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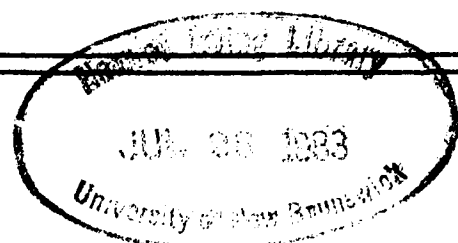
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EMPIRICAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE VERB-PARTICLE CONSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH¹

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1. Introduction. It is well-known that English contains what has come to be called the 'verb-particle' construction (Fraser 1976), in which the particle may be positioned immediately after the verb or it may be separated from the verb by a NP, as in (1) and (2):

- (1) a. The janitor threw out the rickety and badly scratched chair.
- b. The janitor threw the rickety and badly scratched chair out.
- (2) a. The janitor wanted to throw out the rickety and badly scratched chair.
- b. The janitor wanted to throw the rickety and badly scratched chair out.

It has been frequently noted that certain structures, unlike those in (1) and (2), either require or forbid positioning of the particle away from its verb. For example, if the direct object NP is a pronoun, the particle must be positioned after the pronoun, as in (3), but if the sentence is a passive, the particle must remain with its verb as in (4).

- (3) a. Sam gave it away.
- b. *Sam gave away it.
- (4) a. The trash was taken out by Sam.
- b. *The trash was taken by Sam out.

Considerable attention has been focused on the defining characteristics of the verb-particle ('V-PRT') structures in order to differentiate them from those structures which also contain a verb followed by what appears to be a preposition, as in (5).

- (5) a. He turned up the driveway.
- b. He looked at a new shirt.

In cases such as (5), the preposition cannot 'move' to a post-object position. Bolinger (1971), in his discussion of 'phrasal verbs,' offered several syntactic tests for membership in the true verb-particle class, including the following:

- (6) a. The verb-particle combination is replaceable by a single verb (e.g., 'throw away' = 'discard').
- b. If transitive, the combination should passivize (e.g.,

THE DISTANCE HYPOTHESIS. The acceptability of a sentence containing a verb and particle decreases as the number of words separating the verb and particle increases.

It would appear, however, that while distance can be measured in terms of the number of words separating the verb and its particle, the organization of the intervening words might also contribute to the relative naturalness of the sentence. If we consider the sentences in (9), we notice that the distance between the verb and particle is constant, and accordingly the Distance Hypothesis would predict that all three would be equally acceptable.

- (9) a. The janitor threw the chair with a badly broken leg away.
 b. The janitor threw the chair which had a broken leg away.
 c. The janitor threw the rickety and badly marred up chair away.

These examples suggest that more than just the number of words between the verb and particle contribute to the relative acceptability of verb-particle sentences. In particular, the structure of the intervening material seems crucial. This observation suggests a further hypothesis, namely:

THE COMPLEXITY HYPOTHESIS. The more structurally complex the material intervening between a verb and its particle, the less acceptable and natural the sentence will be.

Most writers discussing the problem of particle placement after a 'heavy' NP have focused on the length of the sequence intervening between verb and particle and have devoted relatively little attention to the intervening structural complexity. Bolinger (1971), for example, offered little more than that a particle might equally well appear before or after a relative clause. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the intervening structural complexity is an important issue.

2.0 The Experiment. In order to determine which of the three hypotheses best accounts for the verb-particle placement, an experiment was conducted in which subjects were instructed to make overt acceptability judgements on verb-particle sentences. To this point, sentences representing the following structures have been examined:

Type Ia.	NP V PRT NP (cf. 1a)
Type Ib.	NP V NP PRT (1b)
Type IIa.	NP V to V PRT NP (2a)
Type IIb.	NP V to V NP PRT (2b)
Type IIIa.	NP V PRT NP PP (7a)
Type IIIb.	NP V NP PRT PP (7b)
Type IIIc.	NP V NP PP PRT (7c)
Type IVa.	NP V PRT NP RC (8a)
Type IVb.	NP V NP PRT RC (8b)
Type IVc.	NP V NP RC PRT (8c)

Type I contains only a direct object NP, with the particle positioned either before or after the object, while Type II is just like the first except for the fact that the verb-particle structure is within an infinitive. Type III contains a direct object NP plus a PP, and the three sub-types are defined in terms of the particle placement. Type IV contains a direct object NP plus a relative clause, with particle placement again determining the three sub-types.

The Free Position Hypothesis would claim that within any Type, any of the options should be equally acceptable. The Distance Hypothesis predicts that Type Ia should be more acceptable than Ib, and IIa more acceptable than IIb. Moreover if the lengths of PPs and RCs are held constant, it predicts that IIIa and IVa should be equally acceptable, as should IIb and IVb, and IIc and IVc. Finally, the Complexity Hypothesis makes the same predictions as the Distance Hypothesis, except that IIc should be more acceptable than IVc, since a PP has less structural complexity than a relative clause. These predictions are represented in Table 1. The empirical question is simply: Which one, if any, is correct?

Table 1. Acceptability Predictions

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Predicted Relative Naturalness</u>
Free Position	Ia=Ib; IIa=IIb; IIIa=IIIb=IIIC; IVa=IVb=IVc
Distance	Ia>Ib; IIa>IIb; IIIa, IVa>IIIb, IVb>IIIC, IVc
Complexity	Ia>Ib; IIa>IIb; IIIa, IVa>IIIb, IVb>IIIC>IVc

'>' = 'is relatively more acceptable and natural than'

2.1 Method. Sixty-four grade twelve students from an Edmonton school participated in the experiment. The subjects, who were either 17 or 18 years of age, consisted of 26 males and 38 females. Thirty-one were enrolled in an English matriculation course while 33 were in a non-matriculation equivalent. All but six indicated that they were native speakers of English.

All the verb-particle constructions included in the experiment were of the 'moveable' variety, with a major portion being selected from Fraser's (1976) representative listing of frequently encountered verb-particle combinations. Three separate lists of stimuli were constructed. The first list (List A), with stimuli corresponding to the structures of Type I, contained eight distinct sentences, with four replicates of Type Ia and four of Type Ib. Half of the stimuli had definite

direct objects and half had indefinite direct objects yielding two stimuli of Type Ia with definite direct objects and two with indefinite direct objects, and similarly for Type Ib. Since simple sentences of Type I are fairly innocuous, a second list (List B) of eight Type II sentences was constructed in which the verb-particle construction appeared in an infinitive form, such as in sentences (2a, b). Here again the definiteness of the direct object NPs was controlled.

The third list (List C) consisted of simple sentences of Types III and IV, with four instances of each subtype. Again, the definiteness of direct objects was controlled, so that there were two definite and two indefinite direct objects for each of the six subtypes, yielding a list of 24 stimuli. The length of PPs and RCs was controlled and ranged from four to five words. In all three lists, the subject NPs were either definite or proper nouns, and verbs were all in the third person past tense form.

Definiteness in the direct object NPs was controlled, since it seems intuitively that some decrease in acceptability obtains when the direct object is indefinite, regardless of particle position. This intuitive judgement was therefore subjected to empirical test.

The stimulus sentences in each list were randomized and were presented in written form. Beside each sentence was a nine-point acceptability scale. Subjects were instructed first to read through the first list and find the most natural and acceptable sentence. This sentence was assigned a value of '9,' the most natural end of the scale. Subjects then reread the list and found the least natural sounding sentence. This was assigned a value of '1.' By scanning the list twice and isolating the most and least natural sentences, each subject anchored his nine-point acceptability scale. He then ranked each of the remaining sentences on that list on the scale from 1 to 9 inclusive, with the relatively more natural sentences being assigned the higher numbers and the less natural ones lower numbers. When subjects had completed the first list, they then went to the second one and again anchored the scale and then rated each sentence. Finally, they went to the third list, anchored it in the same manner, and rated each sentence.

2.2 Results. The 40 sentences evaluated by each subject were first reordered according to pattern type. The raw scores were then standardized to a scale with a common mean of 5 and a standard deviation of 2 for all subjects (Ferguson 1976). Since the original subject pool consisted of both matriculation and non-matriculation students, with six students having identified themselves as non-native speakers, it was deemed crucial to determine whether or not there might be several subgroups of subjects representing more than one population. Consequently a hierarchical clustering analysis (Johnson 1967) was carried out on the subjects' scores, but this analysis revealed that only one population was represented, at least in terms of their behaviour in this particular task.

An analysis of variance was performed on the standardized scores to investigate the effects of sentence type and definiteness and the possible interactions between these two factors. The experimental design was a two-way analysis of variance with repeated measures and replications. All ten syntactic types were included in the same analysis, with each type (T) represented by four replicates (R), two with definite direct object NPs and two with indefinite direct objects. The results of the analysis of variance are represented in Table 2.

Table 2. Analysis of Variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F</u>
Type	9	237.49	98.06**
Definiteness	1	15.63	7.58*
T x D	9	48.77	20.14**
Replicates	1	1.50	0.54
Subjects	63	0.41	
T x S	567	2.42	
D x S	63	2.06	
T x D x S	567	2.42	
Residual	1279	3.16	

'***' = $p < .001$ '*' = $p < .01$

Sentence type and definiteness were both significant, as was the interaction ($p < .001$). The Type by Definiteness interaction was quite unexpected. From a graph of the interaction it was found that the general tendency is for definite direct objects to be preferred over indefinites. The only three exceptions to this tendency, and those therefore accounting for the interaction, are Types IIa (to-V-PRT-NP), IIb (V-NP-PRT-PP), and IVb (V-NP-PRT-RC). An examination of the mean scores of each of the sentences for these sets revealed that in each case, one of the definite direct object replicate sentences had an abnormally low score. The three aberrant replicates were:

- (10) a. The warden found it easy to draw in the hiking trails.
(Type IIa)
- b. The Donaldsons took their new car back with faulty tires.
(Type IIb)
- c. Mother did the bedroom over that the baby is to occupy.
(Type IVb)

It is clear that the first two of these sentences are ambiguous, and it is entirely possible that subjects were giving these tokens low acceptability ratings because of the ambiguity, a factor which did not appear in the other replicates. Item (10c) is quite an awkward sentence and while perhaps not ambiguous, it still invites an interpretation in which the relative clause headed by that is somehow syntactically parsed as the object of the preposition over, analogous to (10d):

(10) d. Mother did the bedroom over that big porch.

Whatever the precise reason for the low acceptability of (10c), however, the fact remains that the interaction of Type by Definiteness is attributable to precisely three replicates in the stimuli, and accordingly, one is tempted to conclude that the interaction is a product of those replicates and not of the syntactic property of definiteness in general. In what follows, we will assume this to be the case and proceed under the assumption that the tendency for definite object NPs to be preferred is a general one.

In order to assess the predictions of each of the hypotheses against the data, planned comparisons were carried out using the means for each type. The following results obtained.

1. Those types in which the particle was placed immediately after the verb were judged significantly more natural and acceptable than those in which the particle was displaced from the verb ($F(9,255)=547.48$, $P < .01$). This result clearly refutes the Free Position Hypothesis.

2. Within the six types with the particle displaced from the verb, Type IVc, which has the particle placed after a relative clause, was judged significantly less acceptable than the other five types ($F(5,255)=82.54$, $p < .01$).

3. Within the five types with the particle displaced from the verb, but excluding Type IVc, structures with the particle immediately after the direct object but before a postnominal modifier were judged significantly more acceptable than those with no postnominal modifier and also more natural than Type IIc, which had the particle positioned after a final PP ($F(4,255)=107.51$, $p < .01$). Another way of stating this result is that among the structures with a displaced particle, the ones with a final particle were less natural than those in which the particle was not final, suggesting the possibility of a prescriptivist strategy of 'avoiding a final preposition.'

Since the experiment was conducted in terms of four distinct types of sentences, it is useful to represent the results of the planned comparisons in terms of each type. These general results are represented in Table 3, from which conclusions can be drawn as to the hypotheses being tested.

Table 3. Experimental Results

<u>Type</u>	<u>Results</u>
I	Ia > Ib
II	IIa > IIb
III	IIIa > IIIb > IIIc
IV	IVa > IVb > IVc
IIIC, IVc	IIIC > IVc

'>' = 'is significantly more acceptable than'

3. Discussion and Conclusion. The results clearly indicate that the Free Position Hypothesis is refuted. This result is quite in accord with the intuitions of the scholars cited above. It is probably safe to say that few, if any, linguists would argue in support of free position for the particle, although when the distinction between grammaticality and acceptability is not carefully drawn, one can be easily led into concluding that some formally defined notion of grammaticality must be equated with native speaker intuitions as to acceptability and naturalness.

As pointed out above, the only place in the structures under consideration here where the Distance and Complexity hypotheses make different predictions is in terms of Types IIIC versus IVc. So long as the PP and RC lengths are held constant, Distance predicts no difference, while Complexity predicts that IVc should be less acceptable than IIIC. It is clear from the results that the simple distance, as measured in number of words, is not the determining factor. In this crucial case, Distance is refuted and Complexity is supported.

