Linder’s more detailed analysis, in general terms Dipper’s short corpus analysis (2005) to distinguish adjectival quantifiers from determiners<sup>5</sup> confirms the tendencies twenty years later. *Solch-* and *manch-* seem to be able to be used with weak and strong endings. This is also noted in the following examples:

- (12) a. *solche schönen* [WK] *Tage* (less common *solche schöne* [ST] *Tage*) ‘such beautiful days’  
 b. *manche schöne* [ST] *Aussichten* (less common *manche schönen* [WK] *Aussichten*)  
 ‘some beautiful views’

(Durrell 2002:129; italics and bolding mine)

In (12a), the weak inflectional ending reflects the built-in reference from the quantifier and with it the idea of particularization, while in (12b) specific reference and total unit are not reflected.

This difference would also explain the use of primarily weak adjective endings on nominalized forms in appositions without the presence of determiners, as the following illustrates:

- (13) *Er sprach mit Karl Friedrichsen, Angestellten* [WK] (rarely: *Angestelltem* [ST]) *der BASF in Ludwigshafen.*

‘He spoke to / with Karl Friedrichsen, employee of the BASF in Ludwigshafen.’

(Durrell 2002:134; italics and bolding mine)

The person has been referentially identified by name as an individual; thus the weak form is possible.

## Conclusion

Where alternations of inflections of two attributive adjectives in the NP occur, they need not be dismissed as “idiosyncrasies.” Explanations for these “idiosyncrasies” can be found and need further investigation. While, among other considerations, phonological considerations may be part of the explanation, the alternations would suggest that underlying systemic differences are expressed. The same applies to co-occurrence of adjective alternations with quantifiers: the use of strong or weak forms on the following form may reflect subtle semantic differences. Notionally, the weak forms can be described through the notion of particularization in terms of reference and total unit in the plural, while the strong forms do not include the

<sup>5</sup> As background for her theoretical analysis, Dipper (2005) uses corpus analysis. In the theoretical framework of LFG, Dipper (2005) differentiates quantifiers on purely formal grounds into Dquant and Aquant (D=determiner, A=Adjectival) based on their co-occurrence with strong or weak adjective endings on the following adjective. Since a number of quantifiers can be used with either inflection on the following adjective, they are consequently assigned to both Dquant and Aquant. According to Dipper their idiosyncrasies would have to be listed in the lexicon. In contrast, this paper addresses “the idiosyncrasies.”

notion of total unit and the referent can be open. Teaching grammars for the GSL classroom which do not acknowledge the option of alternations with respect to several attributive adjectives, may want to reconsider and include syntactic context to illustrate the possibility.

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# Deletion of Word-Final Final [u] in São Miguel Portuguese (Maia): A Variationist Perspective

Elizabeth Bulhões and Walcir Cardoso  
(Concordia University)

## Abstract

This paper examines the linguistic and extralinguistic factors that affect the deletion of word-final [u] (*gat/u* => [gat] 'cat') in Azorean Portuguese, a prestige marker (Silva 2005) characteristic of the European variety of Portuguese (EP). In this study, native speakers of Azorean Portuguese (AP) completed a picture naming task, a picture description as well as an interview in the presence of both an AP and an EP speaker. The participants were audio-recorded, and relevant data were transcribed, coded and subject to Goldvarb X analysis. Results of the study indicate that extralinguistic factors such as the presence of either an EP or AP speaker affected the process of [u] deletion: participants were more likely to preserve the segment when they completed the tasks in the presence of an EP speaker, confirming that its pronunciation is viewed as a prestige marker by the participants. These results are consistent with Speech Accommodation Theory, which posits that people unconsciously adapt their speech so that it conforms more to the speech of their interlocutors (Coupland and Giles 1988). In addition, the participants were more likely to preserve word-final [u] when engaged in more formal tasks (e.g., in picture naming). Finally, it was predicted that the linguistic environment would play a role in the extent to which the final [u] was deleted. Based on the concept of markedness on coda constituents (i.e., voiced codas are more marked than their voiceless counterparts; Prince and Smolensky 1993) and on a study by Silva (1998), it was hypothesized that [u]-deletion would be favoured in preceding voiceless environments because the resulting segment (i.e., a voiceless consonant) would constitute the ideal coda. The results of the investigation, however, revealed that deletion was more frequent when [u] was preceded by voiced consonants, contradicting both markedness on coda sonority and Silva's findings.

## Introduction

This study is concerned with the differences between the Portuguese spoken on the Azorean Island of São Miguel, which has been documented as being remarkably distinct from the European variety of the language. Silva (2005) notes a variety of differences between the vowels produced in European Portuguese and those produced in São Miguel Portuguese. He also notes that despite the differences in pronunciation of some vowels, many São Miguel speakers are inconsistent in the pronunciation of their vowels; that is, there are instances in which São Miguel speakers produce vowel sounds similar to those produced by European Portuguese speakers. In his studies, Silva (1998, 2005) investigated the factors that led to such variability among speakers of São Miguel Portuguese. He noted that both a linguistic factor (whether or not the preceding consonant was voiced or unvoiced), and extra linguistic factors (speech style and social class) played an important role in the amount of variability found in the Azorean Portuguese speakers. More specifically, in informal tasks, such as picture naming tasks, participants utilized Azorean-like vowels more frequently, and while completing a more formal task, such as reading of word lists, the participants produced vowels closer to those used in the European variety, possibly due to the presence of orthography. The study also revealed that speakers of the Azorean variety are not only aware of the sounds used in the standard variety, but are capable of using them in more formal contexts.

One of the most apparent differences between the European variety and that spoken in São Miguel is the deletion of the unstressed, word-final vowel /u/ (e.g., /gatu/ → [gat] 'cat' u-deletion henceforth — Silva, 2005). In a preliminary study, Bulhões and Cardoso (2006) investigated the factors affecting u-deletion among São Miguel speakers of Portuguese living in Montreal, Quebec. Results revealed that the likelihood of u-deletion

in this variety of Portuguese is affected by both linguistic (i.e., voicing of the preceding consonant) and extralinguistic factors (i.e., gender, task type and the presence of either an Azorean or European speaker of Portuguese). The study presented here is a follow up of Bulhões and Cardoso (2006), which now includes a larger number of (both male and female) participants, and a wider range of stylistic environments to investigate the extent to which these factors affect the phenomenon of u-deletion among São Miguel speakers living in Montreal, Quebec.

## The Linguistic Variable

The linguistic variable under study is the word-final unstressed vowel (u) in Portuguese, which is orthographically represented as the letter (o). [u] can be found as a masculine marker in nouns and adjectives, such as in words like *menino* 'young boy,' and *cansado* 'tired.' It also marks first person singular in present indicative tense, *eu falo* 'I speak,' and is often found in present progressive forms, *estou falando* 'I am speaking.' While the final [u] is orthographically present in all varieties of Portuguese (European, Azorean and Brazilian), it is often deleted or devoiced in Azorean Portuguese (to which I will occasionally refer as AP). For example, the words mentioned above would be pronounced by AP native speakers as [menin], [kansad], [fal], [faland] (only relevant phonemes are accurately transcribed).

## Deletion and Markedness

According to Silva's (1998) findings, u-deletion is more likely to take place when the target variable is preceded by a voiceless consonant (*gato* [gat] 'cat'). In another study (1997), Silva's analyses suggest that u-deletion is likely to occur regardless of whether or not the vowel carries any morphological meaning.

The results of Silva's (1998) study seem to conform to previous findings in phonology that claim that voiceless obstruents (e.g., /p, t/) are least marked in coda position than their voiced counterparts (e.g., /b, d/) (see for example Broselow, Chen and Wang 1998): By deleting /u/ in the presence of a preceding voiceless obstruent (e.g., [t] in [gat]), the resulting form is relatively unmarked in comparison with a structure in which the word-final segment is a voiced obstruent (e.g., [d] in *comen*[du] 'eating'). If markedness on obstruent voicing in coda position affects u-deletion in AP, speakers of this variety will be more likely to preserve (u) in words in which the variable is preceded by voiced codas because the resulting segment (e.g., [d]) would result in a relatively more marked structure. The results in Bulhões and Cardoso (2006), however, reveal that u-deletion was more frequent when preceded by voiced obstruents (e.g., [d] in *comen*[du] → *comen*[d]), contradicting both the markedness on obstruent voicing in coda position and Silva's (1998) findings.

## Variation by Style

According to Wolfson (1989), competent speakers of a language must be able to vary their speech according to the situation or the interlocutors with whom they are speaking. In his famous department store study that looked at variation in New York English, Labov (1966) hypothesized that the more careful the speech, the greater the frequency with which speakers will attempt to use the forms regarded as more prestigious. In this study, Labov looked specifically at the deletion or retention of the syllable-final (-r) morpheme. His hypothesis was based on the assumption that r-less speech in New York is seen as less prestigious and is associated with lower social classes. While the study demonstrated that New Yorkers were more likely to pronounce (-r) in more careful speech, Labov's work also demonstrated the extent to which people vary their speech style according to who their interlocutors are. For example, in the department store study, the store clerks used the speech style of the social class of their customers. In addition, Bulhões and Cardoso (2006) noted that speakers of Azorean Portuguese were more likely to preserve the variable /u/ when tasks were completed in the presence of a European Portuguese speaker, confirming that the segment is a prestige marker. Similarly, Speech Accommodation Theory posits that people unconsciously adapt their speech so that it conforms more to the speech of their interlocutors. Moreover, such speech accommodations are often

determined by the social context; that is, the more formal the context, the more careful the interlocutors will be with their speech (McLeish 1995).

## Language Variation and Prestige Markers

According to Silva (2005), members of the São Miguel speaking community suffer from linguistic low self-esteem. Many of the participants interviewed in his study of variability did not feel that they spoke well in comparison to speakers of the European variety. In addition, the two participants in Bulhões and Cardoso (2006) admitted to adapting their speech when in the presence of a European speaker because they were worried about being misunderstood. These findings provide evidence that some characteristics of São Miguel Portuguese, at least those that differ from the European variety, are viewed as less prestigious. These findings, together with those mentioned earlier, have inspired the following research questions and hypotheses. The current study also aimed to develop a greater understanding of the stylistic and sociolinguistic factors that contribute to the phenomenon of u-deletion in Azorean Portuguese, as spoken in Montreal, Quebec.

## Research Questions

1. What is the effect of linguistic (markedness on voiced obstruents in coda position) and extralinguistic factors (gender, interlocutor — or prestige, and style) on variability in u-deletion?
2. Are speakers of São Miguel Portuguese, who are capable of speaking the European variety, more likely to pronounce the final vowel [u] when in the presence of a speaker of the European variety of Portuguese?
3. Are speakers of São Miguel Portuguese more likely to pronounce the final [u] when completing more formal tasks (i.e., reading of word lists)?

The above research questions generated the following hypotheses.

## Hypotheses

1. Speakers of São Miguel Portuguese are more likely to delete when word final [u] is preceded by a voiceless obstruent (e.g., [gatu] → [gat]), than when it is preceded by a voiced obstruent (e.g., *comen*[du] → *comen*[d]).
2. When speaking to a speaker of European Portuguese, Azorean speakers will accommodate their speech by preserving the final [u] in accordance with the Speech Accommodation Theory.
3. Participants are more likely to preserve (u) in a more formal stylistic environments (e.g., reading of word lists).

## Methodology

### *Participants*

Four participants, two females and two males, completed four tasks: picture naming, reading of a word list, picture description, and an interview in the presence of both a European Portuguese (EP) speaker and an Azorean Portuguese (AP) speaker. All participants were between the ages of 40 and 65, and had been living in Montreal, Quebec for at least 35 years. All participants were born in Maia, a village in São Miguel, and considered themselves capable of speaking the European variety. They were all related to the researcher, but unknown to the European speaker of Portuguese.

## Procedure

### Tasks

#### Task 1 Picture naming (Appendix A)

Participants were presented with 52 pictures representing familiar items (household objects, articles of clothing, food, animals) on Power Point slides. 40 slides contained pictures of objects that ended in final /u/; 20 in which the final [u] was preceded by a voiceless consonant such as the [t] in *gato*, and 20 in which the final [u] was preceded by a voiced consonant such as [d] in *dedo* 'finger.' The remaining slides contained pictures of distractor items.

#### Task 2 Word list (Appendix B)

Participants read 51 words presented on Power Point slides. Nineteen words contained the final [u] preceded by a voiced consonant such as the [d] in *estudo* 'study,' and nineteen of the words contained /u/ preceded by a voiceless consonant such as the [t] in *pagamento* 'payment.' The remaining words were distractors.

#### Task 3 Picture description (Appendix C)

Participants were presented with eleven Power Point slides and were asked to describe what the people in the pictures were doing. They were also asked questions such as, "What is he or she doing in the picture?" "What is happening in the picture?" These questions required the use of the present progressive in Portuguese, a form that ends with the target (u) variable (*ela está comendo* 'she is eating').

Each of the above tasks took approximately 5–10 minutes to complete.

#### Task 4 Interview (Appendix D)

Participants were interviewed and asked six general questions. Most of the questions were chosen to elicit words containing the target variable. Follow up questions were asked whenever participants failed to provide the expected u-final target words.

All tasks were conducted in Portuguese, and they were completed in the presence of an Azorean speaker of Portuguese, the researcher. Several days later, the same tasks were completed in the presence of a European speaker of Portuguese. The second data collector, the EP speaker, was asked to prompt the participants only in the interview and picture description tasks to elicit the target sounds. For example, if the interviewer asked the participants, "What is the person doing in the picture?" sometimes the participants would answer using a word that did not contain the target (u) variable. In these cases, participants were asked additional questions such as "What color is the person's hair?" in an attempt to elicit a u-final word like *preto* 'black' (most colour names in Portuguese end in [u]).

The completion of the tasks was recorded using a microphone and the computer program Audacity on a Mac iBook.

## Data Collection/Analysis

After the data were collected, the researchers listened to the audio-recorded tasks several times, transcribed and coded all words containing word-final [u]. The following factors and factor groups were considered for the Gold Varb X (Sankoff et al. 2005) statistical analysis.

**Factor Groups**

Dependant variables	u-deletion Production of [u]
Tasks and extralinguistic factors	Word list reading Picture naming Picture description Interview
Prestige	Presence of EP speaker Presence of AP speaker
Preceding phonological environment	Voiceless consonant Voiced consonant
Gender	Male Female
Participant	1, 2, 3, 4

Each coded token was verified against the transcribed tokens at least twice by the researcher. Only single words (i.e., words read individually and consequently followed by a pause) and words at the end of utterances were considered. For example, the following sentence was uttered by participant 1: *Eles estão brincando* 'they are playing.' In this sentence only the word *brincando* was coded because it contained the target vowel, and was found at the end of the utterance (i.e., followed by a pause). However, consider another utterance by the same participant: *Ela está correndo a roupa* 'she is ironing the clothes.' Although the word *correndo* contains the target sound, it was not included in the quantitative investigation because the target vowel [u] was followed by another vowel within the same utterance. In these cases, u-deletion can be affected via the resyllabification of the resulting consonant and the following vowel (e.g., *corren[.du.a.]* → *corren[.da.]* – where the period “.” indicates a syllable boundary), or the diphthongization of [u] (e.g., *corren[.dwa.]*).

Once the relevant words were coded, they were analyzed using GoldVarb X.

**Results**

Several GoldVarb X analyses were conducted. The first analysis considered all of the factor groups. The table below shows all the factor groups considered and their effects on u-deletion.

**Table 1: Factor groups and effects on u-deletion:**

Factor groups	Factors	u-deletion	
		(weight)	(%)
(1) Participants	1	0.510	61
	2	0.490	57
	3	0.460	62
	4	0.539	65
(2) Gender	Male	0.496	60
	Female	0.504	63
(3) Task type	Picture naming	0.751	83
	Word list	0.062	10
	Picture description	0.811	85
	Interview	0.809	88
(4) Prestige	Presence of AP	0.447	48
	Presence of EP	0.528	68
(5) Phonological environment	Voiceless consonant	0.436	62
	Voiced consonant	0.585	60

As illustrated in Table 1, the likelihood of deletion rates is similar between both the male and female participants, a result that differs from our previous findings reported in Bulhões and Cardoso (2006). In

general, the factors *task type*, *prestige* (i.e., the presence of either an AP or EP speaker), and *preceding phonological environment* seem to have the most effects on the rate of deletion.

As hypothesized, deletion was less frequent among the more formal reading list task, with deletion occurring 10% of the time (word list), and the most deletion occurring 85% of the time during the picture description task. The preceding phonological environment also affected the rate of deletion: u-deletion was more likely to take place when the coda was preceded by a voiced obstruent (*comendo* → *comend*). These findings are also consistent with previous findings by Bulhões and Cardoso (2006).

For the final analysis, the two factor groups, participants and gender, were removed since they appeared to have the least effect on u-deletion. For the binomial analyses, only the following factor groups were considered: task type, preceding phonological environment, and prestige (i.e., the presence of an AP or EP speaker). A binomial one-level analysis determined that the (input) probability of u-deletion is 0.62.

A binomial step up/step down analysis was also conducted. Results revealed that in both the best stepping up and stepping down runs, task type and preceding phonological environment were the most significant. The presence of an AP or EP speaker did not seem to affect the variable phenomenon under investigation.

## Discussion

Let us now review the hypotheses to determine the extent to which they were supported.

### Hypothesis 1:

In more formal stylistic environments (e.g., reading of word lists), participants are more likely to preserve [u] because, in these contexts, they are more likely to monitor their speech.

As can be seen in Table 1, u-deletion was less likely to take place when participants were engaged in more formal oral interactions such as those involving the reading of word lists (weight: 0.062). Conversely, u-deletion was favored in tasks that required less attention paid to speech (e.g., Picture naming – 0.751, Picture description – 0.811, and Interview – 0.809).

### Hypothesis 2:

When speaking to a speaker of the European variety of Portuguese, Azorean speakers will accommodate their speech and preserve the final [u] in accordance with the Speech Accommodation Theory.

Interestingly, despite previous studies confirming the effect of speech accommodation in oral interaction (Bulhões and Cardoso 2006, Silva 1998), this hypothesis was not confirmed. As Table 1 illustrates, u-deletion was more likely when participants were in the presence of a European speaker. Although it is difficult to explain why this may have occurred, a couple of factors may have contributed to these results. Firstly, it is possible that the presence of the primary researcher, the Azorean speaker of Portuguese, may have affected the participants' behaviour, resulting in a type of Hawthorne Effect (Seliger and Shohamy 2001), whereby participants of a study might become motivated to perform well because they are participating in a study and being observed. In addition, the fact that the primary researcher was related to the participants may have resulted in the participants acting particularly eagerly. It is also possible that the participants wanted to exhibit a more European model of the language to set a positive example on the Azorean Portuguese speaker/researcher who was related to the participants. Furthermore, in previous conversations regarding varieties of Portuguese, both participants 3 and 4 (1 male and 1 female) expressed dislike toward Azoreans who accommodated their speech to sound more like European speakers. These beliefs are consistent with Speech Accommodation Theory, which also posits that speakers of a language sometimes diverge their speech to sound less like their interlocutors, particularly if they do not want to be associated with members of that particular speech community. In light of this, it is possible that some of the participants may have deleted in the presence of the European speaker because they wanted to identify themselves as being more a part of the

Azorean speech community. However, while it is not obvious from the results, some of the participants (i.e., participants 1 and 3), used vocabulary items that are commonly used in the European variety, and only used these terms when in the presence of the EP speaker. For example, in AP it is common to use the word *menino* when referring to a young boy and *frigedero* for refrigerator; however, participant 1 often used the terms *garoto* and *frigorífico* respectively, terms typical among EP speakers. In addition, when in the presence of both the AP and the EP speaker, participant 1 often avoided the use of the present progressive (e.g., *correndo*) and instead used an EP form when speaking (this was particularly noticeable during the picture description task). For instance, when asked to describe what people were doing in the picture naming tasks, she often responded using constructions such as: *Ele está a comer* ‘he is eating,’ *Ela está a correr* ‘she is ironing’ rather than using the anticipated present progressive forms that are commonly used in AP (i.e., *ele está comendo*, and *ela está correndo* respectively).

Unlike the participants in the Bulhões and Cardoso (2006) study, who were worried about being understood by the European interlocutor, the participants in this study made less of an attempt to modify their speech. Perhaps they did not feel the need to do so because the second interviewer, the EP interviewer, did not show any signs of misunderstanding what the participants were saying.

Finally, the total number of tokens expressed in the presence of the EP speaker was almost twice as high as those expressed in the presence of the AP speaker. A total of 1020 tokens were counted; 667 of those were uttered in the presence of the EP speaker and only 353 were counted in the presence of the AP speaker. It is possible that there was less deletion in the presence of the Azorean speaker because there were fewer tokens (353 versus 667 counted in the presence of the EP speaker) within this environment.

### Hypothesis 3:

Speakers of São Miguel Portuguese are more likely to delete when (u) is preceded by a voiceless obstruent (e.g., [gatu] → [gat]) than when it is preceded by a voiced obstruent (e.g., *comen*[du] → *comen*[d]).

Similar to what was reported in Bulhões and Cardoso (2006), this hypothesis was not confirmed. As illustrated in Table 1, deletion was less likely when (u) was preceded by a voiceless consonant and, accordingly, u-deletion was favored among words in which the target [u] was preceded by a voiced consonant, such as [d] in *lendo* ‘reading,’ and *comendo* ‘eating.’ These results contradict previous findings by Silva (1998) and the predictions made by the markedness of voiced obstruents in coda position, discussed in earlier sections of this paper. It is difficult to say why this might have occurred. More research is needed to determine whether or not this phenomenon is likely to occur among other speakers of this linguistic community. In addition, other factors such as the participants’ second languages may have slightly affected their speech patterns. Despite the fact that Azorean Portuguese is the participants’ native tongue and is still used in their daily lives, interference from both English and French were noted during the data collection. For example, all of the participants seemed to have trouble recalling the Portuguese word *presunto* for ham. Three of the participants used the French word *jambon*, and the other used the English word *ham*. Furthermore, the French word *douche* was used by three out of the four participants instead of the Portuguese word *chuveiro* for shower. One of the male participants even used the French pronouns *lui* ‘him’ and *il* ‘he’ instead of the Portuguese equivalents. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that there is something particular about Portuguese spoken among those living in Quebec that is different from Portuguese spoken in the Azores. It is possible that the way these participants speak is a direct result of the inter-linguistic contact they have with both English and French Canadians. Such a phenomenon has been documented before; Ash and Myhill (1983) as stated in Rickford (1985), noted that speakers of Black Vernacular English who had extensive contact with white communities in the U.S. demonstrated many linguistic grammatical forms that sounded more like those used in the white community.

## Conclusion

Results of the above study reveal that both linguistic and extra linguistic factors affect the variability in speech among Azorean speakers of Portuguese. The linguistic variable investigated in this study was the deletion of word final [u] among AP speakers who come from Maia, São Miguel.

Task type and preceding phonological environment had significant effects on the likelihood of u-deletion. First, the type of task and the level of formality it required significantly affected deletion of the linguistic variable targeted. Deletion of word final [u] was less frequent when participants completed a formal task such as the reading of a word list. For the other less formal tasks, there was minimal deletion.

Second, participants are more likely to delete the target sound when it is preceded by a voiced consonant, contradicting previous findings by Silva (1998) and Broselow (1998), but confirming those found by Bulhões and Cardoso (2006). Further research into the role that preceding phonological environment has on u-deletion in AP should be conducted to determine the extent to which this phenomenon operates across all varieties of AP, or just to the speakers of the particular speech community from Maia, São Miguel.

Although neither gender nor the presence of an AP or EP speaker had significant effects on the likelihood of u-deletion, some interesting observations were uncovered nonetheless. While the results of the GoldVarb analyses do not suggest that preservation of (u) is a marker of prestige, the fact that participant 1 made certain accommodations suggests that its preservation is only prestigious among individual speakers. It is also possible that other factors such as interference from the participants' second languages may affect their speech. Finally, the fact that participants 3 and 4 expressed pride about being AP speakers may have resulted in speech divergence whereby they deleted the segment more often in the presence of the European speaker as a way to resist accommodation and demonstrate their linguistic pride. Whether the results presented in this study accurately reflect the larger speech community of AP speakers in Montreal remains to be investigated in future research.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Picture naming (objects)<sup>6</sup>

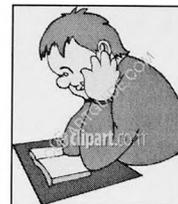
Portuguese words	English translations	Portuguese words	English translations
1. número cinco	1. number five	27. vinho	27. wine
2. olho	2. eye	28. laço	28. bow
3. barco	3. ship	29. fogo	29. fire
4. sapato	4. boat	30. disco	30. record
5. piano	5. piano	31. telescópio	31. telescope
6. menino com brinquedo	6. boy with toy	32. bixo	32. bug
7. cesto	7. basket	33. vestido	33. dress
8. bolo	8. cake	34. rato	34. rat
9. preto	9. black	35. ovo	35. egg
10. faca	10. knife	36. ferro	36. iron
11. vaso	11. vase	37. verdugo	37. hanger
12. fósforos	12. matches	38. frigorífico	38. refrigerator
13. banho	13. bathtub	39. garfo	39. fork
14. radio	14. radio	40. Coelho	40. rabbit
15. microfone	15. microphone	41. telefone	41. telephone
16. pratos	16. plates	42. gato	42. cat
17. lixo	17. garbage	43. fato	43. suit
18. parafuso	18. screw	44. dedo	44. finger
19. piloto	19. pilot	45. anel	45. ring
20. alho	20. garlic	46. dinheiro	46. money
21. lenço	21. handkerchief	47. carro	47. car
22. chuveiro	22. shower	48. porco	48. pig
23. galo	23. rooster	49. músico	49. musician
24. livro	24. book	50. mundo	50. world
25. copo	25. cup/glass	51. presunto	51. ham
26. queijo	26. cheese	52. árvore	52. tree

<sup>6</sup> These words represent the names of the objects used for the picture naming task.

**Appendix B: Word List**

- |                 |                 |                      |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. ano          | 17. casamento   | 33. americano        |
| 2. estrela      | 18. amarelo     | 34. chouriço         |
| 3. estudo       | 19. filha       | 35. Egipto           |
| 4. testamento   | 20. vermelho    | 36. vento            |
| 5. dinheiro     | 21. domingo     | 37. Espirito Santo   |
| 6. boca         | 22. saco        | 38. guardanapo       |
| 7. jogo         | 23. mulher      | 39. canadiano        |
| 8. outono       | 24. filho       | 40. padrasto         |
| 9. novembro     | 25. azulejo     | 41. alfabeto         |
| 10. pessoa      | 26. doença      | 42. festa            |
| 11. tempo       | 27. corpo       | 43. porto            |
| 12. preço       | 28. pagamento   | 44. edificio público |
| 13. trabalho    | 29. banco       | 45. télégrafo        |
| 14. retrato     | 30. estrangeiro | 46. futebol          |
| 15. amigo       | 31. açoriano    | 47. projecto         |
| 16. temperatura | 32. osso        |                      |

**Appendix C: Picture description task**



**Appendix D: Interview questions (English translations)**

1. How long have you been living in Montreal?
2. Do you have any pets? If so, what?
3. What is your favourite color?
4. What is your favorite food?
5. What did you eat today?
6. Do you remember any of the pictures that you saw in the experiment? Can you name four?

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## Does Construction Grammar Deepen Our Understanding of Morphology?

Ronald Cosper  
(Saint Mary's University)

### Abstract

Construction grammar is a relatively new approach to accounting for language structure. Some writers have found it useful in analyzing language, but most construction work has been focussed on syntax. The present paper discusses the contribution a construction grammar approach can make to our understanding of morphology. To date, morphological theory has been cast in terms particular to word structure, with little reference to broader theories in linguistics. It is shown that a construction grammar approach can help to unify morphological theory within a broader theoretical approach to linguistic phenomena.

As a linguist trained in the now antiquated school known as descriptive or structural linguistics, I have been attracted by the study of morphology, because to some extent it has been bypassed by the subsequent currents in linguistic theorizing, such as generative, functional and typological work. More accurately, one could say that these perspectives struck a glancing blow on morphological investigation, in which the relevance of these perspectives was recognized while having little lasting impact. Morphology, like historical linguistics, is one of those specialties which has developed its own largely distinctive theoretical concepts to account for the observed regularities in its subject matter.

Now theories of morphology based on observation are useful and certainly potentially accurate in a more descriptive sense. But its more limited and distinctive explanations have made morphological analysis, like historical linguistics, a specialized and admittedly rather academically isolated corner of linguistics. Of course there is a counter force — a strong one. Science is always attempting to unify and simplify: to explain the greatest range of phenomena possible with its theories. So far, though, morphological analysis has resisted these unifying tendencies to a great extent.

Perhaps there are good reasons for the relative theoretical isolation of morphology. For one thing, ever since Saussure, and on into both structural and generative linguistics, the assumption has been that linguistic explanation should be exclusively synchronic. This has been partly due to the metaphysical error in which language is assumed to exist only on the level of individual psychology. That is, if we can understand what speakers know about their language, we can completely understand the grammar of the language. The obvious fallacy of this assumption is that the language existed long before any one particular speaker, and that the speaker acquires some portion of this language at a certain time and place. And we know well that this external language, although it is assumed to have a structure, is characterized by variation and is undergoing constant and continuous change (like nearly all natural phenomena). This is also the main reason for the present isolation of historical linguistics from the disciplinary mainstream.

