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FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, 1971

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PROGRAMME

The following papers, presented here in abstract form only, were delivered at the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota, held on November 19-20, at the University Center Lecture Bowl Room, University of North Dakota.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Burgundy Room of the Holiday Inn. The banquet address, "Appearance and Reality in Chekhov and Pirandello," was given by Professor Ben L. Collins of the University of North Dakota.

A record number of eleven papers were read at the Conference. Professor Wynona H. Wilkins, University of North Dakota, had an attentive audience while dealing with semantic implications of the name "North Dakota." The snowstorm which the Canadian delegates experienced on their way to the meeting made some of her illustrations more than usually vivid. Readers will find her article, "The Idea of North Dakota," published in the *North Dakota Quarterly*, Winter, 1971, enjoyable and rewarding.

In closing the Conference the President-Elect, Professor J.B. Rudnycky, announced that the next annual meeting will be held at The University of Manitoba, on October 20-21, 1972, and requested the members to submit titles of their prospective papers for the conference before July, 1972.

SEQUENCE COMPLETION AND THE HISTORICAL PRESENT IN LATIN TRAGEDY

John J. Gahan, III, The University of Manitoba

The stylistic similarities within distinct genres of classical literature are apparent to anyone with even a rudimentary acquaintance with the literature that makes up a given body. In epic, for instance, there is a distinct choice and use of words which distinguish it from elegy. The history of an Herodotus or a Livy would not likely be confused with the oratory of a Demosthenes or a Cicero. In this same vein the question arises as to whether the syntax, for instance, within a particular genre type is influenced by certain preferences or requirements of the genre or whether its development more closely parallels the develop-

ment of the language as a whole. To answer this question one should have at best an adequate selection of the literature of the chosen type from two periods which are far enough distant in time to allow for the natural development in the language. By comparing the syntactic developments in the language as a whole with the developments within the given body, one should come up with a fairly reliable answer.

Latin drama provides such a body of literature. The ten tragedies of Seneca, on the one hand, and the tragic fragments of Livius, Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius, on the other, make up the needed material for comparison. Chronologically the two groups of tragedies are separated by at least a century and a half. The primary drawback is the paucity of tragic fragments: approximately 2,000 lines vs. Seneca's total of around 11,500.

The comparison in usage of sequence completion and the historical present is interesting as well as puzzling. The historical use of the present tense is represented by over twenty different passages in the tragedies of Seneca, but each passage, needless to say, does not contain an example of a subjunctive verb depending on an introductory historical present. There are also examples of passages with historical presents and with historical presents governing subjunctive verbs in the fragments. By historical use of the present tense is meant the portraying of past events by the present tense of a verb. In such circumstances a past tense of the verb is logically and grammatically called for, but the present is employed to make the narrative more vivid. The usage, according to grammarians, probably belongs originally to the spoken language, but finds its way into literature in an attempt to represent colloquially lively speech. Briefly, there are two possible ways to conceive of the historical present in relation to the sphere of time of the speaker. The first is that the speaker (or writer) pictures the past events as occurring and passing in imagination before his mind's eye at the precise moment of his relating them. In other words he transposes the time when these events took place from the past to the present. The other way is to consider the historical present in relation to the development of a 'tenseless' use of the present, for example the modern English usage of the present tense for both the past and the future. By this method the reference to the past in the historical present is regarded as due solely to context, the actual tense in this usage being entirely timeless. A further development of this theory is that the speaker, instead of transposing events from the past to the present, puts

himself back rather into the past. Little can be gained, however, by opting in favour of one view over another. Nor can it be determined which of the two explanations is correct. Each is suitable for our purposes.

The problem is, however, how the tragedians regard the historical present when it governs a dependent subjunctive verb. Although a verb in the historical present is present in form, it is commonly best rendered by a past tense in translation. That the Romans, however, thought of historical presents as sometimes present and sometimes past is apparent from their use of both primary and secondary tenses in the dependent subjunctive.