In summary, the results of the experiment indicate that the syntactic property most relevant to the determination of subjects' acceptability judgements on the verb-particle sentences is one of the intervening syntactic complexity between the verb and particle, although it must be borne in mind that this result is based on a forced differentiation among sentence types which differ in relative acceptability. Accordingly, care must be taken not to generalize the result too freely, and especially not to cases in which judgements are based on free judgements, without supporting empirical evidence.

At this point, two major questions remain to be addressed. The first is simply: Why should the structural complexity of material intervening between the verb and its associated particle have any bearing on relative acceptability? The second is: Why should definite direct

object NPs tend to be preferred over indefinite ones?

Answers to these questions appear to lie beyond the specific syntactic properties of English, and indeed beyond the specific hypotheses evaluated above. Tentative answers can be found in the kinds of discourse and processing strategies (Clark and Clark 1977) that speakers employ in language comprehension and production. In particular, an answer to the first question can be found in the very general 'Anti-Interruption' strategy suggested by Bever (1970) and formulated by Slobin (1973) and Sheldon (1977). This strategy simply states that any unit (clause, phrase, etc.) which is internally interrupted is more difficult to process, and thereby less acceptable, than a similar unit which is not interrupted. More generally, the Anti-Interruption strategy seems to be a special case of a Closure strategy (cf. Bever 1970; Prideaux and Baker 1982), which states that while processing a particular unit, the hearer attempts to obtain closure on that unit as soon as possible. Such a strategy is useful in explaining, for example, why extraposed clauses are intuitively more acceptable than non-extraposed ones, as in (11):

- (11) a. That for John to win the race is easy is obvious.
 b. It is obvious that it is easy for John to win the race.

The Closure strategy is likely also the reason that sentences with center-embedded relative clauses are generally less frequent and are judged less acceptable than those with final relative clauses (cf. Prideaux 1980; in press). Clearly, if the interrupting material is itself relatively highly structured, as a relative clause must be, the hearer has more processing to carry out than if the interrupting material is less highly structured, as in a simple prepositional phrase. Accordingly, it would appear that the Complexity hypothesis is not itself the final determining factor in the verb-particle structures, but rather is a result of a more general cognitive processing strategy.

The answer to the second question, dealing with subjects' preference for definite over indefinite direct objects may also lie in a general processing strategy associated with the often observed tendency for old or given information to be associated with definite NPs and new information with indefinite NPs (cf. Givon 1979). In particular, it appears that for sentences within a discourse and having a linguistic context, English exhibits a strong tendency for subject NPs to be definite and given, while this is less the case for direct object NPs. However, when sentences are presented in isolation there is no context, and consequently subjects are expected, and naturally tend, to imbue the sentences with meaning. This suggests that they must create a context, perhaps quite unconsciously, in which the sentence is meaningful. Yet since the sentence contains NPs, and the sentence is the focus of attention, it is quite natural to assume that the NPs in the sentence are given rather than new information. Indeed, it is plausible to speculate that for sentences in isolation, definite NPs are in general preferred

over indefinite ones for this very reason. In fact, there is empirical evidence in support of this speculation. Prideaux and Baker (1982) found that for sentences containing relative clauses in a variety of positions, and with subject and direct object NPs varied systematically according to definiteness, those sentences with definite subject and direct object NPs were preferred over all other combinations.

In conclusion, it appears that the Closure and Given-New strategies underlie the results reported here. It is important to recognize, along with Clark and Haviland (1974), that purely syntactic factors alone do not serve to explain psycholinguistic results, but rather that such factors arise from more general cognitive aspects of the human mind. It is in that domain where explanatory principles and factors must be searched out.

NOTES

1. This article is based in part on the first author's M.Sc. thesis (Hunter 1981). We are grateful for the comments and clarifications suggested by our associates at the University of Alberta as well as for the very useful suggestions of an anonymous JAPLA referee. All errors are our own.
2. Fraser (1976) noted that since idiomatic transitive verb-particle combinations exhibit different possibilities of particle placement, each can be characterized according to a 'Frozenness Hierarchy' such that idioms can range from those which permit no 'distortion' to those allowing a full range of particle placements.

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WATSON KIRKCONNELL'S METHODOLOGY

OF VERSE TRANSLATION

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Watson Kirkconnell, whose phenomenal linguistic ability became a legend during his lifetime -- he published translations from more than fifty languages -- was born in Port Hope, Ontario, on 16 May 1895, the third of five children born to Thomas Kirkconnell, the headmaster of the local high school, and his wife, the former Bertha Watson. Although he was a frail child whose formal schooling began at age seven, Watson Kirkconnell was a remarkable student who, having entered Queen's University when he was eighteen, graduated with an honours degree in Greek and Latin and the Medal in both subjects.

After three years' army service Kirkconnell began studies at the Toronto Conservatory of Music, but the indifferent health which had prevented his being drafted for overseas service, plus persistent pleurisy, made it plain that he could never become a professional singer, although to the end of his life he maintained an informed love of music of many kinds, all the way from operatic skits to oratorio and grand opera.

In 1921 Kirkconnell became the first Ontario IODE Scholar and went to Lincoln College, Oxford, not to read "Greats" as his classical background would have suggested, but to take a B.Litt in Economics, on the assumption that it would open the way to a career in journalism. The year at Oxford was an important one during which he cycled around the neighbouring villages, steeped himself in the history and tradition of the ancient city, participated in debates at the Union, and completed a worthwhile thesis later published and acclaimed under the title International Aspects of Unemployment.

In September 1922 Kirkconnell began his long career as a university teacher with an appointment as a lecturer in English at Wesley College, Winnipeg, which subsequently became United College, and eventually formed the basis of the University of Winnipeg. The first few years at Wesley College may well hold the key to the later direction and intensity of Kirkconnell's life. In July 1925 his personal and domestic well-being was shattered by the death of his wife, the former Isabel Peel, after less than a year of marriage. She died giving birth to twin boys and in his search for solace from the grief which threatened to overwhelm him, Kirkconnell immersed himself in the elegiac verse of all Europe.

The search for peace became also a formidable academic project as Kirkconnell determined to read the elegies in their original languages, translate them into English verse, and publish them as a tribute to his late wife. In less than two years he had completed the translations which presupposed familiarity with no less than fifty languages and

dialects. This statement sounds like fiction, or at the least understandable exaggeration, but the published evidence is available to convince even the most cynical. No modern reader could be more hesitant than were Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, the publishers of International Aspects of Unemployment, whose reply to Kirkconnell's enquiry as to whether they were interested in publishing the elegies is worth quoting in full:¹

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter of April 3rd [1926] and enclosures. While we shall be very willing to consider the complete MS of your "European Book of Elegy" when ready, we very much doubt whether we shall see our way to make a proposal for its publication.

As you ask for our "candid advice," we will say quite frankly that we think you have undertaken too big a task. We do not believe that there is any living man so intimately acquainted with forty different European languages, past and present, as to be able to translate poems from these languages.

Yours faithfully,

Kirkconnell's response was swift and typical. He sent a selection of his translations to the leading scholars in each field. For example, the Slavonic group was sent to Professor Nevill Forbes of Oxford, while the material from the Romance group was sent to Professor Raymond Weeks of Columbia University. Without exception the comments of the experts were both favourable and commendatory, but even so, the road to publication was still a rough one.

On 23 May 1927 a representative for Curtis Brown Ltd., another British publishing agency, wrote to Kirkconnell to summarize the critical opinion expressed about European Elegies by the literary editor of Dents (a British publisher). The editor's comments read in part as follows:

. . . it is almost impossible to make translated poetry pay its way, even when splendidly reviewed. I am sorry it cannot be done for it is a perfectly amazing one-man feat. The translations are real poetry; not only that, but I can see from the languages I have studied that they are really accurate translations. I hope very much that someone will publish it.²

Eventually a publisher was found who was willing to take the risk; this was the Graphic Publishers of Ottawa, a press which prided itself on dealing with "Canadian books of consequence."

In 1928 European Elegies duly appeared. The original intention of printing both the original and the translation of each poem proved not to be feasible, but the volume includes notes on the poets whose work is represented, and a comprehensive essay on the whole exercise of verse translation.

Critical response to the book was positive and Kirkconnell was quickly recognized as a man of outstanding talents, already highly disciplined, and endowed with a prodigious capacity for work. The Montreal Standard on 18 August 1928 began a review of the work with the comment:

No more remarkable book than Professor Watson Kirkconnell's "European Elegies" (The Graphic Publishers) has ever appeared in Canada.

An Icelandic review of European Elegies, published in Reykjavik, stated:

One thing is certain, since Tennyson achieved "In Memoriam," this book is the most glorious wreath that any man has laid at the grave of the beloved dead.³

The Evening Tribune published in Winnipeg on 8 December 1928 reviewed the work and concluded with the following statement:

The translations themselves succeed in communicating genuine emotional power, and at times achieve a beauty of expression which will probably give them rank as English poetry.⁴

Among the Kirkconnell Papers, now systematically becoming available to researchers at Acadia University, is a file containing scores of personal letters from dozens of different countries expressing appreciation for the scope and quality of European Elegies. On only one letter of this pentecostal collection did Kirkconnell need to use a dictionary and provide an interlinear translation. Each letter was acknowledged and the date of the acknowledgement carefully recorded. Occasionally Kirkconnell permitted himself a gratuitous comment; he wrote firmly across the top of one communication, "Maddening in its illegibility!"

In view of the profound emotion and incredible industry represented by European Elegies, one would like to be able to conclude the story by saying that the translator's labours were as well rewarded in royalties as literary accolades. However, such was not the case; the Graphic Publishers became bankrupt and a letter from the accountant responsible for winding up the estate acknowledges that Kirkconnell should have received \$744 but, in fact, enclosed a cheque for \$2.05.

By 1933 Kirkconnell had risen to the rank of Professor and had become Head of the Department of Classics. He remarried in 1930 and the next decade saw his ever-increasing mastery of European languages and

their poetic literature. In addition to the formal study of language and literature, he made another highly significant contribution. He dredged from old newspaper files the literary deposits of the waves of post-war European immigrants whose experiences had been recorded in their own languages in a variety of western publications, many of them short-lived. His own self-evaluative comment, made in 1967, may well be justified:

Perhaps the one thing for which I shall be remembered a century hence will be that singlehanded I discovered, surveyed and recorded in Canada's cultural Registry of Deeds this diverse collectivity of literary achievement, revealing as it does a major factor in the life of the New World.⁵

From 1940 to 1948 Kirkconnell served as Professor of English and Head of the Department at McMaster University, and from 1948 to 1964 was President of Acadia University. After retirement he continued to write and at the time of his death in 1977 was engaged on a major project with Mlle. Jeannine Bélanger, to translate the Book of Psalms into a diglott verse rendering in English and French.⁶ Throughout his long life he had produced a steady stream of verse translations. He had become, without any question, the foremost Canadian scholar at work in this demanding field. It is therefore appropriate that some attempt be made to identify the methodology he employed and to summarize his own published opinions concerning the science and art of verse translation. However, before embarking on this task, it is necessary to consider the difficulty of translation in general and then to describe the fundamental problem which faces anyone who attempts to translate verse.

* * *

There is an Italian proverb "Traduttore traditore" -- "The translator is a traitor" -- which is sufficiently admonitory to deter all except the most scholarly and the most foolhardy from attempting to render sentiments expressed in one language into another. This is not because it is particularly difficult to find a word in one language to match a word in another language (although even at this simple level there are serious hazards) but because languages differ widely in idiom, tradition, imagery and symbol.

These thoughts are being brought home to us because of the irony of a situation in which the very age which may be labelled "the age of communication" is also the same period in which the most potentially destructive conflicts separate one language group from another.

In April 1977, George Steiner, in the course of two BBC lectures on world languages, made the following observation:

The quarrels among human beings, the bitter nationalist hatreds, seem to be rooted in the fact that men and women simply

do not understand one another, or do not wish to, or do not have a way to.⁷

Steiner had made a similar point in his first lecture, observing that:

Some of the bitterest, least negotiable conflicts in the world today are those which set language community against language community.⁸

The lecture concluded with this paragraph:

The myth of Babel is a tragic one, because men have felt profoundly handicapped, baffled or threatened by the thousandfold splintering of human tongues. This is the world after Babel. Can anything be done about it? Ought anything to be done about it?⁹

The answer to both questions is "yes" and every day an army of translators attempts to "nullify the curse of Babel" as Douglas Bush once expressed it.¹⁰

But the task of making a good translation is a complex and exacting one. Steiner's profound work, After Babel, includes a long chapter entitled "The Hermeneutic Motion" in which he identifies and discusses some of the fundamental requirements of translation.¹¹ His definition of a bad translation is simple enough. It is "one which is inadequate to its source-text"¹² because of haste, ignorance, paraphrasing to avoid difficulties, smoothing to avoid offence, or imperfect knowledge of the receptor language. Conversely the successful translation is one in which the original has gained as much as it has lost,¹³ and there is a bond of adequacy between text and text.¹⁴

In order to throw some light on the methodologies currently being used by the majority of professional translators, it may be helpful to refer briefly to the work of classical experts and more extensively to the labours of biblical scholars.