Now although we attempt to explain morphological structures in synchronic terms, consistent with our contemporary disciplinary biases, morphology happens to be one facet of language in which the importance of diachronic considerations is glaringly obvious. For example, morphologists discuss frequency effects, in which it is noted that the most frequently occurring forms tend to display more morphological irregularity than infrequent forms. It is but a small step to observe that the regularities are the result of changes in the morphological system, and that the irregular forms often reflect earlier organizing principles in the language. It goes without saying that synchronic theories are not particularly effective explanations in historical linguistics,

either. I would note parenthetically that other social sciences have long since recognized the folly of a strictly synchronic analysis. Perhaps linguistics will catch up some day.

Nevertheless, there is no denying the urgency of the movement toward theoretical unification. It happens that the theoretical perspective I have been most interested in and found most promising is known as Construction Grammar. To my mind construction grammar makes the fewest unnecessary and limiting assumptions and has the broadest potential application. Although there has been as yet little application in the diachronic realm, construction grammar has been extensively applied to a broad range of linguistic phenomena. One would think that any general theory must apply to morphology as well as syntax, and that is the purpose of this paper.

Construction grammar has been developed in recent years to deal especially with certain syntactic problems, such as idioms and fixed phrases, but several of its proponents have recognized its more general applicability. At its most basic, a construction is defined as a fixed pattern in which linguistic units are put together, the meaning of which is not entirely predictable from the meanings of the parts. These patterns must therefore, be learned by speakers, together with their associated meanings. All meaning is thus conveyed by constructions. The term "construction" is apt because it has a long history of usage in linguistics. Earlier writers and some present day ones have used the term in a general sense with a meaning not inconsistent with the sense used here, but construction grammar theory has defined the construction more precisely. Although its use has primarily been in problems of syntax, a close reading of the term reveals its more general applicability. In fact, the most basic form of construction, I have argued, is the lexeme. This fits the definition as being a combination of phonemes or morphemes that must be learned together with an associated meaning. Syntactic constructions are a form of supra-lexemic construction, along with clitics and intonation patterns, and even discourse features, and so on. In an earlier paper, I identified phonosemantic features (such as rime) as sublexemic constructions, along with morphology.

Construction grammar parts ways with the generative tradition in that it does not make assumptions about universal, psychologically based structures in languages, but regards these as open empirically based questions. Likewise, functional grammar assumes all languages have certain structures, or at least must have structures that fulfil certain named functions. The goal of construction grammar is to account for all the linguistic patterns in the language. It is generative in the sense that it looks for underlying pattern that account for "constructs" (instantiations of constructions), but it is non-transformational. There is no prior assumption that the grammar of one language will resemble that of another. This is perhaps a reaction to the zeal of other theorists positing universals, but the variation in human languages makes this an attractive limiting assumption of construction grammar.

If lexemes tend to have a more referential meaning, then syntactic constructions have a more relational meaning. What then is the role of morphology in constructional meaning? One of the perennial issues in morphology is the distinction that has been made between derivation and inflection. More recently, writers have suggested that this could be more a continuum than an absolute distinction. Qualities that have been said by other writers to distinguish derivational from inflectional morphology include change of grammatical category, regularity of meaning of affix, degree of productivity, required or optional status, proximity of affix to root. Construction grammar calls our attention to the nature of the construction itself and to the associated meanings. I would suggest that some morphology represents constructions within the lexeme, while other instances of morphology reflect syntactic constructions. In general terms, the former would correspond to derivation, while the latter would be inflectional.

For example, in French person and number affixes on verbs are features of subject – verb constructions, and tense affixes in English are features of verb phrases. On the other hand derived forms are constructions that yield lexemes. They are somewhat analogous to idioms in that the meaning of the lexeme is only partially predictable from the meanings of the morphemes that make it up. The predictability of the meaning of a lexical construction is itself variable and a measure of the degree of lexicalization of the derived form. Other types of morphological constructions involve compounding, and some languages have complex mixtures of compounding and incorporation together with inflectional affixation.

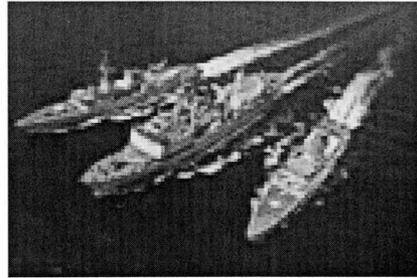
In this paper I have not attempted to provide detailed analyses or push forward the development of specific solutions. Instead I have raised some theoretical questions and outlined what a construction grammar approach to answering these questions might entail. Much more work is called for on the application of construction grammar to morphological problems. I would hope that the future development of construction grammar theory would continue to apply its basic principles and eschew some of the theoretical excesses and assumptions that are so tempting to writers attempting to establish a new theoretical approach. It is also essential to attempt to incorporate diachronic perspectives into the study of morphology. The work of Croft on grammaticalization of constructions is very promising. I would like to see more application of construction perspectives to the process of lexicalization. Linguistics in general must try to ensure that future theory recognizes the dual nature of language, as both a psychological entity, and a social tool and cultural product with a history.

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## Communicating Among Linguistic Communities Onboard a Canadian Navy Ship

**Michelle Daveluy**  
(University of Alberta)



### **Abstract**

The language policy implemented by the Canadian Forces corresponds to Canadian language laws as long as security and operationality are maintained (Department of National Defence and Canadian Forces 2004, Direction des langues officielles 2004). Over the years, linguistically defined units have been designed. This was done mainly to ensure recruitment maintenance and to comply with national language regulations (Bernier and Pariseau 1991, 1994; Letellier 1987; Pariseau and Bernier 1987, 1988). As defined by the Canadian Forces, up to 80% of the staff of an English or a French unit can be made of speakers of the language of the unit.

Fieldwork was conducted onboard a French unit in the navy. The HMCS Ville de Québec is stationed in Halifax, NS. Data was collected at dock in 2004, and at sea in 2005. Shadowing various crew members during their work activities enabled me to document language use in context ([www.ualberta.ca/~mdaveluy](http://www.ualberta.ca/~mdaveluy)). Several relevant issues were identified. They include challenges faced by (French or English) unilinguals in a bilingual work environment as well as opportunities to retrieve one's native tongue through work. This paper describes the completion of tasks during emergency training at sea.

First, I summarize the Canadian Forces language policy. Then, I present the data collected on board, focusing mainly on matters pertaining to communicating through the public announcement system (the pipes, as referred to onboard). Finally, I discuss related theoretical issues pertaining to languages, communities, and language communities (Daveluy 2005). I argue that even if a clearly stated language agenda is overtly implemented, various ethnolinguistic groups collaborating as crew members have different expectations, and experiences. This is particularly sensitive when they share a given mother tongue (e.g., Québécois and Acadiens). These factors trigger distinct language behaviours and attitudes that influence the overall language situation onboard the ship.

## Introduction

In response to official bilingualism, the Canadian Forces have developed a language policy adapted to concerns specifically relevant to the military context (Direction des langues officielles 2003, Bernier and Pariseau 1991, Letellier 1987). These concerns include, but are not restricted to, security issues, and challenges regarding personnel recruitment.

The model put in place to implement official bilingualism in the Canadian Forces is based on linguistically defined units (Asselin 2006). There are four types of such linguistically defined units: English units, French units, English *and* French units, English *or* French units. Fieldwork conducted onboard a French unit in the Navy, HMCS Ville de Québec, has provided the opportunity to document the implementation of the Canadian Forces language policy in context. We will see some of the practical limits to the model that impose themselves during the accomplishment of activities by the crew.

HMCS VILLE DE QUÉBEC



First of all, to prevent the formation of a parallel military force, a cap was set for the percentage of speakers of the language of the unit in English units and in French units (Pariseau and Bernier, 1987, 1988). In fact, these units include a maximum of 80% of speakers of the language of the unit. In the spirit of the Canadian Forces language policy, the remaining 20% should be monolingual speakers of the other official language. In a unit like HMCS Ville de Québec, this represents up to 45 shipmates out of a crew of 225.

It is under those circumstances that individuals have to pick a language when enrolling in the Canadian Forces. A young sailor once related to me that he had to fill in the form twice at the enrolment office because he had selected both French and English as first languages. The clerk explained to him language is like gender: everyone has to choose one. It is not clear to me that recruits are aware of the consequences of the choice they make when they fill in that form. Considering bilingualism is a criterion for promotion in the Canadian Forces, there is some irony in not being able to claim one's bilingualism in a country that has been officially bilingual for decades.

In practice then, language use in a French unit like the HMCS Ville de Québec is much more complex than the language designation indicates. In principle, French is the language used onboard. However, the ship is stationed in Halifax, NS, in a base designated as bilingual. As for the other ships in the fleet, they are English units. So, the language designated unit model resembles a Russian doll: each unit is embedded in another and all form an intricate entity.

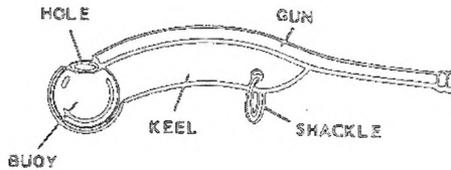
Data collected at dock in 2004, and at sea in 2005 show language use is clearly delineated onboard the HMCS Ville de Québec. In short, French is the language to be used except during emergency situations which are dealt with in English to ensure the safety of the crew members who do not speak French. Contact with other units in the fleet also occurs most of the time in English, even if the high command might encourage the crew to rather use French, particularly in writing.

In fact, numerous factors influence the languages that can be used for specific tasks. Shadowing various crewmembers during their work activities enabled me to document language use in concrete circumstances ([www.ualberta.ca/~mdaveluy](http://www.ualberta.ca/~mdaveluy)). Several relevant issues were identified. They include challenges faced by (French or English) unilinguals in a bilingual work environment, as well as opportunities to retrieve one's native tongue through work. This paper briefly describes the conditions under which sailors communicate information to each other through the audio system.

## The Pipes

Onboard the HMCS Ville de Québec, crewmembers refer to communicating through the public announcement system as “the pipes.” *“Unique to naval life, are the pipes that are made by the boatswain’s call. Piping is the naval method of passing orders and every seaman should know how to use a ‘boatswain’s call’”* ([www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm](http://www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm)).

### Boatswain’s Call



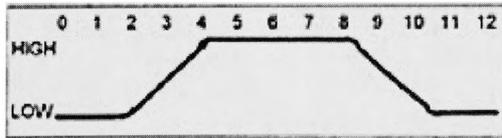
[www.readyayeready.com/navylife/boatswains-call.htm](http://www.readyayeready.com/navylife/boatswains-call.htm)

The pipes originated from the Boatswain’s ([boznz]) pipe, or whistle, itself the descendant of the flutes used by the Ancient Greeks and Romans to convey orders to oarsmen and galley slaves. The first use of the whistle in the English Navy was during the Crusades of the 13th century. Since 1671, it became generally known as the “boatswain’s call.” The boatswain was the officer who, being in charge of the rigging, issued more orders than the other officers. Frequently, the human voice was not sufficient to carry orders to the men climbing the rigging, especially in storm conditions. The high pitch of the boatswain’s “call” could be relied upon to be heard above — even in the worst howling gales. Nowadays the boatswain’s call and chain are the badge of office of the Chief Boatswain’s Mate, the Quartermaster and Boatswain’s Mates. ([www.thewhistleshop.com/catalog/whistles/inexpensive/boatswain/bosun.html](http://www.thewhistleshop.com/catalog/whistles/inexpensive/boatswain/bosun.html))

The expression “to pipe” means to sound on the boatswain’s call and the spoken order to qualify it. The boatswain’s call has two pitches, high and low; and three tones, plain, warble and trill. Some pipes are orders that do not require any verbal qualification. For example, the still and the carry on are non-verbal (for a list of the calls used by the Canadian Navy see [www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm](http://www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm)). In fact, a retired seaman was surprised by my description of pipes onboard HMCS Ville de Québec. To him, all pipes were non-verbal. It may have been the case in the past; it is not any more.

Piping can be ritualistic, like in piping the side. A commanding officer arriving onboard a ship is entitled to this pipe. In this case piping is similar to saluting, which Alexandra Jaffe (1988) has discussed as it occurs in the American Army.

### Pipe the Side

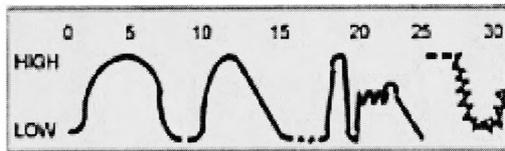


[www.readyayeready.com/navylife/boatswains-call.htm](http://www.readyayeready.com/navylife/boatswains-call.htm)

In summary, the pipes are highly symbolic because it is a specific mode of communication to the Navy, as opposed to the Army or the Air Force. One could argue, as I did onboard the HMCS Ville de Québec, that their original communicative function is not as relevant nowadays. Indeed, other means of communication could replace the boatswain call. However, the pipes remain valued as representative of the naval tradition and because of the simplicity of the system in a highly technological era. As a senior non-commissioned officer told me, young crewmembers must learn the pipes, to know them. He meant to know them as part of naval knowledge sailors share.

Onboard HMCS Ville de Québec, verbal utterances punctuate pipes announcing the time of the day and routine activities like meals. For example, “hands to dinner” is piped at noon, when the ship’s company has the mid-day meal, referred to as dinner. It is never made for any other meal-time.

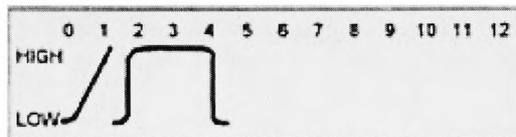
### Hands to Dinner



[www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm](http://www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm)

Even if this pipe traditionally does not require verbal addition, onboard HMCS Ville de Québec, it is followed by *le dîner, le dîner*. Other similar types of announcements include 7h00, *le réveil, le réveil* which replaces *wakey wakey* which is heard on other ships and, I am told, was also used onboard the HMCS Ville de Québec until recently.

### General Call



[www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm](http://www.readyayeready.com/navy-life/boatswains-call.htm)

As for the general call, it precedes any broadcast order, drawing attention to the order. This call is used when passing out-of-routine orders or information of general interest. It is probably because of the general call that shipmates refer to all audio announcements as the pipes, *les pipes* in French (pronounced exactly as it is in English). While onboard I spent a lot of time on the bridge where many out-of-routine pipes are made. I noticed a great deal of tension when such out-of-routine pipes need to be delivered. The Bridgepack, an officially produced text which lays out the form in which messages are to be delivered over the ship's audio system, is used in those instances. Edward Hutchins (1995), who conducted fieldwork onboard a US Navy ship, describes the role of a similar official text as follows:

When I first made it known to a ship's navigator that I wanted to know how navigation work was performed, he referred me to the Navigation Department Watch Standing Procedures, a document that describes the watch configurations.

"It's all in here," he said. "You can read this and save yourself the trouble of standing watch."

Of course it is not all in there, but the normative description in the Procedures is not a bad place to start. It is the Navigation Department's 'official' version of the organization of its work. This document is one of many symbolic forms in which navigators 'represent themselves to themselves and to one another' (Geertz 1983). (Hutchins 1995:26)

Diana Benschop (2006) analysed the copy of the Ville de Québec Bridgepack which I obtained.

<b>16 / HAZARDOUS MATERIEL SPILL FUITE DE MATÉRIEL DANGEREUX</b>	
<b>PIPE THE STILL</b> <b>HAZMAT SPILL, HAZMAT SPILL,</b> <b>HAZMAT SPILL, IN (LOCATION).</b> <b>HAZMAT SPILL CONTROL TEAM TAKE</b> <b>ACTION.</b> <b>NO SMOKING THROUGHOUT THE SHIP".</b> <b>(REPEAT)</b>	<b>SIFFLER LE SILENCE</b> <b>DÉVERSEMENT DE MATÉRIEL DANGEREUX</b> <b>DÉVERSEMENT DE MATÉRIEL DANGEREUX,</b> <b>DÉVERSEMENT DE MATÉRIEL DANGEREUX,</b> <b>DANS (ENDROIT).</b> <b>ÉQUIPE DE NETTOYAGE, PRENEZ ACTION.</b> <b>INTERDICTION DE FUMER DANS TOUT LE</b> <b>NAVIRE".</b> <b>(RÉPÉTER)</b>
<b>17/ FUEL SPILL / FUITE DE CARBURANT</b>	
<b>PIPE THE STILL.</b> <b>"FUEL SPILL, FUEL SPILL,</b> <b>FUEL SPILL IN (LOCATION).</b> <b>FUEL SPILL RESPONSE TEAM</b> <b>TO MUSTER (LOCATION).</b> <b>NO SMOKING THROUGHOUT THE SHIP".</b> <b>(REPEAT)</b>	<b>SIFFLER LE SILENCE</b> <b>« DÉVERSEMENT DE CARBURANT,</b> <b>DÉVERSEMENT DE CARBURANT,</b> <b>DÉVERSEMENT DE CARBURANT (ENDROIT).</b> <b>RASSEMBLEMENT DE L'ÉQUIPE DE</b> <b>NETTOYAGE À (ENDROIT).</b> <b>INTERDICTION DE FUMER DANS TOUT LE</b> <b>NAVIRE »</b> <b>(RÉPÉTER)</b>

She reported,

At first glance, one notices a few structural features of the Bridgepack that might affect the way in which it is used. First, the text on any given page is set within a table with two columns, English in the left hand column and French in the right hand column. This suggests that English is the first access point for the document, as the top left hand corner is always the

starting point for any piece of text. Second, the columns are too narrow to allow for the longer French clauses. These issues could be easily remedied by re-formatting the document, or rotating the text longwise. A less serious matter, but one nonetheless, is the fact that the pages are not numbered, although the index is organized by sections.

(Benschop 2006, available from [www.ualberta.ca/~mdaveluy](http://www.ualberta.ca/~mdaveluy))

The textual analysis she made shows that the French and English halves of the document do not always contain the same information. She found eight different types of usability issues. In the sections of the text reproduced below, the word “materiel” in the English title was considered as a spelling error. There is no parallel abbreviation in the French translation for the English term “hazmat” which stands for “hazardous material;” so this was an abbreviation issue. The results obtained showed a significant number of tiny points of difficulty, many of which individually do not interfere to a great degree with the readability of this document. However, cumulatively, the product is somewhat unreliable, with an average of 25.6 points of contention per page.

Inaccurate translations	86
Inconsistent translations	240
Lack of precise naval lexical item	38
Acronym issues	34
Abbreviation issues	29
Grammar, spelling errors	64
Typos, formatting issues	21
Cumbersome or inefficient translation	26
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>538</b>

(Adapted from Benschop 2006)

The form of the pipes manual (the two column format), allows for better access to and comprehension of the English portion of the text, suggesting that English is the language employed by default when using this document. As for the content of the pipes manual (the text itself), the analysis shows how those wishing to call the emergency pipes in French might encounter difficulties, particularly second language French speakers, due to the unreliability and inaccuracy of the French translations. In form and content the pipes manual seems to represent more of a gesture, or symbolic action, on the part of the Navy to make French the language of work for all on board.

To sum up, it seems challenges associated with piping out-of-routine messages onboard HMCS Ville de Québec pertain to translation rather than the use of French itself. In fact, most of the crew was trained in English and has a much better grasp of these procedures in English. This is probably why I observed very little hesitation while piping in English compared to pipes delivered in French.

## Linguistic Communities

Even if the ship has an excellent reputation, crewmembers who do not speak French anticipate the worst when posted onboard the HMCS Ville de Québec. After a few days, they usually realize it is not that bad. One of them actually claims it is less stressful to work in a French unit because it is possible to concentrate on orders and get the work done while ignoring gossip and complaints shipmates are well known to be very actively involved in. Studying the Princess Patricia Battalion, Anne Irwin (2002) has even shown how complaining is a structural feature in the Canadian Army. This probably partly explains why unilingual English native speakers do not resent being posted recurrently onboard HMCS Ville de Québec. To the contrary, some like it a lot.

On the other hand, among French speakers there are differences that are usually overlooked in the language policy of the Canadian Forces. For example, French crewmembers who grew up in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have very different experiences, language-wise, compared to those born and raised in Quebec. Indeed, Acadians are more often bilingual than Quebecois are. Accordingly, their respective expectations at work are not the same. Symbolic gains, like hearing *le réveil le réveil* rather than *wakey wakey*, are not particularly valued by bilingual shipmates. Many of them view the use of French onboard as an added burden to their workload. Some claim they don't need to work in French since they live in French, at home, with their family and friends. However, there are variations in terms of age among Acadian crewmembers. Some younger ones clearly state they have rediscovered French because of their posting onboard the HMCS Ville de Québec. Without the opportunity to use French at work they would not have started speaking it again with their parents and would not have considered using it with their children. I have discussed these issues in more detail elsewhere (Daveluy 2006).

As far as unilingual French speakers are concerned, their situation remains particularly difficult in the Canadian Forces even if they work in a French unit. It is difficult to understand how the rationale to switch to English to ensure the safety of unilingual English speakers in case of emergency does not create a similar risk for French unilinguals. It is not surprising then to hear some young crewmembers who speak French exclusively say it was a mistake to start offering training in French if work is to be performed in English anyway. They sometimes feel threatened by their lack of proficiency in English. Some are also misled by the linguistically defined unit model. The French unit HMCS Ville de Québec does not necessarily prove to be the French working environment they were expecting.

In this military context, it seems important to take into account the distinction between belonging to a linguistic community and participating in a language dynamic that I previously discussed regarding the relationships between Anglophones and Francophones in Montreal (Daveluy 2005). I have tried to show today that even if a clearly stated language agenda is overtly implemented, various ethnolinguistic groups collaborating as crewmembers have different expectations, and experiences. It seems to me these differences are perhaps even more tangible when shipmates share a given mother tongue. It would be worth sailing onboard an English unit to assess the situation of French unilinguals, but also to find out if comparable tensions among English speakers would also emerge. The ethnography of communication onboard Canadian Navy ships might force us to expand on Max Weinrich's famous definition of a language as "a dialect with an army and a navy."

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# Ethnopragmatic Analysis of Address Forms: A Cross-Cultural Study

Karen A. Duchaj and  
Jeanine Nthirageza  
(Northeastern Illinois University)

## Abstract

In sociolinguistics, expressions of power, solidarity, social status, and politeness have been extensively explored in second-person pronouns and honorifics (Brown and Levinson 1987, Goddard 2006, Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004). Since Modern English lacks overt/explicit use of these features, researchers in this language usually use address terms to explore role distinctions. However, much of this research falls short of a satisfactory answer as to how these roles/relationships are expressed and created, dynamically, in modern society. One way to better understand the nature of these interactions is to examine them in other societies. An interesting contrast exists, for example, between spousal address terms in American and Burundian society. In the U.S.A., as couples move from dating to marriage, mutual address terms often reflect a shift toward greater intimacy. While first names remain common, this shift frequently includes standard societal endearment terms (e.g., “honey”), and can include intimate nicknames not used around any third person. In such cases, first names can become marked so that their use indicates a special situation, e.g., another person’s presence. In this society, it is intimacy, over honour, which drives address terms. By contrast, in traditional (for lack of a better term) societies such as Burundi, there is high emphasis on honour over intimacy. Data show that in this community, calling a spouse by name is considered disrespectful. Instead, an appropriate second-person pronoun is used or other terms that indicate maturity, hence wisdom, e.g., *mutaama* ‘elderly one,’ even to summon the spouse into the room, especially in the presence of peers. In this paper, we propose that, regarding address terms, the parameters of Intimacy and Honour cross-culturally vary, even directly contrast. These terms must be considered in order to effectively account for ways societies express these often conflicting constraints. As a contrastive analysis, this study allows us to delve into the in-group practices of different linguistic communities.

## Introduction

Much can be learned about any given culture by examining the way its people address one another. Within a relationship type, the choices of address may be many, determined in part by situation, or they may be confined to a single possibility. In this paper, we specifically examine forms of address within spousal relationship in private (i.e., when the couple is alone) and public (when others are present) contexts.

### 1.1 Background — Address Forms

Expressions of power, solidarity, social status, and politeness have been extensively explored in second-person pronouns and honorifics (Brown and Levinson 1987, Goddard 2006, Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004, Harrison 2001). Researchers in Modern English usually use address terms to explore role distinctions since it lacks overt/explicit use of these features (Cecchetto and Stroinska 1996, Hook 1984). Whether a language contains overt markers of status or not, address forms (first name, etc.), including their non-use, constitute a category worth studying on its own. (See Ameka and Breedveld (2004) for a look at non-use of address forms among adults in some languages of West Africa.)

Brown and Levinson (1987), within the framework of politeness theory, look at how address forms fit into their paradigm. For example, they review T/V forms, both reciprocal and non-reciprocal, as discourse markers of relationship, distance, and power. Additionally, they review the usage of in-group familiar address terms (a marriage, one may assume, being the ultimate in-group) such as “honey” or “dear” to enforce claims of solidarity, stating that the use of such terms within conversation may soften so-called Face-Threatening

Acts. Their claim is that such terms allow the listener to believe that the speaker presupposes the social distance between them to be small, removing the threat implied by a request or command given by one who claims to be of higher power than the addressee.

## 1.2 Background — Ethnopragsmatics

One of the primary premises of ethnopragsmatics (Goddard 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2006) is that Speech Practices are best understood from a culture-internal perspective. This paper is written within an ethnopragsmatics framework rather than the universalist pragmatics framework because it assumes a culture-internal account of spousal forms of address. As Goddard (2006:1) points out, “Universalist pragmatics necessarily imposes an ‘external’ perspective on the speech practices of any particular local culture, since the basic descriptive parameters have been decided in advance without reference to that local culture.” The field of ethnopragsmatics (Goddard 2006) provides a way to express cultural attitudes and practices using cultural scripts. It is misleading to believe that address form research, for example, conducted in one culture can be universally applied. Such scripts, written in semantic primes or near-primes, demonstrate knowledge most people in a particular culture seem to have, as expressed by their linguistic behaviour.

One of Goddard’s examples can be found in (1):

(1) *An Anglo-American script for “cheerfulness” in verbal interactions*

people think like this:

when I say something to other people,

it is good if these people think I feel something good

it is not good if these people think I feel something bad (Goddard 2006)

This script illustrates the cultural knowledge possessed by speakers of Anglo-American English and shows that in verbal interactions negativity is dispreferred. The scripts are written in this uniform style in order to highlight similarities and differences in cultural belief systems so as to increase the explanatory force.

## 2 Methodology and Data

Married or recently married informants from various cultural backgrounds completed a survey (see Appendix A) asking their country of origin, nationality, those of their spouse, and address terms used in private, i.e., when the couple is alone, and public, i.e., when other people are present. A further distinction was made as to whether the couple had been married less than a year, just in case the length of the marriage had an impact of the selected form of address. The responses were compiled in Table 3.1.

### Symbols used in Table 3.1:

FN = first name

NN = nickname

TE = term of endearment (e.g., “honey,” “sweetheart”)

2PS = second person singular pronoun

2PP = second person plural pronoun

Ø = no address form

I = initials

SN = shortened name

MN = middle name

DN = diminutive name (in English, usually with [i] suffix)

The data presented in Table 3.1 can best be interpreted in terms of markedness theory.

**Table 3.1 Married Couples: Private and Public Address Terms**

<i>Subject Identification</i>		<i>Subject</i>			<i>Spouse</i>			<i>Address Form Alone</i>			<i>Address Form in Public</i>		
<b>Number and Gender (F/M)</b>	<b>Birth Country</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Birth Country</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Spouse</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Spouse</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Spouse</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Spouse</b>	
Subject 1-A-F	USA	Cuban	USA	Brazilian/German	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	
Subject 3-A-F	USA	Armenian/Irish/ German	USA	Portuguese/French/ English/Scottish	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN / SN	FN / TE	FN / SN	FN / SN	FN / SN	FN / SN	
Subject 5-A-F	Greece	Italian	Greece	Greek	FN / Greek TE	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN / TE	
Subject 6-A-F	USA	American	USA	Puerto Rican	TE / FN	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN / TE	FN	FN	FN	FN	
Subject 7-A-M	USA	American (French)	Philippines	Filipino	FN / TE	TE + FN	FN	TE + FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	
Subject 9-A-F	Serbia	Serbian	Serbia	Serbian	TE / Serbian TE	Serbian TE	TE / Serbian TE	Serbian TE	English FN / Serbian TE	English FN / Serbian TE	English FN / Serbian TE	English FN / Serbian TE	
Subject 3-B-M	USA	American (Czech)	USA	American (German)	TE	TE	TE	TE	FN	FN	FN	FN	
Subject 4-B-M	USA	Caucasian	USA	Vietnamese	NN	I	NN / SN / FN	I	NN / SN / FN	I / FN	I / FN	I / FN	
Subject 5-B-F (married less than 1 year)	USA	Czech/Polish/ Hungarian/Austrian	USA	Estonian	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	
Subject 6-B-M (married less than 1 year)	Estonia/ Germany/ USA	Estonian	USA	Czech/Polish/ Hungarian/Austrian	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	TE	
Subject 7-B-M	USA	American Caucasian	Holland	Dutch	TE	NN / SN / FN	TE	NN / SN / FN	TE	FN	FN	FN	
Subject 8-B-F	USA	Caucasian (Serbian)	USA	German/English	MN / DN / NN	NN / TE / FN	MN / DN	NN / TE / FN	MN / DN	NN / TE / FN	NN / TE / FN	NN / TE / FN	
Subject 9-B-M (married less than 1 year)	USA	Caucasian	USA	Caucasian	TE	TE	TE / FN	TE	TE / FN	TE / FN	TE / FN	TE / FN	
Subject 10-B-M	USA	Caucasian (Czech)	USA	Caucasian (German)	TE	TE / FN	FN	TE / FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	
Subject 11-B-F	USA	Caucasian (Slovak)	USA	Caucasian/English/ Irish	NN	NN / TE	FN	NN / TE	FN	FN	FN	FN	
Subject 10-A-M (rural)	Burundi	Burundian	Burundi	Burundian	Ø / 2PS	Ø / 2PP	Honour Terms	Ø / 2PP	Honour Terms	Honour Terms	Honour Terms	Honour Terms	
Subject 11-A-M (urban)	Burundi	Burundian	Burundi	Burundian	Ø / SN / 2PS / TE + SN (Kirundi)	Ø / SN / 2PP / TE + SN (Kirundi)	Honour Terms FN (rare)	Ø / SN / 2PP / TE + SN (Kirundi)	Honour Terms FN (rare)	Honour Terms FN (rare)	Honour Terms FN (rare)	Honour Terms FN (rare)	

### 3 Markedness in Spousal Address Forms

The selection of a linguistic form for appropriate social interaction in a discourse often depends on the language markedness. Markedness theory has been used in many aspects of language from phonology to stylistics. The data presented in this paper are well understood and accounted for in the context of markedness. As Myers-Scotton (2004) points out,

The unmarked choice is a construct at the discourse level to explain choosing one linguistic variety or one structural variant over others. Choosing the unmarked choice indexes choosing the rights and obligations set which the participants perceive as expected, given the social dimensions of the interaction.