In the *Lateinische Grammatik* Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr give a considerably abridged historical account of the use by select authors of subjunctive sequence after historical presents (p. 551).¹ With Plautus the primary sequence prevails after an introductory historical present, but Terence uses secondary sequence about as often as primary. Sallust in the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* (to chapter 25) never lets the subjunctive verb of a clause, which is dependent on an historical present, stand next to this present if the subordinate verb is in secondary sequence. Caesar uses primary sequence specifically in indirect questions and purpose (final) clauses, while in the kinds of subordinate clauses which usually precede the main clause, for example certain kinds of *cum*-clauses, he shows marked preference (three times as many) for secondary sequence. Cicero, it seems, makes more or less the same distinctions as Caesar. Hence the principle — One hesitates to use the word 'rule' — that the construction is secondary sequence for dependent subjunctives preceding the introductory historical present and primary sequence (though secondary can well occur) for those that follow. The trend from Plautus to Sallust, then, seems to indicate an increasing use of secondary sequence with the historical present and stricter limits as to where one sequence as opposed to the other can be employed.

Examination of sequence completion and the historical present in Latin tragedy actually shows that, unlike his predecessors in the writing of tragedy, Seneca prefers primary to secondary sequence in combination with historical presents. There is no consistency of usage within the genre of tragedy. Seneca as well does not follow the historical tendency, which is increased use of secondary subjunctive tenses with historical presents, nor, for that matter, do the early tragedians either. They prefer secondary sequence in opposition to both Plautus and

Terence. Seneca, moreover, disregards the principle that subjunctives preceding the main historical verb are secondary while those that follow tend to be primary. The difference in usage between the early tragedians and comedians may be an accident of preservation. There are far fewer lines of early tragedy preserved than comic lines of either Plautus or Terence. Why Seneca uses primary sequence almost exclusively – against a kind of historical trend – is another question. He was first of all, a philosopher; secondly, a rhetorician, and perhaps, thirdly, a dramatist. His love of rhetoric must no doubt be taken into account when one observes, too, the vividness of primary subjunctives over secondary with historical presents. The problem is a curious one. An examination of other writers whose writings are highly rhetorical may give some future clue.

¹ Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* (Mullers *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, II, II), (Munich, 1965).

MALLARMÉ'S "A LA NUE ACCABLANTE TU"

Paul J. Schwartz, University of North Dakota

- 1 A la nue accablante tu
- 2 Basse de basalte et de laves
- 3 A même les échos esclaves
- 4 Par une trompe sans vertu

- 5 Quel sépulcral naufrage (tu
- 6 Le sais, écume, mais y baves)
- 7 Suprême une entre les épaves
- 8 Abolit le mât dévêtu

- 9 Ou cela que furibond faute
- 10 De quelque perdition haute
- 11 Tout l'abîme vain éployé

- 12 Dans le si blanc cheveu qui traîne
- 13 Avarement aura noyé
- 14 Le flanc enfant d'une sirène.

This poem's ambiguity begins with the first word, a capital "A" which can be interpreted either as a preposition or as the third person singular form of the verb *avoir*. In the first line we also find the "nue

accablante" either a heavy cloud or a domineering naked woman, and "tu", either the second person familiar subject pronoun or the past participle of the verb *taire*, to silence. Taking into account all of these possibilities, one can understand the first line alone in six different ways.

"Basse", the first word of the second line is either the feminine form of the adjective meaning low or a noun meaning reef. The word "trompe" in the fourth line offers perhaps the strangest variety of meanings: it is possibly the third person singular of the verb *tromper*, to deceive, or a noun meaning trumpet, the trunk of an elephant, a type of seashell, a kind of architectural form, a pump or a tube. Luigi Nardis suggests that it might be *trombe*, a tornado or whirlwind.

One other major ambiguity in the poem is the word "cela" in the ninth line; it is either a neuter pronoun meaning that or the third person singular of the verb *celer* in the simple past (*celer*, to hide). Other ambiguous words are "vertu", either force or virtue, "abolit" which is either in the present or simple past tense, "faute", either lack, sin or error, "perdition", damnation or shipwreck, "abîme", either the depths of the ocean or the depths of hell, and "flanc", either the mermaid's side or her breast.

The ambiguities of language in this sonnet permit one to define three different categories of motifs: shipwreck motifs, sexual motifs and motifs of damnation.

The shipwreck motifs dominate the poem. Many nautical terms, "basse", "mât", "épaves", "écume" and "sirène" are surrounded by images of destruction and death: "accablante", "sépulcral", "naufrage", "abolit", "perdition", "noyé". On its most literal level, the poem describes the loss at sea of an unknown boat.

The sexual motifs begin with the possibility that the "nue" in the first line is a naked woman. The eighth line suggests a virile mate for the naked woman in the image of the upright and unclothed mast. Sexuality also resides on the surface of the water in the presence of the foam, inextricably linked in Mallarmé's imagination with the birth of Venus. The last line of the sonnet evokes the image of the mermaid, the seductive child born and destroyed within the tempestuous sea.