As regards the classics, a major programme of translations into English from many languages has been developed in the Penguin Classics series, begun by the founder-editor, E. V. Rieu, in 1944. The various volumes usually include as part of the introduction some explanatory comments on the methodology of translation employed in the work itself. For example, Rieu himself in commenting on a previous translation of The Odyssey says of one of the sentences:

That is a tolerably close translation, but quite apart from the fact that the modern reader can scarcely get at the meaning without re-translating the sentence, it cannot fail to suggest to him that Homer must have sounded uncommonly turgid to his original audience.¹⁵

By contrast, Rieu speaks of his own method of translation in the following terms:

In the very attempt to preserve some semblance of the original effect, I have often found it necessary -- in fact my duty as a translator -- to abandon, or rather to transform, the idiom and syntax of the Greek. Too faithful a rendering defeats its own purpose; and if we put Homer straight into English words, neither meaning nor manner survives.¹⁶

A more extended statement of a similar approach is found in the introduction to The Oresteian Trilogy translated by Philip Vellacott:

I have tried . . . to concentrate on fullness of meaning, interpretation, and suitability for performance; not attempting to represent either the peculiarities of Greek poetic diction or the highly individual style of Aeschylus, but hoping for a direct, unconditional impact. Nor have I attempted to reproduce any Greek rhythms or metrical patterns. Most of these belong essentially to an inflexional language and change their character when adapted to English.¹⁷

Biblical translators are among the most skilled and meticulous of those who practise the art. This is not surprising since some part of the Bible is now available to about 97 per cent of the world's peoples in their own language. In this area the shift in methodology which has taken place during the twentieth century is clearly marked. In his introduction to the New Testament in the New English Bible, C. H. Dodd, himself a translator of no mean ability, wrote:

The older translators, on the whole, considered that fidelity to the original demanded that they should reproduce, as far as possible, characteristic features of the language in which it was written, such as the syntactical order of words . . . The present translators were enjoined to replace Greek constructions and idioms by those of contemporary English.

This meant a different theory and practice of translation, and one which laid a heavier burden on the translators. Fidelity in translation was not to mean keeping the general framework of the original intact while replacing Greek words by English words more or less equivalent . . .

We have conceived our task to be that of understanding the original as precisely as we could (using all available aids) and then saying again in our own native idiom what we believed the author to be saying in his.¹⁸

In writing this, Dodd must have been thinking of the eighteenth and nineteenth century "older" translators, whose reverence for the biblical

text often prompted them to do things they would not have done with non-biblical material. If we examine the principles enunciated by Etienne Dolet in 1540, we find that he admired and advocated a methodology not unlike that described by Dodd. It may well be that Dolet was the first western scholar to formulate a complete theory of translation. His principles are:

1. The translator must understand perfectly the content and intention of the author whom he is translating.
2. The translator should have a perfect knowledge of the language from which he is translating and an equally excellent knowledge of the language into which he is translating.
3. The translator should avoid the tendency to translate word for word, for to do so is to destroy the meaning of the original and to ruin the beauty of the expression.
4. The translator should employ the forms of speech in common usage.
5. Through his choice and order of words, the translator should produce a total overall effect with appropriate tone.¹⁹

Obviously it has long been recognized that, even when the original is a straightforward piece of prose, the task of the translator is not an easy one and requires many more tools than a dictionary and a phrase book. However, if the original is verse, then the challenges are much greater and the pitfalls more dangerous.

* * *

The main difficulty in verse translation is that to translate accurately will not result in a poem, while to reproduce the poetic form of the original will almost certainly not result in a good translation.

In a delightful essay, "The Poetic Nuance," Dudley Fitts recounts his experience in editing a translation of a collection of Latin-American verse. The method employed was "line for line and sometimes word for word" but inevitably the result was not verse and hence posed the question of how far, if at all, the exercise could properly be called verse translation. "In some respects it was, I must admit, a theory of despair." The very items which made the original a poem -- "nuances of diction, of sound, of tone," could not be reflected by the methodology which was being employed.²⁰

Perhaps this is another way of saying that what characterizes poetic literature is that the work as a whole conveys more than the aggre-

gate meaning of the words employed. This view seems to be shared by Bohuslav Ileš in his chapter entitled "On Translating Images" in J. S. Holmes' book, The Nature of Translation,²¹ when he states:

The language of poetry is a highly complicated sign structure, and the complex structure of a poem enables it to communicate more information than a non-poetic text can provide.²²

When Jackson Matthews set out to record his "Third Thoughts on Translating Poetry," he did so in a memorable opening sentence:

One thing seems clear: to translate a poem whole is to compose another poem. A whole translation will be faithful to the matter and it will approximate the form of the original; and it will have a life of its own, which is the voice of the translator. The difference from original work lies mainly in the restriction of working upon matter that is already composed.²³

Verse translation, however difficult, is not impossible. As Fitts comments:

Yet everyone also knows, paradoxically enough, that there are translations of poetry that do not betray the original, and that some of these may even be improvements upon the original.²⁴

The truth of this statement is illustrated by the formative influence of translations in the story of European poetry. Models created in one country have been translated, transposed, and transferred by poets in another. From Chaucer's version of the Romance of the Rose to Pound's translations from originals as distinct as Anglo-Saxon and Chinese, English poetry has been enriched and English poets have discovered new models through the inspiration of poetry in other languages and its English translations.

So the endeavour must go on if only because Burnshaw's comment is profoundly true that "verse translation has given us almost all we know of the poets of the rest of the world."²⁵

With these general thoughts in mind, we may turn to the methodology employed by Watson Kirkconnell who, by 1967, had published almost 4,000 pages of verse translation. He discusses his approach in a number of places but chiefly in the introduction to European Elegies.²⁶ An extended presentation may be found in chapter 6 of Kirkconnell's autobiography, A Slice of Canada.²⁷

The introduction to European Elegies²⁸ contains a very thoughtful essay on verse translation expressed in non-technical terms. In it Kirkconnell first discusses the nature of an original poem, commenting

that "a poet does not describe objective reality but his experience of it, rational and emotional."²⁹ He observes that the key features in any poem are "music and imagination -- what we may call the means of incantation and the means of evocation." Incantation is deemed to consist of rhythm and certain auditory devices such as rhyme and vowel schemes; the evocation consists of the symbols supplied by the poet's imagination. Kirkconnell argues that by these two means the poet expresses his experience of reality and through these means communicates that experience to his readers.

All of this poses the crucial question:

. . . Whether it is possible to take a work of art thus created and so re-express it in another language that neither the music, the meaning, the imagination, nor the emotional communication of experience is impaired in the process. Or to phrase it another way, are there any inherent limitations to verse translation?³⁰

As regards the incantation aspect of a poem, Kirkconnell observes that translation into English is extremely difficult because of "its wretched poverty in rhymes." The syllabic laconicism of the language also means that the average translation will have in it far fewer syllables than the original, resulting either in shorter lines or a considerable amount of artificial extension.

As regards the evocational aspect of the poem, Kirkconnell suggests that the translator is likely to be successful when his experience approximates that of the original poet. He goes on:

One might therefore suggest that if, by a slight change, the translator can flood the poem with his own emotional experience, giving it a transfusion of his own feeling, he will be more likely to produce verses that at once represent the original and at the same time have life as poetry.³¹

The translation of Goethe's "Ein Gleiches," quoted later in this article, provides good examples of the "slight changes" by which Kirkconnell infuses the original with his own emotional experience.

Earlier in the book, in the course of the preface, Kirkconnell speaks of his own experience in attempting to translate European elegies. He says:

In some cases I have found that when I had reincarnated poems in English verse, life beat so feebly in their veins that their only hope of survival lay in a transfusion of my own blood; and I have felt no scruples in granting them this if it could make them live.³²

It is interesting to read his own approach to the task of translating:

My method of translation is comparatively simple. First choosing some poem that had moved me in the original, I keep that original before me, mumbling it aloud and brooding over it until I have saturated my mind with its emotion. Then I endeavour to reproduce its form and spirit in English as accurately as possible, reserving only the conviction that a literal translation is inherently criminal and that any verse rendering which sacrifices beauty to philology is a blasphemous offence in its very existence.³³

It should not be assumed that Kirkconnell was prepared to infuse his own emotional experience into a translation at the expense of the original meaning of a poem. In the course of a substantial chapter on "Verse Translation" in his autobiography, A Slice of Canada, he formally parts company with the current style of verse translation as practised by Ezra Pound, recognizing that it produces new poems of considerable merit but so far removed from the original as not to be properly described as translations. He questions Pound's knowledge of foreign languages other than Italian, and, citing a translation made by Pound from Sophocles, observes:

In such alleged translations, any resemblance to the actual words of the original is purely accidental.³⁴

Kirkconnell quotes with approval the chief aims of verse translation as enunciated in 1790 to the Royal Society of Edinburgh by Alexander Tytler in a paper entitled "Essay on the Principles of Translation." These are not to omit any part of the original; to reproduce the style and manner of the original; to ensure that the translation has all the ease of original poetry.³⁵

In fairness to Pound, it must be acknowledged that Kirkconnell's judgment may have been somewhat harsh or perhaps a little hasty. What may have appeared to Kirkconnell as irresponsibility in Pound's methodology is identified by other critics as boldness and insight. For example, Hugh Kenner in his introduction to Ezra Pound: Translations, states:

Other translators of Anglo-Saxon have been content to take the English language as they found it, or to teutonize from word to word without quite knowing what was happening; only Pound has had both the boldness and resource to make a new form, similar in effect to that of the original, which permanently extends the bounds of English verse. Other poets after him have used these schemes of assonance and alliteration; it was Pound who build them their speech.³⁶

Several reviewers of European Elegies commented that the quality of the translations was such that they might well have been original poems. In closing this article, we shall refer to a few of the elegies; this brief selection may indicate the truth of that claim and also illustrate why Kirkconnell's own emotional experience could be so easily linked to that portrayed in the original poems. The modern Greek elegy, "My Tragic Muse," is one of the most powerful translations:

Alas, your lovely fingers touched
A tragic lyre:
To veil your sad lament in verse
My lines aspire.

There in faint quaverings of fear
Your low voice grieves,
Like a night wind through withered flowers
And fallen leaves;

Until in darkness side by side
Once more we sleep,
And whisper to each other still,
And mutely weep.

A poem in Czech by Josef Kalal and given the title, "Written in a New Cemetery," was quoted by several reviewers as an outstanding rendering:

A little fenced-in field of fine-clipt grass,
A carven cross as sacred sentinel
Amid new willows: a new plot, alas,
Planned all too well.

So is it, and shall be, while year by year
The round earth sees in soil fresh hollows made
In season by the farmer's plough, and here
The sexton's spade.

As an example of an unusual structure, we may quote the translation "A Night in May" from the Russian of Afanasi Fet:

Across the clearing sky the soft clouds go,
Slow-fading; thus
The sickle moon reaps their last sheaves of snow
Diaphanous.

They pass, and from the stars strange powers of spring
Breathe down to bless
My heart in this vain earth with whispering
Of happiness.

But still the shades of time such visions blight:
 As clouds, alas,
 Into the vacant vastness of the night
 We too shall pass.

The translations are grouped according to the seasons, significantly arranged Autumn -- Winter -- Spring -- Summer -- Autumn. If one expects the section "Spring" to contain elements of hope, one is disappointed. The poem entitled "Morning" concludes:

And man takes blindly onward
 One step more towards the tomb.

A translation from the Finnish seems to promise a measure of hope in both the title -- "Clouds of Silver" -- and in the metre; however, the promise of the early lines remains unfulfilled at the end:

Clouds of silver, clouds of silver
 Ride and race and soar
 On beyond the blue horizon
 And return no more.

Fair they flash and gleam and glitter,
 Laughing in the light,
 And behind far golden portals
 Vanish from the sight.

So bright days of perfect pleasure
 Pass and disappear,
 Leaving the cold hail of sorrow
 To its task austere.

German reviewers seemed to approve of Kirkconnell's rendering of some famous lines by Goethe:

Über allen Gipfeln
 Ist Ruh.
 In allen Wipfeln
 Spürest du
 Kaum einen Hauch;
 Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde.
 Waret nur, balde
 Ruhest du auch.

Kirkconnell's rendering is entitled "Wanderer's Evensong":

Over all peaks slow peace
 Descends;
 In every branch the breeze
 Now ends

Its sighing sweep.
 The birds in the wildwood are sleeping.
 Cease, heart, thy weeping!
 Thou, too, shalt sleep.