Although the concept of markedness is not new to work in address forms (Brown and Levinson 1987), it has not been adequately explored. Like other elements of discourse, address forms can be manipulated by speakers in order to communicate that the situation is either usual or unusual. The expected (unmarked) form is predicted by cultural norms, and its use is the default. Consequently, a speaker's decision to employ an unexpected (marked) form communicates additional information to the hearer. This could be the speaker's emotional state (e.g., anger, fear), the presence of a previously unseen third party, or perhaps a special topic. For example, in some cultures shown above, usage of a spouse's first name in private, in couples where this is not normally done, can be a quiet expression of anger or frustration. The choice of unmarked/marked speech construct makes it possible to analyze the results of the survey in terms of axes of honour and intimacy.

### 4 Axes of Honour and Intimacy

Data presented in this study show that there are two axes of distribution of address forms between western and traditional societies. On the one hand priority is put on intimacy over honour in western cultures, particularly among newlyweds. On the other hand the priority of honour is over intimacy in traditional societies in address forms.

In Burundi, high emphasis is put on honour over intimacy. In rural areas no direct address forms are used in normal circumstances in private or in public; preference is given to honour terms such as *mutaama* 'elderly one.' Most frequently, married partners refer to each other with honour terms. Examples of honorific terms Burundians select from when referring to a highly valued person, namely the spouse, include:

- |                        |                                |                           |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (2) <i>Hewe</i>        | Second person singular 'you' → | husband referring to wife |
| (3) <i>Hemwe</i>       | Second person plural 'you' →   | wife referring to husband |
| (4) <i>umufasoni</i> , | "the most respected one" →     | husband referring to wife |

While neither historically, nor, apparently, culturally linked, this usage of the second-person plural as a more respectful term than second-person singular pronoun is directly comparable to the T/V distinction in many Indo-European languages, a phenomenon which Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to "the general strategy of pluralizing in order to impersonalize." However, we must again refrain from a strictly Eurocentric view. The use of the word "impersonalize" implies the negation, or removal, of personalization. Instead, to adequately describe the motivations of speakers in rural Burundian culture, it is instructive to refer to the cultural notion of Respect in marital relationships. This is why ethnopragmatics will be a useful way to describe these motivations.

Brown and Levinson (1987) also discuss the "rudeness" of using "you" as an address form, but this may again be considered Eurocentric. They do go on to say that there are many cultures in which it is impolite to address people by using their name(s). Rural Burundian culture, we see, is able to bridge these notions, using "no-name" as a preferred form, followed by, indeed, the use of (the equivalents of) "you." Thus, we again see that a new description is necessary. In such communities, calling a spouse by name is considered disrespectful. Instead, an appropriate second-person pronoun is used or other terms that indicate maturity, hence wisdom, e.g., *mutaama* 'elderly one,' even to summon the spouse into the room, especially in the presence of peers.

The terms in (2)–(4) above are common and unmarked. The use of first name and even short forms of the name is marked. It only happens, due to foreign influence, among educated/younger generation/urban (rarely)

and when someone is very angry. Most Burundians who filled out the questionnaire repeated the same message, “I never heard my mother or father refer to each other by name.”

In urban areas, among educated, urban Burundians, the frequently used terms are:

- SN / 2PP / TE+SN from a female spouse addressing her husband
- SN / 2PS/ TE+SN from a male spouse addressing his wife
- In public Honour terms take priority in both cases

In this paper, we propose that, regarding address terms, the parameters of Intimacy and Honour cross-culturally vary, even directly contrast. These terms must be considered in order to effectively account for the ways in which societies express these often conflicting constraints.

## 5 Ethnopragmatic Scripts

Ethnopragmatic scripts provide a way to describe cultural attitudes as expressed linguistically. For the Caucasian–American group, we can posit (at least) three scripts for spousal address. The first, significant in its privacy, can be stated as follows:

(5) *A Caucasian-American cultural “intimacy” script for married couples when alone:*

people think like this:

- my spouse is someone special just to me
- it can be good to address this person with a term of endearment
- it can be good to make up a special nickname for this person
- it may not be good to privately address this person as everyone else does

The second Caucasian-American spousal address script focuses on the public arena, in which an abundance of affection is usually disapproved of.

(6) *A Caucasian-American cultural “public face” script for married couples when in public:*

people think like this:

- it is not good to show private feelings in public
- it is good to address this person publicly as everyone else does

There is an exception to the above. Couples who are married less than a year may have society’s “permission” to use terms of endearment in public because their recent nuptials are public record and/or they may be assumed not to have learned the conventions yet. We can posit a script for this group:

(7) *A Caucasian-American cultural script for newlyweds in public:*

people think like this:

- my spouse is in a new role in my public life
- it is good to express this new love with terms of endearment, for the world to see

For the Burundian group, we can posit (at least) two scripts for spousal address.

(8) *A Burundian cultural “intimacy” script for married couples when alone:*

people think like this:

- my spouse is someone special just to me
- it can be good to address this person with a term of honour
- I respect him so much that I have to show it by addressing him with honorific terms

The second Burundian spousal address script focuses on the public arena, in which an abundance of respect and honour has to be displayed.

(9) *Burundian cultural "public face" script for married couples when in public:*  
people think like this:

my spouse means a lot to me  
I therefore have to honour him  
It can be good to show the world how respected he is

## 6 Conclusion

Spousal address forms provide ample material for examination. There are two main directions of contrast found in the spousal address form data in this study: private vs. public and transcultural. These contrasts can be well described using ethnopragsmatics framework in the form of cultural scripts. We propose that, regarding address terms, the culture-sensitive parameters of Intimacy and Honour vary, even directly contrast, across cultures. They must be accounted for in order to effectively account for ways societies express these often conflicting constraints. The markedness concept provides a way of explaining how address terms can be dynamically manipulated in order to convey extra information. As a contrastive analysis, this study allows us to delve into the in-group practices of different linguistic communities. Future research may focus on non-western cultures with less foreign influence.

## Appendix: Spousal Address Form Survey

1. What country were you raised in?
2. What country was your spouse raised in?
3. What is your nationality (and/or ethnic group)?
4. What is your spouse's nationality?
5. How do you address your spouse when the two of you are alone?  
(e.g., first name, term of endearment like "honey," nickname, no address, etc.)
  - a. Please give an example:  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. How does your spouse address you when the two of you are alone?  
(See examples above)
  - a. Please give an example:  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. How do you address your spouse in public?
  - a. Please give an example:  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. How does your spouse address you in public?
  - a. Please give an example:  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. What is your gender?      M    F

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## Australian-Hungarian Language Contact Phenomena

Eva Forintos

(University of Pannonia)

### Abstract

This paper is one abstract of a large-scale study that investigates how the written language (Hungarian) of a minority group (L1) functions outside its traditional setting in central Europe, in an environment where another language (L2) is used (English in Australia). This is an intraregional language contact situation where Hungarian immigrants live among the English-speaking population of Australia; and the two languages involved are genealogically non-related and structural-typologically non-identical languages. The aim of the paper is twofold. On the one hand, to give an overview of one of “the most debated and still debatable problems contact linguistics is facing: e.g., the dynamism of penetrability of the results of linguistic interference into the morphological level of the receptor-language” (Rot 1991:49) and to find out if the applicability of the findings of language contact scholarly literature can be justified in the case of the current corpus, e.g., Australian-Hungarian (AuH) corpus. The other aim is to carry out morphological research on the written data in order to see whether the derivational blends (e.g., English loanwords with Hungarian derivational suffixes, e.g., derived adjectives derived from nouns in the word formation process) are formed according to the derivational rules of the Hungarian or the English language. Since the language of the examined newspaper is dominantly Hungarian, the most important hypothesis of my study is that the selection is governed by Hungarian derivational rules.

In conducting the linguistic analysis of the corpus, a general purpose software application — a concordancing program — has been used.

### Introduction

This paper is one aspect of a large-scale study that investigates how the written language (Hungarian) of a minority group (L1) functions outside its traditional European setting, in an environment where another language (L2) is used (English in Australia). This is an intraregional language contact situation where Hungarian immigrants live among the English-speaking population of Australia; and the two languages involved are genealogically non-related, and structural-typologically non-identical languages.

### 1 The Research

The aim of the paper is twofold. On the one hand, to give an overview of one of “the most debated and still debatable problems contact linguistics is facing e.g., the dynamism of penetrability of the results of linguistic interference into the morphological level of the receptor-language” (Rot 1991:49) and to find out whether the applicability of the findings of scholarly literature on language contact can be justified in the case of the current corpus, which is Australian-Hungarian (AuH) corpus. The other aim is to carry out morphological research on the written data in order to see whether the derivational blends (e.g., English loanwords with Hungarian derivational suffixes) including e.g., derived adjectives derived from nouns in the word formation process are formed according to the derivational rules of the Hungarian or the English language. Since the language of the examined newspaper is dominantly Hungarian, the most important hypothesis of my study is that the selection is governed by the Hungarian derivational rules.

In conducting the linguistic analysis of the corpus a concordancing program has been used.

### 2 The Corpus of the Research

For my investigation, I agree with Kurtböke's (1998) criticism, according to which written sources have basically been neglected in language contact ever since this field of linguistics was introduced, and I have

decided on studying and carrying out research on a written text. Engwall (1994) suggests with many others (cited in Kurtböke 1998) that newspaper texts provide as adequate a basis for a linguistic study of general language use (focusing on vocabulary or grammar) as do literary or specialised texts. If newspapers in general can offer a solid basis for linguistic studies, then community newspapers of minority groups of different countries are especially suitable for this purpose. Since the language of Hungarian migrants in Australia, unlike that of their counterparts in the United States of America, as well as the language(s) of Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin, has not been the subject of much research, this study employs the machine-readable corpus of written language samples taken from the only weekly published newspaper — titled *Hungarian Life* (*Magyar Élet*) — of the Hungarian community in Australia. The corpus is made up of the advertisements found in the 98 issues of *Hungarian Life* published in 2000 and 2001. The number of words of advertisements found in the 98 issues of the chosen newspaper is 96,351 (100%), only 4 per cent of which is written in English (3,781 words). Obviously they have been excluded from the corpus. 7 per cent (6845 words) of the advertisements are translations of governmental advertisements, 26 per cent (25,272 words) of them were written in unmixed Hungarian, whereas 63 per cent (60,453 words) of them are instances where the two languages — Hungarian and English — come into direct contact. The corpus of the study is made up of the latter three, altogether 92,570 words. Although the dimension of the corpus is determined according to the types, “the abstract representations of tokens,” which “are instances of a linguistic expression” (Sinclair 1991:19), tokens are not without consideration; they are referred to in the coding scheme.

The coding scheme I created for the research includes the basic information in the following sequence:

2000/1/1/96 (6)

2000 – the year of publication

1 – the issue number

1 – the page on which the advertisement was spotted for the first time

96 – the number of occurrences of the same advertisement (token)

(6) – the number of occurrences of the linguistic manifestation in other advertisements (token)

### 3 Corpus Linguistics, a Methodology for Language Contact Research

There have not been very many computer-readable corpus-based studies available in the field of language contact research so far, and computer applications are still not commonly used in the field of language contact research although Biber (1994) claimed (cited by Kurtböke 1998) that with “the explosion in the availability of on-line corpora and computational research tools, analyses and applications of corpus-based work should become increasingly common over the coming years.” Meyer (2002) does not even consider this field of research separately. Although Kurtböke (1998) enumerates a few examples of computer-readable corpus-based research where several languages are involved, she is of the opinion that they have mainly concentrated on second language acquisition, e.g., Lux and Grabe (1991) used corpus based analysis to compare the compositions of students, written in Ecuadorian Spanish and English.

Kurtböke’s PhD dissertation (1998), however, is a new attempt in this respect. She has recognised that generally spoken data have been central in the characterisation of language contact phenomena so she has decided on the written code. The data used by her are mainly in two languages that have come into contact in the context of immigration in Australia: Turkish and English. These facts contributed to the present study, i.e., the corpus-driven study of Hungarian-English language contact in Australia.

Language maintenance situations, like the one in which the Hungarian community exists in Australia, can include more or less stable bilingual speech communities in which bilingual mixture of various types is usual, leading to the phenomena known collectively as code-switching, which is a short-term consequence of language contact. This is the actual performance of bilinguals who exploit the resources of the languages they command in various ways, for different purposes. Bilinguals achieve this by alternating between their two languages, or by mixing them in different ways. Researchers do not always agree on precisely what kinds of alternation should be included under the designation code-switching. Code-switching has been defined as “the

alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation” (Grosjean 1982:145). According to Thomason (2001:132) “code-switching is the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation.” McLaughlin (1984) emphasises the distinction between mixing and switching by referring to code switches as language changes occurring across phrase or sentence boundaries, whereas code mixes take place within sentences and usually involve single lexical items. Much of the data presented on code-switching involve cases of single-word switches/mixes (e.g., Oksaar 1974, Grosjean 1982). The linguistic manifestations studied in the present study belong to this group. Other aspects of code-switching are discussed by scholars like Baker (1976), Poplack (1990), Clyne (1991), Hoffmann (1991), Auer (1995), Gardner-Chloros (1995), Zentella (1997), Thomason (2001), Myers-Scotton (2002), Winford (2003), etc.

#### 4 Morphological Aspect

Rot (1991) enumerates a wide range of views according to which the level of morphology is considered to be the “fortress” of the language which does not “surrender” and does not allow foreign elements to enter it. As Meillet (1921) states it (cited in Rot 1991:50), “the grammatical systems of two languages ... are impenetrable to each other.” On the other hand Weinreich (1953), amongst others, is of the opinion that “the morphological level of the interacting languages may in some cases of permanent internal language interrelations be penetrable as well” (Rot 1991:50). Zvegintsey (quoted in Rot 1991:50) came to the conclusion that: “Generally, it is necessary to admit that though the grammatical domain of the language is not absolutely impenetrable to foreign language influences it seems to be in comparison to other domains of language the most stable constituent.” Rot is of the opinion that “the linguistic interference of intensive language contact may often contribute to the formation in the morphology of the receptor-language of bound morphemes with the help of which innovative constructions are formed” (Rot 1991:54). Winford states that “situations involving more or less stable bilingualism within a community ... tend to promote varying degrees of lexical borrowing with only marginal diffusion of structural features” (Winford 2003:65). He also emphasises that “even minority languages that are under heavy cultural pressure from a dominant host language resist importation of structure with the exception of derivational morphology and some function words” (Winford 2003:65).

It has been claimed that there is a continuum ranging from relatively slight lexical borrowing under casual contact to extreme structural borrowing under very intense contact. An example of this is Thomason and Kaufman’s borrowing scale (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:74–76). Winford (2003:22–24) gives a short taxonomy of contact situations and the types of cross-linguistic influence they contain to illustrate the major outcomes of language contact situations. A modified version of the borrowing scale can be found in Thomason (2001:70–71).

According to Winford (2003) there is no real agreement on the extent and type of structural borrowing possible in language contact situations. As for morphology, the consensus seems to be that derivational morphemes are much more likely to be borrowed than inflectional ones. Derivational morphology is believed to be introduced through lexical borrowing. With regard to inflectional morphology e.g., whether it can be borrowed, either directly or indirectly, there is rather less agreement. He is of the opinion that languages can borrow a huge number of foreign lexical items while still retaining their basic grammar and their generic affiliation to earlier forms of the language. With the help of several examples, he proves that significant lexical borrowing can introduce new derivational morphemes and processes as well as new phonemic distinctions to a language. Winford (2003), however, criticizes Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who distinguish between “lexical” and “structural borrowing” as though the two could proceed independently of each other. Winford emphasises that “direct borrowing of inflectional morphology can occur in cases of close typological fit between the languages in contact, such importation of inflections, however, appears to be generally rare in situations of language maintenance, though it occurs if there is sufficient congruence between the inflections involved” (Winford 2003:63).

To sum up what the findings of empirical research in the scholarly literature have proven so far with regard to morphology, the following can be stated: in cases of language maintenance contact situations, the maintained language is subject to quite extensive lexical borrowing from an external language, though rather little structural innovation occurs. This tendency is even more likely if the two languages (AuH and English in this case) involved are genealogically non-related and structural-typologically non-identical languages. Moreover, there seems to be consensus that derivational morphemes are more likely to be borrowed than inflectional ones.

All the above mentioned hypotheses can be justified on the basis of the findings of the AuH corpus. On the one hand, no instances of the borrowing of inflectional morphemes are identified in the corpus. As for derivational morphology, only examples of derived adjectives (e.g., when adjectives are formed from nouns in the word formation process) can be found in the corpus. They are discussed in detail in section 5.1 following.

## 5 Derivational Morphology

Since Hungarian is an agglutinative language, derivation has an important role in word formation processes. There are a large number of derivational suffixes, a fraction of which are completely productive; some are governed by various properties of the base, others are highly idiosyncratic. The derivational blends, with an English stem and a Hungarian derivational suffix, in the corpus are derived adjectives when adjectives are formed from nouns in the word formation process (Kenesei et al. 1998).

### 5.1 Derived Adjectives

One of the most frequent simple affixes *-i*, generally meaning ‘belonging to / from / in / ...N,’ is in general applied to derive adjectives from nouns and in particular it is attached to place names, names of institutions or locations, nouns expressing professions, personal relations, time or abstract notions. Although the place name is written with a capital letter, the adjectival form is not (Kenesei et al. 1998). In the English language, however, a noun can be converted into an adjective by a process which is called zero-derivation, also known as conversion. When we use a noun as an adjective before another noun, the exact relationship between the first word and the second depends on the particular expression. There are a large number of possible meanings that can be expressed. For example, in the following examples, the first noun says where the second is found, or where it comes from, or what it is a part of.

My working hypothesis is that — because of the Hungarian context — adjectives derived from nouns are formed on the basis of the Hungarian derivational rules.

The influence of the English language can be identified in examples (1)–(5) in so far as the adjectives are derived from the noun forms on the basis of the English derivation:

- (1) *Allambie* temetőbe (2001/2/12/1) ‘cemetery-ILL’
- (2) *Doveton* Public Hall-ban (2001/4/7/1) (1) ‘hall-INE’
- (3) *Doveton* Community Centre-ben (2001/14/19/2) ‘centre-INE’
- (4) *Unley* Uniting Church-ben (2001/5/12/2) (52) ‘church-INE’
- (5) *Keilor Downs* Community Centre termébe (2001/8/14/1) (1) ‘hall-ILL’

Example (6) is a noun expressing a profession:

- (6) *babysitter* munkát (2000/13/20/2) (1) ‘work-ACC’

In examples (7a)–(9b) adjectives are formed from nouns according to the rules of the Hungarian language rather than the English language:

- (7a) *Norwoodi* Magyar Klub (2000/47/19/10) ‘Hungarian Club’
- (7b) *Norwood* Town Hall (2001/43/21/1)
- (8a) *Homebush-i* Bicentennial Parkban (2001/34/9/2) ‘park-INE’
- (8b) *Homebush* Bicentennial Parkban (2001/11/17/2) ‘park-INE’
- (9a) *Rose Bay-i* RSL Club (2000/32/5/1) (4)
- (9b) *Rose Bay* Family Medical Practice (2000/3/14/1) (6)

The adjectives in examples (10)–(13) are formed on the basis of the Hungarian grammar and they meet the requirements of the spelling rules:

- (10) *burwoodi* ravatalozóban (2001/33/13/1) 'mortuary-INE'
- (11) *newcastlei* barátainak (2000/49/14/2) 'friend-PL-POSS-1SG-DAT'
- (12) *courtlandi* jezsuita temetőben (2001/39/13/1) 'Jesuit cemetery-ILL'
- (13) *goodnai* Crematorium & Memorial Gardens (2000/10/13/1)

Examples (14a)–(16b) are adjectives formed in the Hungarian way with either incorrect or correct spelling rules:

- (14a) *Marsden-i* Magyar Ház (2000/47/19/10) 'Hungarian House'
- (14b) *marsdeni* Magyar Ház (2001/40/3/1) 'Hungarian House'
- (15a) *Geelong-i* református templomban 233 (2001/5/12/2) (12) 'reformed church-INE'
- (15b) *geelongi* St. John templomból (2000/12/14/1) 'church-ELA'
- (16a) *Punchbowl-i* Magyar Központban (2001/15/4/1) (5) 'Hungarian Centre-INE'
- (16b) *punchbowli* Magyar Házban (2001/7/4/2) (17) 'Hungarian House-INE'

Altogether there are 51 adjectives which are formed of nouns in accordance with the derivational rules of the Hungarian language, but unfortunately they do not meet the requirements of the spelling rules. Here four examples are given as illustrations:

- (17) *Gardenvale-i* rendelőjében (2000/1/20/98) 'surgery-POSS-3SG-INE'
- (18) *Marrickville-i* temető (2001/7/11/1) 'cemetery'
- (19) *Cremorne-i* Budapest Journal étterembe (2000/42/20/4) 'restaurant-ILL'
- (20) *Vaucluse-i* házba (2001/20/20/3) (3) 'house-ILL'

## 6 Summary

Altogether 94 derivational blends are identified in the corpus (they are considered 100%) out of which 22 (23%) derive an adjective from a noun with conversion, which is a typical way of the word formation process in English. In 72 cases (77%) adjectives are derived from nouns according to the rules of the Hungarian language; 58 of the examples, however, are not spelt correctly. The conclusion we can arrive at is that in the case of derived adjectives it is mainly the dominant language of the examined newspaper, e.g., Hungarian, that influences the word formation process.

## Appendix

- (1) *Knoxfield-Wantirna Sth.* rendelőjét (2001/1/20/39) 'surgery-POSS-3SG-ACC'
- (2) *BONDI ROAD* BRASSERIE (2000/22/20/2)
- (3) *Mulgrave* Senior Citizens Centre (2001/16/11/2) (2)
- (4) *Glen Waverley* Senior Citizens Centre (2001/12/5/2) (10)
- (5) *Commonwealth* költségvetés (2001/25/5/1) 'budget'
- (6) *Senate* szavazólapon (2001/42/9/2) 'ballot-paper-SUP'
- (7) *Warrawong* Newsagency Shop (2000/18/2/2)
- (8) *Huntingdale* Newsagency (2000/8/9/4)
- (9) *Oakleigh* Newsagency (2001/32/16/1) (3)
- (10) *Aston-i* rendkívüli választáson (2001/25/3/2)(1) 'by-election-SUP'
- (11) *Aston* választókerületben (2001/25/3/2) 'constituency-INE'
- (12) *North Sydney-i* businesshez (2001/4/20/1) 'business-ALL'
- (13) *Sydney* Magyar Kaszinó (2001/6/4/1) (1) 'Hungarian Casino'
- (14) *Rookwood-i* temetőben (2000/13/15/1) (2) 'cemetery-INE'
- (15) *rookwoodi* Magyar Temetőben (2001/38/16/2) (4) 'Hungarian cemetery-INE'
- (16) *Springvale-i* lutheránus templomban (2001/5/12/2) (23) 'Lutheran church-INE'
- (17) *springvalei* temetőbe (2001/43/11/1) 'cemetery-ILL'
- (18) *Strathfield-i* [Swan Ave. (2001/7/10/2) (41)

- (19) *strathfieldi* anglikán templomban (2001/7/12/2) (6) 'Anglican church-INE'  
 (20) *Carlton-i* temetőben (2000/4/7/19/10) (2) 'cemetery-INE'  
 (21) *carltoni* temető (2000/8/9/4) 'cemetery'  
 (22) *Armidale-i* telefonáló (2001/3/3/20/1) 'call-Deriv. Adj.'  
 (23) *Glendale-i* Reformed Church-ben (2001/6/12/2) (10) 'church-INE'  
 (24) *Hawthorne-i* Manréza templomban (2001/4/3/4/1) 'church-INE'  
 (25) *Lilydale-i* Memorial Parkba (2001/3/13/1) 'park-ILL'  
 (26) *Parramatta-i* St. (2001/4/13/1)  
 (27) *Unanderra-i* Presbyterian Church-ben (2001/7/10/2) (10) 'church-INE.'

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# The Canadian-Polish Lexicon: Classes of Items and Their Semantic Distribution<sup>1</sup>

Joanna Lustanski

(York University)

## Abstract

This paper focuses on the analysis of a specific group of lexemes used by Polish immigrants in Canada. The vocabulary used appears neither in Standard Polish nor in Standard English, but is an outcome of the contact of two separate language and culture systems and is characteristic only of the Polish language spoken by immigrant generations living outside Poland in English-speaking countries, in this case, Canada. The research reported in this paper is based on a corpus of lexeme items excerpted from a few sources: lexical and grammar surveys filled out by the respondents, the Polish media in Canada, recordings of the speech of first- and second-generation respondents, and daily conversations with Polish immigrants.

On the basis of the contrastive method of language description, which also takes into consideration extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors, I distinguish seven classes of lexical items: 1. morphologically adapted lexical items, 2. structural transfers, 3. semantic transfers, 4. citations, 5. Canadian-Polish idioms, 6. calques, 7. Canadian-Polish word-formations. A major goal of this paper is to investigate the types of Canadian-Polish lexical items and to examine the semantic distribution of these items with respect to the contact of the two cultures. This article is based on a broader sociolinguistic project examining the Polish immigrant minority group and the language spoken by this group in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (Lustanski 2005).

## Status of the Language of Polish Immigrants

The status of the Polish language outside Poland is significantly different from its status inside the country. In the context of Canada, considering the factors of communication and function of the language, Polish is a local code (Dubisz 1997:21) in contradistinction to the official codes, English and French. In relation to Canadian Standard English, Canadian-Polish is a dialect distinguishing Polish ethnic groups. In the multicultural Canadian society, the Polish language is a national sociolect that identifies Polish immigrants and allows them to participate in the national culture. Because the notion of the Polish dialect, which is commonly used in Polish sociolinguistic studies, can be understood as a regional and/or social dialect of the Polish language, in this paper I use the term *Canadian-Polish* (C-P) instead.

Although various aspects of the Polish language spoken in English-speaking countries, such as the U.S.A., Australia, and the United Kingdom have been extensively explored by sociolinguists, with the exception of Grabowski's work (Grabowski 1975, 1976, 1988), there are as yet no studies on the linguistic and sociolinguistic features of Canadian Polish. Instead, the historical and sociological research on the Polish communities in this country are much more advanced (see Reczyńska 1986, 1997; Radecki and Heydenkorn 1976; Radecki 1979).

## Methods and Data

Researchers investigating the characteristics of languages in contact base their analysis on the standard scheme of causes and effects provided by U. Weinreich and A. Martinet: *bilingual speech situation* → *language*

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to James Walker and Susan Ehrlich from York University for many helpful comments and suggestions. I also wish to thank Stanisław Dubisz and Elżbieta Sękowska from Warsaw University, who reviewed my PhD dissertation. The dissertation forms the basis on which this paper was prepared.

*contact* → *language interference* → *effect of interference: borrowing* → *bilingualism* (Weinreich 1974). In this paper the term *language contact* has a broad range and is defined as a social phenomenon with ethnic contact features (Lobiuc 1976, Michalewska 1991).

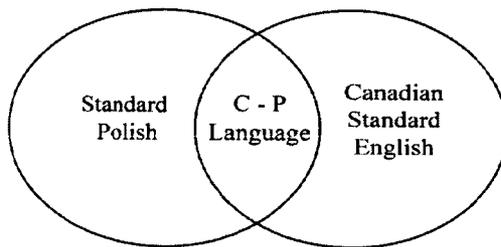
Most Polish sociolinguistic studies use the contrastive method of language description. According to Dubisz (1997), in Polonocentric communities the genetic system of the Polish language is used. The system, however, is heterogeneous and mixed. The elementary units of the Polish language abroad and relationships between them are different from the units of the Polish in Poland (324–337). The method is based on an inductive and empirical analysis of idiolects. A goal of this analysis is to register language contrasts in the face of two comparative bases: the Polish language in Poland (and its variants) and Canadian English.