Motifs of sin and punishment cast a curious light upon the sexual imagery. The combination of words "trompe sans vertu" in the first

quatrain and the noun "faute" in the ninth line suggest moral guilt; the enslavement of the echoes, alluding perhaps to the punishment of the wood nymph Echo, and the drowning of the mermaid are images of physical punishment while the ambiguous notions of "perdition" and "abîme" evoke the infernal damnation which awaits the morally corrupt.

But the sonnet is essentially about a shipwreck. No reworking of the syntax can bring the secondary images of sex, guilt and punishment into the foreground. And yet, these images exist, lying obsessively just below the surface of this poem describing a drama of sexual transgression, death and damnation.

The most delicate aspect of any interpretation of this poem is the syntax. I have tried to demonstrate that the poem is evocative and meaningful even though the syntax seems hopelessly obscure. In fact, the poem is perhaps even more meaningful when it is not rationally understood, for in attempting to unscramble the syntax we must eliminate certain possible interpretations. But we must pay homage to Mallarmé as a master of the French language who takes no liberties with its grammar.

Emilie Noulet and Luigi Nardis both understand the critical last word of the first line as the past participle of the verb *taire*. Mrs. Noulet believes it is an adjective modifying "naufage" while Mr. Nardis maintains that it forms along with the first word of the line the *passé composé* of the verb *taire* whose subject is "la nue". The line should then be understood: "The overwhelming cloud has silenced. . ." I agree with this interpretation of the first line. However, I disagree with Mr. Nardis concerning the object of the verb. I believe that the object of *taire* is the second quatrain, a noun clause whose subject is "naufage", whose verb is "abolit" and whose direct object is "le mâ". The poem then tells us that "the overpowering cloud has hidden what deathly shipwreck destroyed the naked mast."

Returning to the first quatrain, we find that lines 2-4 modify line one. "Basse" is an adjective which with its complements describes the heaviness of the black cloud. The third line tells us to what extent the cloud has hidden or silenced the shipwreck and the fourth line tells us by what means it was done. It is quite tempting to accept Nardis's explanation that the "trompe" is actually a *trombe*, a tornado by means of which the cloud swallows up the shipwreck. We must, how-

ever, assume that the poet knew what he was doing. The "trompe" is probably Triton's trumpet whose wailing drowns out the sounds of the shipwreck.

The rest of the poem presents few difficulties. The parentheses within the second quatrain contain an apostrophe addressed to the only witness of the disaster, the foam which dumbly drools. The seventh line is in apposition with "le mâ" and emphasizes the erect though crumbling nature of the mast.

The two tercets present an alternate image; the poet admits that the shipwreck is not the only possible interpretation of the scene which he witnesses. The alternate vision begins with the *passé simple* of the verb *celer* whose subject is still the cloud. This interpretation of the structure of the poem accords to it a symmetry which is lacking in other interpretations: the overpowering cloud has silenced the image of the quatrains or it hid the image of the tercets. The cloud has either silenced the deathly shipwreck which destroyed even the mast of a ship, or perhaps for lack of a real shipwreck, the cloud just hid the death of a mermaid amidst the furious waves. The only line in the tercets which presents any real obscurity is the twelfth to which Nardis has given a very valid interpretation: the white hair is the thin line of foam which remains on the surface of the water as it closes in over the drowned mermaid.

This poem is in many ways a poetic sketch for *Un Coup de Dés*. It reproduces not only the thematics and imagery of the larger work but also its rhythm. Robert Cohn defines it as a cyclical alternation of suggestions of height, corresponding to masculine imagery, and suggestions of depth, corresponding to feminine imagery. The low-hanging cloud is feminine, the tall mast masculine and the mermaid, drowned below the water, obviously feminine. The poem's accent marks also reproduce this rhythm. Six circumflexes retrace the pattern which culminates with the falling *accent grave* over the poem's last syllable.

In order to appreciate the full significance of the poem, we must remember the secondary preoccupations which lie below the surface, the sexual imagery, the suggestion of destruction and damnation. One might justifiably ask: what is the relationship between sexuality and a shipwreck? Fortunately, we can call upon the entire body of Mallarmé's poetry to help us answer this question. First of all, eroticism in Mallarmé's imagination is almost invariably linked to an aquatic milieu.