This was one of the translations which evoked the admiration of the reviewer writing in the Neu Freie Presse (Vienna), who wrote:

die Dichtungen lesen sich wie Originale.

Another well known elegy whose subtle blend of form and content almost defy translation is Verlaine's "Chanson d'automne":

Les sanglots longs
 Des violons
 De l'automne
 Blessent mon coeur
 D'une langueur
 Monotone.

Tout suffocant
 Et blême, quand
 Sonne l'heure,
 Je me souviens
 Des jours anciens
 Et je pleure.

Et je m'en vais
 Au vent mauvais
 Qui m'emporte
 Deçà, delà,
 Pareil à la
 Feuille morte.

Kirkconnell's rendering is entitled "Autumn Dirge" and is as follows:

Autumn begins
 With violins
 Of lament
 Wounding my breast
 With dull, oppressed
 Discontent.

Roused by the shocks
 of stricken clocks
 From pale sleep,
 I think upon
 Sweet nights now gone;
 And I weep.

And my heart flies
Down wailing skies,
In my grief
Blown here and there
As down night air
The dead leaf.

The final translation in the volume is entitled "A Man's Last Word to a Woman" and is a translation of a Swedish original by Verner von Heidenstam:

I followed, flushed with hope, thy path of roses
In springtime's radiant dawn and showery stress;

The record of our summer love discloses
Noontides of passion past all power of guess;

And in the autumn gloom, when the act closes,
I give thee thanks, who wert my happiness.

Despite the enormous volume of verse translation published by Watson Kirkconnell and the hundreds of pages left unpublished at his death, it may be argued that nowhere else is the tender brilliance of European Elegies equalled. There are still hopes that the 500-page Hungarian Helicon will be published and specific plans are in hand for making available the English verse translation of the Psalms, but the Elegies are in a class by themselves.

What sets them apart is first the sheer linguistic tour de force, that one man could master so many languages in so short a time. A second factor is the use of so many different verse forms. No two translations follow quite the same pattern. Thirdly, the translations are poems in their own right and might easily convince all but the most erudite reader that the English version is original. Lastly, what really characterizes the translations is an intensity of emotion, an anguished insight, which is not often found in the Kirkconnell corpus, for all its breadth and competence. That "transfusion of my own blood," which Kirkconnell mentioned in the introduction to the Elegies, has been given.

The translator himself seems to sense that his verses may not appeal equally to all, but in time their sentiments will have relevance for all, as is implied by "The Song of Grief," translated from the Ukrainian of Ivan Franko:

My brothers, blame me not because I sing
A doleful song;
If I aggrieve you with my sorrowing,
Forgive the wrong!--

For when your transient joys and happiness
 Have turned to dust,
 And sorrows curse your midnights with distress,
 As sorrows must,

Then, since grief's slavery is sung by me,
 To seek relief
 Your lonely lips will whisper wistfully
 My song of grief.

NOTES

1. The original letter is part of the Kirkconnell collection now housed in the Vaughan Library at Acadia University. I acknowledge the generous assistance of the Special Collections staff while preparing this article.
2. The original letter is in the Kirkconnell collection.
3. Quoted in Maud Anderson, "The 'European Elegies' of Watson Kirkconnell," The Manitoba Teacher (May 1930), p. 18.
4. From a Xerox copy found in Kirkconnell's papers.
5. Watson Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 76-77.
6. I have obtained permission to publish the English verse translation, left almost complete by Kirkconnell at his death. Kirkconnell and Mlle Bélanger published two illuminating articles on the original diglott project in Meta 15, No. 1 (Mars 1970), pp. 10-25.
7. The full text was published in The Listener on 28 April 1977.
8. The Listener, 21 April 1977.
9. Ibid.
10. In "Milton Three Hundred Years After," in The Undoing of Babel, ed. J. R. C. Perkin (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 17.
11. Steiner, After Babel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 296-413.

12. Ibid., p. 396.
13. Ibid., p. 395.
14. Ibid., p. 395.
15. E. V. Rieu, trans., The Odyssey (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1946), pp. xvi-xvii.
16. Ibid., p. xvi.
17. Vellacott, trans., The Oresteian Trilogy (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959), pp. 36-37.
18. Dodd, "Introduction to the New Testament," in The New English Bible (Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1970), pp. vi-vii.
19. Quoted in Eugene Nida, Toward a Science of Translation (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1964), pp. 15-16.
20. Fitts, "The Poetic Nuance," in On Translation, ed. Reuben A. Brower (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 32ff.
21. Ilek, "On Translating Images," in The Nature of Translation, ed. J. S. Holmes (Bratislava: Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1970).
22. Ibid., p. 135.
23. Matthews, "Third Thoughts on Translating Poetry," in Brower, ed., op. cit., p. 23.
24. Fitts, "The Poetic Nuance," in Brower, ed., op. cit., p. 33.
25. Stanley Burnshaw, The Poem Itself (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. xiii.
26. See also The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko, ed. and trans. C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); The Celestial Cycle (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), especially the section entitled "Caedmonian Paradise Lost," 222 p. 20ff; and translator's preface to The Death of King Buda (Cleveland, Ohio: Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, 1936), especially pages xvi and xvii.
27. Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, pp. 55-74.
28. Watson Kirkconnell, ed. and trans., European Elegies (Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers), 1928), pp. 13-24.

29. Ibid., p. 15.
30. Ibid., p. 19.
31. Ibid., p. 23.
32. Ibid., p. 10.
33. Ibid., p. 9-10.
34. Kirkconnell, A Slice of Canada, p. 70.
35. Ibid., p. 70.
36. Hugh Kenner, ed., Ezra Pound: Translations (New York: New Directions, 1963), p. 9.

CARACTERES SEMANTIQUES ET FONCTIONNELS

DU SUBJONCTIF FRANCAIS

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1. Introduction. Une étude originale du subjontif français se doit d'aller au-delà de la simple description des servitudes grammaticales, de l'établissement de listes d'emplois ou de l'observation de ses formes (flexionnelles et temporelles).

Posant comme acquis la présence du monde subjontif au niveau du signifiant, et comme astreignante et rébarbative l'étude de ce seul niveau, nous essaierons ici une autre forme d'analyse, celle du signifié.

Nous sommes consciente de certaines lacunes de cette démarche, somme toute nouvelle, mais certaine qu'elle pourra aider sensiblement au défrichage des nombreuses théories inefficaces à rendre compte du sémantisme du mode subjontif, et secondairement à aider les enseignants du français langue première et langue seconde.

Notre démarche consistera d'abord à rattacher le subjontif, en tant que modalisateur, au procès d'énonciation, procédé que nous tâcherons premièrement de définir avec soin. Ceci nous permettra d'établir les rapports qu'entretient le subjontif avec l'isosémie (ou cohérence profonde d'un énoncé), en tant que participant à la redondance sémique nécessaire à la cohérence de tout énoncé. Troisièmement, un point intéressant de la théorie chrono-génétique de Gustave Guillaume pourra être illustré et appliqué à l'enseignement du mode en question: le subjontif tant qu'infinitif personnel.

Enfin, nous nous proposons d'établir un classement pratique des verbes qui commandent le subjontif dans les subordonnées complétives. Ce classement, influencé par notre application de la théorie isosémique, pourrait également servir à une classification sémantique des locutions suivies du subjontif. Ce dernier point ne sera qu'ébauché, mais nous espérons pouvoir l'étoffer dans une prochaine recherche.

2. Subjontif et Enonciation. L'énonciation constitue l'acte de fabrication, d'élaboration de l'énoncé par le locuteur. C'est "l'acte individuel d'utilisation de la langue." (Dubois 1973: 192) L'empreinte qu'elle laisse sur tout énoncé en est un des constituants sémantiques; elle identifie l'attitude du sujet parlant vis-à-vis de son énoncé. D'après Dubois (Dictionnaire de linguistique), le concept de modalisation sert à l'analyse des moyens utilisés pour traduire le procès d'énonciation. Il définit la marque donnée par le sujet parlant à son énoncé.

Les modes (Dubois 1973: 321) sont une catégorie grammaticale et représentent un des moyens à la disposition du locuteur pour traduire son attitude vis-à-vis d'abord, de son interlocuteur, puis, vis-à-vis de son énoncé.

Par le truchement des modes, deux types de relations peuvent s'instituer:

(i) le premier type institué par le locuteur entre lui-même et son interlocuteur (par exemple, dans les phrases optatives, impératives, telles que:

Puisse-t-il venir!
Dépêche-toi!
Je désire que Raymond vienne.

L'impératif et le subjonctif, nous dit Dubois (1973: 321) parmi d'autres, sont les modes de l'ordre et du souhait.

(ii) Dans le deuxième type de relations (entre locuteur et énoncé), deux attitudes sont possibles: soit le locuteur assume son énoncé, et il se crée alors une distance minimale entre les deux,

Paul viendra demain
(c'est-à-dire sous-entendu: Je dis que Paul viendra demain) où le mode de l'énoncé assumé est l'indicatif, soit le locuteur n'assume pas son énoncé, ou le rejette partiellement, comme si l'énoncé faisait partie d'un monde distinct. Ils s'établit alors une distance maximal:

Il est question que Paul vienne ce soir.
Quand bien même Paul viendrait!

Le conditionnel et le subjonctif sont les deux modes du non-assumé.

Les modes ne sont évidemment qu'un des moyens pour exprimer la modalité. Les adverbes tels que peut-être, les locutions telles que à mon avis, sans doute, d'après lui, constituent aussi des marques de modalisation. Donc, le subjonctif serait un mode qui traduit: le mode optatif (expression d'un souhait):

Qu'il parte!

le mode du non-assumé:

Je doute qu'il vienne.

Puisque ces idées modales ne correspondent pas à une forme modale unique, il nous est donc possible de paraphraser les énonces contenant le mode subjonctif. En effet, en substituant à la forme subjonctive d'autres modalisateurs, nous pourrions commencer à en isoler le sens.

La paraphrase est une reformulation de l'information d'un énoncé. On doit pouvoir établir une correspondance entre un énoncé A et sa paraphrase B, non pas de signifié à signifié, mais de sème à sème. Rappelons ici que le sème est l'unité minimale de signification non indépendante et seulement réalisée à l'intérieur d'un sémème; le sémème étant l'unité sémantique correspondant à l'unité lexicale: le lexème (cf. Dubois 1973: 433).

Cette transformation paraphrastique nous sera indispensable tout au long de notre étude sémantique des énoncés modalisés parce qu'elle permet d'isoler les sèmes équivalents du mode subjonctif, comme suit: (paraphrases de I: 1', 1'', etc.):

1. Il est probable qu'il vienne.
- 1' Il viendra peut-être.

2. Je m'oppose à ce que tu sortes.
- 2' Tu sors! Je m'y oppose!
- 2'' Tu sors! Je te l'interdis!
- 2''' Je m'oppose à ta sortie.

3. Je crains qu'il (ne) vienne.
- 3' Il vient! Je le crains.
- 3'' Il vient? J'en ai bien peur!

4. Je regrette qu'il ne m'ait pas téléphoné.
- 4' Il ne m'a pas téléphoné! Cela m'ennuie!

C'est dommage!

Nous pouvons constater que le subjonctif est paraphrasable de différentes façons; d'autres modalisateurs lui sont donc équivalents: i) locutions et/ou adverbes: peut-être, probablement...; ii) constructions emphatiques et/ou exclamatives (2,3,4). D'autre part, il est intéressant de remarquer que dans les énoncés 2', 2'', 3', 3'' le, y, en, cela, et c' servent en quelque sorte de substitut à QUE + SUBJ., de la même manière que les formes exclamatives, l'intonation de la langue parlée, etc. De plus, le, y, en, cela, et c' sont ici des anaphoriques: ils remplacent toute la proposition précédente.

On remarque également que l'emphase est mise, dans la paraphrase, sur ce qui était dans l'énoncé originel une subordonnée:

- 2' Tu sors!
- 3' Il vient!
- 4' Il ne m'a pas téléphoné!

Par contre, dans les énoncés comportant un subjonctif, on dirait que les deux propositions sont inextricablement liées, et que l'emphase n'est mise sur aucun des deux procès en particulier. Dans l'exemple 1, il est difficile de dire si c'est le doute ou la 'venue' de cet homme qui est important. On peut aussi se demander si le subjonctif reprend quelque chose qui est déjà dans la principale et par là-même le renforce. Il serait donc un anaphorique, au même titre que y et en. Il ferait alors partie du signifiant, sans avoir aucune incidence sur le signifié.

Meillet (1975: 190) nous offre une définition du mode qui semble contredire notre idée: "Sous le nom de mode, on entend les formes au moyen desquelles est indiquée l'attitude du sujet parlant par rapport au procès indiqué par le verbe." Et Tesnière d'ajouter (1959): "La catégorie du mode est le reflet de l'attitude psychologique du sujet parlant vis-à-vis du procès qu'il exprime par le verbe."