Consequently, we have three strata of language elements:

1. a stratum shared with Standard Polish;
2. a stratum shared with Canadian English, which is linked to the process of code switching;
3. a stratum which contrasts with the two bases. This is the specific stratum of the Polish language in Canada.

Lexical elements of various types (borrowings, interferences, word-formations, etc.) belonging to this group and their semantic distribution with respect to society constitute the principal focus of this paper.

### Strata of Language Elements



In order to analyze these strata, I developed a survey that was distributed among representatives of two generations of Poles living in Canada: a group of Polish immigrants (also called “1<sup>st</sup>-generation Polish immigrants”) and a group of second-generation immigrants (called “young Polish-Canadians”). Workers of the company MCM2001 in Toronto represent the first generation (33 respondents), whereas students from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade at the M. Copernicus Polish School in Mississauga represent the second generation (182 respondents). The immigrant group consists of Poles born in Poland mainly between 1940 and 1969 (22 people), most of whom came to Canada as adults between 1987 and 1993. According to the motive criteria of immigration, they represent two types of immigrant waves: post-Solidarity and economical (Dubisz 1997:29). Among the second-generation respondents, born between 1986 and 1988, 114 were born outside of Canada (102 in Poland), but arrived in Canada before they fully acquired the Polish language (between 1990 and 1995). The rest of the young representatives were born in Canada.

My research was deliberately conducted with people belonging to two particular local groups: a Polish Saturday school and a Polish company. The members of these communicative communities interact a lot, keep close social ties and have similar lifestyles. From the point of view of sociolinguistics, it is crucial to have specific and well-defined variables on which it is possible to interpret solid and reliable data.

The research reported in this paper is based on a corpus of lexeme items excerpted from a few sources: 387 lexical and grammar surveys filled out by the respondents, Polish media in the GTA (radio broadcasts, TV programs, Polish-language press), casual printings (such as church bulletins, flyers and so on), recordings of speech samples of the first- and second-generation respondents, and daily conversations. It should be

highlighted that the lexical corpus in my research is noticeably different from the previous one mainly because of different sources of data. Until now, linguistic studies on the vocabulary of the Polonocentric communities in Canada were based on the lexical data excerpted from immigrant diaries, written by country inhabitants during the first half of the twentieth century (see Janicka 1991; Sękowska 1991, 1994; Szydłowska-Cegłowa 1988, 1990). However, in my study I present not anachronistic but current vocabulary. Moreover, the analyzed items are used by speakers of both generations: immigrants and/or immigrants' children, thus providing a wide range of vocabulary. In addition, most items belong to the lexicons of the lower-middle class respondents living in the cities (GTA). Lastly, the language material presented is an example of colloquial speech, in contradistinction to the immigrant memories, which were purposely stylized.

## Canadian-Polish Lexicon

The lexical corpus of the Polonocentric community in Canada includes recurrent loan types rather than nonce borrowings, which have idiosyncratic character (Poplack, Sankoff and Miller 1988). On the basis of the contrastive method of language description, which also takes into consideration extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors, seven classes of lexical items can be distinguished (Dubisz and Sękowska 1990:217–233)<sup>2</sup>:

- I. morphologically adapted lexical items (i.e., *tajpować* 'to type,' *lota* 'lot')
- II. structural transfers (*maszyna do prania* 'washing machine,' *sklep kwiatowy* 'flower shop')
- III. semantic transfers (*afera* 'affair' — Pol. *romans*; *znaleźć* 'to find' — Pol. *odkryć*, *mieć na myśli*)
- IV. citations (*absent*, *temporary*, *wait a minute*)
- V. Canadian-Polish idioms (*placić taksy* 'to pay taxes')
- VI. calques (*brać zdjęcie* 'to take a photo')
- VII. Canadian-Polish word-formations (*superwajzorka* 'supervisor<sub>FEM</sub>', *stałować* 'to tow<sub>PERF</sub>')

The presented stratification is deliberately simplified but still allows for the classification of every lexical item to a specific lexical subgroup.

## 1 Morphologically adapted items

The class of morphologically adapted lexical items consists of items which are subjected to phonetic and morphological adaptation. Dubisz maintains that these processes of adaptation vary depending on which particular lexemes of L2 (donor language) become included in the functional classes of L1 (recipient language). They allow applying the borrowed lexemes to be integrated into syntactic structures according to the syntax rules transferred from Standard Polish (or its socio-stylistic and/or socio-geographic variants) into C-P. These processes are called *functional adaptation* (Dubisz 1981:51–68). Mechanisms of adaptation concern both simple and complex words. Examples include the following forms:

Nie miałam na samochodzie *stickerów*<sup>3</sup> 'I didn't have stickers on my car.'

W zeszłym roku wybudowali nowe apartamenty przy *lejk* 'Last year new apartment buildings were built on the *lake*.'

Mamy kłopoty z *printerem* 'We have problems with the *printer*.'

Dzisiaj oglądałem *stocki* 'I looked at *stocks* today.'

Biblioteka publiczna w Toronto ma różne *brancze* 'The Toronto Public Library has many *branches*.'

Ekran komputera *flikeruje* 'A computer screen *flickers*.'

Od dwóch lat *rentuję* ten apartament 'I've been *renting* this apartment for two years.'

<sup>2</sup> U. Weinreich (1974) identifies two basic groups of lexical interferences: simple words and compound words (47–53).

<sup>3</sup> Most of the C-P items do not have written forms because they are used only in spoken language. When writing them down, I try to be "close" to the pronunciation of these lexemes by the Polish immigrants.

Co roku muszę *sprejować* pomidory na *bakjardzie* 'Every year I have to *spray* the tomatoes in my *backyard*.'

Kupiłaś *czipny* samochód 'You bought a *cheap* car.'

Dałem mu, co miałem w *lancz baksie* 'I gave him what I had in my *lunch box*.'

It is worth noting that the way in which English verbs are adapted into the Polish grammatical system is the most regular of the all other types of mechanisms of adaptation. More than 90% of the verbs are integrated by adding the most productive Polish verbal suffix *-ować* (Jadacka 2001:111) to an English verbal stem. The examples are the following: *kanselować* 'to cancel,' *klejmować* 'to claim,' *klinować* 'to clean,' *sejwować* 'to save,' *suować* 'to sue,' *bossować* 'to boss,' *flosować* 'to floss,' *stynkować* 'to stink' etc.

## 2 Structural transfers

Structural transfers are lexical items having a formal structure taken from L2, but language material belonging to L1 (Sękowska 1994:77). These types of phrases appear in C-P quite rarely. These include, for instance: *4-sypialniowy* '4-bedroom'; *sklep kwiatowy* 'flower shop'; *christmasowy prezent* 'Christmas gift.' Note that to form a structural transfer, both Polish material (*sklep kwiatowy* 'flower shop') and C-P material (*christmasowy*) could be used (Dubisz and Sękowska 1990:225).

## 3 Semantic transfers

Semantic transfers, called also loanshifts (Myers-Scotton 2005:220), are genetically Polish and are lexical items whose meanings are changed because of a constant contact with English. In the C-P, a semantic transfer influenced by English often has a broader meaning and content in comparison with its Polish equivalent. Some of the transfers can even have completely new meanings. Statistically, most semantic transfers are nouns and verbs (Sękowska 1994:83). Some examples of semantic transfers are the following:

English	C-P Language	Meaning in Standard Polish
apartment	apartament	a very expensive apartment in a hotel
resident	rezydent	a representative of a protective country in a dependent country
(banquet) hall	(bankietowa) hall	a big hall for shopping and/or exhibitions, not for dancing or banqueting
class	klasa	a classroom; not a lesson unit at university or high school
form	forma	a shape and structure of something (never referring to a document with blanks for the insertion of details or information)
vacation	wakacje	a fixed period of students' holidays (but not adult and working people's holidays)
to spend (money)	spędzać	the verb 'spend' refers to time ('spend time'), not to money
to try something on	próbować	the verb does not refer to putting on a piece of clothing to see if it fits

## 4 Citations

Citations represent the first stage of influence of the donor language on the host language. They remain morphologically and syntactically unadapted to recipient-language patterns. Lewicki (1986) maintains that citations are only signs that have phonological and orthographical shapes different from those in the Polish

language. The signs are fragmentary items described by Polish words (34). Sękowska (1994) stratifies citations according to the criterion of utterance appearing:

1. citations motivated by designations that do not have their equivalents in Polish, called *cultural borrowings* (Haugen 1969, Myers-Scotton 2005);
2. citations motivated by culture of a settlement country referring to customs, entertainments, holidays etc.; they are viewed by immigrant speakers as better than their well-known Polish equivalents (called *core borrowings*);
3. citations motivated stylistically, such as exclamations and interjections (Sękowska 1994:71).

My data show that there are two more motivations for the use of citations:

1. economical: an English equivalent is shorter than the Polish one (i.e., Eng. *temporary* → Pol. *zatrudnienie tymczasowe*, Eng. *condominium* → Pol. *mieszkanie własnościowe*),
2. lack of knowledge of the contemporary lexical stock of the Polish language (i.e., “lexical need”): most Polish immigrants have been living outside of Poland for many years, and since did not participate in the Polish technical, economical, and political changes taken place after 1989, they do not have some Polish words in their idiolects (i.e., Eng. *floppy* → Pol. *dyskietka*, Eng. *cell phone* → Pol. *telefon komórkowy*).

Taking the structural criterion into account, Dubisz (1997) distinguishes two general groups of citations: word citations and phrasal citations (257–258), whereas Poplack et al. (1988) divides these kinds of L2 incorporations into single-item English-origin forms and multi-word L2 sentence fragments (53). Some examples are the following:

- Film jest trochę *action*, trochę *love story* ‘A film is a little bit action, a little bit love story.’  
 Wezmę te dane na *floppy* ‘I’ll take the data on a floppy.’  
*Exactly*, to na pewno chcę na *birthday* ‘Exactly, I’d like to have this for my birthday.’  
 Jeszcze mam niezrobiony *Christmas shopping* ‘I haven’t done Christmas shopping yet.’  
*Cancer* go wziął *like that* ‘He got a cancer, like that.’

## 5 Canadian-Polish Idioms

The structure of a C-P idiom is taken from the Polish language, but the phrase structure is changed. Examples include: *placić taksy* ‘to pay taxes,’ *wygrać kompetycję* ‘to win competition,’ *brać wakacje* ‘to take vacation.’ As is evident, the idioms can be composed from the items genetically belonging to the Polish lexicon (*placić* ‘to pay,’ *wygrać* ‘to win,’ *wakacje* ‘vacation’) and/or to the C-P lexicon (*taksy* ‘taxes,’ *kompetycja* ‘competition’).

## 6 Calques

Calques are a type of borrowing where the morphemic constituents of the borrowed word or phrase are translated item by item into equivalent morphemes in the new language. In other words, “loan translations” have English structural patterns filled out with Polish lexical items. The following expressions are full calques:

- Poszła aż do Sudbury na *nogach* ‘She went to Sudbury *on foot*.’  
 Czy mogę otworzyć *trzecią podłogę*? ‘Can I open *the third floor*?’  
 Impreza na *otwartym powietrzu* ‘A party in the *open air*.’  
 Niektóre osoby *zgubiły wagę* ‘Some people *lost weight*.’  
*Ja wiem* jedzenie ‘*I know* food.’

In the C-P language spoken in the GTA, whole English idioms can be translated into Polish. In this case, both structure and lexical items are transferred into Polish. Thus, we get:

- Gdybym był w jego butach*, zrobiłbym tak samo ‘*If I were in his shoes*, I’d do the same.’  
*Ja cię zobaczę za trzy tygodnie* ‘*I will see you in three weeks*.’

*Co jest złego z tobą? 'What's wrong with you?'*  
*To jest nic dla mnie 'This is nothing to me.'*  
*Ty lubisz tutaj? 'Do you like (it) here?'*

In Polish sociolinguistic studies, loanblends (words that are created by blending words from the donor and recipient language) are also included to the group of calques and are called hybrid compounds (Sękowska 1994:85; Weinreich 1974:51–52). The repertoire of the examples is the following:

*Mam answer maszynę 'I have an answering machine.'*  
*Report kartka 'report card.'*  
*Wybraliśmy wczasy z Queen Syreną 'We chose a vacation with "Queen Mermaid".'*  
*Syn bierze udział w Special Olympic Zawodach 'My son participates in the Special Olympics Tournament.'*  
*Trzeba zrobić appointment 'You should make an appointment.'*  
*W przyszłym tygodniu robią decyzję 'Next week they make a decision.'*

Note that the Polish hybrid compounds are unsuccessful because their general meaning is simply not a sum of their constituents. It can be presumed that the immigrants have lost the proficiency in English to perceive the differences between syntactic groups not rigorously composed and idiomatic phrases.

## 7 Canadian-Polish Word-Formations

C-P word-formations can have an English base (including adapted C-P bases) or a Polish base. These formations are created according to derivative rules transferred from the Standard Polish into the C-P language. These items should not be mixed with morphologically adapted items. While derivational processes create new words by changing category and/or meaning of a new word-formation (i.e., *rentownik* 'renter' → *rent+ownik*, *wyprintować* 'print out' → *wy+printować*), morphological adaptation involves the incorporation of an L2 token into discourse of L1 usually phonologically and morphologically adjusted to conform with the patterns of that language. Some examples of C-P word-formations include:

### Nouns

*trakowiec* 'trucker'; *drajlowiec* 'drywaller'; *rentownik* 'renter'; *sendowanie* 'sanding'; *printowanie* 'printing'; *waksowanie* 'waxing'

### Verbs

*zasejwować* 'to save<sub>PERF</sub>'; *skanselować* 'to cancel<sub>PERF</sub>'; *wyprintować* 'to print out'; *zeskraczować* 'to scratch<sub>PERF</sub>'; *przespelować* 'to spell out'

### Adjectives

*ofisowa* (praca) 'office (work)'; *apartamentowy* (budynek) 'apartment (building)'; *quebecki* (związek) 'Quebec (union)'; *torontońska* (gazeta) 'Torontonian (newspaper)'

## Semantic Distribution of the Canadian-Polish Items

We now move on to semantic distribution of C-P items. The C-P lexicon can be interpreted as a cultural code by virtue of the thesis that language participates in changes occurring within the ethnic group and enables contact among speakers of a particular language.

The stock of the C-P vocabulary is closely associated with the communicative functions of the Polish language in Canadian society. The language code can be classified according to subject vocabulary and semantic domains. Stratification of vocabulary is based on semantic associations existing in the speakers' consciousnesses. Miodunka (1980) maintains that the method of classification of the lexemes involves the analysis of the spoken and written corpora characteristic of the specific language and period of time (141–144).

On the basis of lexical data from questionnaires, speech recordings, Polish media and daily conversations, I created a list of twelve subject centres or domains<sup>4</sup>. They include the following: 1. home, 2. family, 3. food, 4. human beings (appearance, health, illnesses, feelings, etc.), 5. commerce (shopping, services), 6. education, 7. clothing and fashion, 8. traveling (names of places, means of transport), 9. work (names of professions, work places, tools etc.), 10. entertainment and culture (sport and relaxation), 11. civilization (institutions, administrations, names of nationalities), 12. personal relationships (behaviours and actions). From the stock of 480 lexical items, only nouns, some verbs and adjectives were excerpted — 390 items in total. Note that many verbs and adjectives cannot be included in any subject domain because of their contextual meanings. Nevertheless, there are a small number of verbs and adjectives which have very narrow meanings and constrained connotations, for example, *flosować* 'to floss,' *torontoński* 'Torontonian (A).' The criterion used for an item to be included in a specific domain was the item's contextual meaning, not its dictionary definition (Grzegorzczkova 1990:39–41). According to a number of lexical items in a particular subject domain, the rank of categories is as follows:

	Subject Domains	%
1.	Work	21
2.	Home	18
3.	Commerce	13
4.	Human being	9
5.	Civilization	8
6.	Personal relationship	8
7.	Traveling	7
8.	Education	4
9.	Food	4
10.	Entertainment and culture	4
11.	Family	3
12.	Clothing and fashion	1

Some examples of C-P items belonging to the specific semantic fields are the following:

#### 1. Work

*framing carpenter*; *lancz baksa* 'lunch box'; *lay off*; *sendowanie* 'to sand'; *pracować na single* 'to work single'; *busboy*; *bylder* 'builder'; *czysty rekord* 'clean record'

#### 2. Home

*rentownik* 'renter'; *lota* 'lot'; *semi* 'semi-detached house'; *upgrades*; *walkout piwnica* 'walkout basement'; *karpety* 'carpets'; *answer maszyna* 'answering machine'

#### 3. Commerce

*jesteśmy otwarci* 'we are opened'; *mall*; *sklep kwiatowy* 'flower's shop'; *trejdować* 'to trade'; *kostumer* 'costumer'; *delicatessen*; *lisować* 'to lease'; *mechanic*; *kloder* 'quarter'

#### 4. Human beings

*strok* 'stroke'; *flosować* 'to floss'; *waksować* 'to wax'; *zgubić wagę* 'to lose weight'; *handyman*; *medyczny* 'medical'; *bad*

#### 5. Civilization

*branze* 'branches'; *suować* 'to sue'; *erja* 'area'; *blok* 'block'; *driveway*; *cell* 'cell phone'

<sup>4</sup> A number of semantic fields depend on the given lexical corpus. For instance, S. Poplack, D. Sankoff, and C. Miller (1988) group English borrowings existing in Canadian French into 50 categories and indicate 10 semantic fields containing concentrations of loanwords possibly attributable to need: <automobiles and related vocabulary>, <drugs>, <food>, <clothes and fashion>, <music and dance>, <games>, <sports>, <computers>, <politics, law, and crime>, <logging terms> (60–61).

**6. Personal relationships**

*być in trouble* 'to be in trouble'; *kisować* 'to kiss'; *appointment*; *frend* 'friend'; *donator* 'donor'; *lunatyk* 'lunatic'

**7. Traveling**

*tykety* 'tickets'; *krus* 'cruise'; *horn*; *lejk* 'lake'; *sablej* 'subway'; *bas* 'bus'; *downtown*; *highway*; *stikery* 'stickers'

**8. Education**

*gymnasium*; *report kartka* 'report card'; *nowel* 'novel'; *graduować* 'to graduate'; *klasa* 'class'

**9. Food**

*turek* 'turkey'; *ginger* 'ginger ale'; *piczka* 'peach'; *cukier powder* 'powdered sugar'; *szrimpy* 'shrimps'; *steelhead* 'steelhead salmon'; *kranbery* 'cranberries'; *pasta*; *kejk* 'cake'

**10. Entertainment and culture**

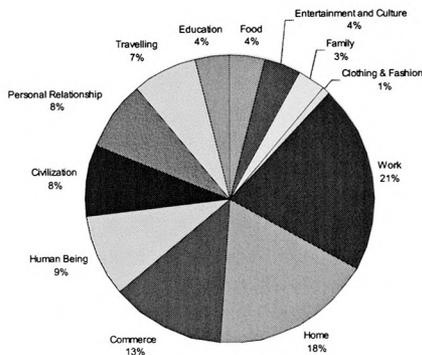
*hala bankietowa* 'banquet hall'; *mieć fun* 'to have fun'; *partować* 'to part'; *christmasowy* 'Christmas (A)'; *kompanijny* 'company'

**11. Family**

*matka-w-prawie* 'mother-in-law'; *familijny* 'family (A)'; *parenty* 'parents'; *ancestry* 'ancestry'; *kuzyn* 'cousin'

**12. Clothing and fashion**

*pierscionek* 'wedding ring'; *z krótkimi rękawami* 'with short sleeves'; *socks*

**Location of Lexical Items in the Subject Centres**

The pie graph shows that most C-P vocabulary belongs to the following semantic fields: <work> (21%), <home> (18%), <commerce> (13%), <human being> (9%), and <civilization> (8%), together constituting 69% of semantically borrowed vocabulary. In Sękowska's research dedicated to lexical items in the language of Polish immigrants in English-speaking countries, similar statistical data is presented (regarding the C-P language): <work> (24%), <civilization> (17.5%), <commerce> (9%), <entertainments> (8.8%), <traveling> (7%). Comparing these two sets of data it should be noted that the lexical network of the C-P language is very rich in the following fields: <work>, <commerce>, and <civilization>.

This method of word stratification clearly reflects a process of structural assimilation of Polish-Canadians into a new society. The subject domain is still <work> because successive waves of

immigrants enter into societal and professional structures in their new country most commonly through work as they adapt their marketable skills, learn new professions and become acquainted with the public institutions of the host country. This phenomenon is characteristic not only of the language of the Polish minority group in Canada, but also of other minority languages. Klintborg (1999), who conducted a study dedicated to Swedish language in the U.S.A., maintains that, "For most of those who arrived in America in their twenties, the first task was to find a job. Therefore it is natural that many nouns connected with jobs turn up in the interviews. Actually, occupational terms comprise the largest single semantic field" (43).

Beside the domain <work>, the semantic domains <commerce> and <civilization> contain many new words because they are related to the daily lives of immigrants. In her studies of Polish immigrant memories in Canada, Szydłowska-Ceglowska (1988) points out that a relatively large number of loanwords are expected whenever one talks about social and public life organizations within the country of settlement and about products of civilization and culture of the country (103–104).

As shown in the pie graph, the second largest subject domain is <home> (18%). Surprisingly, in the Sękowska's research (1994) this field is quite small (4.8%). This very noticeable increase in the number of C-P items belonging to this domain reflects the crucial lifestyle changes of Polish immigrants in Canada. Currently, new waves of Polish immigrants are relatively small and those who settled in Canada many years ago are in pretty good financial standing; therefore, most of them can invest in purchasing a house. It is apparent that for the majority of Canadians, including minority groups, buying a house is the most important investment they make during their lifetimes, which accounts for why so many lexical items appear in this semantic field. On this point, the lexical network of the C-P language can be compared to the lexical network of the American-Polish language, in which the domain <home> (10%) takes the third position in the hierarchy of the subject domains, just after the groups: <work> (21%) and <civilization> (12%).

Sękowska (1994), whose studies are based on the analysis of the Polish-English vocabulary excerpted from the old memories of immigrants, not on contemporary spoken language, concludes that Polish immigrants in the United States place a focus on meeting their material needs, whereas Polish immigrants in Canada are more concerned with living in harmony with nature and their fellow civilians in their new environment (112). Nowadays, these opinions must be modified because the life pattern of the Polish-Canadian community, reflected in the language, is becoming more similar to the life pattern of the Polish-American community, placing a much greater focus on consumerism. The conclusion regarding mastering the nature aspect is rather stereotypical and more or less out-dated.

The semantic field <education> makes up 4% of all analyzed vocabulary. Several sources may influence this data. First, education topics are rarely covered by the Polish media. More importantly, however, young Polish-Canadians belonging to the second generation of immigrants more often talk about school in English rather than in Polish. Therefore, neither loanwords nor any other types of lexical items appear in the C-P language frequently.

Also, first-generation immigrants do not have many C-P tokens in their idiolects. They are not very interested in education in Canada because only a small percentage of them are able to take studies in English. If they come to Canada as adults, usually with their families, they are forced to settle rapidly into the new country, find a well-paid job in order to support their families, and acquire a good social status. Participating in the education system is not very common for first-generation immigrants of working class in particular. In many cases, the language barrier is a serious problem as well. These issues limit the immigrants' choices regarding obtaining an education in English and account for the small number of lexical tokens in the discussed semantic field <education>.

A very small subject domain is <family> (3%). The sporadic incorporation of loanwords into this lexical group indicates that this semantic field is very resistant to foreign-language influences. It should be noted that while for both generations of immigrants this subject domain stays unchanged, this is due to different reasons. As Miodunka (1987) maintains, the Polish language is the first language of the immigrant generation, and expresses their identities, whereas the Polish language of the second generation is a family code used in the family domain where it is protected by the parents' generation and can be preserved (25–39).

The field <entertainments and culture> is also quite small (4%), especially compared to the data found by Sękowska (8.8%) (1994:112). The very low position of this domain in the lexical hierarchy can be interpreted in the context of the lifestyles of immigrants who are dedicated to their work, for which they often sacrifice recreation and relaxation. Based on the observations of Polish-Canadian life models, the Polish community can be divided into two groups: 1. immigrants who prefer to take part mainly in Polish-language events, where the organizers usually emphasize the Polish language and purposely avoid using any nonstandard forms; 2. immigrants who deliberately refuse to attend any Polish meetings and choose an English-language environment. The cultural assimilation (acculturation) of these immigrants typically leads to a replacement of Polish by English.

## Conclusions

To sum up, the new social conditions in which the Polish community lives currently cause a constant increase in the lexical stock of the C-P language. The immigrant community resulted in the inevitable borrowing and nativization of English lexemes to fit Polish linguistic boundaries.

In the language of immigrants who were not well-educated and belonged to the working class, grammatical adaptation is dominant and citations appear in deformed shapes (Szydłowska-Ceglowska 1988:55–57). Thus, the lower level of education and language awareness, the higher usage frequency of the adapted tokens and original word-formations. Nevertheless, the grammatical adaptation can also be primary in the speech of immigrants with higher education but who speak English poorly.

The semantic field is a significant factor in the process of incorporating an item into the C-P language. Some domains are more resistant to English-language influences than others. For instance, the items referring to the field <home> would commonly undergo grammatical adaptation, whereas the lexemes from the domains <work> and <education> are usually used as citations.

Looking at the semantic distribution of the lexical items, it is important to underline the fact that at the beginning the borrowed words, almost without exception, have something to do with survival, work, and consumerism, and until now, again almost without exception, their list does not contain abstract terms, in contrast to the numerous English abstract terms borrowed into Polish in Poland (Walczak 2001:527–539).<sup>5</sup>

Further empirical work would extend and broaden the study of Canadian Polish by collecting and analyzing more data which would confirm many of the presented preliminary statements regarding changes both in language and culture of the Polish minority group in this country.

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<sup>5</sup> A similar observation regarding English borrowing into Italian is also noticed by Vizmuller-Zocco (2002:91–99).

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# Edwardian Postcards as an Insight into the Edwardian Mind and Community

Karen Malcolm and Barbara Becker

(University of Winnipeg)

## Abstract

One of the family heirlooms bequeathed to Barb Becker is a collection of postcards addressed to her maternal grandmother Miss C. Campbell of Edinburgh at the turn of the twentieth century. The collection includes over a hundred postcards sent mostly by half a dozen women from various locations throughout Britain between 1904 and 1908. Apparently these postcards were a fad amongst the working class in Scotland at the time. On their days off, staff would hop a train to a nearby destination, and then purchase a few postcards to send to friends and acquaintances who shared their hobby. Their adventures were a form of inexpensive entertainment. Experientially, interpersonally and textually, using Halliday's terms for the functions of language which communicate representations of the world as exchanges encoded in messages, these cultural documents reveal much about the interlocutors' idiolect and their choice of register.

In this paper, we analyze the verbal texts taken from several postcards using Gregory and Malcolm's descriptive framework, Communication Linguistics, in order to distinguish the various interlocutors' writing styles, the differences in their relationships with the decoder, their communicative purposes, and their choice of register. While encoding information concerning the communicative situation and event in these ways, the interlocutors who sent the postcards also made linguistic choices which reflect their temporal, geographical and social dialect, as well as the prevalent attitudes, belief systems and values of their culture. In contrast to the emails and text messaging of our contemporary world, these postcards shed light on an interesting genre of informal correspondence of the period, between interlocutors who share a close, albeit not intimate, interpersonal relationship.

One of the family heirlooms bequeathed to Barb Becker was a collection of postcards addressed to her maternal grandmother Miss Christina Campbell of Edinburgh at the turn of the twentieth century. The collection includes three hundred and fifty postcards sent by family and friends from various locations throughout Britain between 1904 and 1908. Apparently these postcard collections were a fad amongst the working class at the time. "Traditionally for girls at around twelve years of age, from less well-off backgrounds who did not work on a farm or in a factory, the choice was to become domestic servants. They rose at 6 in the summer, 6:30 in the winter, wages were paid quarterly or half-yearly, they received board and lodging, one afternoon off per week and one day off per month" (Livingstone 1998:46). On their days or half-days off staff would hop a train to a nearby destination, and then purchase a few postcards to send to friends and acquaintances who shared their hobby. Their adventures were a form of inexpensive entertainment for the working class. Christina Campbell was the cook employed by Mrs. Morrison who owned a Victorian Mansion at 33 Mayfield Gardens, Edinburgh. Most middle class homes had a cook, parlourmaid, housemaid, gardener and a governess (Thompson 1992:125). A cook's wages were below those of an unskilled man; however, other than working for the post office or telegraph service, domestic service was one of the few jobs available to women who weren't from wealthy families (Thompson 1992:144). Although documents from the period speak of the alienation and bad relations between the upper classes and domestics, there is little evidence in the postcards that Christina harboured anger towards her employer Mrs. Morrison. In fact, many of her friends asked her to pass on their regards to her employer in their postcards (Mermin and Tucker 2002:277-281).

Becker and I (Malcolm) began this project with a quick brainstorming session which quickly revealed that the genre we called “postcards” might not be as uniform as we had originally expected. When I write a postcard it is full of the details of the sights and sounds of my travels. My family sends similar postcards, and it seems to me, anecdotally at least, that we have been quite stylistically consistent over the years. Friends and students send me different types of postcards. They include little experiential information pertaining to their trip, but focus interpersonally on maintaining contact and friendship with something like *thinking of you, having fun, see you soon, will give you all the details when we get back*. Becker’s approach to the genre is more like those of friends and students. Our discussion alerted us to some of the variables at risk in the genre that could account for differences between interlocutors’ postcards and even between the cards sent by single encoders: the degree of familiarity between the encoder’s current travel location compared to that of the decoder, the length of time separating encoder and decoder, the distance between encoder and decoder’s permanent residence, the degree of intimacy and frequency of contact between the interlocutors interpersonally, and how soon the encoder would be returning to his/her home. Our conversation raised some questions: we wondered how the genre had changed over the last hundred years, given the tremendous shift in communication alternatives readily available; we wondered what communicative variables were available to household staff in Edinburgh 1904–8. Certainly, Christina Campbell’s friends and family would not have had computers, email, text messaging, or digital cameras. With a little research we soon discovered that there likely wasn’t even a phone in the house, for by 1911 there were few even in London (Thompson 1992:155, Young 1983:7–8). We also questioned the relationship between postcards and communicative modes like letters. Once we began our analyses we quickly became aware that postcards at the turn of the century served many purposes other than those associated with sharing travel details.

To tackle such variables and questions, we used Communication Linguistics (Malcolm 2003, 2005). With its distinction between instantial Planes of Experience and non-instantial Realizatory Code, it is ideal for exploring the fascinating interplay between cultural and functional choices and their linguistic realizations. In the Communicator’s Communicating Context (CCC), we describe interlocutors’ cultural variables: temporal, geographical and social provenance. The relevant CCC to this project is Edinburgh 1904–8 working class females. However, postcards were sent from several locations in Scotland and England such as Haddington, Portobello, Bridge of Allan, Berwick, Prestonpans, and London. A few cards in the collection were addressed to Christina’s employer, Mrs. Morrison, rather than to Christina herself. The Generic Situation (GS) captures the functional relationships relevant to the interlocutors’ communicative situation: more specifically their *experiential* relationship reflecting the representations of persons, events, and circumstances in the situation; the *interpersonal* relationship describing the interlocutor’s status as friend or stranger, personal relationship, degree of intimacy, frequency of contact; the *textual* relationship: their relation to the medium of transmission, and their relationship to their communicative *function* or purpose. The discourse plane lies between the situation which includes the CCC and the GS and the plane of manifestation because the discourse is manifested as a particular communicative event in a particular situation and culture. These three planes, then, consider the discourse as it happened in a real time, place and social circumstances among real people. However, the manifestation of the discourse only happens as a consequence of an interaction between the demands of that communicative event and the communicative resources that are known and available to the interlocutors, gnostologically. In other words, the systems and structures of language that are stored in the interlocutors’ memories, individual and shared, that encode these particular relationships and dialects, and fulfill them functionally through graphological, lexical, syntactical, semological and cohesive choices. The realizatory code describes such non-instantial linguistic resources. It also describes the *registers* that combine and interweave the tri-functional linguistic variables which typify the communication used in reoccurring situations, the communicative *genres* that are available in the culture and the temporal, geographical and social *dialect* associated with the communicative event. And it is these that I explore in the remainder of this paper.

Perhaps because of my personal experience of postcards, I first began my exploration of the genre, by searching for a *travel postcard*. They were not easy to find, but a woman who signed her cards “JM Piper” wrote the following:

I came here on Thursday enjoying my holiday fairly well. The weather is very cold and unsettled. I intend going to Aberdeen on Friday. I trust you are well and hope to see or here [sic] from you soon. With kind regards, J. Piper.

There are not many travel details, but the specific time, place and weather lexis, triggered by the item *holiday*, characterize this register, as do semological predications of action: extension *come, go*, the mental reaction *enjoy* and the relational *is*. Adjuncts carry the semological circumstances syntactically, as do first person pronoun Subjects, the semantic participant/ encoder. Piper uses the abbreviated elliptical syntax that is quite typical of informal written discourse between friends. Her proper nouns, *Happy New Years, Aberdeen, Fyfe, North Shields*, in this and other cards, give details of her cultural context, as does her choice of picture postcard: a lighthouse, ships in a harbour, and a church. Her last sentence in the postcard: *I trust you are well and hope to see [or "hear from"] you soon*, introduces a more general kind of sentence that is not specific to travel postcards, but seems common to many different registers of postcards.

Such phatic formulae, as I have called them, carry specific experiential information such as mental processes of reaction, *trust, hope*; perception, *see, hear*; and the manner circumstance, *well*. However, much as *Hi, how are you?* is in ordinary talk, such sentences are so formulaically predictable and generically vague as to seem experientially vacuous in their postcard context. Interpersonally, however, such phatic formulae are of great importance to the genre as indicated by the cards in this corpus. They establish the mutual consideration of friends who care for one another's health or well-being, but perhaps more significantly to this corpus are all responding to Christina's gnostologically predictable request *Send me postcards*. We divide the phatic formulae which typify the cards in this corpus into *openers* and *closers*. Some encoders', like Jessie Johnson's, entire postcard includes little but phatic formulae: openers and closers. Invariably Jessie begins with one of three openers: either *this is for your album*, or *Another for your collection*, or *I arrived here all safe, so and so was meeting me*, and ends with the closing formula *hope you are well. Love Jessie*. The only variation is that some of her postcards included a middle sentence which was almost equally vague and generic, *We had a nice drive out, and I think it's going to be a nice day, or enjoying ourselves A1, or found all well* (if she is visiting her mom in Haddington). Even the lexical appraisal she uses to colour the middle sentence or two of her cards is predictable *nice, lovely, splendid* when collocated with weather lexis; or *better, well* when concerning health matters. The analyst speculates that the reason Jessie's postcards might have been so predictable and registerially consistent bears on the situation involving these two particular interlocutors. Jessie worked in the same house as Christina, which means she likely saw her a great deal. Why reveal the details of a day trip, when you will be seeing and talking to the person face to face, the next day? So why write a postcard at all, what is the communicative purpose of these texts? Merely to contribute to a friend's postcard collection practically, and by so doing, support the friendship. This is why we have called the register to which such postcards belong the *phatic register*, because maintaining the friendship seems the foremost preoccupation of such postcards, not sharing travel experiences like Piper's postcard.

In an earlier paper, Becker's analyses of the immediate family's postcards to Christina revealed an interesting variation of phatic formula from those used by her friends (Becker and Malcolm 2006). Christina's mother, Jane Campbell's postcards relied extensively on more idiosyncratic phatic formula, but perhaps for a different reason than Christina's close friends.

Openers: *Just a PC to say, Just a note to see, I got your letter/ parcel all right.*

Closers: *Write soon soon, Will write next week, I am looking for a letter from you now*

Middle: *Hoping you are well as I am fine, Glad you are well as we are fine, I hope you are keeping well as we are all well*

Jane Campbell is no longer part of Christina's household in Edinburgh, but evidently shares information with Christina in letters, to which her postcards constantly refer. Her postcards, then, are relegated to subordinate purpose: with them she merely contributes to her daughter's collection, while occasionally admonishing her *to write*. Interestingly her more idiosyncratic phatic formula have been passed on to Christina's brother and sister who also use them in their postcards, revealing a family dialect in postcard writing.

It is useful to return to the postcards of JM Piper for a moment, because although she wrote some of the few true travel postcards in the collection, over half of the postcards she wrote during this period were examples of a different register entirely: the *invitation*: “If you have no other arrangements on Sunday come and have a cup of tea and spend the evening. Will be alone.” Although Piper’s cards are postmarked *Edinburgh*, it appears that she does not live in the same house as Christina; however, the women visit back and forth on the weekend. The analyst wonders whether Piper’s words, “Will be alone,” in a few postcards allude to the fact that her employers, or fellow staff members, will be elsewhere, offering Christina and her an opportunity to visit in private. Zlotnick writes that “Underfed, under educated and overworked, the working class woman did not have the requisite room of her own” (1991:9). Invitations are stylistically distinct, focusing even more on action processes than travel postcards, with specific lexis referring to time circumstances. The lexis is more objective, appraisal is lacking. The invitations are shorter than other postcards, including approximately twenty words. Phatic formula are lacking for the most part, although there is evidence of certain politeness formula; for example in the condition-contingency alpha-beta *If... [then]...* used by Piper in the earlier example of invitation. Most of the invitations in the corpus were as informal as Piper’s. However, one written by interlocutor called Joan realized a more formal variant including several politeness devices: “Pleased to hear that your mother has come could you not try and bring her to the Cockles tomorrow, or any other day, we would be so pleased to see you both” (cf. Brown and Yule 1987, on politeness).

Another friend, Effie, also resided in Edinburgh between 1904 and 1905, but her relationship with Christina is somewhat different. Unlike Piper, she doesn’t wait for an invitation, but initiates meetings herself, often the same evening: “I am coming up tonight, will be up about 5:30,” or “I will not be able to come up tonight.” Such *meeting arrangements* we include as a variety of invitation, but they too are stylistically different: first person pronouns predominate; time lexis includes hours and numbers, not months; these are very short single sentences in length (seldom more than twenty words) with no phatic formulae or evidence of politeness conventions at all. In addition, rather than specific place lexis, there are several postcards in the corpus which are exophoric to the situation, requiring a shared prior experience for interpretation, which say something like *same place as usual*, or *the usual spot*, or *there* (Malcolm 1985:274–82). In these self-initiated variations of the invitations, expediency, exchanging information in as few words as possible, is clearly the aim.

The analyst confesses surprise at the evident efficiency of the mail service in Edwardian Scotland, where a woman could send such a notice in the morning and be confident that it would arrive before she did later in the day. Apparently, two or three deliveries of mail in a single day, even in rural areas, were not unusual. A colleague from Scotland told me recently that mail continued to be delivered twice a day in Edinburgh until the mail service was privatized a few years ago. Virilio calls the later Victorian and Edwardian period the “culture of speed” (Keep 2001:151): “With the invention of the phonograph, the cinematograph, the wireless, and the telephone, the laying of the trans-Atlantic telegraph cable, and the commercial stenograph, the mimeograph and the adding machine, the late nineteenth century witnessed a dramatic shift in the ways and means of transmitting and recording information” (153).

Effie’s meeting arrangement postcards change abruptly in 1906 when postmarks and addresses reveal that she has moved to London: “Hope to come in the middle of August.” Christina’s brother, Alexander Grant Campbell, who always lived in Edinburgh, often arranged meetings in his cards too. His are different than Effie’s stylistically though, reflecting his more intimate sibling relationship. He writes, “I **may** be down tomorrow (Sunday) bet 5–6 pm.” “I **may** be down Sunday evening,” “**may** be down sometime this afternoon,” or “**may** be down tomorrow night if not will on Saturday night.” We found AGC’s, as he signed his cards, use of interpersonal choices interesting: his reliance on *may* as a possibility modality, his negation and conditional alpha-betas like *it won’t matter if you be out*, and his Speaker’s Attitudes or Modal Adjuncts like *perhaps*. He clearly leaves both himself and his sister lots of room to manoeuvre. The number of his postcards in the collection suggests a close interpersonal relationship with Christina, but the escape hatches he encodes for both of them also supports their autonomy.

Both AGC's and Piper's postcards fulfill several additional communicative purposes which seem to encode whole new registers with them. In one card Piper writes: "I hope you got home on Sat. evening none the worse of your day in Glasgow. I will be back tomorrow. Arrive in Edinburgh at 7:50. hope to see you at the station. From JMP." We call this register a *reminder*. Another we call a *confirmation* of a past arrangement: "Will be pleased to see you tomorrow night and get the news about the wedding we are very busy but the worst is over. With love to you all. Your ever JMP." The communicative purpose of some cards was to make a request, not necessarily for information, but for what Halliday would have called goods and services (1994:69). Joe asks in one card: "Could you bring my basket if you come?" And another card acts as both a *thank you* and *apology*, "I got my basket all right, was sorry to bother you." At first, it seemed somewhat misrepresentative to call each of these texts examples of distinct registers. However, once we discovered several writers fulfilling the same communicative purposes using much the same tri-functional styles, we realized the texts warranted the names of the registers we had ascribed to them.

What occurred more often than an entire postcard serving one such purpose was a postcard that encoded combinations of several communicative purposes. Postcards by an interlocutor called Joe/Joan were some of the most interesting in the collection, not only because they relied so little on phatic formulae, but also because they encoded a great range of registerial variation and complexity. Perhaps it is this variation and complexity, as well as their greater length that suggested these postcards be classified as examples of a letter-like register of postcard writing:

Got PPC this morning, pleased to hear that your mother has come & could you not try & bring her to the Cockles tomorrow or any other day, we would be so pleased to see you both. I am feeling much better today. Could you bring my basket, if you come. I am going to try to go to Maggies for a few days next week, or send it on, if you like. But try & come on Saturday, hope you all are well Joe.

Joe's cards fulfilled a variety of communicative purposes, and gave specific evidence, primarily through mentioning the names of specific people, of the interlocutors' shared world and shared past. Not only were these postcards much more experientially complex and heterogeneous, interpersonally they were also diverse, indicating a minimal social distance between the interlocutors if not a minimal physical distance separating them. The language used is informal in the selected idioms and the abbreviated syntax, and is surprisingly interactive, in the variety of mood choices used to query and even command.

Received PPC. Excuse delay in writing. I am glad you are all to the fore. I hope you will enjoy yourself at the wedding. Give Elsi my congratulations. "Ah Dear". Do you mind when we went to see Annie, — the Hot Cross Buns. How is Dot & carry one getting on. Give her my love, also. Bob R, & all the rest I know. With love to you write soon, Dear Self, Joey xx.

Letter-like postcards average eighty to one hundred words in length, depending on the interlocutor. These postcards were also written by interlocutors like Christina's sister Bella who lived far away in the Orkney Islands:

Dear sister Just a PC to say I am well hope you are the same I hope you will write soon as I am longing to hear from you Mrs. Mcleod wishes you to send her a hat the same as the one you sent me as it suits her fine and she has taken a fancy in one of the same stat price and she will send money if you cant get a blue and white take brown and white send it as soon as you can now I must close hoping to hear from you soon Bella send it to me.

(It is hard to appreciate what a particular hat means to a woman at the time, without the context that Livingstone provides in her list [by 1900 domestics were typically given]: 2 aprons, 2 yards body lining, cloth for 1 dress, 4 yards of cotton, 1 jacket, 1 petticoat, 2 pair hose 4 yards of braid, 1 brush, 1 comb and a little more (1998:47)). In such postcards, interlocutors often refer to receiving each other's letters, so these postcards seem part of quite a different type of communicative exchange than the others. They are not exchanging goods or services as we might consider both the invitations and phatic cards, but are very much concerned with exchanging information. Bella's cards are full of information about her voyages to visit her

mother in Lybster on the Northern Scottish coast, the fishing communities nearby, and the difficulties of living in such a remote location.

The postcards by friends and family reveal an interesting assortment of cultural slang and idioms: "We have been enjoying ourselves *up to the mark*," "I have not got the *threepenny* yet," "Joe is going to cycle here *on Bank holiday*," *Takes the year*, "It might do for your collection, if not *give it the fire*." "How are your *blocks* getting along?" ['blokes?'], "I am glad you are *all to the fore*" ['up and about again, in good health'], "How is dot and *carry one* getting on" ['lame with a wooden leg'], *Got landed here* ['I arrived'], *four days passage, storms of snow, merrige* ['marriage'], *digs* ['accommodation'], *won't say sure, enjoying ourselves rare*, "if it is your day out, leave *your face* and I will get it" ['picture'], *you may depend I've heard*, "it won't matter *altho' you be out*," *gran' weather*. Another interesting marker of Christina's CCC was Joe's use of the formalized long *s* in the spelling of *Miss* in her postcards' addressed to Christina. This archaic convention, reminiscent of the Early Modern English long *s*, must have dropped out of use soon after (perhaps because there was no key for it on the typewriter).

Although we have described a variety of registers and communicative purposes in which Becker's postcard collection may be classified, still it is possible to describe the characteristics of the genre of postcard in a more general sense. In many postcards, phatic formulae comprise much of the postcard, especially, the openers and closers. As a consequence of the plethora of such ritualized phrases, culturally revealing idioms are not as apparent as I had expected. It seems that they are carried by certain interlocutors, not all. Overall, lexis varies to a certain extent, but lexical fields pertaining to weather and health predominate, and if there is appraisal it is usually coloured in a positive way. Proper names of both people and places are frequently realized since the interlocutor's relationship is one of close social distance (Malcolm 2003: Chapter 1), and these names represent those known to both interlocutors. Semologically, there is a reliance on action processes of extension (*arrive, come*), particularly in the invitations, mental processes of reaction (*enjoyed*), and relational processes of attribution (*is better, or AI, or lovely*). Time, place and manner circumstances often accompany the action processes. The syntax corresponds to the semology with relative projected secondary clauses following the mental processes, adjective groups the relational ones, and subordinate clauses or adverbs, the action processes. A number of postcards also encoded an abbreviated syntax, which often characterizes informal registers of discourse, where the Subject is omitted. A variety of sentence types seem typical, some being quite complex encoding a particular logical function. In terms of cohesion and coherence, examples of exophora as well as endophora abound, in reference and conjunction particularly. Christina's brother wrote a wonderfully cryptic postcard of three words: "Yes. No. No." The analyst has no chance of recovering the meanings of these three dialogic Links since the questions which motivated these responses are lost (Malcolm 2003: Chapter 7). Such responses certainly rely heavily on a gnostologically shared knowledge of past communicative events signalled in a variety of exophoric signals.

So what do all these linguistic predilections indicate? Mostly that the genre of postcards is potentially quite formulaic, particularly at the beginning and ending, and that these formulas contribute to considerable stylistic consistency and predictability. But that in itself is not the whole picture by any means. Each register has its stylistic conventions which I hope have become clear in this paper.

Thus, we enter a different community and a different world: the temporal, geographic and social provenance of Christina Campbell, who resided in Edinburgh at the turn of the century as Mrs. Morrison's cook, and who emigrated to Canada in 1911 using money bequeathed her by Mrs. Morrison, bringing her postcard collection with her. Although we are at an early stage in our research, already the postcards have opened a window to a bygone era. They have shed light on the stylistic character of the genre and differentiated it into several registers. When we consider the variety of communicative purposes that postcards served in that earlier culture of speed, Edwardian times, between 1904 and 1908, I begin to see parallels with our current use of text messages to arrange meetings, thank people, and confirm appointments. Still, even in this day and age postcards fulfill certain purposes, albeit a more restricted range than a hundred years ago, otherwise they wouldn't be so readily available.

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# L'énoncé laudatif en français parlé au Cameroun

**Bernard Mulo Farenkia**

(Cape Breton University)

## Résumé

Si le compliment a déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs études, l'analyse de cet acte de langage en contexte socioculturel camerounais reste un sujet marginal. Le compliment est généralement présenté comme un phénomène universel dont les formes de réalisation sont spécifiques aux réalités de chaque espace culturel. En outre, la plupart des auteurs s'accordent à reconnaître à toute évaluation positive une vertu valorisante pour la face de celui ou celle que l'on complimente.

Notre contribution se penchera sur le fonctionnement du compliment dans l'espace plurilingue et multiculturel camerounais. Nous tenterons essentiellement de présenter les caractéristiques syntaxiques, lexico-sémantiques et stylistiques des énoncés laudatifs. Et les analyses que nous mèneront, opèrent sur la base de l'hypothèse que les locuteurs Camerounais francophones disposent des moyens linguistiques bien particuliers pour «trousser» leurs compliments, lesquels illustrent bien évidemment un certain ancrage linguistique et socioculturel et un éthos communicatif différent de ceux que la vaste et riche littérature actuelle a déjà relevés. Il ne s'agira donc pas seulement de comprendre pourquoi le locuteur exprime son admiration, mais aussi et surtout de savoir quels sont les moyens verbaux à sa disposition pour dévoiler et faire accepter son «but illocutoire.»

## 1 Introduction

Le compliment a déjà fait l'objet d'une littérature abondante.<sup>1</sup> Depuis, de nombreux éclairages sont venus diversifier le paysage théorique et empirique et on observe davantage des études axées sur la comparaison du phénomène dans divers espaces culturels, notamment les cultures occidentales et asiatiques. Et si les formulations du compliment répertoriées jusqu'à date sont nombreuses et variées, elles proviennent essentiellement des espaces culturels européens, américains et asiatiques. L'analyse de l'énoncé laudatif en contexte camerounais demeure, malgré l'omniprésence de ce thème dans le discours scientifique, un sujet qui a très peu retenu l'attention. Cette contribution voudrait donc apporter une réponse (parmi tant d'autres) à la question de savoir comment le locuteur francophone gère-t-il le matériau linguistique à sa disposition pour «trousser»<sup>2</sup> ses compliments. Il s'agira de décrire les procédés laudatifs dans leurs dimensions lexicales, syntaxiques et stylistiques, procédés que le locuteur met en œuvre pour dévoiler et faire accepter son «but illocutoire.»

## 2 Méthodologie

L'étude des propriétés de l'énoncé laudatif s'appuie sur un corpus constitué de plus de 5000 énoncés obtenus à partir d'un questionnaire directif que nous avons élaboré et distribué à une centaine d'étudiants francophones de l'Université de Yaoundé 1, de 2002 à 2003. Chaque questionnaire présentait sept (07) situations de communication quotidiennes, dans lesquelles les enquêtés devaient dire comment ils formuleraient leurs compliments. En leur offrant plusieurs variables socioculturelles comme l'âge, le sexe, le statut social, le degré de familiarité ou d'intimité, nous leur avons permis de proposer des compliments destinés aux amis, parents, inconnus, supérieurs hiérarchiques, etc. Ces données ont été complétées par des

<sup>1</sup> On trouvera dans la bibliographie les principaux travaux consacrés au compliment.

<sup>2</sup> Cette formule est empruntée à Kerbrai-Orecchioni (2005a:77).

exemples tirés de certaines œuvres littéraires, des entrevues ethnographiques avec une soixantaine d'étudiants et de quelques notes obtenues d'observations participantes. Les enquêtes sur le terrain se sont déroulées en grande partie à Yaoundé.<sup>3</sup>

### 3 Qu'est-ce qu'un compliment ?

Pour Holmes le compliment est un acte de langage

which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually that person addressed, for some "good" (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and hearer (1988b:446).

En d'autres termes: le compliment est un acte de parole employé par le locuteur pour vanter ou reconnaître, explicitement ou implicitement, le mérite de quelqu'un tout en exprimant son admiration par rapport à un comportement, un acte posé, une attitude affichée, une possession etc. qu'il juge positif. Le Petit Larousse illustré 2007 définit le compliment comme un ensemble de «paroles élogieuses que l'on adresse à [quelqu'un] pour le féliciter» (273). Ces deux définitions relèvent une vertu cardinale du compliment, notamment l'évaluation positive, le plaisir à l'égard de l'ego de l'autre. Mais que vise en fait le locuteur, lorsqu'il porte un jugement positif sur son interlocuteur?

Plusieurs spécialistes de la politesse linguistique s'intéressent davantage au compliment dans et à travers les cultures. Cet engouement se justifie par le fait que le compliment est conçu comme un acte intrinsèquement positif. Exprimer l'admiration pour autrui, c'est valoriser sa face (positive), c'est faire plaisir à son narcissisme, c'est montrer à son interlocuteur qu'on se préoccupe de ce qu'il devient ou fait, c'est respecter les règles de la vie en société, c'est, en définitive, être poli.<sup>4</sup> Comme évaluation positive (cf. Traverso 1996:89) le compliment constitue un bienfait pour l'autre. Ce qui a fait dire à Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005a, 2005b) que le compliment est un «cadeau verbal». Mais si le compliment est très souvent cité comme marque de la politesse verbale par excellence, il n'en demeure pas moins que cet acte de langage peut nuire au bon déroulement de l'interaction. En effet, le compliment peut être interprété par l'interlocuteur comme une forme «d'ingérence dans ses affaires» (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005a:77), comme une intrusion dans sa sphère privée (son territoire corporel, cognitif, matériel), comme une dette qu'on lui impose ou tout simplement comme de la flatterie intéressée. Si la sincérité du compliment est remise en question, cet acte de langage risque de nuire à la suite de l'interaction.

Le compliment est susceptible de renforcer les liens existants entre deux interlocuteurs, de rapprocher les interactants qui ne se connaissent pas encore, de consolider la solidarité en général (Manes/Wolfson 1981, Wolfson 1989) ou d'établir une certaine complicité sur le plan des goûts et des préférences. Le compliment peut aussi servir tant à réduire la distance sociale qu'à instaurer un certain degré de familiarité entre inconnus. Il témoigne de l'adhésion à un certain mode de vie, à un même système de valeurs. Le compliment est donc indispensable à la préservation de l'harmonie sociale. Réalisé dans un contexte institutionnel par un locuteur en position haute à l'égard d'un interlocuteur en position basse, le compliment indique le souci de réduire le degré de distance hiérarchique entre les partenaires d'interaction. Dans le sens contraire, c'est-à-dire du «bas» vers le «haut», le compliment pourrait fonctionner comme volonté manifeste de faire plaisir à tout interlocuteur de la hiérarchie, pour bénéficier, dans certains cas, de ses bonnes grâces. Tout compte fait, le compliment aide à réduire la distance verticale en contexte institutionnel. Mais si le compliment est perçu comme flatterie intéressée, il peut plutôt susciter de la méfiance. Tout se passe donc comme si «le fait de complimenter pour faire plaisir entraînait nécessairement une fausseté du contenu, et comme s'il fallait nier l'intention de faire plaisir pour que l'assertion paraisse vraie» (Traverso 1996:92). Kerbrat-Orecchioni

<sup>3</sup> Ce corpus nous a d'ailleurs permis de mener une réflexion plus large et comparative avec les compliments en milieu socioculturel germanique (Mulo Farenkia 2004, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Voir à ce sujet Manes 1983; Herbert 1990; Manes/Wolfson 1981; Wolfson 1989; Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005a, 2005b; pour ne citer que ces auteurs-là.

(2005a:77) a tout à fait raison de conclure que le compliment est un cadeau verbal quelque peu «empoisonné» ou embarrassant.

## 4 Les procédés laudatifs en français parlé au Cameroun

Les formules mises en œuvre pour complimenter en contexte francophone au Cameroun s'inscrivent dans une mouvance générale de l'appropriation du français, laquelle mouvance est marquée par l'emprunt aux autres langues en présence, par la création de nouvelles unités lexicales et par l'enrichissement mutuel des différentes langues parlées par les membres de la société: ainsi donc, l'interaction verbale ne se réduit pas nécessairement à l'échange laudatif, mais elle donne l'occasion aux partenaires d'interaction d'étaler leur inventivité expressive. Les énoncés à but laudatif qu'ils produisent révèlent des propriétés lexicales, stylistiques et syntaxiques nombreuses et variées. Nous en donnerons ici juste quelques exemples.

### 4.1 Les procédés lexicaux

Comme indicateurs lexicaux du contenu laudatif des énoncés, on peut citer les adjectifs, les adverbes, les verbes et les locutions verbales.

#### 4.1.1 Les adjectifs et les adverbes

L'énoncé laudatif se singularise par son catalogue adjectival très riche et varié. Si plusieurs adjectifs répertoriés appartiennent bel et bien au français de la norme, il faut noter que certains de ces éléments sont issus de divers procédés de création lexicale (néologisme par emprunts, néologisme par extension sémantique, etc.). Comme adjectifs empruntés aux langues camerounaises (Bassa et Ewondo) on peut citer *nyanga* (coquet, élégant) et *penya* (neuf, nouveau, en bon état).

- (1) Tu es vraiment **nyanga** aujourd'hui. (Tu es vraiment 'coquette' aujourd'hui.)
- (2) Ta voiture est vraiment **penya**. (Ta voiture est vraiment 'en bon état').

Une autre catégorie regroupe les adjectifs ayant subi une refonte ou extension sémantique profonde (*chaud, frais, mortel, fumant, clair, panoramique, calé*). Leur dénominateur commun est la connotation méliorative.

- (3) Vous êtes toujours **frais / clair** comme ça?
- (4) Tu très **chaud** / tu es vraiment **frais**. (Tu es élégant.)
- (5) Ton habillement est **mortel / fumant**. (Tu es très bien mis.)

Les exemples attestés dans notre corpus révèlent la tendance chez les locuteurs francophones à l'utilisation abondante et/ou abusive des adjectifs de langue anglaise, notamment *sharp, new, clean, cool*. Cette récurrence des anglicismes serait motivée par le souci du locuteur de donner un poids persuasif plus important à l'énoncé.

- (6) Tu es vraiment **sharp** dans ton habillement.
- (7) Mon gars tu es / as **new** aujourd'hui.

Si certains adjectifs comme *fantastique, merveilleux, formidable, incroyable, extraordinaire, génial, magnifique* sont *passé-partout*, d'autres connaissent un emploi restreint à un champ bien spécifique. C'est le cas de *chaud* et *frais* qui portent beaucoup sur l'habillement. Mais en général, les adjectifs portant sur l'apparence (habillement, coiffure, physique, etc.) sont *galant, élégant, chaud, clair, pimpant, sexy, attirant, new, charmant, joli, mignon, pur, rayonnant, cool, frais*. Les adjectifs portant sur le repas sont : *succulent, appétissant, délicieux*. Les adjectifs en rapport avec le travail manuel ou intellectuel, les performances sportives sont *excellent, talentueux, génial, doué, extraordinaire, inégalable, formidable*. Tous ces adjectifs sont renforcés dans leurs sens par des adverbes d'intensité. La palme d'or revient aux adverbes en *-ment* comme *vraiment, carrément, vachement, simplement agréablement, particulièrement*. D'autres adverbes en

-ment sont typiquement camerounais : *chaudemment, nyangalement (élégamment)*. Une troisième catégorie regroupe des adverbes comme *on ne peut plus, hyper, super, tout à fait, très, toujours*, etc.