Le mode indique, le mode est le reflet. Il est donc un principe actif, qui, en renvoyant au sujet parlant, participe de l'énonciation: il creuse une distance entre énonciateur et énoncé.

Ainsi le subjonctif apparaît comme une marque morphologique (observable au niveau du signifiant) dont le rôle est de rattacher l'énoncé à l'énonciation.

Le subjonctif a un rôle sémantique: il a pour signification une interrogation, une exclamation, un doute, etc. Sa sémantique est parfaitement subordonnée au verbe principal. Il exprimera le doute avec un verbe de doute, la volonté avec un verbe de volonté. En ce sens, il prend en charge certaines valeurs contextuelles et situationnelles. Il n'est donc pas un anaphorique mais il agit comme un déictique: il fait référence à la situation et à l'énonciateur.

De plus, il se comporte comme un substitut, ou un représentant, en ce sens que sa fonction principale est de "représenter," de reprendre la valeur du verbe principal.

Les éléments de modalités (c'est-à-dire les verbes principaux) et les éléments de mode (les verbes subordonnés) sont en "complémentarité réciproque" (Imbs 1953: 15). L'un est indispensable à l'autre. Le subjonctif est non seulement une servitude grammaticale, mais une servitude sémantique.

3. Subjonctif et Isosémie. Cohen (1965: 34,79) va plus loin: il caractérise l'emploi du subjonctif après certains verbes comme vouloir, désirer, douter, comme un "pléonasme grammatical." Mais le subjonctif est une loi; il ne peut en aucun cas être considéré comme inutile; son rôle est primordial: quand le verbe de la principale est monosémique, le subjonctif en renforce le sens. En quelque sorte, il rend la phrase logique. Par contre, quand le verbe principal est polysémique, le mode fonctionne comme actualisateur: il révèle le sémantisme du verbe; c'est-à-dire il indique dans quel sens doit être (com)pris le verbe:

5. Dites lui que je suis malade

dire: /déclaration/

6. Dites lui qu'il revienne demain.

dire: /ordre/, verbe causatif.

7. *Dites lui que je sois malade.
= impossibilité conceptuelle

8. Je comprends que j'ai fait une bêtise.
= je conçois...

9. Je comprends qu'il ait fait cette bêtise.
= je ne suis pas surpris...

(7) est impossible; dire est ici un verbe performatif ou causatif (mis en évidence par la présence du subjonctif); donc ordonner à quelqu'un de "causer la maladie de quelqu'un d'autre" semble sémantiquement impossible.

On remarque deux choses: a) premièrement, que l'indicatif se borne à une reprise grammaticale. A comparer (8) et Je comprends que je fais ...(présent), J'ai compris que je faisais...(passé). Le mode INDICATIF agit comme une pure concordance grammaticale. b) Les paraphrases de (5) et (6) sont différentes:

5' Annonce-lui que suis souffrante.
(ou)
Pouvez-vous le prévenir que...

- 6' Je lui conseille de repasser demain.
 (ou)
 Demandez-lui de...

Les paraphrases de (7) et (8) mettent également en évidence ces différences.

La paraphrase nous indique le changement de sens. Le subjonctif agit donc comme révélateur de cet autre sens, parce qu'il constitue une reprise sémantique.

De Poerck (1950: 93) confirme cette théorie:

"le verbe principal, rejeté en tête de phrase, n'est pas toujours intelligible de prime abord. Pour atteindre la plénitude de son sens, il lui faut l'appoint, la confirmation, éventuellement les retouches du verbe subordonné. Ce qui équivaut donc, en définitive, à le subordonner sémantiquement à ce dernier." (mots soulignés par nous)

Il ya donc une corrélacion entre les deux éléments, une reprise nécessaire (à la compréhension du message) d'un ou plusieurs sèmes du verbe principal: le subjonctif se présente comme une redondance nécessaire, donc de l'ordre de l'isosémie du discours.

L'isosémie est pour Bernard Pottier (1974: 84,326): "la redondance d'un sème à travers divers éléments d'un énoncé ou d'une suite d'énonces." Il n'est évidemment pas question de pléonasme, comme le soutient Cohen. Le subjonctif ne répète pas l'ensemble du signifié; il reprend le ou les sèmes pré-éminents.

Observons d'autres énoncés illustrant cette fois le problème du verbe 'croire':

10. Je crois qu'il en est capable.
 10' = je veux bien croire...
 11. Je ne crois pas qu'il en soit capable.
 11' Je pense qu'il n'en est pas capable...
 12. (*?) Je ne crois pas qu'il en est capable.
 (ceci est une tolérance. On dirait plutôt:)
 12' Je ne peux croire qu'il en est capable.
 13. Croyez-vous qu'il en soit capable?

Nous remarquons en (11) et en (11') que le subjonctif pousse la négation dans la principale. Il met ainsi l'accent sur l'énonciation: je + négation.

L'énoncé (12) n'est qu'une simple tolérance. Avec l'indicatif, il manque la reprise sémique. Dans la langue parlée, ce manque sera rétabli par l'intonation ou l'emphase de (12').

En (11) et (13), la négation et l'interrogation équivalent à un changement sémantique. Tous les verbes dits d'assertion ou de pensée agissent ainsi (V. principal + nég. ou/et inter. = subj. dans la subordonnée): penser, trouver, espérer, voir, se souvenir, être sûr.

D'après Leech (1974: 144), les règles de redondance sont des règles de dépendance contextuelle; c'est-à-dire, la présence d'un sème donné dans le prédicat commande la présence d'un autre sème donné dans l'argument, au sein d'un énoncé. Ici, dans le cas du subjonctif, il s'agit d'un passage de sème d'une proposition à l'autre:

14. j'ai peur qu'il vienne.

15. j'ai peur qu'il vient.

Comparons (14) et (15) à l'aide de leur paraphrase:

14' Je crains sa venue.

Issue de la transformation de deux phrases:

- sa venue est possible

- J'en ai peur .
 .
 .
SUBJ.

15' Il arrive. Cela me fait peur.

Ind = assumé (sème /virtualité/ perdu)

Dans (14) le sème /virtualité/ contenu dans qu'il vienne, se trouve paraphrasable par "est possible" et ainsi l'emploi du subjonctif évite l'anaphorique "en." Il y a économie grâce à l'isosémie. L'énoncé est bouclé, cohérent: le locuteur s'approprie l'énoncé. Sinon, il lui faudra avoir recours à l'intonation:

16. Je suis contente que tu sois reçue.

16' [Langue parlée:] Ah! Tu es reçue! Félicitations!

" " " " Super!

Dans la langue populaire de l'énoncé (15), l'emploi de l'indicatif gêne parce que l'énoncé reste en-deçà de la cohérence. Il n'est pas bouclé, il peut ne pas être compris.

On remarque enfin, dans ce même exemple (15), que l'indicatif produit un déplacement du relief, de "la crainte" au fait rapporté: "il vient."

Nous essaierons maintenant d'appliquer cette théorie isosémique aux propositions relatives:

17. C'est le meilleur ami que j'aie
 /virtuel/ /virtuel/

.....

17' C'est sans doute mon meilleur ami.
= Je pourrais en avoir de meilleur...
= pour l'instant, c'est le meilleur...

18. C'est le meilleur ami que j'ai.

.....

18' C'est mon meilleur ami.

19. C'est un bon ami que j'ai.

.....
absence de /virtualité/

La différence fondamentale entre (17) et (18) est le fait que le subjonctif en (17) laisse en quelque sorte une porte ouverte, la possibilité de se rétracter; le sème /virtualité/ présent dans meilleur est révélé par la présence du subjonctif: le superlatif en (17) est donc relatif. (18) est encore une tolérance J'ai, et mon en (18') indiquent une simple relation de possession. Une autre paraphrase, qui révèle la structure profonde, pourrait en être.

- 18'' J'ai de bons amis.
Il est le meilleur.

De même, la paraphrase de (19) pourrait être:

- 19' C'est un bon ami à moi.

Il y a ici absence totale de doute.

De même, dans les exemples suivants, "le seul" est virtualisé par le subjonctif:

20. C'est le seul exemplaire qui restait chez le libraire.
20' Il n'y en avait plus d'autre: fait constaté, indiscutable.
21. C'est le seul ami qui nous avons.
21' C'est notre seul ami.
22. C'est le seul ami que nous avons.
22' C'est sans doute notre seul ami,
- par exemple, dans le malheur...
a)...possibilité d'en avoir d'autres...
b)...rejette les autres qui ne sont pas de vrais amis (a et b sont impliqués dans 22).

Le rôle du subjonctif dans l'isosémie de l'énoncé est encore mis en valeur dans les phrases suivantes:

LE + INDICATIF

23. Je cherche le chemin qui va à B. = déictique (désigne objet réel = référent)
23' Où est le chemin qui va à B.?

"Le" est actualisant. "Le chemin qui va à B" n'est pas paraphrassable (si ce n'est par un nom propre); il désigne un objet de la réalité il a la même fonction qu'un nom propre: "je cherche le Chemin du Bois." La relative est déterminative: le locatif (emplacement du chemin) est seul mis en question.

UN + SUBJONCTIF

24. Je cherche un chemin qui aille à B.
24' Je veux aller à B. Y a-t-il un chemin pour y aller?

Ici, le virtualisant "un" est révélé par le subjonctif. C'est l'existence même du chemin qui est mise en question.

25. Je cherche un chemin qui va à B.

Un, ici, n'est pas virtualisant. L'existence du chemin n'est pas mise en question; l'indicatif révèle l'assumé. Un veut dire 1(numéral), c'est à-dire un des chemins. Il s'agit d'une ellipse. La paraphrase pourrait être:

25' Plusieurs chemins vont à B; j'en cherche un (seul).

Un comportera un accent d'emphase à l'oral.

Ainsi, il nous semble pouvoir assumer que le mode participe de la cohérence profonde. Il ne s'agit d'une servitude grammaticale que dans les cas où l'énoncé risque de ne pas être compris par l'interlocuteur, dans les cas d'ambiguïté. Peut-on alors l'appeler une servitude sémantique, une redondance nécessaire?

4. Subjonctif et Infinitif. Dans notre étude du subjonctif dans les phrases complétives, il nous est apparu que les subordonnées étaient paraphrasables par une nominalisation:

2. Je m'oppose à ce que tu sortes.

2''' Je m'oppose à ta sortie

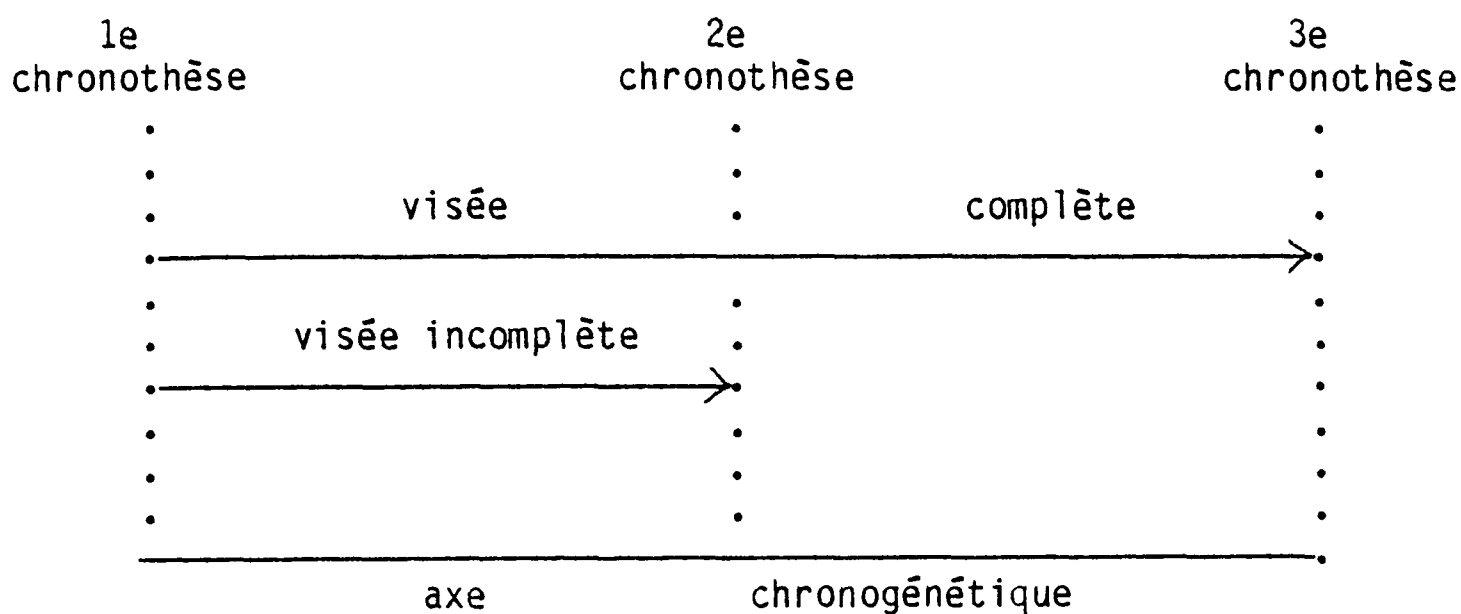
ou par un infinitif:

6. Dites lui qu'il revienne demain.

6'' Dites lui de revenir demain.