- (8) Tu t'es débrouillé **vachement bien**.
- (9) **Franchement**, vous êtes beau.
- (10) Tu es, **on ne peut plus**, superbe / intéressant.
- (11) Vous êtes **hyper** élégant.
- (12) Tu as **toujours** un bon goût pour les choix.
- (13) Si seulement tu pouvais t'habiller **si chaudemment** chaque jour!

#### 4.1.2 Les verbes et les locutions verbales

##### 4.1.2.1 Les verbes

Pour dire l'admiration, les locuteurs ont généralement recours aux verbes tels que *plaire, admirer, aimer, trouver, être charmé, être séduit par, couper le souffle, aimer avoir, convenir à, être tiré à quatre épingles, être sapé*, etc. En fonction de leurs sens respectifs, ces verbes expriment

- ❖ l'admiration (admirer):
  - (14) J'**admire** votre chemise.
- ❖ le plaisir que procure le fait de contempler l'objet en question, la satisfaction esthétique (aimer voir / regarder, plaire):
  - (15) J'**aime te regarder** jouer au foot.
  - (16) Ton habit là **me plait**.
- ❖ le désir du locuteur d'entrer en possession de l'objet en question ou d'accomplir à son tour l'acte tant admiré (aimer avoir, aimer faire):
  - (17) J'**aimerais vraiment avoir** une belle coiffure comme toi / comme la tienne.
- ❖ la grande stupéfaction, la fascination (couper le souffle, éblouir, fasciner):
  - (18) Votre beauté **me coupe le souffle**.
  - (19) Ta technique de jeu **fascine** tous les spectateurs.
- ❖ le charme qu'exerce l'objet sur le complimenteur (être charmé / séduit par):
  - (20) Je **suis vraiment charmé / séduit** par ta coiffure.
- ❖ l'effet que l'objet aura sur d'autres personnes (faire craquer, ne pas résister à):
  - (21) Personne **ne te résistera** aujourd'hui.
  - (22) Tu **fais craquer** tout le monde.
- ❖ la convoitise / la jalousie (au sens positif) (être jaloux de...):
  - (23) Je **suis vraiment jaloux** de tes touches de balle.
- ❖ L'impression que laisse l'acte en question (apprécier / impressionner):
  - (24) Vous **m'avez vraiment impressionné**.
  - (25) Vous savez, j'ai **vraiment apprécié** vos touches de balles.

##### 4.1.2.2 Les locutions verbales

Notons aussi les locutions verbales typiquement camerounaises comme *connaître sa chose et être sapé*. À travers l'énoncé *tu connais ta chose* le locuteur vante la dextérité de son interlocuteur dans l'accomplissement d'un acte. C'est une traduction camerounaise de l'expression *s'y connaître*. Avec *tu es sapé*, expression qui remonte au mouvement (la SAPE: société des Ambianceurs et Personnes Élégantes) lancé par certains stylistes et coutiers congolais en France dans les années quatre vingt, le locuteur salue l'élégance exquise de l'habillement de l'autre. Cette expression est le pendant de la locution du français standard *être tiré à quatre épingles* (*Tu es tiré à quatre épingles aujourd'hui*), mais celle-ci n'est pas très usitée en milieu populaire.

En outre, notre corpus regorge de constructions verbales comme *je ne savais pas que*; *Je ne te savais pas aussi + adjectif*, *j'ignorais que*, etc. Ces expressions signalent l'étonnement qui accompagne et renforce le compliment. L'expression de la surprise se manifeste de différentes façons:

- (26) **Je ne te savais pas** aussi doué / talentueux au football.
- (27) **J'ignorais que** tu avais des talents de cuisinier.
- (28) **J'ai du mal à croire que** c'est vous que j'ai vu jouer comme ça.
- (29) **Tu m'as toujours caché que** tu sais te faire élégant.
- (30) **Je ne m'attendais pas à ce que** ce soit aussi bien fait.

Des constructions similaires indiquent le devoir de reconnaissance du mérite de l'autre. Les tournures usitées à cet effet sont : *il faut reconnaître que*, *il faut avouer que*, *il faut dire que*, etc.

- (31) **J'avoue que** j'ai vraiment été séduit par votre cuisine.
- (32) **Il faut vraiment reconnaître / avouer que** tu as bien travaillé.

Certaines locutions verbales mettent la sincérité du compliment en évidence:

- (33) **Sans te tromper**, j'admire ton travail.
- (34) **Sans te mentir**, tout le monde apprécie ta coiffure.
- (35) **Je t'assure que** tu as fait du bon travail.

Ces locutions peuvent, dans les exemples ci-dessus, être remplacées par des «adverbes d'énonciation» (Maingueneau 2005:21) comme «franchement» ou «sincèrement» (*Franchement, j'admire ton travail*).

## 4.2 Les procédés stylistiques

L'énoncé laudatif constitue un répertoire de figures de style qui frappent par leur nombre, leurs formes, et leur caractère inventif, néologique et argotique. Si on examine les différents exemples de plus près, on se rend vite compte que les figures dont ils regorgent relèvent en grande partie de l'hyperbole, de l'excès de langage. Tout se passe donc comme si le locuteur se trouvait obligé d'amplifier la réalité pour faire accepter son compliment. Sous l'emprise de la surprise le locuteur fait, au de-là du compliment, étalage de son «know-how» énonciatif et de son penchant irrésistible pour l'excès de langage. Et ce désir d'agrandir les choses prend toutes les formes d'expression possibles: l'argot, le néologisme, les calques, l'ellipse, l'exclamation, la répétition, l'alternance codique, etc.

### 4.2.1 La comparaison et la métaphore

La comparaison opère par une relation d'analogie explicite exprimée par les termes comparatifs suivants : *comme*, *tel*, *pareil*, *semblable*, *ainsi que plus*, *meilleur*, *sans pareil*, *aussi + Adjectif + que*, *la / le plus + Adjectif*, *ne jamais*, *défier*, *hors du commun*, *être unique*, etc. Comme les exemples ci-dessous l'attestent, le locuteur établit une ressemblance entre un premier élément, le comparé ou le thème et un second élément, le comparant. L'élément de ressemblance mis en lumière varie en fonction des objets prêtant à compliment. Par ailleurs, les ressources servant à la comparaison sont des réalités tant camerounaises qu'exotiques intrinsèquement ou culturellement investies d'un certain prestige ou d'une valeur positive avérée.

Les réalités camerounaises sous-entendues dans les comparaisons font appel à la compétence socioculturelle de l'interlocuteur, puisqu'elles font partie d'un savoir largement partagé par la majorité des Camerounais. On peut citer le prestige que suscitent les termes *ministre*, *député*, *Directeur Général*,<sup>5</sup> la valeur positive accordée à l'âge, à l'apparence «jeune», etc.

- (36) Tu es habillé **comme un ministre / un député**.
- (37) Tu prépares **comme ma grand-mère**.
- (38) Ta maison est **comme le Palais d'Etoudi** (le palais présidentiel).
- (39) Tu joues **comme Rogers** (Roger Milla).

<sup>5</sup> Donner du «Monsieur le DG (Directeur Général)», du «Honorable», c'est déjà lui témoigner un certain respect, c'est une forme de compliment.

D'autres comparaisons font allusion aux réalités universellement reconnues comme positives et elles (ces comparaisons) interpellent la compétence encyclopédique de l'interlocuteur. Il s'agit ici des éléments comme *la lune, l'or, le lion, la rose (fleur), la princesse, etc.*

(40) Tu brilles **comme l'or**.

(41) Tu brilles **comme la lune**.

(42) Tu es vraiment **comme une princesse**.

Dans une troisième catégorie de comparaisons laudatives, le locuteur fait allusion à certaines réalités exotiques, notamment les stars du cinéma, de la musique, de la mode et du sport. L'élément de comparaison varie en fonction de la thématique abordée.

(43) Tu as une **coiffure de star**.

(44) Tu **ressembles à un Dieu grec**.

(45) Tu **ressembles à Eddie Murphy** avec ta coiffure.

Le corpus regorge aussi de comparaisons renvoyant tout simplement à la compétence linguistique des interlocuteurs. Ces comparaisons implicites mettent en évidence que l'objet apprécié sort de l'ordinaire.

(46) Ce plat **a défié tous les autres**.

(47) Je **n'ai jamais vu une femme aussi belle que** vous.

(48) Votre style **est unique**. (comparaison implicite)

(49) Ça ç'est une maison hors du commun.

Les métaphores laudatives fonctionnent à peu près comme les comparaisons. Ainsi, elles sont aussi traversées par des représentations sociales, des lieux communs, des discours antérieurs qui sont réactualisés et mis au service de l'acte laudatif. C'est-à-dire, le locuteur fait incursion dans la mémoire collective de la société, y puise des lieux communs, des images, des stéréotypes, des proverbes etc. qu'il recycle et les transpose sur l'objet qu'il admire. Les éléments de référence proviennent aussi bien du milieu socioculturel camerounais que des milieux étrangers en général et occidentaux en particulier. Comme métaphores faisant référence à certains éléments des cultures camerounaises on peut citer:

Pour apprécier le savoir-faire culinaire de l'interlocuteur:

(50) Tu es vraiment **une vieille marmite**.

Cette métaphore est d'autant plus méliorative qu'elle s'appuie sur cette acception dans l'imaginaire collectif des Camerounais selon laquelle les vieilles marmites font les repas les plus délicieux. Cette acception fait aussi allusion à l'importance de l'âge dans les sociétés africaines en général et camerounaises en particulier. Dire à une dame qu'elle est vraiment une vieille marmite, revient à lui signifier que l'on apprécie son exploit culinaire. Une autre métaphore laudative allant dans le même sens que la première est l'expression

(51) **J'ai failli manger mes doigts**.

Au travers de celle-ci, le locuteur souligne que le repas en question est tellement succulent qu'il n'a pas pu faire la différence entre ce qu'il déguste et ses propres doigts. C'est une expression qui s'emploie généralement dans des situations où le locuteur mange effectivement avec la fourchette d'Adam. Il faut dire que le degré de sincérité de ce compliment métaphorique dépend aussi de la façon dont le locuteur déguste effectivement le plat en question. L'usage des métaphores est vraiment prisé et varie en fonction du thème abordé. On dira au Cameroun à quelqu'un qu'on admire et qu'on respecte beaucoup:

(52) Tu es / vous êtes **un baobab / un bao**.

(53) Tu es **un grand**.

À un interlocuteur intelligent on dira:

(54) Tu es / vous êtes **un cerveau** (tu es très intelligent).

(55) Meka est **la sagesse en personne**. (Oyono 1956:123).

À une (très) belle femme on dira:

(56) Tu es / vous êtes **canon / une grenade / une bombe**.

(57) Tu es / vous êtes **bien emballée**.

Pour exprimer de l'admiration pour la maison d'autrui, on dit généralement

(58) Ta maison est un **palais (présidentiel) / un paradis sur terre**.

(59) Ta maison est **un eldorado / une maison blanche**.

Comme compliment métaphorique passe-partout on peut citer la formule

(60) Tu es / vous êtes **en haut**.

Dire à son interlocuteur qu'il est en haut, c'est lui signifier qu'il occupe, grâce surtout à un objet en sa possession, la position haute, qu'il est supérieur. C'est l'interprétation la plus envisagée par nos enquêtés:

Cette formule peut avoir plusieurs sens. Cela veut dire que l'interlocuteur est au-dessus de celui qui fait des compliments, qu'il a quelque chose de plus. Quand mon camarade a une bonne note et je lui dis «tu es en haut», c'est pour lui dire que je l'admire, parce qu'il me dépasse. Pour les chrétiens cela pourrait signifier que la personne en question est au ciel, au paradis, où tout est parfait. «Tu es en haut» signifie «tu es bien situé», «tu es à l'aise». Bref, c'est une formule pour marquer son admiration et pour complimenter.

Cette métaphore a donné naissance à d'autres tournures similaires, mais avec des contenus pragmatiques différents. Ainsi les tournures telles que **Je suis en haut; Tu m'as mis(e) en haut**, sont usitées comme formes d'expression de la gratitude. D'autres métaphores font référence aux réalités culturelles étrangères

(61) Vous avez une **maison blanche**.

(62) Tu es une **Naomie Campbell**.

Les métaphores dans la majorité de leur usage sont marquées, comme on peut s'en apercevoir, par le langage argotique

#### 4.2.2 L'argot

Ce qui caractérise l'argot est surtout sa fonction ludique, cryptique et identitaire. Essentiellement utilisé par les jeunes l'argot permet à ce groupe social de marquer son territoire discursif par rapport aux autres groupes. En plus cette forme de prise de parole leur permet de mettre à mal les normes de la langue française et de faire passer des messages secrets, de contourner certains tabous sociaux (parler du corps de la femme, par exemple). Les tournures argotiques sont aussi fonction de l'âge, du milieu et surtout de l'objet que l'on complimente. On observe un sentiment ambivalent dans l'argot laudatif: le registre négatif est employé pour exprimer une évaluation positive.

(63) Ton coiffeur **t'a vraiment gâtée**. (Ton coiffeur t'a rendue belle).

Atteindre le meilleur niveau, c'est tuer

(64) Tu **as seulement tué** aujourd'hui. (Tu es au meilleur de ta forme aujourd'hui).

(65) Tu as fini le tableau.

Faire bonne impression, c'est faire tomber les autres:

(66) Ça alors mama, je sens que **les gens vont tomber sans glisser**. (Tout le monde sera stupéfait / Tu vas faire craquer tout le monde.)

Faire bonne impression, c'est faire mal, faire des malheurs:

(67) Tu vas **faire des malheurs** aujourd'hui. (Tu vas faire craquer tout le monde.)

(68) Tu vas **faire des ravages** ce matin.

Avoir du goût, c'est savoir voir, c'est avoir l'œil:

(69) Tu **as vraiment l'œil**. (Tu as du goût / Tu sais vraiment choisir.)

Être (encore) en bonne forme physique à un âge avancé, c'est répondre aux attentes de la société. Vieillir, c'est finir. Quand on a l'apparence «jeune», on n'est pas encore fini, on répond encore.

(70) Tu **réponds encore**, maman. (Tu gardes encore ta forme.)

Avoir une bonne expertise dans un domaine, c'est être implacable, intouchable, calé, bien assis ou un as.

(71) Mais, c'est génial. Tu **es vraiment calé** en matière de manipulation de l'ordinateur. (Tu t'y connais bien en matière d'ordinateur.)

(72) Gars en math, **tu es assis**.

Être doué dans un domaine précis, c'est avoir ce don dans le sang:

(73) Tu as **le foot dans le sang**.

#### 4.2.3 Les calques

Le calque est un des procédés laudatifs prisés. Les exemples attestés dans nos corpus illustrent l'influence des langues et cultures locales sur le français.

(74) Je t'arrête aux pieds / Je te prends par le pieds. (Je t'admire.)

(75) Tu es le propre sang de ton valeureux père. (Oyono 1956:120)

#### 4.2.4 La répétition

Ce procédé est marqué par la répétition de certains marqueurs lexicaux (les adjectifs et les adverbes, par exemple). La répétition peut être lexicale (mot à mot) ou sémantique (paraphrase).

##### Répétition lexicale

(76) Jeune homme, tu es **beau, galant et très bien habillé**.

(77) Maman, le repas était **particulièrement bien fait**. Tu es **sublime, génial**.

##### Répétition sémantique

(78) Papa c'était **bien joué**, tu as été **impressionnant** sur le stade.

(79) Merci mon ami. Le repas était **merveilleux**. C'est une **cuisine de spécialiste**.

Tu **ne cesseras de me surprendre**.

#### 4.2.5 L'emprunt ou le «parler bilingue»

Évoluant dans un contexte plurilingue où le français est la langue dominante, il arrive toutefois que les locuteurs Camerounais se permettent d'insérer quelques éléments empruntés aux autres langues en présence dans leurs pratiques langagières pour assouvir leurs besoins communicatifs en langue française. L'un des procédés discursifs qui en résulte est le «parler bilingue», pour reprendre les termes de Boyer (2001:63), l'alternance codique donc. Comme les exemples ci-dessous l'indiquent, on note des emprunts lexicaux qui proviennent aussi bien de la langue anglaise (l'autre langue officielle) que des langues camerounaises.

(80) Tes chaussures sont **le higher level** (haut niveau).

(81) **Tu es nyanga**.

(82) Tu es un **nassara**. (Tu es un blanc.)

À première vue, on est souvent tenté de croire que l'emprunt relèverait d'une incompétence linguistique des locuteurs. Il ne serait pas du tout erroné d'interpréter ces phénomènes d'emprunt sous l'angle de l'expressivité et de penser que cette stratégie discursive se justifierait plus par le souci de convaincre l'interlocuteur à croire en la sincérité du jugement porté sur lui. Autrement dit, la recrudescence des emprunts, même dans les discours des Camerounais dont la compétence en langue française est avérée, donne à penser que ces locuteurs auraient le sentiment que certains termes du français standard ne traduisent pas suffisamment leur état d'âme. Il faut donc recourir à une stratégie discursive marquée par un écart grammatical ou stylistique par rapport aux conventions existantes. Ces cas de rupture flagrante avec la norme servent donc plutôt à polariser l'attention de l'allocutaire.

#### 4.3 Les types d'énoncés laudatifs

Certaines formulations laissent transparaitre immédiatement, c'est-à-dire hors contexte, la valeur illocutoire de l'énoncé. D'autres par contre nécessitent le recours à un contexte précis, à certains éléments supplémentaires et à un effort interprétatif plus laborieux pour en saisir la valeur illocutoire. On peut donc faire la différence entre les réalisations directes et les réalisations indirectes.

### 4.3.1 Les formulations directes

Ce sont des formulations à valeur illocutoire claire. Le locuteur y a recours pour dire explicitement comment son interlocuteur devrait comprendre le message véhiculé. Parmi les formules à valeur illocutoire explicite, on peut citer en premier les expressions performatives (*Je te félicite pour ce bon travail*). Mais il faut souligner que plusieurs marqueurs lexicaux (comme les adjectifs et les adverbes) jouent un rôle décisif dans l'explicitation de la valeur illocutoire de l'énoncé. Comme réalisations directes nous pouvons citer certaines structures phrastiques au contenu adjectival et adverbial bien particulier (déclaratives, exclamatives, elliptiques, etc. voir 3.4), certains verbes et locutions verbales qui introduisent l'énoncé laudatif (voir 3.1.2).

### 4.3.2 Les formulations indirectes

Le compliment est indirect lorsque le locuteur emprunte les formes d'un autre acte de langage. Généralement les chercheurs font état de la différence entre les réalisations indirectes conventionnelles et les actes indirects non conventionnels.<sup>6</sup> Ils voudraient par-là mettre en évidence le fait que certaines formules constituent, à cause de leur emploi récurrent, des formes privilégiées pour réaliser un acte précis, même si la relation d'équivalence entre la forme et la fonction n'est que médiante. C'est le cas de *Peux-tu fermer la porte, s'il te plaît? La porte, s'il vous plaît!* des formules utilisées pour formuler une requête. Ces formes sont dites indirectes conventionnelles, puisque la grande majorité des locuteurs francophones l'emploieraient comme tournures pour réaliser indirectement la requête. Pour revenir au compliment, on peut par exemple évoquer la formule *Tu es en haut* qui est d'abord une assertion, un constat, bref un acte déclaratif. Dans la plupart des cas, il est admis, du moins en contexte «yaoundéen», que cette expression est une parole élogieuse. Autrement dit : on emploie une forme déclarative pour exécuter un acte laudatif. Et la formule employée fait bien partie du répertoire énonciatif de la majorité des locuteurs. Le compliment est certes réalisé indirectement, mais la formule mise en œuvre est, dans une certaine mesure, conventionnelle. Les formules indirectes non conventionnelles, par contre, ne font pas forcément partie du répertoire actif de tous les locuteurs. Il faut absolument un contexte concret et un effort interprétatif considérable pour en déterminer la valeur pragmatique réelle.

Pour ce qui est des compliments en contexte camerounais, il faut dire que cette dichotomie ne sera pas facile à appliquer, la frontière entre les actes indirects conventionnels et les actes indirects non conventionnels étant très fluide. En effet, le statut des formules laudatives comme *Pourrais-tu me donner l'adresse de ton coiffeur? Qui t'a appris à jouer au foot comme ça?* etc. varie en fonction, des individus, des groupes ou des régions, etc. Elles peuvent être conventionnelles dans une région ou au sein d'un groupe et non conventionnelles dans un autre. Les expressions *Tu es une bombe. Tu es canon, tu es bien emballée* sont des réalisations indirectes conventionnelles dans les milieux jeunes et populaires. La distinction est donc fonction du milieu. Toutefois, la majorité des énoncés laudatifs sont indirects et conventionnels, puisqu'ils font entièrement partie de la compétence socio-pragmatique de tout le monde. Tout locuteur qui maîtrise bien les habitudes discursives au Cameroun sait que les expressions comme *Je t'arrête aux pieds. / Je te prends par le pied. Tu vas faire des ravages. Tu as sorti ta dernière valise. J'ai failli manger mes doigts, Tu es en haut* sont dans la grande majorité de leurs contextes d'emploi, des compliments. Mais il faut relever que toutes ces formules métaphoriques étaient au début de leur emploi non conventionnelles pour plusieurs locuteurs. À la faveur d'une généralisation rapide, elles sont passées au statut de compliments indirects conventionnels. C'est le cas des énoncés interrogatifs comme

(83) Qui t'a tué comme ça?

(84) Où vas-tu chaud comme ça?

(85) Tu sais que tu es vraiment mignon dans ton habillement-là.

Comme autres exemples des formules laudatives indirectes, nous pouvons citer l'expression du vœu ou du souhait ou la formulation du conseil:

<sup>6</sup> Voir Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005a:33–52) pour une discussion très détaillée sur les différents types de réalisation des actes de langage et quelques aspects du fonctionnement des actes de langage indirect.

- (86) J'aimerais avoir une belle robe comme la tienne.  
 (87) Si seulement je pouvais bien manipuler l'ordinateur comme toi!  
 (88) Je te conseille de continuer dans ce sens.

#### 4.3.3 Les formulations complexes

Il arrive très souvent que le locuteur convoque plusieurs énoncés et actes de langage pour exprimer son admiration. Dans ces structures complexes, il est difficile de délimiter la frontière entre le compliment proprement dit et les autres actes de langage complémentaires. Il faut toutefois noter que les différents segments contribuent à intensifier le compliment dans ses fonctions communicatives, relationnelles et discursives. Ils permettent au locuteur, entre autres, de faire accepter le compliment, de minimiser toute menace susciter par le compliment et de favoriser une continuation harmonieuse de l'interaction. Nous avons relevé les combinaisons suivantes:

##### Excuse + Compliment

- (89) Permettez que je vous dise que vous êtes élégants.  
 (90) Excusez-moi, monsieur. Je sais que ce n'est pas poli, mais je ne puis me retenir d'apprécier votre merveilleuse coiffure.  
 (91) Puis-je me permettre de vous dire que vous avez une belle jupe, madame?

##### Compliment + Demande d'informations sur l'objet en question

- (92) C'est vraiment délicieux. Tu peux me passer la recette?  
 (93) Chez quel coiffeur êtes-vous passés ? La coiffure est réussie à merveille.  
 (94) Vous êtes tirés à quatre épingles. Quel est votre tailleur?

##### Compliment + Expression de la surprise

- (95) Tu ne cesseras de me surprendre. Tu as fait du bon travail.

##### Compliment + Remerciement

- (96) Merci mon gars. Tu as fait du bon travail.  
 (97) Merci pour le repas. C'était vraiment très appétissant.

##### Compliment + Promesse d'une récompense

- (98) Tu as fait du bon travail. Tu as droit à un jus bien glacé.  
 (99) Vous avez fait du bon travail. Voulez-vous prendre un verre avec moi ?

##### Compliment + Questions sur la finalité de l'objet complimenté

- (100) Je te trouve ravissante avec ta coiffure. Avec qui as-tu rendez-vous ?  
 (101) Avez-vous un dîner d'affaire ? Je vous trouve très élégant.

##### Compliment + Conseil / Vœu / Souhait

- (102) Ne change plus de coiffeur. Elle est bien réussie ta coiffure.  
 (103) C'était bien. J'espère que cela va continuer.  
 (104) Tu fais un bon travailleur. Je te souhaite un brillant avenir.  
 (105) Tu es bien appliqué dans ton travail. Je te conseille de continuer dans cette lancée.

##### Compliment + Compliment + Compliment + Compliment + Compliment

- (106) Tu es là-dedans! Ça, c'est danser! Quelle jeunesse! Quel art! On ne voit pas ça tous les jours. (Oyono 1956:171)

Ces énoncés laudatifs complexes donnent à penser que le locuteur ne se contente pas seulement de dire l'admiration. Il voudrait, en outre, participer à une conversation plus intense, pour mieux connaître son interlocuteur et mieux socialiser avec lui. Le compliment est donc un bon prétexte pour un échange interpersonnel éventuellement durable.

#### 4.4 Les formats syntaxiques de l'énoncé laudatif

Les formulations du compliment en français parlé au Cameroun peuvent prendre divers formats syntaxiques. Les exemples de notre corpus attestent l'emploi des constructions elliptiques, exclamatives, déclaratives, interrogatives et impératives.

##### 4.4.1 Les formes exclamatives

L'exclamation dans le discours laudatif se manifeste par des termes exclamatifs comme *Quel, quelle, quels, quelles, que, qu'est-ce que, comme, combien, si + adjectif, adverbe, tellement + adjectif, adverbe ou verbe*. Les formes exclamatives sont le plus souvent renforcées par des marqueurs prosodiques, mimiques, gestuels de la surprise agréable. On remarque aussi que les adjectifs, les adverbes et les interjections comme *waou! oh la, la, mince, ça alors, dis donc* y ont une marque prosodique particulière. Ces différents éléments servent à exprimer une «tension contradictoire» entre «ce qui est et ce qu'on pourrait penser qui serait» (Chevalier et Doucette 2005:268).

(107) Mince! Quelle belle maison vous avez!

(108) Qu'est-ce que tu es jolie, ma poupée!

(109) Comme c'était magnifique, ta façon de jouer.

(110) Tu joues si bien!

(111) Tu es tellement belle!

Une autre forme exclamative est la formule composée du présentatif emphatique *c'est + adjectif* (à connotation méliorative):

(112) C'est beau! C'est génial!

##### 4.4.2 Les formes exclamatives elliptiques

Elles présentent deux variantes, à savoir les réalisations nominales et les réalisations adjectivales. Les réalisations nominales sont généralement composées d'un adjectif axiologique et d'un substantif désignant l'objet prêtant à compliment: *Bon / excellent travail! Superbe match! Joli costume*. Le substantif peut être précédé d'un adjectif possessif (à la deuxième personne) pour inscrire explicitement la relation de possession entre l'interlocuteur et l'objet complimenté dans l'énoncé: *Superbe ta maison! Jolie ta coiffure*. Ces réalisations nominales peuvent être intensifiées à l'aide de certains adverbes: *Très chic ta coiffure!* Certaines réalisations nominales peuvent être représentées uniquement par des substantifs comme *Félicitations! Chapeau! (Tous) Mes compliments! Bao! Grand! Capo! (Tous) Mes respects!* et par des adjectifs comme *Chic! Bon! Joli! Super!* Ces substantifs dénotent à eux seuls des valeurs positives reconnues par la communauté discursive, au sein de laquelle les membres sont supposés partager la même compétence socioculturelle. Certains adjectifs peuvent aussi être renforcés dans leur sens: *Très chic!*

##### 4.4.3 Les formes déclaratives axiologiques

Les constructions déclaratives présentent divers profils. Les exemples les plus attestés dans notre corpus sont les suivants :

(A) Tu / vous + avoir + article indéfini + adjectif + nom de l'objet en question:

(113) Tu as une belle maison.

(B) Tu / vous + être + adjectif:

(114) Tu es beau.

(C) Tu / vous + verbe + adverbe intensif (très / vraiment) + adjectif:

(115) Tu joues vraiment bien.

(D) Ton / votre X + te / vous va / sied + (très / parfaitement) bien / à merveille:

(116) Ton accoutrement te va vraiment bien.

(E) Ton / votre / ce X + être + adjectif:

(117) Ta coiffure est élégante.

(F) J'aime / j'adore / j'admire / j'envie ton / votre X:

(118) J'aime ton habit.

(G) Il / elle est + adjectif + ton / votre + nom de l'objet en question:

(119) Il est beau ton costume.

#### 4.4.4 Les formes interrogatives

Le contenu sémantique des structures interrogatives est multiple. Il peut porter sur l'objet du compliment, son origine, sa finalité, etc. *Qui t'a gâté / coiffé comme ça? Où as-tu appris à jouer comme ça? Tu t'es fait beau pour aller où comme ça? Chérie, c'est pour moi que tu es aussi belle?* D'autres formules thématisent le désir de savoir si l'interlocuteur est conscient de l'admiration qu'il suscite ou si le compliment le dérange:

(120) Tu sais que tu es très beau dans ton costume?

(121) On t'a déjà dit que tu es très beau?

(122) Est-ce que ça vous dérange de vous dire que vous êtes bien habillé?

#### 4.4.5 Les formes impératives

Les compliments réalisés par le biais des constructions impératives sont indirects. Le mode impératif dans ces énoncés n'indiquent pas un ordre mais plutôt un conseil, un une exhortation «amicale». Ces énoncés ont donc une double valeur pragmatique. Elles indiquent dans un premier temps une évaluation positive du locuteur. Ensuite, le locuteur s'en sert pour encourager son interlocuteur à préserver l'objet en question ou à réitérer l'acte tant admiré. La formule employée peut être un énoncé complexe dont le premier segment constitue l'exhortation qui introduit le compliment (contenu dans le deuxième segment): *Garde cette coiffure, elle te va bien! Adopte ce look, il est réussi!* Une autre variante est la forme impérative classique dans laquelle une unité lexicale à connotation méliorative (adjectif, adverbe, verbe, etc.) signale le «but illocutoire» du locuteur: *Sois toujours élégant comme ça!* Le compliment peut aussi prendre une forme impérative implicite: *Vas dans le même sens.*

#### 4.4.6 Les formes hybrides

Comme constructions hybrides, nous pouvons citer les formulations qui commencent avec l'adverbe *comment* et se terminent par le groupe *comme ça*.

(123) **Comment** tu es frais **comme ça!**?

(124) **Comment** ta maison est belle **comme ça?**

Ces énoncés laudatifs sont, sur le plan pragmatique, hybrides, puisqu'ils possèdent simultanément deux valeurs illocutoires. Tout en exprimant son admiration, le locuteur se demande implicitement comment son interlocuteur en est-il arrivé là, comment se fait-il qu'il en est ainsi. Le locuteur ne pose donc pas de question,

il s'exclame. L'adverbe *comment* n'est pas interrogatif, mais exclamatif. L'expression *comme ça* fonctionne ici comme un démonstratif. Elle renvoie à un référent (l'objet du compliment) connu des deux interlocuteurs.

## 5 Conclusion

Notre réflexion était sous-tendue par l'hypothèse que les locuteurs Camerounais francophones ont une façon particulière de gérer le matériau linguistique à leur disposition pour formuler leurs compliments. Il est apparu, à travers les exemples attestés dans notre corpus, que les procédures de réalisation auxquelles le locuteur a recours sont marquées par des tournures argotiques, la créativité néologique et le penchant pour l'hyperbole. Si l'énoncé laudatif en français parlé au Cameroun se singularise par des formats syntaxiques divers, il est davantage unique grâce à l'emploi abondant et abusif des adjectifs, des adverbes, des verbes, locutions verbales de toutes sortes, des figures de style nombreuses et hautement variées. Cette exubérance lexicale et stylistique met véritablement en scène le croisement entre plusieurs habitudes discursives et la complexité des énoncés à but laudatif laisse entrevoir le profil d'un locuteur soucieux d'une interaction verbale qualitativement et quantitativement plus dense.

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# Logicalization as a Strategy of Rectification: The Study of Some Cameroon English Usages

Alain Flaubert Takam

(Dalhousie University)

## Abstract

The term logicalization, as used in this paper, is not new at all although it has not yet started gaining legitimacy in the literature on New Englishes. The term was coined and used by Simo Bobda (1997, 2001)<sup>1</sup> who actually initiated the analysis. The concept is defined by the author as a strategy that "refers to the use of a feature which, according to the speaker, better reflects the semantic content of the utterance" (1997:299). It is a very common strategy in the sense that Cameroon English (CamE) speakers re-structure and re-organize some Standard British English (SBE, the variety the educational system of Cameroon is aimed at) features to suit the way they perceive, understand and interpret the world around them. The present paper revisits some aspects of this term as used by the author, but goes further to examine some crucial areas of everyday usage by the speakers of CamE, a non-native variety of English. The paper thus investigates such areas of language as idiomatic usages and style, prepositional usages, perception of tense, subject-verb concord, and plurality, all falling in the realm of grammar and usage. The features selected have been tested in the field with the informants being Form Four students (equivalent of Grade 9) of the Government Bilingual High School of Yaoundé and LMA3 (Third Year English Modern Letters, i.e. final year for the undergraduate program) students of the Faculty of Art, Letters and Social Sciences, University of Yaoundé I. In total, there were 150 participants, both males and females. The test was aimed at determining the rate of recurrence of both SBE and CamE features. One of the conclusions this paper arrives at is that the contrastive causes of deviation, which are frequently over-emphasised in the literature, are not the sole causes of peculiarities that account for the striking innovations observed in non-native Englishes in general and CamE in particular.

## Résumé

Le concept de «logicalisation,» tel qu'utilisé dans cet article, est loin d'être nouveau, bien qu'il ne se soit pas encore popularisé dans la littérature des nouvelles variétés d'anglais. Ce terme a été utilisé pour la première fois, en passant, par Simo Bobda (1997, 2001), véritable initiateur de cette analyse. Il le définit d'ailleurs comme une stratégie «liée à l'utilisation d'un trait linguistique, qui, d'après le locuteur, reflète mieux le contenu sémantique de l'énoncé» (1997: 299). C'est une stratégie utilisée fréquemment par les locuteurs de l'anglais du Cameroun dans la mesure où ceux-ci restructurent et réorganisent certains traits linguistiques de l'anglais britannique afin de les adapter à la façon dont ils perçoivent, comprennent et interprètent le monde. Rappelons que la variété britannique de l'anglais est la variété standard du système éducatif camerounais. Cet article réexamine certains aspects de ce concept tel qu'utilisé par l'auteur, mais pousse l'analyse bien plus loin en examinant quelques domaines cruciaux de l'usage quotidien de la langue chez les locuteurs de cette variété d'anglais. Ainsi, dans cet article, nous étudierons certains domaines de la langue comme les expressions idiomatiques et le style, les prépositions, la perception du temps, l'accord sujet-verbe et la perception du pluriel. Tout cela relève évidemment de la grammaire et de l'usage. Les traits linguistiques particuliers que nous avons sélectionnés ont été testés sur le terrain. Les informateurs étaient des élèves de Form Four (équivalent de «Grade 9») du Lycée Bilingue de Yaoundé d'une part, et d'autre part les étudiants de troisième année du Département d'Anglais de la Faculté des Arts, lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université de Yaoundé I. Ils étaient au total 150, de sexe masculin et féminin. Le test visait à obtenir la fréquence de l'anglais britannique et de l'anglais camerounais. L'une des conclusions auxquelles cet article est parvenu est que le fait d'invoquer les causes contrastives pour expliquer les particularismes grammaticaux de l'anglais parlé au Cameroun, bien que cela soit très populaire, ne constitue pas la seule explication de tous les particularismes et de toutes les innovations que l'on observe dans les variétés émergentes de l'anglais en général et dans l'anglais du Cameroun en particulier.

<sup>1</sup>I am highly indebted to A. Simo Bobda (1997, 2001) who actually initiated the analysis I am following. Indeed, some of the data analyzed in this paper are extracted from his above-mentioned works.

## Introduction

In general, English has undergone a wide range of modifications in the course of its development as it has adapted itself to the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of any recipient community. Scholars then have talked of “linguistic emancipation” (Kachru 1986:98) or “language enfranchisement” (Adendorff 1991:70) to capture the fact that second language speakers use their varieties as “a defense mechanism to reduce the ‘colonial’ and ‘western’ connotations associated with English” (Kachru 1986:98). In fact, this important aspect has attracted many researchers and renowned scholars: many works have been carried out to show the peculiarities of non-native varieties of English. Unfortunately, a great number of them are limited to the interlanguage and intralanguage learning strategies. In the case of Cameroon, the influence of French, Pidgin English, and one or many of the country’s 260 languages has been overemphasized in the literature on CamE. This paper acknowledges, but goes far beyond, the theory of mother-tongue interference, and investigates one striking non-contrastive source of CamE peculiarities called *logicalization*. Logicalization can be viewed as the one-to-one correspondence between a word or an expression and its first meaning. It also reflects Cameroonians’ worldview. To explicate such an autonomous strategy, the following aspects will be highlighted: idioms and idiomatic usages, prepositional usages, perception of tense and concord, and perception of plurality.

## Idiom and Idiomatic Expression Usage

CamE speakers consider many non-native features to be more effective. They “do not only regularize the language structurally, but straighten up semantic aspects which can be considered abnormal” (Simo Bobba 2001:11). The following examples will illustrate the systematic rectification of English in Cameroon.

Cameroonians think that *corner* in *search every nook and corner* for SBE *search every nook and cranny* is more illustrative of the places things looked for can be hidden. The number of informants who opted for this expression, 100 out of 150, i.e., 66.67%, clearly indicates that it is more feasible: after having searched “nooks,” the next step would be to search “corners.” It should be recalled that “cranny” is synonymous with “nook.” So the simultaneous use of the two words gives way to a tautology that Cameroonians try to rectify.

In general, the amount of material which should be cut in order to make an article of clothing is determined by the size of the person and not by the cloth. This is why SBE *cut your coat according to your cloth* is deemed to be a meaningless expression by CamE speakers. This is reflected in the low frequency of occurrence of that idiom in the findings. Only 24 informants out of 150 believe that the SBE version is more appropriate, against 126 (84%) who preferred a more expressive version: *cut your coat according to your size*.

CamE *silence means consent* (53.33%) seems to be more meaningful than SBE *silence gives consent*. In fact, the former expression is more attached to the literal meanings of words than the latter. The local version, interestingly, means that “silence is interpreted as consent,” hence the preference for the verb “mean.”

To SBE *you can’t have your cake and eat it, too*, CamE *you can’t eat your cake and have it* (64.67%) is generally preferred. There is seemingly nothing wrong in eating a cake one has at hand. It even looks natural to be able to do so. Furthermore, the CamE expression is quite defensible because what is already eaten (and swallowed) can no longer be had. So this expression more logically captures the fact that one cannot derive an advantage from two opposite situations.

SBE *birds of a feather flock together* is deemed meaningless by Cameroonians, who think it wise to restructure the idiom in order to render it semantically more suitable. CamE has *birds of the same feather fly together* (53.33%). In fact, *bird* better collocates with *fly* than with *flock*. Furthermore, the idea of similarity or sameness, which is implied in that proverb, commands Cameroonian speakers of English to use *the same feather* instead of *a feather*. Some speakers go further to use *father* instead of *feather* because, in their mind, the former better suggests the idea of lineage which seems to be implied in that idiom. More examples are given below to account for such a strategy, which is widely used in non-native circles and, unfortunately, still disregarded in the literature.

The same reasoning can be applied to *deadline, of late, to have breakfast, from the outset* and *offhand*. In fact, *deadline*, which means in SBE “last date,” justly becomes *dateline* in CamE. It is evident that *dead*, associated with the idea of date, is indeed nonsensical, hence the preference for *dateline* in CamE (66%). It is also curious, from the Cameroonian perspective, that SBE has *I haven't seen Mary of late* where *of late* means a recent period of time. CamE avoids this oddity by using the expression *of recent* (65.33%), which is more indicative of the period of time referred to. In *to have breakfast / lunch / supper*, the validity of the verb *have* is questionable. One wonders whether it is a matter of “possessing” the breakfast, or that of “taking,” or better still, “eating” it. It should be recalled that “take” is an action verb and contrasts with “have,” which rather indicates a possession. That is why CamE prefers *to take breakfast* (72.67%). French, the other official language of Cameroon, spoken by about 80% of the overall population, could have also fostered this divergent form. It could as well be argued that the preference of the above form may be encouraged by American English (AmE), which has *to take breakfast* in addition to *to have breakfast*. The prefix “out” in *outset* is also very misleading since *outset* means “beginning” or “starting point.” This explains why *onset* is more present in CamE (67.33%) where *on* better indicates the starting point than *out*. As concerns *can you name offhand two Anglophone ministers? -hand* in *offhand* is very confusing, because what is required to give people's names is the head rather than the hand. And so, Cameroonians justifiably propose *offhead* in the above construction (59.33%).

Cameroonians go as far as modifying or adding an extra meaning to an existing word. The example of travel can be cited here. The great majority of informants preferred *your brother has travelled* (74.67%) to *your brother is away*. This is because, in their understanding, *to be away* is not as suggestive as *to travel*.

## Prepositional Usage

CamE speakers, in general, divert from the SBE norms at the level of prepositional usage. Apart from faulty analogy and overgeneralization, many prepositional peculiarities in New Englishes in general result from “speakers’ attempt to re-interpret and use prepositions in what they perceive to be their literal meanings” (Simo Bobda 2001:13). The following examples will illustrate the domestication of English in Cameroon.

Locative prepositions better illustrate the arbitrariness of English. Thus, the prepositions *in* and *inside* in *in / inside the bus* or *train* or *plane* are more inviting in CamE than *on* in *on the bus, on the train, on the plane*. It should be recalled that SBE uses *on the bus* exactly to mean that the person referred to is ‘on the inside’ of the bus, or ‘inside’ the vehicle (*ibid.*). At this level, CamE uses *in the bus* (61.33%) and *inside the bus* (34.67%) in consideration of what they regard as their literal meaning. SBE *on the bus* was deemed correct by only 4% of the informants.

Moreover, *to* in *result to* and in *culminate to*, perceived by CamE speakers as denoting transformation or change, is deemed more meaningful than *in* in SBE *result in* and *culminate in*. Thus, sentences such as *The Edea encounter resulted to a brutal fight* (70.67%) and *His wealth culminates to millions* (62.67%) are commonplace in Cameroon, especially in the media. In the same vein, *to leave to a place* is regarded as a better expression of direction or movement than SBE *to leave for a place*.

*To accuse / charge / congratulate for* very much illustrate the idea of causality that is suggested in sentences such as *Cameroon referees are accused for partiality, Tekeh was charged for sexual abuse* and *The South-west elite congratulated Peter Mafany Musonge for his nomination*. These forms, also used in AmE, are generally preferred to *accuse of, charge with, congratulate on*. In fact, the prepositions *of, with* and *on* have less, if not nothing, to do with the idea of causality implied in these statements. On the contrary, CamE versions better explain the reason for accusing, charging or congratulating.

Finally, in Cameroon, people are not resourceful enough to buy beef, pork, mutton or any other meat *off the bone*. They rather buy the cheapest meat, the one that is *on the bone*. These SBE expressions are not common in the speech of Cameroonians. CamE speakers deem them meaningless since what is often used is *beef without bones* for SBE *beef off the bone*. Informants tended to CamE forms: 100% for Form Four students and 84% for LMA3. *Beef with bone*, used for SBE *beef on the bone*, underwent the same situation: 98.67% of Form Four and 94% of LMA3 informants opted for it. It is noteworthy that the prepositions *with* and *without*

better suggest the fact beef “has” or “doesn’t have” bone than SBE *on* and *off* respectively. It is interesting that some native English varieties also have the expressions *beef with bone* and *beef without bone*.

## Tense and Subject-Verb Concord

The use of tense and subject-verb concord is very confusing and quite tricky. Some of the SBE grammatical or tense agreement examples are seriously questionable on logical grounds. Non-native speakers of Englishes in general and CamE speakers in particular “rectify” and restructure some of the native English uses of tense and subject-verb concord in order to put some order in the perceived confusion.

Concerning the perception of tense, CamE has *it is high time* and *it is (about) time* + simple present, for SBE *it is high time* and *it is (about) time* + simple past. In the following two sentences *It is high time Paul Biya understood that Cameroon is dying*, and *It is (about) time you paid my money*, there is absolutely no reference to past time. The great number of informants justly deemed non-native concord *understands* (73.33%) and *pay* (80%) more notionally correct. In fact, CamE speakers generally believe that the use of the simple past cannot be justified as the above expressions are used to refer to the present time and not to the past.

At the level of subject-verb concord, an apposition, in CamE, is regarded as an integral part of the subject. This clearly means that a singular subject with an apposition immediately changes its number to become plural, an outright violation of the native English norm where an apposition is rather an optional element used to add an extra meaning to the noun or noun phrase under consideration. As an illustration, was in sentences like *Thomas Sankara, with one of his guards, was assassinated in 1987*, is almost systematically replaced with *were* in the English of Cameroonians. Not surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of informants (83.33%) reported that only the plural verb makes sense in that context as it refers to a situation which is unambiguously plural.

By the same token, it is not at all rare to read in good newspapers, or to hear over the radio and television, statements like the following, by seasoned journalists, or even university professors: *Many a job seeker have already inquired about vacancy*; *More than one player(s) were absent*. As a matter of fact, the informants had no doubt about the correctness of the above sentences. A great number of them followed the non-native norms, by 78%, 64%, and 50.67% respectively.

On close inspection, it is not very easy to understand why the expressions *more than one* and *many a* are associated with singular verbs in SBE. In fact, there is a clear idea of plurality which is implied in those expressions. *More than one person* cannot still be one person, but must be at least two. *Many a* already contains *many* which clearly indicates the plural. It is suspected that this type of concord may have been induced, if not encouraged, by the following expression *a good many*, which calls for a plural verb in native English, as in *A good many (national team players) are currently in the country*. All this surely leads CamE speakers to re-think the structure of a certain type of subject-verb concord.

## Perception of Plurality

Referring to the strategy underlying the pluralization of noncountable nouns as overgeneralization of the plural rule or ignorance of rule restrictions (cf. Asante 1995, Bokamba 1992, Takashima 1992:97, Ellis 1985, Sey 1973) is tantamount to disregarding the consistency and systematicity of the above phenomenon in many non-native varieties of English across the world, and, more importantly, in the intellectual circles. In fact, pluralization of noncountable nouns in CamE, as well as in many other varieties of English spoken around the globe, is fossilized, as it is systematically used by such norm setters as teachers, preachers and journalists. There are actually processes of logicalization and rectification underlying this phenomenon.

As a matter of fact, a great number of informants tested inclined to the non-native use of noncountable nouns. It should be noted that *a lot of mails* (e.g., *I have received a lot of mails this week*), *many luggages* (e.g., *Dad, have you brought many luggages?*), *twenty dozens* (e.g., *That egg-seller sells at least twenty dozens of eggs everyday*), and *five millions* (e.g., *We need five millions for that project*) are regarded as normal in CamE. The classification of nouns as countable and noncountable in SBE is indeed questionable on logical grounds. It is actually difficult to understand why those expressions should not be countable from the SBE perspective.

Note should be taken of the fact that letters and packages that make up somebody's *mail* can indeed be counted. So can bags and suitcases that make up somebody's *luggage*. The same thing may be said for the other SBE noncountable nouns like *property*, *correspondence*, and *furniture*. In reality, things owned by somebody and which make up their property are obviously countable. So are the letters that make up their *correspondence*, and the tables, chairs and beds that make up their *furniture*.

The above examples are clear cases of arbitrariness in languages in general and in English in particular. Because *mail* and *luggage*, for example, denote separate or separable referents, Cameroonian speakers of English justly use them in plural as well. It is noteworthy that, in CamE, when a word is associated with a clear idea of plurality, and if it refers to a collection of items that can be counted, it will be pluralized.

There is no doubt that there are many semantic inconsistencies between the uses of countable and noncountable nouns in SBE. In fact, "lamb and chicken are uncountable as food," but they are countable as living entities (Sey 1973:27). However, that relationship should not be extended to other animals like *pig* and *sheep*. Moreover, it is possible to have *coffees* and *beers* for cups and glasses of the substances, but usually not *waters* for cups of water. Asante (1995:136) rightly underscores, "Whereas individuated portions of some mass nouns are referred to in a count sense, hence coffees and beers, this is not possible for other mass nouns." From all these inconsistencies and many other others, speakers of second-language institutionalized varieties of English "rectify" the traditional distinction between countable and noncountable nouns. Referring to the New English speakers' way of reclassifying nouns as countable and noncountable, it will not be an overstatement to speak of the regularization of the above-mentioned anomalies. It would therefore be an oversimplification to just talk of ignorance of rule restriction.

## Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis, it is to be noted that CamE attempts to rid SBE of a multitude of inconsistencies it is full of. Cameroonians reorganize, reinterpret and regularize English so as to adapt it to the way they perceive and understand the world. They systematically "correct" the many semantic oddities that SBE is riddled with. Logicalization, more marked in idiomatic and prepositional usages, in the perception of tense and plurality, is one of the many autonomous strategies or routes that speakers develop to produce their own variety of English that markedly deviates from SBE and from any other native English.

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# A Case Study of Teenagers' Use of Southern Min and Attitude Toward the Language

**Chu-Hsia Wu and Andrew Hung**  
(National Chen-Kung University, Taiwan)

## Abstract

The present study is to investigate teenagers' use of Southern Min, and attitude toward the language by doing a survey with questionnaires. The respondents are randomly selected from two classes of senior high school students in second grade in Tainan city. The results of the survey show that: (1) language communities dominated by Southern Min are "invaded" by Mandarin Chinese, (2) comparison made across generations shows an astonishing diminishing trend of Southern Min use in daily conversation, (3) the respondents tend to take sides with Mandarin Chinese when Southern Min and Mandarin Chinese compete for preference in a communicative situation, and (4) more than half (64%) of the respondents regard Southern Min as no less elegant than Mandarin Chinese. No incentive is shown for the respondents to polish either Southern Min or Mandarin Chinese because it is not considered important to speak a "standard" Mandarin Chinese or Southern Min. These two languages maintain a dynamic equilibrium for the time being. Such being the case, it is predicted that Southern Min will remain in a moribund status under the dominance of Mandarin Chinese in the years to come if no political, economic, or other factors, intervene in the language market of Taiwan.

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Language Use of the Present Day in Taiwan

Since the KMT government made the teaching of Mandarin Chinese compulsory in the primary school, and proclaimed Mandarin Chinese the only official language in all parts of Taiwan in 1946 after the Nationalists took over Taiwan, many indigenous languages in Taiwan have been facing a critical condition of survival. Scores of years ago, students were punished by being forced to wear the infamous token, if caught speaking their non-Chinese mother tongue on school premises. Through systematic promotion of Mandarin Chinese by the KMT government, Mandarin Chinese was imposed on the common people. For example, TV programs in many indigenous languages are banned. Step by step, Mandarin Chinese replaces the indigenous languages as the major means of communication and takes the role of the mainstream language. With Mandarin Chinese becoming the dominant language, the number of indigenous speakers of Taiwanese languages (including Southern Min, Hakka, and the aboriginal languages) is on the decrease. Romaine (1995:242), after an extensive study of the language policies of many countries, concludes that the native languages and cultures of the minority group, who speak a different language, have been eradicated and assimilated into those of the majority group. This is just the crisis that Southern Min is facing even though Southern Min people are not the minority. Taiwan indigenous languages (e.g., Southern Min, Hakka, and the aboriginal languages) have shown signs of losing their vitality. UNESCO lists Taiwan as an area where indigenous languages are potentially endangered (China Times 2001 (22 Jan.)). Metaphorically speaking, Southern Min is registering for hospitalization, Hakka is in the emergency room, and the aboriginal languages are in the intensive care unit (Yeh Chu-Lan, Liberty Times, 2003 (23 Nov.)).

### 1.2 The Purpose of the Present Study

What factors lead a society to shift from using one language to another? Among others, economic, social and political factors may be involved in the shift. Crystal (2000) observed that due to their inferiority in social and

economical status, indigenous languages bear lots of pressure from the dominant language and teenagers have to face the pressure most directly owing to peer pressures and the language preference of the job markets. Teenagers' language use becomes an indicator of a language's vitality. If the percentage of language use at home is more than 70%, the vitality of the language is still strong, whereas if the percentage drops to 30% or lower, its vitality is weak (Crystal, 2000). Therefore, the present study tries to investigate teenagers' use of Southern Min and their attitude toward the language, and predict the fate of Southern Min in the near future against their attitude toward the language.

## 2 Literature Review

Zeng (1990:5) observes that the regeneration of a living language ceases to function; the market of Taiwanese indigenous languages is shrinking; parents are not willing to teach these languages. According to Huang's (1991:21) estimate, Minnanren (Southern Min people) comprise about 73.7 % of the population in Taiwan. The Southern Min people are not the minority. However, based on Chan's (1994) study, such domains as families and markets, traditionally dominated by Southern Min, are giving way to Mandarin Chinese. With the spread of Mandarin Chinese into more and more domains, the number of arenas where individuals use their ethnic language diminishes. The indigenous language usually retreats till it is used only in the home, and finally it is restricted to such personal activities as counting, praying, and dreaming (Holmes 1995:63). After a very comprehensive study of the language-planning situation in Taiwan, Tsao (1999) notes that as Mandarin Chinese dominates the language market, Taiwan indigenous languages are on the way to becoming extinct. The aboriginal languages will be extinct within two or three generations if not saved (Huang 1991, 1993). The Hakka language is in a little better situation than the aboriginal languages. Southern Min, even though the rate of attrition is not so fast as the former two languages, is on the way, too.

In contrast, Mandarin Chinese remains the prestige norm for language use in the high domain. Mandarin Chinese has become the mainstream language in Taiwan. And according to a very recent study by Chen (2004), with Mandarin Chinese, the official language in Taiwan, becoming the family language for the younger generations, Southern Min and Hakka in Toa-gu-tiau are being lost. We wonder if this kind of language shift is happening in other areas of Taiwan, too.

Holmes (1995) notes that language shift involves many factors: economic, social, political and so on. Political intervening is the most obvious factor, when a language policy is implemented. Besides, the language community may see no need to take active steps to maintain their ethnic languages. Obtaining a job is one of the major reasons for learning a second language. Positive attitudes toward their ethnic language play an important role in language maintenance as well. For example, language shift tends to be slower among communities where the minority language is highly valued. Positive attitudes support efforts to use the minority language in a variety of domains, and this helps people resist the pressure from the majority group to switch to their language.

## 3 Method

### 3.1 Participants

The questionnaires are assigned to two classes of senior high school students in National Tainan First Senior High School. Two classes are chosen out of the twenty classes in grade 2, each consisting of about 45 students. In total, 75 questionnaires are collected. But if participants' evaluations miss out half of the whole questionnaire or the response to each statement in the questionnaire is the same, the sample will be regarded as invalid. Thus, 50 valid questionnaires are selected. Analysis is done on the selected questionnaires.

### 3.2 Design of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire is adapted from Chen's (2004, Appendix:393–414). The purpose of the questionnaire is to investigate senior high school students' use of southern Min at home, their ability in Southern Min, and their

attitude toward the language. The questionnaire consists of four parts: basic information, language ability, language use, and language attitude. The basic information includes participants' age, language community, and their ethnic identity. Then the participants self-evaluate their aural and oral proficiency in Southern Min. The part on language use investigates how participants use languages among family members across different generations. This is the most informative part because how language is used among family members will reveal the vitality of the language. And for the last part, language attitude — the purpose of this part is to investigate participants' attitude toward Southern Min because attitude plays a very important role in language shift and maintenance. Here “language attitude” refers to the evaluation that participants make about Southern Min and its speakers (Chen 2004:83).

## 4 Data Analysis and Discussion

### 4.1 Basic Information: Ethnicity, Language Community, and First Language

About 62% of the respondents think they are Southern Min people, compared with 38% of those who think they are not. More than half of the respondents (58%) do not live in a pure language community, but in a community of diverse languages. Communities with mixed languages (42%) outnumber Southern Min language communities (26%), which outnumber Chinese language communities (14%). But respondents who live in Southern Min language communities do not necessarily speak Southern Min. Instead, they speak more Mandarin Chinese than Southern Min. As Table 1 below shows, 9 out of 13 who live in Southern Min language communities speak Mandarin Chinese, and 15 out of 21 who live in mixed language communities speak Mandarin Chinese, and only 2 out of 21 speak Southern Min.

**Table 1: Frequency Participants' Language Use at Home / Language Cross-Tabulation**

		Language Community					Total
		Southern Min	Hakka	Mainlander	Mixed	Southern Min + Chinese	
Language Use at Home	Southern Min	1			2		3
	Chinese	9	1	4	15	6	35
	Others	2		3	9	2	10
	Southern Min + Chinese	1			1		2
Total		13	1	7	21	8	50

We wonder why people who live in a Southern Min language community will not speak Southern Min. It is most likely because Mandarin Chinese is the dominant language and thus takes the place of Southern Min as a major means of communication either in Southern Min language communities, or in Mandarin Chinese language communities. It demonstrates the fact that the language communities, which used to be dominated by Southern Min, have been “invaded” by Mandarin Chinese.

About 52% of the participants have Mandarin Chinese as their first language, compared with 42% taking Southern Min as their first language as shown in Table 2. And the respondents acquire their mother tongue

mostly at home. In light of this evidence, Southern Min is losing ground competing with Mandarin Chinese as the respondents' first language.

**Table 2: Percentage of Different Languages as the First Language**

		First Language			
		Frequency	Percent	Vaiki Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Southern Min	21	42.0	42.0	42.0
	Hakka	1	2.0	2.0	44.0
	Chinese	26	52.0	52.0	96.0
	Southern Min + Chinese	2	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total		50	100.0	100.0	

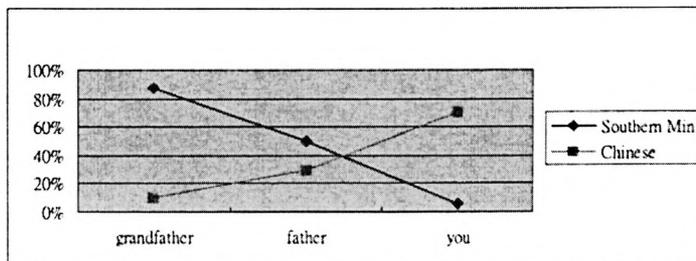
#### 4.2 Language use

Only 6% of the respondents still use Southern Min in their daily life, and 76% of the respondents use Mandarin Chinese, as illustrated in Table 3 below. Comparison made across generations shows an astonishing diminishing trend of Southern Min use in daily conversation. The decline highlights an alarming trend. In addition, only 8% of the respondents regard their Southern Min as very fluent, compared with 62% considering their Mandarin Chinese to be very fluent. In the older generation, Southern Min was still very active in daily conversation, as shown in Table 3 and Figure 1 below, but now Southern Min is almost moribund in the teenager generation.