Cet aspect du subjonctif a été défini plus précisément par un guillaumien, Bonnard, dans sa "Grammaire française des lycées et collèges," et rappelée par J. Hewsén (1982: 69).

Il nous semble intéressant de résumer ici la théorie chrono-génétique ou temporelle de Guillaume. D'après lui, les modes indicatif et subjonctif renvoient à deux représentations générales différentes du temps. L'axe chronogénétique illustre l'image temporelle (passé, présent, futur) qui se forme dans l'esprit du locuteur avant qu'il la formule. Celle-ci résulte d'une opération de l'esprit, une visée.

Fig. 1 Axe chrono-génétique de Guillaume

<u>P1</u>	<u>P2</u>	<u>P3</u>
AVANT.....	APRES	AVANT.....APRES
.	.	.
*	*	*
aucune notion de temps	temps en construction dans la pensée	pensée réalise image-temps parfaite
*	*	*
MODES NOMINAUX	MODE SUBJONCTIF	MODE INDICATIF
tps= ∅ pers= ∅	tps= ∅ pers= +	tps= + pers= +
ex. partir	ex. que je parte	ex. je pars je partirai je partais.

Les temps nominaux et l'infinitif ne présentent aucune notion de temps. Le subjonctif à mi-chemin dans la chrono-génèse présente le temps en construction. Avec l'indicatif, en fin de visée, l'image-temps est réalisée et exprimable par de formes verbales, actualisée au niveau du signifiant.

Ce qui nous intéresse dans cette théorie psycho-mécanique est le fait que les modes représentent des étapes dans l'actualisation. Bonnard nous en montre un des aspects pratiques: l'infinitif et le subjonctif ont la même valeur temporelle égale à. Ils s'opposent tous les deux à l'indicatif. Entre l'infinitif et le subjonctif, la seule opposition est la personnalisation. Ainsi on peut redire avec Bonnard et Hewson que le subjonctif est un infinitif personnel.

Prenons, par exemple, deux énoncés synonymes:

26. Je regrette / qu' il parte.

26' Je regrette / son départ.

Ici la personne est marquée: il, son. Si l'on enlève la marque de la personne-objet:

27. Je regrette (de) partir.

L'emploi de l'infinitif s'explique ainsi: on n'a pas dans (27) besoin d'exprimer cette personne: les deux procès regrette et partir sont pris en charge par le même sujet je.

Nous pouvons formuler une règle de transformation:

A/ Si (S1 + V1) —————> (S1 + V2)

=====> S1 + V1 + (S1) + V2

= Transf. INFINITIVE: =====> S1 + V1 + V2(inf)

B/ Si (S1 + V1) —————> (S2 + V2)

a)= Transf. NOMINALE: S2 + V2 = Adjectif poss. + Nom

= S1 + V1 + Adj. + S3

b)= Transf. SUBJONCTIVE: + que... + V2(subj)

= S1 + V1 + que + S2 + V2(subj)

—————> indique la relation entre les propositions (cf. section 5)

S= syntagme nominal sujet

V= syntagme verbal

Exemples :

28. Je regrette —————> je pars
 ==> je regrette de partir.

29. Je regrette —————> tu pars.
 ==> je regrette ton départ.
 ==> je regrette que tu partes.

Dans la classe de français, des exercices de substitution nous paraissent pouvoir illustrer notre point et servir à la compréhension du subjonctif français: Exemple: Remplacez l'infinitif par une proposition, en ajoutant un sujet de votre choix:

Mes parents veulent voyager en Asie, cet été.
 Mes parents veulent que je voyage en Asie.

1. Désirez-vous vous servir vous-même?
2. Nous espérons ne pas arriver en retard.
3. Il vaudrait mieux ne pas fumer du tout.

5. Subjonctif et Complétives. La relation —————> de (S1 + V1), à (S2 + V2) dans la transformation subjonctive demande à être examinée de plus près.

Nous avons isolé deux grandes classes de verbes gouvernants des complétives subjonctives:

A/ d'abord S1 cherche à influencer S2 afin que
 S2 accomplisse V2: V1 est un PERFORMATIF.

B/ (S2 + V2) provoque une réaction V1 chez S1
 La relation S2--V2 est la cause de la relation
 V1--S1: V1 est un APPRECIATIF.

Nous faisons part ci-dessous de cette classification sémantique:

Fig. 2 Le Subjonctif dans les Complétives

1.

PRINCIPALES CAUSATIVES

(verbes principaux=performatifs)

(V. dits de DESIR, VOLONTE, DEFENSE) La principale entraîne la

2.

SUBORDONNEES-SOURCES

(verbes principaux=appréciatifs)

(V. dits de DOUTE, d'OPINION, de JUGEMENT, + V. déclaratifs aux

subordonnée; l'ENONCIATEUR commande le CONTENU de la sub. (énonciateur = AGENT)

P-----> S

Ex. J'ai demandé qu'on se taise.
Le silence est conséquence de l'énoncé, mais surtout de l'ENONCIATION.

Fais attention qu'elle ne prenne pas froid.

J'ai envie que tu viennes avec nous.

Remarque: Ces phrases ne sont paraphrasables que par une phrase passive ou à sens passif;
(sa santé doit être l'objet de ton attention)
(ta venue est désirée par moi)

Autres verbes: vouloir, souhaiter, consentir, tenir (à), demander, exiger, commander, ordonner, insister, compter, obtenir, (s') attendre (à), veiller (à), avoir besoin, hâte, intérêt, permettre, proposer, recommander, éviter, dire (=ordre), s'opposer (à), empêcher, refuser, défendre, interdire.

formes négative et interrogative)

La subordonnée commande le CONTENU de la principale; l'ENONCIATEUR est PATIENT.

P <-----S

Les locutions impersonnelles entrent évidemment dans cette catégorie; le il agit en tant que cataphorique ou ANAPHORIQUE PROSPECTIF.

Ex. Je doute qu'il vienne.
Sa venue cause un sentiment de doute chez moi.

Remarque: Ces phrases sont paraphrasables comme suit:
NOMINALISATION du verbe subordonnée + être + ADJECTIVISATION du verbe principal

Je trouve bizarre qu'ils soient absents (leur absence est bizarre)

Je regrette qu'il soit mort si tôt. (sa mort précoce est regrettable)

(être peut être remplacer dans certains cas par sembler, rendre + sentiment).

SUBORDONNEES-SOURCES (suite)

V. et locutions impersonnelles gouvernant ce type de subordonnée au subjonctif.

- (doute) douter, il est douteux (F. aff.), il est improbable, il est peu probable, il semble, il ne me semble pas, il est possible, il se peut que, il n'est pas possible, il est impossible, cela dépend de (vous) que...
- (déclaratifs + /virtuel/) Formes négatives et interrogatives de: penser, croire, trouver, être sûr, certain, espérer, voir, se souvenir, dire, affirmer, il est vrai...
- (sentiment) être triste, content, heureux, désolé, ravi, furieux, fâché, surpris, satisfait, honteux, trouver bizarre, naturel, simple, triste, s'étonner, craindre, avoir peur, redouter, s'indigner, regretter, déplorer, aimer (mieux), préférer, comprendre (être surpris)
- (nécessité) il faut (aff. + nég.), il est nécessaire, obligatoire, fréquent, essentiel, ce n'est pas la peine, il suffit
- (jugement) il est regrettable, surprenant, absurde, invraisemblable, inadmissible, préférable, désirable, urgent, convenable, il convient, il vaut mieux, c'est dommage, il est bon, juste, rare, utile, important, temps, il importe (peu), cela (m') est égal, il est dans (votre) intérêt, il est à souhaiter, il (n') y a (pas de) danger à, il (n') y a (pas d') inconvénient à...

Cette classification nous semble intéressante en ce sens qu'elle projette un peu d'ordre dans les classements habituels et qu'elle permettrait une approche sémantique des verbes gouvernant le subjonctif.

Comme nous l'avons précisé dans l'introduction, nous pensons qu'une telle approche serait applicable aux locutions conjonctives.

Nous donnons ci-dessous quelques exemples significatifs qui laissent la porte ouverte à un plus grand approfondissement dans la recherche sémantique.

Les locutions de BUT et de CONSEQUENCE appartiendraient évidemment à la première catégorie: PRINCIPALE CAUSATIVE.

Ex. Il faut la réprimander —————> pour qu'elle apprenne ses lignes.

Les locutions de TEMPS, de CONDITION appartiennent alors à la deuxième catégorie: SUBORDONNEE-SOURCE.

Ex. J'accepte ton invitation ← à condition que ta
femme vienne aussi.

En attendant que tu finisses ← je vais lire le
journal.

6. Conclusion. A la lumière de ces observations et de ces bribes de découvertes, il nous est permis de dire que le subjonctif participe de l'isosémie du discours et que c'est pour cette raison qu'il garde une position inébranlable et privilégiée dans la langue française.

Son étude nous a montré un monde de possibilités encore inexploré, quand elle consiste en une observation des structures profondes des énoncés. Il s'agira donc d'approfondir l'analyse sémique des verbes (terrain encore fragile et incertain) et ainsi de parvenir à découvrir leurs influences sémantiques sur le reste de l'énoncé et vice-versa.

Nous tenons le principe d'isosémie de Bernard Pottier (1974: 84,326) pour essentiel et croyons nécessaire d'intégrer l'étude du subjonctif à une étude globale du sens. L'isoler n'a servi, jusqu'à maintenant, qu'à couper les ramifications qui seules permettent de l'identifier et d'en saisir "la substantifique moelle."

Comme dans toute analyse discursive, il faut partir de l'observable pour pénétrer enfin jusqu'au sens; dans le cas du subjonctif cheminer de ses formes signifiantes vers son rôle sémantique dans la phrase et dans le discours. Nous avons essayé, ici, d'ouvrir une voie.

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ADVERBS WITH A FINAL -W IN MALECITE SENTENCES

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1.0 Introduction. In the present work I describe the use of the w-ended particles (adverbs) in the Malecite Indian language (spoken in New Brunswick, Canada). There is no linguistic literature on this topic whatsoever. I have noted down eleven volumes of texts in Malecite and deposited them in the Archives of the National Museum of Canada. These texts are the only sources for the present article. I found my corpus of adverbs in about 400 pages of Malecite texts.

The transcription and translation of the Malecite words and sentences presented here follow the same principles as those of my manuscripts, deposited in the National Museum. The translations are not always in idiomatic English, since I deliberately follow the structure of the Malecite sentences, particularly as far as word order is concerned.

The w-ended adverbs are a common phenomenon in Malecite. There can be two or three of them in a relatively short sentence. E.g. wət ēhpit sēhket awhtik-te / kwihiw / sēhkiw kcīhkok / kwihiw-te 'This woman was standing on the roadside, close (i.e. on the edge of the road), right in the woods, near the road.)'

I found more than fifty adverbs of this kind. About thirty of them express place, less than twenty express time, and a few express other notions such as mode of action. They will be presented in three groups below.

2.0 Adverbs of Place. akwiw (plus locative of a noun), 'behind,' e.g. yokt-lo skinōhsīsək / tlī-pāhpolhtowok / akwiw wikwāmək 'Those boys were playing behind the house.' (There are only a few adverbs which are used together with a locative. See cimaciw, kwihiw and tāhkiw.)

cimaciw (plus locative) 'from,' e.g. tətəkwapmā-te cimaciw wāniyakənək-te tāhkiw maksənīhkok 'I looked at her from the top of her head to her shoes.'

emēhkew 'down,' e.g. mecīmiw-te elapīhtit emēhkew / nisowok skinōhsī sək 'They always looked down, the two boys.' (The suffix -w usually joins a so-called "final" i, a well known term in Algonquian linguistics. There are only four exceptions among my adverbs of place: emēhkew, kisāhkew, pithaw and wecawaw.)

epāhsiw 'in the middle,' e.g. tamā epāhsiw īkahat 'Somewhere in the middle it got it (i.e. the spirit touched the middle of the boat).'

ewēpiw 'up,' e.g. wāhte / nipawhsat ewēpiw wālepo 'Way up, the moon was setting up nicely.'

The adverb ewēpiw can be used with a noun in locative, e.g. stēhpāl-yakw ewēpiw mosikiskwētok sēhket 'As if it was standing up in the air.'