**Table 3: Percentage of Language Use in Daily Conversation—Southern Min vs Chinese**

	Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother	You
Southern Min	88%	92%	50%	38%	6%
Chinese	10%	6%	30%	40%	76%

**Figure 1: Tendency of Language Use in Daily Life**



42% of the respondents report using Southern Min at home, with 56% using Mandarin Chinese. Even though 42% is still higher than the threshold of 30% for a language to survive, the percentage is far below the level to maintain Southern Min's vitality (i.e., 70%). And we find that only 34% of the respondents' parents

use Southern Min, 24% use Chinese between themselves, and that 42% use both Southern Min and Chinese at home. However, the bilingualism employed by parents may be just a transition to the dominant language, Mandarin Chinese. Parents (44% of fathers, 54% of mothers) tend to choose Mandarin Chinese, compared with parents (43% of fathers, 34% of mothers) choosing Southern Min, when Southern Min and Mandarin Chinese compete with each other for preference. Code-choice may go before language change, language shift, and even language death. This shows that fact that parents are more willing to use Mandarin Chinese instead of Southern Min when addressing their children. As a result, respondents have fewer chances to acquire Southern Min as their first language (42%) than to acquire Mandarin Chinese as their first language (52%). We are afraid that Southern Min is locked into a downward trend of irreversible language shift, if the trend is not curbed. If the trend continues, Southern Min will lose all its vitality.

### 4.3 Language Attitude

Despite the disappointing findings about the use of Southern Min and the respondents' self-reported fluency of Southern Min, we still have a hope. We may see a hope for the survival of Southern Min in the respondents' attitude toward Southern Min. Young people used to have a less positive attitude toward their own indigenous languages than toward Mandarin Chinese because of their vulgarization by brainwashing through the mass media, especially TV programs. Fortunately, at present, more than half (64%) of the respondents consider Southern Min no less elegant than Mandarin Chinese. 68% feel a sense of intimacy when they talk to friends or relatives in Southern Min, compared with only 34% in Chinese. In general, the respondents' attitude to Southern Min is positive. And this positive attitude is helpful in maintaining, if not boosting, the vitality of Southern Min. When asked about the importance of speaking "standard" Mandarin Chinese, 8% strongly agree, 8% agree, but 54% remain neutral. And when asked about the importance of speaking "standard" Southern Min, 2% strongly agree, 12% agree, and 56% remain neutral. Almost the same percentage of respondents remains neutral on the importance of speaking "standard" Mandarin Chinese or Southern Min (54% vs. 56%). So we claim that Mandarin Chinese and Southern Min maintain a dynamic equilibrium for the time being. Such being the case, if there is no economic or political factor, etc. intervening in the language market of Taiwan, Southern Min will, nevertheless, maintain a much weaker status than Mandarin Chinese in the foreseeable future.

### 4.4 A Summary of the Results

To sum up, the results of the survey show that: (1) language communities dominated by Southern Min are "invaded" by Mandarin Chinese, (2) comparison made across generations shows an astonishing diminishing trend of Southern Min use in daily conversation, (3) the respondents tend to take sides with Mandarin Chinese when Southern Min and Mandarin Chinese compete for preference in a communicative situation, and (4) more than half (64%) of the respondents regard Southern Min as no less elegant than Mandarin Chinese. No incentive is shown for the respondents to polish either Southern Min or Mandarin Chinese because it is not considered important to speak a "standard" Mandarin Chinese or Southern Min. These two languages maintain a dynamic equilibrium for the time being.

## 5 Conclusion

We hold a pessimistic view about the vitality of Southern Min if the downward trend of Southern Min use in the domain of home goes on. We hope the downward trend in Southern Min's vitality will be reversed; otherwise, the destiny of Southern Min is doomed. Bearing its fruit from the vitality of diverse languages, Taiwanese culture will suffer if any of the indigenous languages becomes extinct. It is a loss with no remedy. Alas! "It is creativity and beauty based on ethnic and linguistic diversity that make man human" (Fishman 1989).

However, the teenagers under discussion do not receive so-called "indigenous language" education, which has been implemented in elementary school since 2001. So further studies on the teenagers who have

received “indigenous language” education in Tainan areas should be carried out to see if there is any change in their ability, their use of Southern Min at home, and their attitude toward Southern Min. Besides, regional differences — northern, central, or eastern — should also be taken into consideration before a comprehensive conclusion can be reached.

## Appendix: The Questionnaire

您好：

這是一份關於閩南語使用的研究調查，非常感謝您願意抽空填寫。問卷內容純粹為學術研究，問卷內容絕對保密，請您放心作答。

研究者：洪鐘儒謹啟

作答說明

1. 每一個問題對本研究都非常重要，請您一題題詳細回答。這個問卷的訪問，大約需要15~20分鐘。
2. 所有的問題都沒有標準答案，只是要瞭解您實際的狀況和想法，你只要就你實際語言使用的情況回答即可。

問卷內容

### 一、個人基本資料

1. 性別：(1)  男 (2)  女
2. 出生年：.....年（幾歲.....）
3. 請問您出生在哪一個縣市？  
.....縣/市.....鄉/鎮/區
4. 現在你住的地方是.....縣/市.....鄉/鎮/區
5. 請說出您現在住處鄰居講什麼話？  
 1閩南語  2客語  3華語  4混和

### 二、語言能力：

1. 您小時候先會說什麼話（第一個語言）？  
 閩南語  客語  華語  其他.....
2. 您認為自己聽、說閩南語的程度如何？  
聽  都聽得懂  部分聽得懂，部分聽不懂  聽不懂  
說  流利  普通  不流利  完全不會說  
（如果你會說閩南語，請續答）  
2-1. 你大概幾歲開始學閩南語？  
 1 從小就會  2 .....歲開始  3 不知道  
2-2. 您的閩南語是在什麼情況下學的？  
 1 家裡  2 學校  3 街坊鄰居  4 電視廣播  5其他.....
3. 您認為自己聽、說華語的程度如何？  
聽  都聽得懂  部分聽得懂，部分聽不懂  聽不懂  
說  流利  普通  不流利  完全不會說  
（如果你會說華語，請續答）  
3-1. 你大概幾歲開始學華語？  
 1 從小就會  2 歲開始  3 不知道  
3-2. 您的華語是在什麼情況下學的？  
 1 家裡  2 學校  3 街坊鄰居  4 電視廣播  5其他.....

4. 哪一種是您現在最主要講的語言？（除非兩種以上的語言您說得一樣多，才複選）。
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
5. 您的父親在一般的談話裡會那些語言？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
6. 您的母親在一般的談話裡會那些語言？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
7. 您的祖父在一般的談話裡會那些語言？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
8. 您的祖母在一般的談話裡會那些語言？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....

### 三、語言使用：

1. (1) 在家的時候，通常您跟父親講哪些語言？（可複選）
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
- (2) 如果在家的時候您跟父親講的語言不只一種，那麼哪一種語言您說得最多？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
2. (1) 在家的時候，通常您跟母親講哪些語言（可複選）
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
- (2) 如果在家的時候您跟母親講的語言不只一種，那麼哪一種與您說得最多？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
3. (1) 在家的時候，通常您的父母親講哪些語言？（可複選）
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
- (2) 在家的時候，您的父母親講的語言不一樣，哪麼哪一種語言他們說得最多？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
4. (1) 您和現在的鄰居大多講什麼話？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
- (2) 如果您和現在的鄰居講的語言不只一種，哪麼哪一種語言你們說得最多？
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
5. 您以前在家主要使用的語言是
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
6. 您現在在家主要使用的語言是
- 1 閩南語  2 客語  3 華語  4 其他 .....
7. 您平常看閩南語的節目、新聞或者聽閩南語的廣播嗎？
- 1 常常看/聽  2 有時候看/聽  3 不常看/聽
8. 您平常看華語的節目、新聞或者聽華語的廣播嗎？
- 1 常常看/聽  2 有時候看/聽  3 不常看/聽

### 四、語言態度：

1. 想請教您對語言的看法，請你真對下面幾中語言，說出該與是否優美文雅。
- (1) 你覺得我們這裡的閩南語優美文雅。
- 1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意
- (2) 你覺得一般的閩南語優美文雅嗎？
- 1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意
- (3) 你覺得我們這裡的華語優美文雅嗎？
- 1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意
- (4) 你覺得台北的華語優美文雅嗎？
- 1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意
- (5) 有人說：台北華語比我們臺南的華語純正，你同不同意？
- 1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意

(6) 有人說：你講的閩南語很奇怪，您同意這種說法嗎？

1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意

(7) 有人說：你講的華語很奇怪，您同意這種說法嗎？

1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意

(8) 你認為講道地的華語對你重要，所以你會努力改變自己的腔調。

1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意

(9) 你認為講道地的閩南語對你重要，所以你會努力改變自己的腔調。

1 非常同意  2 同意  3 沒意見  4 不同意  5 非常不同意

2. 請您說出您跟家人或親朋好友交談時，使用以下語言感覺親切的程度。

(1) 用閩南語跟家人或親朋好友交談讓你感覺到親切嗎？

1 非常親切  2 親切  3 普通  4 不親切  5 非常不親切

(2) 用華語跟家人或親朋好友交談讓你感覺到親切嗎？

1 非常親切  2 親切  3 普通  4 不親切  5 非常不親切

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# The Emergence and Development of Hong Kong English<sup>1</sup>

Qi Zhang

(University of Newcastle Upon Tyne)

## Abstract

The aim of this paper is to critically review previous studies on Hong Kong English (HKE) and examine the future research focus on this issue. Three historical stages are outlined to evaluate the emergence of HKE: the early era of English in Hong Kong, the late colonial era of HKE, and the post-1997 era of HKE. Two issues emerge from the evaluation of HKE. One is the negative attitude towards HKE, the other is whether English or Cantonese should be the medium of instruction in schools and universities. Although it can be concluded that HKE has already developed into a unique variety in the world, the future research focus could be on language attitude and the medium of instruction.

Keywords: Hong Kong English, Englishes, Cantonese, diglossic, emergence.

## Introduction

Hong Kong attracts a number of sociolinguistic scholars and researchers on the post-war era to the post-colonial period because of its social-historical transition. Even within this territory, there are many debates on the issue of language policy. English, the only official language in the early years of Hong Kong as a British colony, still plays an important role in the domains of politics, the economy, and education. On the other hand, English used in Hong Kong tends to have its own characteristics, which are gradually becoming more and more systematic. Under these circumstances, the existence of a Hong Kong English (HKE) seems to be a concept that will be proved and recognized by degrees. However, there is an anxiety in Hong Kong that the standard of English has probably declined in the last few decades and this situation might become worse because of the change in language policy after the transfer of sovereignty.

This paper examines the language issue in Hong Kong and focuses on how Hong Kong English (HKE) has changed in the last few years, especially pre- and post-1997. Since the territory is such an international area, it is inevitable that it is necessary to consider how other languages, in particular Cantonese and Putonghua, affect the matter of language in Hong Kong. It may be possible to examine the future development of HKE through this analysis.

## 1. The Early Era of English in Hong Kong

Hong Kong was part of China before the Second Opium War. It is located in southern China next to Canton. As Hong Kong belonged to Guangdong Province at that time, it is likely that the development of English in Canton at that time was therefore the same as the early stages of the development of Hong Kong English (HKE). Hong Kong became a British colony after the two Opium Wars and its language development became distinct from mainland China, which eventually became the People's Republic of China.

Bolton (2002) notes that English in China has a long history. Early in the eighteenth century, English was used in Canton (Guangzhou), a key trading area. Between the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this kind of English gradually developed from Canton English, which was spoken as a jargon, to Chinese pidgin English, which was still widely used in the south of China. Later, losing the First (1839–1842) and Second

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary version of this paper was published in ARECLS E-journal.

(1856–1860) Opium Wars forced China to open more and more cities and ports to western countries. The use of English also spread out from that time and the expansion of English contributed to the development of English in China. In addition, mission schools founded in Hong Kong and other places in China played a significant role in increasing the number of English speakers. Since people could now gain access to English through formal education, Hall (1944, cited in Bolton 2002:5) states that Chinese pidgin English began to decline from the 1890s.

The early mission schools were centralized in Hong Kong and Macau (Bolton 2002). It is believed that these schools had a great influence on both the development of Hong Kong English and the education system. *Anglo-Chinese schools*, which originated from the mission schools, are a label for schools in which “English is the declared teaching medium and the printed medium for most textbooks” (Bolton 2002:32). This English-focused educational tradition seems to be an obstacle for the present Hong Kong language policy, which is attempting to make changes. This issue is explored more in a later section.

After Hong Kong was occupied by the British, its language policy was also changed. Tsou (1996) quotes Articles 50 and 51 of the Treaty of Tientsin of 1842 to demonstrate the status of different languages.

Article 50:

All official communications, addressed by the diplomat and Consular Agents of Her Majesty the Queen to the Chinese Authorities, shall, henceforth, be written in English. They will for the present be accompanied by a Chinese version, but it is understood that in the event of there being any difference of meaning between the English and Chinese text the English Government will hold the sense as expressed in the English text to be the correct sense. This provision is to apply to the treaty now negotiated, the Chinese text of which has been carefully corrected by the English original.

Article 51:

It is agreed, henceforward the character “I” (barbarian) shall not be applied to the Government or subjects of Her Britannic Majesty in any Chinese official document issued by the Chinese Authorities, either in the capital or in the provinces.

It is thought that these two Articles illustrate the prestigious status of English and established the diglossic situation in Hong Kong. In a long period of being a British colony, the emphasis on English usage made Chinese, which means Cantonese here, an inferior language in Hong Kong. However, from a different standpoint, this diglossia also provided an opportunity for the development of Hong Kong English.

## 2. Hong Kong English in the Late Colonial Era

### 2.1 The Diglossic Situation in Hong Kong

The late colonial period refers to the time from the mid-1960s to the change of sovereignty. It is believed that this period has played a crucial part in Hong Kong's history, as during this time the economy in the territory thrived. After WWII, Hong Kong was more like a refugee district, accommodating people mainly from Canton and Shanghai (Harrison and So 1996). However, these refugees were from the pre-eminent commercial centres in China, and they brought the capital and labour force to build a wealthier and more successful commercial centre. Other factors, such as a favourable geographical location, were also interwoven to achieve prosperity in Hong Kong (Harrison and So 1996).

The majority of people in Hong Kong speak Cantonese because Hong Kongers were traditionally people from Canton. Gibbon (1987:1) believed that Hong Kong was largely a racially homogeneous city because “98% of the population was Chinese” in 1981 and “88% of the population speaks Cantonese” in the 1979 census. However, Hong Kong is also a multi-ethnic community because of the large number of immigrants, mostly from areas around Canton or Shanghai. Tsou (1996) categorized the Chinese in Hong Kong in five linguistic groups: basic Cantonese speakers, Szeyap speakers, Chiuchow speakers, Hakka speakers, and

out-of-staters. A comparison of data collected in 1996 and 1971 respectively saw that the latter four groups tended to shift their languages to Cantonese (Tsou 1996).

Although English was set to be the dominant language in Hong Kong in the early era of colonialism, the language shift within Chinese and the large number of Cantonese speakers put pressure on language policy in Hong Kong. The Government had to acknowledge the lower status language, namely Cantonese, in 1967, because of the riots that broke out that year. English was still the only official language, whereas Cantonese was widely used in non-official domains (Tsou 1996). Tsou pointed out that this actually revealed “a drive towards an expansion of English use in upper-middle class families.”

The diglossic situation lasted until the approach of 1997. A case study of code switching in the Hong Kong Legislative Council is typical (Yau 1997). The years 1991 to 1995 were a transitional period, during which the code-norm was blurry. Code switching behaviour was inevitable, because a new code-norm was being established. The prestigious status of English was shaky in this pre-handover period and Cantonese seemed to be reinforced. However, English still exerts influences on every domain in Hong Kong, to a large extent.

## 2.2 The Emergence of Hong Kong English (HKE)

The concept of Hong Kong English as an entity probably arises from a tendency of the last two decades to regard world Englishes as different new local varieties. Kachru (1997, cited in Bolton 2005:18) suggested a model *three concentric circles* to categorize these new Englishes: *the inner circle*, such as New Zealand; *the outer circle*, such as the Philippines; and *the extending/ expanding circle*, such as China. His classification depends on whether English is used as a native language (ENL), a second language (ESL), or as a foreign language (EFL). Although the concept of new Englishes may seem to be a challenge to the traditional Eurocentric belief, it indeed provides the basis for an explanation of Englishes emerging and developing in postcolonial areas and countries.

Furthermore, Schneider (2003) proposes a new framework, *the dynamic model*, to examine the emergence of new Englishes. This model expands the notion of ENL, ESL, and EFL into STL (settlers or colonisers) and IDG (indigenous). So English speakers who used to be defined as non-native speakers from *the outer circle* can also be classified as “first-language English speakers” (Schneider 2003). Then he divides the progressive process of the emergence of new Englishes into five stages: foundation, exonormative stabilization (as in Fiji), nativization (as in Hong Kong), endonormative stabilization (as in Singapore), and differentiation (as in Australia and New Zealand). Hong Kong is at the third stage, which shows a new variety of English has appeared and developed to certain degree.

Joseph (1996) evaluated the concept of HKE from the aspect of public anxiety about the decline of the standard of English in Hong Kong. Although the masses have been worried about the deterioration in the standard of English over the last few years, the census result shows that the percentages of English speakers significantly increased from 1983 to 1993 (Table 1).

**Table 1: 1983–1993 Surveys: Language Repertoires**

<b>Question: What Language Can You Speak Now?</b>		
<b>Language Variety</b>	<b>1983 (Chinese Population)</b>	<b>1993 (Whole Population)</b>
Cantonese	98.5%	91.9%
English	43.3%	65.8%
Mandarin (Putonghua)	31.9%	55.6%
Chiu Chau	9.3%	5.2%
Hakka	7.5%	6.0%
Sze Yap	6.3%	3.3%
Fukien	4.2%	4.1%
Shanghainese	4.1%	2.7%
Cantonese Dialects	4.7%	2.5%
Others	3.6%	3.6%

(Cited from Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998)

It is admitted that these data are problematic, as the 1993 census included all people living in Hong Kong. For example, a group of Filipinos counted for more than 1% of the whole population (Joseph 1996). Nevertheless, other survey results argue against the standard of English being in decline.

**Table 2: 1983–1993 Surveys: Knowledge of English**

<b>Question: How Well Do You Know English?</b>		
<b>Response</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>1993</b>
Not at all	33.1%	17.4%
Only a few sentences	23.5%	21.7%
A little	36.2%	27.2%
Quite well	4.8%	26.6%
Well	1.4%	3.3%
Very well	0.4%	3.8%
Not applicable/Missing	0.6%	—

(Cited from Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998)

As shown above in Table 2, the percentages of good English speakers, including the categories of “Quite well,” “Well,” and “Very well,” also dramatically rose from 6.6% in 1983 to 33.7% in 1993. In contrast, the number of “bad” English speakers, comprising the groups of “Only a few sentences” and “A little,” moderately decreased from 59.7% in 1983 to 48.9% in 1993.

The growing number of English speakers with relative proficiency and the unreduced anxiety about the decline in the standard of English were viewed as two sides of the same coin by Joseph (1996). Actually, the fall in the standard of English that the masses expected indicates the emergence of a new variety. Joseph (1996) analysed HKE standardization from three aspects: linguistic form, status, and function.

The first issue that should be assessed is whether HKE has a distinctive linguistic form or not. There are a number of articles stating this viewpoint. Chan (2004) outlines the syntactic problems for Hong Kong students when learning and producing English noun phrases, because of the differentia between English and Chinese (meaning Cantonese here). Hong Kong students seem to encounter the same problems and produce similar mistakes while studying English. According to Gisborne (cited in Bolton 2002:141), the features of HKE relative clauses are also evidence proving the distinctive syntax of HKE. Actually, this influence of

Cantonese on HKE can be seen elsewhere. Hung (cited in Bolton 2002:119) presented the unique phonological features occurring in HKE. Stibbard (2004) echoed and expanded these systematic characteristics of the phonology of HKE, though he also pointed out the negative attitude towards this Hong Kong accent.

Secondly, the status of HKE is unlikely to be publicly approved. As recognized by Stibbard (2004) in his research into the phonology of HKE, Hong Kongers' attitudes towards the HKE accent are negative. Other studies, such as Luk (1998, cited in Stibbard 2004) and Li (1999, cited in Stibbard 2004), also noted that a native accent and standard English are preferred in Hong Kong, whereas Hong Kongers have a very low esteem for HKE. But Joseph (1996) argued that this negative attitude towards HKE is unsurprising, because all other post-colonial countries share the same experience. In other words, a new variety was never well recognized in Singapore or Malaysia. The local recognition of new Englishes may take several years or decades "after the withdrawal of the colonial power" (Joseph 1996). Moreover, Joseph argued that "the initial steps towards the creation of that status are not discernible." The chance of getting into a university in Hong Kong is higher than before since the educational reforms of the 1970s. The English level of university students is thought to be better or even best, although their English is rated by expatriate and foreign-educated teachers as deficient. Joseph (1996) views this phenomenon as a sign that "a local standard is in operation."

Thirdly, it is said that the language status influences and is influenced by the language function (Joseph 1996). In other words, the more domains a language can be used in, the higher its status. Alternatively, a language's status determines what functions it can employ. As stated earlier, the linguistic hegemony of English gradually changed when approaching the end of colonialism. From being the only official language to sharing that status with Cantonese, the future function of HKE is still under discussion. In particular, Hong Kong is not entering a typical post-colonial era and should not be considered analogous to the case in Singapore (Stibbard 2004). However, Joseph (1996) argued that HKE can serve as a token of Hong Kong. After losing its British identity, a simple Chinese identity is unlikely to be a substitution. The unique identity of Hong Kong was realized in the mid 1970s, because of the barrier between Mainland China and Hong Kong during the Cultural Revolution. Cantonese employed in official functions pre-1997 continues the process of identity distinctness. If the non-Mainland identity were suppressed by the promotion of Putonghua over Cantonese, HKE might become a part of Hong Kong's linguistic identity. Chan (2002) defended this viewpoint and suggested that English "serves to distinguish Hong Kong people from Mainland Chinese."

From his analysis of three aspects of HKE standardization, Joseph (1996) concluded that a decline in the standard of English in Hong Kong actually gives space for the emergence of HKE. In addition, Bolton (2002) explained HKE from other criteria proposed by Butler (1997, cited in Bolton 2002:44): accent, vocabulary, history, literary creativity, reference works such as dictionaries, and style guides. Some of those characteristics are more or less included in the previous analysis, whereas the last two points are distinctive. Bolton takes many examples to prove that there are a number of creative works published by Hong Kong writers and some reference works are forthcoming. Notwithstanding this, it is also believed that the future development of HKE largely depends on language policy and Beijing's attitude.

### 3. Hong Kong English Post-1997

Two years before the handover, the Hong Kong government had already attempted to change the language situation by pronouncing a new language policy: to "develop a civil service which is biliterate in English and Chinese and trilingual in English, Cantonese and Putonghua" (Lau 1995, cited in Bolton 2002:35). One of the most important changes was the promotion of Putonghua. Putonghua has served as the official language in Mainland China since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Hence its encouragement can be seen as a sign of decolonialization. However, the long history of English usage and the large number of Cantonese speakers make it difficult to put the policy into practice. The issue of the medium of instruction is a good example for exploring the language problem in post-1997 Hong Kong.

Although there were schools that taught in Chinese in the colonial period, education in English was thought to be dominant. This strengthened the diglossic situation and the high status of English in Hong Kong.

With 1997 approaching, the Hong Kong government decided to change the language status and mother-tongue education was more emphasized. Only 114 of 460 secondary schools continue to use English as the medium of instruction (Bolton 2002). The other 346 secondary schools were forced to change to educating in Chinese, or rather, to be precise, colloquial Cantonese and written traditional Chinese. This prompted a number of debates that defended education in English.

As the most widely used lingua franca in the world, English is overwhelmingly preferred by the majority of parents and students. Besides, English still plays a role in the domain of employment and the media. As Hong Kong people with a good education were chiefly the elite in the colonial era, professional careers mainly employed English. Even the return of Hong Kong to Mainland China did not affect the use of English in professional domains (Evans and Green 2003). An attitude study (Lai 2001) also showed that Hong Kong students hold a very positive view of English for future academic or career development. As a co-official language after the change of sovereignty, Cantonese became superior to English (Lai 2001). Although parents accept the effectiveness of education in Cantonese, they are still worried this may decrease students' level of English. Furthermore, the status of Cantonese is in question from the increasing promotion of Putonghua after the handover.

Putonghua is the national language in the PRC and its use considered to be "a gesture of solidarity and decolonisation" (Lai 1999). Whelpton (1999) pointed out that in future Cantonese may be influenced from two sides. Firstly, Cantonese might be replaced by Putonghua. Secondly, Cantonese might be a case of "language suicide" because of more and more frequent contact with Putonghua. According to statistics (Leung and Wong 1996), the teaching of Putonghua is expanding into nearly all levels of primary and secondary schools.

On the one hand, mother-tongue education represents the post-1997 language policy in Hong Kong. It has tended to change the diglossia into a trilingual situation (Lai and Byram 2003). Namely, it is hoped that people will "speak fluent Cantonese — the home language of the majority of people of Hong Kong, Putonghua — the national language and standard spoken language, and English — the international lingua franca" (Lai and Byram 2003). On the other hand, the issue of educational policy also reveals problems for HKE. It is doubtful whether there is room left for HKE. What is more, Hong Kong is not a typical post-colonial area like Singapore or Fiji, if "typical" means an independent country.

The change of political powers implies favouring a different variety. Although Hong Kong was promised that nothing would change for fifty years after the handover, according to the Basic Law, the promotion of the national language, Putonghua, was inevitable, to remove the colonial taint of Hong Kong and to establish a national identity. Moreover, with more and more frequent contacts with Mainland China in both business and politics, the need for Putonghua is likely to increase. However, the attitude study made by Lai (2001) suggested that "Putonghua will only be learned as a third language in Hong Kong, mainly for its instrumental value," whereas English still plays an important role in many domains. As a result, it is possible to say that HKE will continue its development unless a strong counter-policy is put into practice.

Besides, Bolton (2002) has already explored the existence of HKE according to the criteria proposed by Butler (1997, cited in Pang 2003): accent, vocabulary, a history, literary creativity and reference works. The concept of HKE has been generally accepted in the academic circle. However, it is not fully recognized by the locals or even the local academics. Pang (2003) argues that the existence of a variety needs both *localization* and *indigenization*. *Localization* means a variety has its own characteristics of phonology, syntax, lexis and grammar. Bolton (2002) has already specified this point in detail. By *indigenization*, Pang (2002) refers to "the acceptance by the local community of the existence of a local variety of a language in wide use in day-to-day communication." It seems that Hong Kongers are reluctant to admit that they are using a distinctive variety. If a variety is not accepted in the local community, namely, indigenization, it is unlikely to be seen as a new legitimate variety. As a result, future research can focus on attitude studies of HKE.

Several influential language attitude studies have already been conducted:

- Fu (1975, cited in Bolton 2003): people had a conflicted attitude to English. They recognized the pragmatic benefits of proficiency in English. But they felt uneasy about using the language with Chinese people.

- Pierson et al. (1980): people hold strong loyalty to Chinese cultural identity. They did not mention the term “Hong Kong people” and the community is seen in terms of a “Chinese” versus “western” opposition.
- Pennington and Yue (1994): people did not feel a threat to their ethnolinguistic identity when they were using English. This result strongly refuted the findings of the above studies.
- Lai (2005): English as a marker of Hong Kong identity. This conclusion is supported by the respondents’ positive response to the statement: “As a Hongkonger, I should be able to speak English.” But it also depends on how to interpret the concept of “English” here.

Although the concept of HKE is still not completely recognized, it is admitted that Hong Kong people have already been aware that the English in use now has distinctive characteristics. Besides, the language attitude is always changing according to time. Early studies (Fu 1975, Pierson et al. 1980) stated that Hong Kong people felt non-Chinese when they used English and they did not see themselves as a distinctive group of people. Nevertheless, according to a recent language attitude research (Lai 2005), it seems that the first postcolonial generation in Hong Kong sees English as a marker of Hong Kong identity and people hold a relatively neutral view of English, although this view depends on how to interpret the concept of “English” here.

## Conclusion

Because of the social-historical transition that happened at the end of the last century, Hong Kong has become an attractive place for sociolinguists to analyse how different languages, mainly English, Cantonese, and Putonghua, were and are coping with the new situation before and after 1997. This paper has focused on the development of English in Hong Kong. From an evaluation of three different historical stages and previous studies, it appears that Hong Kong English is gradually being viewed as a new variety. However, there are still two questions remaining to be resolved, and these could be the focus of future research: the status of HKE through the analysis of attitudes towards HKE, and whether English or Cantonese should be the medium of instruction in education.

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