ələkwiw 'that way,' 'over there,' e.g. kisi nīlon nāmiyan nit wen ələ-kwiw 'We saw there someone, that way.'

kikəciw (plus particle - te) 'close,' e.g. n nit-te nit / kikəciw-te nit sēhket nət iya/esekpīsīt 'All right, there, right close, there it was standing, this ghost.'

kikcāhkiw 'down the hill,' e.g. ən-yakw kikcāhkiw natapiləmən 'And down the hill he went to get water.'

kisāhkew 'up the hill,' e.g. kwaskwiniya kisāhkew 'They ran up the hill.'

kiyāhkiw 'straight ahead,' e.g. nīta / apc espāsahkīwik / nit-te kiyāhkiw 'Now, again, in the morning, (we went) right away straight ahead.'

ksəkāyiw 'across,' e.g. yot-te ksəkāyiw / wecəwaw / naci-mhkənāhsin pəcētēsəl 'Right here, across (the border), not too far, I was going to pick potatoes.'

kwihiw 'near,' 'nearby.' This is a very common adverb, and it is used in the following ways: a) by itself, without a locative or any additional particles joining it, b) kwihiw-te (with the additional particle - te), c) kwihiw-te-iyik, d) kwihiw plus locative, e) locative plus kwihiw, f) kwihiw-te plus locative. Examples:

- a) nit-te kwihiw totəpowal 'Right there, nearby he lived.'
- b) ən n-cəntəmahan / kwihiw-te ēyit 'And I stopped my machine near her (literally, near where she was).'
- c) nit-te kwihiw-te iyik / nekəməw / pīhce skicīnowok / wikolhtīh tit 'Right there, handy, there they (lived long ago, Indians, they lived there).'
- d) tamā-al kwihiw lehlōtək 'Somewhere near the railroad tracks.'
- e) ən iyik milāwiyan / yot apca kisawhtik kwihiw 'And then, I went out there, again, near the railroad tracks.'

f) kwihiw-te kakənək 'Near the door.'

lāmiw 'inside,' e.g. nit wəlam kisi-ktəkwən lāmiw 'There I could sleep overnight, inside (in a boxcar).'

milāwiw 'way out,' e.g. nīta / menāhkwesk milāwiw 'There, at St. John, way out.'

nēhkāyiw 'all the way.' (I found this with a) the additional particle -te and b) two additional particles: -yawk-te). Examples:

a) nēhkāyiw-te pəmi-kakalowe 'All the way he was shouting.'

b) nēhkāyiw-yawk-te cowi-kwaskolhtowok 'All the way they had to run.'

nəmcīniw 'on the side,' occurring (a) with or (b) without the additional particle -yawk. Examples:

a) slānkiw elāpit-yawk nəmcīniw-yawk 'Suddenly she looked on the side.'

b) kākən etl-alkətək / yot nəmcīniw 'He was chewing a hole in the door, here on the side.'

nīhkāniw 'ahead,' 'in front,' e.g. nit-yawk-te elhkwēpit / nīhkāniw mətelhtakwsowol 'There, where she sat, right in front (of her), (there) it (i.e. the spirit) was making a noise (like a pig).'

papkiw 'down river,' e.g. nakā ali-iyolhtowok-yawk / papkiw 'And they were camping around down river.'

pəliw 'at a different place,' 'in a different direction,' e.g. ələmohs-lo yat / pəliw ələhsit (The dog is there, lying at a different place.'

pithaw 'up river,' e.g. pīhce naci-kə tonhkāhtīhtit skicīnowok / cel-yawk iyik / tamā-al nit / pithaw wəlamōkətək 'Long ago, they were going hunting, the Indians, even to this place, somewhere there, up river, (up) the Oromocto (river).'

tetəkwiw-(te) 'all the way,' e.g. tetəkwiw-te pəmi-kakalowe 'All the way he kept on shouting.'

təhkiw 'to,' 'until,' 'up to.' This is the only w-ended adverb in my corpus which can express both place and time. As adverb of place, it is never used without additional particles or without the locative of a noun. I am presenting examples for the following combinations: a) təhkiw plus the additional particles -te and waht plus locative, b)

locative plus təhkiw, c) təhkiw plus the locative of a pronoun: iyik, d) təhkiw-te plus a noun in locative. Examples:

- a) ən nit nil nocimacewhsan / təhkiw-te wāht iyik / malīhkinowīh
kok weci-ksəkahsiyin 'And there I walked (from McAdam) way
down, to the States where you cross over.'
- b) nīlon / awhtik təhkiw petapasiyek pālēyītok 'We (went) along
the road until we reached an open field.'
- c) noci-sapiphōkə n-te / təhkiw iyik 'And I went through to this
(place).'
- d) maskwəlāmo / təhkiw-te awhtik 'She screamed until she (got) to
the road.'

wāhsiw 'in the other room.' (I found this adverb (a) with and (b) without the additional particle yakw.) Examples:

- a) wāhsiw-yakw nit ləhsin 'In another room, that is where he
lay.'
- b) məte-pənēkwiye wāhsiw 'It made a noise of falling in the other
room.'

wecəwaw 'near,' 'nearby.' (This adverb can be used a) following another adverb of place, b) preceding the particle yakw, c) preceding the particles -yakw and -lo as well as the verbal enclitic -əp, and d) preceding a place name without locative ending; place names are never used with the locative ending in Malecite, unlike other Algonquian languages.) Examples:

- a) naci-poskənaniya skitapiyik / tamā-al wecəwaw 'They went and
buried her, the men, somewhere there, nearby.'
- b) wecəwaw-yakw linōhsōhkwa 'For a short distance they followed
him.'
- c) wecəwaw-kāhk-əp-ə-lo iyey / kisi-lophol 'I could take you
near.'
- d) tamā-al nit wikowak / wecəwaw menāhkwesk 'Somewhere there they
lived, near St. John.'

(The adverb wecəwaw can be used with the diminutive suffixes -əhs or -əhsis, while the short a in the second syllable becomes a long ā.) Examples:

- e) wecəwāwəhs kisi-liphol 'A short distance I could take you.'

- f) wecəwəwəhsis / esekpīsik-yakw sēhket 'Close by, a ghost was standing.'

wiwniw plus the locative of a noun 'around,' e.g. yot-ēhta wiwniw skwətak 'Here, around the fire.'

3.0 Adverbs of Time. The adverbs of time are fewer in Malecite than the adverbs of place. They are, however, formed with the same morphological elements. The ending -w is added to the "final" -i- in most of them, with the exception of māhkiyew 'for a while.' Some of them can be used with a diminutive suffix or with the additional particles -te, -yakw, etc.

askəmiw 'forever,' e.g. kīlēc-na ma askəmiw kolelməkwew 'You, too, forever, you won't be lucky.'

kēkiw 'all day,' e.g. apc-te kēkiw / tiyali-kilwahāwal 'Again, all day, they went around looking for her.'

kinəwiw (with the particles -yakw-te and the enclitic -(h)c 'at a certain time,' e.g. kinəwaw-yakw-tē-hc nikt / ksəkayothətowok / iyil 'təpəsnōtēwal' 'At a certain time they paddled them across, those, their baskets.'

kwəciw 'further on,' 'later,' e.g. ən apc nit / nit-te nit kwəciw / wət nikwəhs itəm 'And again, there, further on, this one, my mother said.'

māhkiyew 'for a short time,' 'a short time after,' e.g. nakā k-nat-pin māhkiyew etli-wəli-akwāhtek 'And you come and sit down for a while, where it is well shaded.'

māhkiyew, in this adverb, there is no final i before the suffix -w. We met a few similar "irregular" formations among the adverbs of place. It is probably not a coincidence that the adverb of time māhkiyew and the adverb of place wecəwaw behave similarly; both of them have a different vowel (not an i) before the suffix -w, and both of them can be used with the diminutive suffixes -əhs and -əhsis. Most adverbs with the final i do not have the forms ending in -əhs or -əhsis. I quote here two sentences with māhkiyew hs and māhkiyew hsis:

- a) ma-te mace-kapowiw / māhkiyewəhs 'I did not move for a few seconds;'

- b) nit-al-te emhkwəte / māhkiyewəhsis / macəko 'There, about (that time), a short time later I fell asleep,'

mecīmiw 'always,' e.g. nit-yakw mecīmiw wikolhtiniyāhpən / skicīnowok 'They always lived there, the Indians.'

metsiw 'late' (this is the only adverb of time with the complex -i-w, which is used (a) with or (b) without the diminutive suffix -əhs). Examples:

- a) metsiwəhs-kāhk 'It was kind of late.'
- b) metsiw 'It is late.'

I met the following adverb only in one form, with the complex -iwəhs (i-w+əhs):

nanakiwəhs 'a very short time later,' e.g. apca nanakiw hs / p mi-weswehsin 'Again, a very short time later, she (the ghost) went by.'

nipāyiw 'at night, (a) with or (b) without the particle -yakw. Examples:

- a) ōhsīmīsəl-yakw / nipāyiw-yakw tətlatēmin 'The younger sister was crying at night.'
- b) nipāyiw nit 'It was night time.'

pīliw 'a short time ago,' e.g. mecte nit pīliw / wewinākwət 'Still, there, a short time ago, it (still) could be seen.'

pōniw 'during the winter,' e.g. nakā pōniw 'And (this happened) during the winter.'

sēhkiw 'suddenly,' e.g. sēhkiw yot / wewmatmən-te 'Suddenly, here, I felt it.'

s(ə)lāhkiw 'some time,' 'shortly,' 'suddenly' (this adverb can be used a) alone, b) with the enclitic -c, c) with the additional particles -te, d) -yakw, and e) -yakw-te. Examples:

- a) s(ə)lāhkiw mēhciyan / k-mohol 'Some time, when I die I'll eat you.'
- b) slāhkiw-c yaka nəkətəmən / nā kil skitkəmiw / k-nəmiya / mēhciniyin 'Some day, when you leave, you, too, (this) world, you will see him, when you die.'
- c) slāhkiw-te ma notowāwīwal 'Suddenly they heard him no more.'
- d) slāhkiw-yakw wət / wət-yakw-lo ēhpit / itəm-yakw iyey 'Suddenly this, this here, the woman, she said that.'
- e) slāhkiw-yakw-te yokt wisə kikə tənhatīcik skicīnowok natkwāhsolhtowok 'Shortly, those who were very old, (those) Indians went away to sleep.'

sikwəniw 'in the spring,' e.g. wāht kpihīkənək / ali-kətonhkiyek
sikwəniw 'Far away, "at the dam" (i.e. at Portobello stream) we were
 hunting around in the springtime.'

sipkiw 'for some time,' e.g. cel-yakw sipkiw / kisi-mace-kwasko 'Even,
 it took some time for her to start running.'

spasəwin 'in the morning.' (This adverb occurs in my corpus a) with the
 preverb visəki- 'very,' 'very much,' in this case 'early,' and b) with
 the future-dubitative enclitic -c.) Examples:

- a) wisəki-spasəwiw / emhkwaṭe skowāhpən / toktēhsin 'Early in the
 morning, it was just about daylight when I woke up.'
- b) spasəwiw-c / natewtāhsolhtīpən 'In the morning we will come
 and get (i.e. get everything).'

təhkiw 'until.' This is the only w-ended adverb in our corpus which can
 refer to place or time. We saw in 2.0 that this adverb was common in
 combination with additional particles and nouns in locative. The adverb
 of time təhkiw can be used a) without any additional particles, b) with
 additional adverbs of time, for instance sepawnok 'tomorrow,' c) or with
 the additional particle -te. When təhkiw refers to time, there must be
 something else in the sentence which refers to time. This can be a con-
 junct verb, as in the examples a) and c), which could be interpreted as
 an equivalent of a subordinate clause of time. Examples:

- a) cēhkwet / təhkiw nehkakisēyiyek 'It was daylight when we
 finished.'
- b) kat kiskəwāhtōwən / təhkiw sepawnok? 'Can't you wait until
 tomorrow?'
- c) tihiṇ nīta / təhkiw-te / kisi-wəlakwīhpəlhtiyek nīlon mətapēh
kawtipan 'She stayed there, until after supper we went down the
 hill.'

təkwākowiw 'in the fall,' e.g. tali-cikənəkhatīnen mōhci-təkwākowiw
 'We were gathering (wild) apples late in the fall.'

tōciw 'at a certain time,' e.g. nit tōciw poskənot 'There, at a
 certain time he was to be buried.'

wəliw-(te) 'right away.' (This adverb occurs in my corpus with the
 particles -te or -yakw-te. I met it many times in the stories, always
 like a) wəliw-te or b) wəliw-yakw-te.) Examples:

- a) yoktak-lo wəliw-te kisacolhtīhtit / skitapiyik 'These here,
 right away, they got ready, the men.'

- b) an-lo kaskwēhsōhs weliw-yakw-te kcīhkok / əliye 'And this old lady, right away, into the woods she went.'

4.0 Adverbs, Other than Those of Place and Time. Occasionally, one can find w-ended adverbs in Malecite texts which express 'together,' 'not at all (whatsoever),' 'even,' 'for no reason,' 'exactly,' 'alone,' and 'including.' In almost all these adverbs, the suffix w joins the final i; in other words, they end in the complex iw, except for miyaw.

kāpiw-te 'including' (I met this adverb only with the particle -te), e.g. kāpiw-te maksən 'Including the shoes.'

kətōhkāyiw 'alone' (it occurs with the particles - yakw and -te), e.g. kətōhkāyiw-yakw-te wīko 'She lived all alone.'

miyaw 'exactly' (a) with or (b) without the particle -te, e.g.

- a) nit-te miyaw-te wikiyekw-hpən 'Right there, exactly, where you camped.'
- b) nēket-te miyaw 'At that time, exactly.'

pis(ə)wiw 'in vain,' 'no use,' 'for no reason.' (It can be used (a) with or (b) without the particle -te.) e.g.

- a) piswiw-te / yot kaskwēhsōhs peci-kilwahan 'It is no use you come here to look for this old lady.'
- b) k-təliyan poskənīkənīhkok / ci-pisəwiw 'You go to the graveyard for no reason.'

sesmiw-te 'not at all,' 'whatsoever' (I found it only with the particle -te), e.g. ma-te n-tapəlāpiw / sesmiw-te 'I did not look back whatsoever.'

təkwiw 'both (together)' (a) with or (b) without the additional particle -te. e.g.

- a) nəmiyan / təkwiw-te 'We saw it, both of us.'
- b) nōhsīmīsak təkwiw 'My younger brothers, both of them.'

5.0 Concluding Remarks. It is beyond the scope of this article to study the history of these adverbs. However, I quote two sentences from my stories which help in understanding the origin of the -iw complex.

ən yakw wiwnīhkman wiwniw nit wikowam 'And she went around, around this house.' In the verb wiwnīhkman we can see a so-called "preverb," with an i "final." If we add the suffix -w to this preverb, we get the next word of our sentence: wiwniw 'around.' Similarly, in the following sentence ewēpi- is a preverb, ewēpiw is an adverb:

stēphal-yakw ewēpiw / ewēpi-kapowit 'As if it (i.e. the ghost) was up, standing up.'

To summarize the findings of the present work, most Malecite adverbs, some 50 of which have been presented here, derive from preverbs. They express place or time, and only very seldom anything else, such as mode of action. Almost all of them have only one function, except for tāhkiw 'until,' which has two functions. Many of the Malecite adverbs are used in combination with short particles, such as -te, -yakw, with verbal enclitics, such as c, or with the locative of a noun.

LA LINGUISTIQUE ACADIENNE: ESQUISSE BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE

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Chacun sait que la linguistique acadienne connaît un essor extraordinaire depuis une dizaine d'années. L'intérêt porté par les linguistes aux parlers acadiens ne fait que souligner et renforcer la revalorisation du dialecte par les Franco-acadiens eux-mêmes, revalorisation qui s'inscrit dans le cadre général de la renaissance acadienne dont les débuts remontent aux années soixante. Un nombre important de publications consacrées à la linguistique acadienne ont paru récemment; de nouveaux titres s'y ajoutent chaque année. Une mise à jour me semble s'imposer, et le moment serait sans doute venu de préparer une bibliographie annotée de linguistique acadienne qui viserait à l'exhaustivité. Je me propose d'entreprendre ce projet et il serait dans mes intentions de le mener à bon terme dans le courant de l'année 1984.

Depuis la création de l'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques en 1977 -- et il faut ici remercier à nouveau le Professeur George Patterson de l'Université Mont St. Vincent de ses efforts qui ont abouti à la naissance de l'Association -- de nombreuses communications portant sur les parlers acadiens ont été présentées aux réunions annuelles. La plupart de ces communications ont paru par la suite dans les Actes des réunions. La bibliographie que je compte préparer figurera également comme publication de l'Association.

Dans le modeste travail de bibliographie qui suit (il s'agira d'une soixantaine de titres), je me contente de rappeler les grands travaux du passé tout en signalant bon nombre de publications qui ont vu le jour depuis 1980. Sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, ces titres se veulent représentatifs de l'activité grandissante dans le domaine. Ce faisant, je voudrais en quelque sorte faire venir l'eau à la bouche de quiconque s'intéresse à la linguistique acadienne. Ajoutons que je compte intégrer à la bibliographie en cours de préparation les titres clés de la linguistique acadienne louisianaise, titres dont je fais abstraction dans la courte présentation que voici.

Les références aux Actes des réunions annuelles de l'Association de Linguistique des Provinces Atlantiques sont nombreuses; l'abréviation ARAALPA y renvoie.

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John A. Holm with Alison Watt Shilling. Dictionary of Bahamian English. Cold Spring, New York: Lexik House Publishers, 1982, Pp. xxxix + 228.

Dictionaries of regional English have a long and honourable heritage, and the latest addition - the Dictionary of Bahamian English (DBE) - comes close on the heels of the Dictionary of Newfoundland English. These dictionaries are modelled on the monumental Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles (OED), each entry being supported with an elaborate scholarly apparatus of written and oral sources, etymologies, dictionary references, variant spellings, exact dates of attestations, etc. DBE is the second important work of lexicography to appear on an English-based Creole of the Caribbean region. The first was the Dictionary of Jamaican English (DJE) (1st ed. 1967, 2nd ed. 1980), and it is above all to this dictionary that DBE must be compared.

First, a word about the authors of DBE. The principal author, Dr. John A. Holm, is an American linguist who specializes in Creole English. His doctoral dissertation was entitled The Creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast (University of London, England). With the help of grants from City University of New York, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington D.C., he carried out four years of field work and research in the Bahamas in order to produce DBE. He at present teaches English at CUNY. Dr. Shilling is originally from Great Britain. She received her Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Hawaii with a dissertation on Bahamian English, and at present teaches at University of Southern California. Both authors are prominent contributors to English World Wide, a journal started in 1980 in West Germany.

DBE contains over 5,500 entries of which about 4,000 derived from written sources much more slender than those in the DJE: it is pointed out that "Jamaica was simply more important to the British in many respects and therefore received the attention of more writers" (DBE: xii). The DJE must contain over 10,000 entries, according to my rough calculation of 25 entries per page x 485 pages, although the exact number of entries is nowhere stated in DJE. As for oral sources, there are some 1,500 entries in DBE, whereas, again, figures are not supplied in the DJE.

The OED format is adopted, with headword in bold type, pronunciation (if required), part of speech, usage label (e.g. rare, obsolete, dialectal), dictionary references, etymology, definition(s), and citations of the word in context, from written or oral sources. Citations from oral sources stand out in the DJE by the expedient of phonemic spelling within slants; in DBE, both written and oral citations are given in italics, the distinguishing feature being a date-author-page reference for written sources, whereas for oral, the only reference given is geographical source (e.g. Nassau).

In both of these dictionaries, the sense of a word is not always clearly set off from its etymology: e.g. in DJE angel-fish, guaco, and in DBE, obeah, where information of differing sorts - dictionary refer-

ences, etymologies, actual meaning, run into each other within a single paragraph with no clear-cut divisions. The Prince Edward Island Word-book by Terry Pratt, now in progress, is superior in this respect: here, each type of information is given a heading, clearly setting it off from the rest, e.g. definition, citations, description, statistics (see: Prospectus for A Prince Edward Island Wordbook, 1982).

The DBE is distinguished by many innovations, chief among which are the following:

- usage notes introduced by the symbol ◇
- angle brackets < > to indicate geographical location
- the label pan-creole to indicate the existence of a given form in French and Portuguese-based creoles, as well as English-based creoles, e.g. Bahamian foot, Papiamentu pia, Portuguese creole of Guiné péé, = leg from the knee down. Big-big = very large: cf. Haitian grand-grand, Portuguese Creole of Senegal grandi-grandi, and reduplicated African forms, e.g. Kongo múpátipáti, Yoruba ńlánílání. Big-eye = greedy: cf. Haitian gwo ye; U.S. Black big-eye; Igbo ana uku; Twi ani bre.
- A glossary of linguistic terms
- two pages of sample entries illustrating the various lexical aspects treated (etymology, citations, social & geographical distribution, etc.)
- a list of the 246 informants and field-workers employed for the oral survey, and the island each came from
- maps of the Bahamas, dialect regions of the U.K. and eastern U.S.A., Sudanic and Bantu languages of West Africa, and creole languages of the western hemisphere (U.S., Caribbean, the Guyanas, West Africa, Indian Ocean)
- an outline of Bahamian phonology and syntax (DJE has only phonology)
- lastly, one of the most important innovations, twenty-eight special articles on various aspects of Bahamian culture, such as African Words, Bush Medicine, Festivals, Folklore, Handicrafts, Marriage, Obeah = (witchcraft), Skin Colour.

We have so far been occupied with the technical aspects of dictionary making, and it is now time to devote attention to what really matters, i.e. content. As one turns the pages of DBE, one cannot but be struck by the large proportion of standard English words like fool, or foot, in relation to the truly non-English, like foo-foo, of West African origin. (In choosing these words, I have randomly opened DBE at p.80.) These standard English words, of course, have a different usage and/or frequency in the Bahamas, and this brings us to one of the most important matters facing the lexicographer: the establishment of criteria to decide which items qualify for inclusion in the dictionary. The guidelines for acceptance as Bahamian regionalisms are as follows (DBE: xii):

1. a word first attested in a book written on the Bahamas, although such words may have later become a part of general English, e.g. glove sponge;
2. words obsolete elsewhere, e.g. colly for 'soot';
3. deviant forms, e.g. filimingo for 'flamingo';
4. differing meaning, e.g. hooker = 'a man who hooks sponges';
5. higher frequency of occurrence, e.g. fowl meaning 'a mature chicken';
6. Bahamian coinages, e.g. gritsy meaning 'not clean (in reference to teeth)'.

The authors of DBE claim these guidelines to be only 'a slight modification of DJE guidelines,' but I find, except for the first, that in fact they are quite different. Readers are invited to compare the guidelines as stated on p. xii of DJE (2nd ed.) with those of DBE, p. xii.

Over and above these guidelines, the general rule is to include those words used in the Bahamas not found in current standard British or American usage. This means that certain very characteristic local items are left out if they are familiar to English speakers the world over, whereas the less familiar are included. In the domain of fruit, for instance, guava and guinep appear as headwords, but banana and mango do not (except in compounds with different meanings, e.g. mango snapper = a fish). The same applies to DJE where banana and mango appear only in compounds, but guinep as a simple word. However guava is not in DJE in any form - simple or compounded - whereas grapefruit is. Grapefruit, in turn, though certainly cultivated in the Bahamas, is not in DBE, and so on: whatever the guidelines, and however refined the criteria, the gray areas and ill-defined boundaries are forever with us.

Finally, for the benefit of readers wishing a further sample of typical Bahamianisms, here are quotations from two of the special articles in DBE, African Words (first of the 28 special articles), and Transportation (last of these articles):

Some of these words became a part of general English, such as banjo (BANJA). YAM (NYAM) or OKRA. Others remained part of the regional English of the Bahamas, usually not understood by people from other places. African loan words in this second category include the names of various foods such as ACARA, AGIDI, FOO-FOO, and MOI-MOI. Others are everyday words such as JOOK, BENNY, or YINNA, or exclamations like BLOO-JOOM! Some folk-tale characters retained their African names, such as BOUKI, ANANSI, BAMAKANSA, U-SANGE-WILEY, and the monster YEHU. Some African personal names have been preserved, such as CUFFEY, CUSHIE and QUAKOO. Until the end of the last century, Bahamians still referred to ethnic groups in Africa

such as the MUNDINGO, ANGOLA, IBO, EGBA, and YORUBA, and even today many Bahamians know the terms CONGO and NANGO.

(DBE: 2)

Individuals travel from one island to another in their own sail boats or take the MAIL or a motorized POOP-POOP. The larger islands are also connected by Bahamasair,...coordinated with service on PLANE-BOATS to the smaller CAYS.

...Once on the open road it may be tempting to MASH the gas and MAKE THE LIMIT, but speeding could lead to a BUCK-UP with a STANDING POLICE.

For boys a BOX-CART may be fun, but a WHEEL is more practical and offers certain social advantages: they can give friends a TOW or PRANCE their bikes to impress girls.

(DBE: 210)

Creole studies have enjoyed phenomenal growth over the past two decades, and DBE is another landmark in this continuing saga. Those interested in the language of this area can look forward to the Dictionary of Trinidad English by Lise Winer (in preparation), and widest of all in scope, the Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage by Richard Allsopp (also in preparation).

Maurice A. Holder
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