A desired woman is often perceived bathing or swimming or with water streaming from her body. Secondly, in Mallarmé's imagination, sexuality is basically a destructive force: nineteenth century physiology believed in the debilitating effect of overindulgence in sex. Many nineteenth century personalities, some contemporaries of Mallarmé, were intimately acquainted with the destructive side of eroticism. The shipwreck, an image of massive destruction in the midst of a vast and sensual sea, is then an appropriate metaphor for the sexual act.

Sexuality is in itself a metaphor, a metaphor for creation in general, and more specifically for poetic creation. Like sex, poetic creation is a destructive act, the poet sacrifices himself in the creation of a work of art. The three poems of Mallarmé which deal specifically with an accident at sea are all saved from nihilistic conclusions by some remnant symbolic of an eternal value, symbolic then of a work of art. The sonnet "Salut" evokes in the second tercet a star; through the imagery of *Un Coup de Dés* runs the hope of a constellation. What remains in the sonnet we are considering is the cloud, hanging low in the sky, heavy as if with basalt and lava. But basalt is the stuff that tombstones are made of – at least in Mallarmé's imagination. The cloud is thus transformed into a tombstone which sits upon the sepulchral shipwreck and silences it forever. But the tombstone exists, and one has only to consider Mallarmé's interest in the tombstone epitaph as a sign of the faith he has in the transcendental nature of the poet's tomb. The word "basalte" suggests in itself this transcendence: a dissection of the word takes us from the depths of the grave to the high altitude of heaven.

And so the heavy tombstone sits upon the sea which envelopes the earthly remains of the act of creation, a monument to that act, a symbol of death and resurrection.

SANDHI AS A PROBLEM OF THE "GENERATIVE-TRANSFORMATIONAL" LINGUISTICS

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As a special case of the syntax-phonetics *sandhi* is defined by the author as *phonetic juncture* or *interverbal (interglossal) change* occurring in situations where the end of the preceding word is influenced as to its form by the beginning of the following word, or *vice versa*.

As such *sandhi* was neglected in the investigation of "deep" and "surface" levels in the generative-transformational description of the lingual phenomena.

Examples from the standard and colloquial English in North American might serve here as a good material for introduction to the problem. It is well-known, e.g., that the phrase *as yet* is often pronounced in the colloquial speech: /æz'jet/ with a lesser or greater degree of palatalization of the consonant /z'/. In terms of the 'transformational' theory we are faced here with the following phenomenon:

syntactic deep level (sd1): *as yet*

phonological (deep) level (ph1): /æz'jet/

surface levels:

phonetic standard realization (ssl): /æzjet/

phonetic colloquial realization (csl): /æz'jet/

phonetic and colloquial realization,

(–a variable of csl): /æzjet/.

Formula: $sd1 = ph1 = ssl \neq csl \text{ csl}_1$,

is to be read as follows: Syntactic deep level of the English phrase *as yet* is identical with its phonological and standard surface (phonetic) realization, but differs from its colloquial pronunciation /æz'jet/ existing parallel with its palatal variable /æzjet/. In other words, the 'transformation' of the syntactic deep level phrase *as yet*, phonologically internalized in the mentality of speakers of the twentieth century as /æzjet/ and so realized on the surface level of the standardized English orthoepy, has a colloquial variable /æz'jet/ with a coronally palatalized /z'/, or even /æzjet/ with a dorsal palatal /ž/.

Another, more complicated, example offers the phrase: *last year*. The end of the first component *last* is voiceless and this voicelessness is observable on both deep and surface levels. However, the element of regressive assimilation (palatalization) appears in the colloquial pronunciation, viz.

sd1	ph1	ssl	csl	csl ₁
<i>last year</i>	/last jə:/	/last jə:/	/last' jə:/	/lasts jə:/

Accordingly, the formula for *last year* would be as follows:

$sd1 \neq ph1 = ssl \neq csl \text{ csl}_1$.

One can go on and on with such examples as *he has your (book), (come) as you (are), would you (do it), etc.*, to arrive at the nearly identical colloquial pronunciations of the kind:

watch your (name) / wɑtʃ juɔ(nɪm) /
what's your (name)

As a supra-categorical phenomenon *sandhi* offers a great variety of concrete cases where syntactic, phonological and phonetic interrelations are observable not only in synchronic description, but also in diachronic perspective. . .

In discussing the Russian colloquial language recently, E.A. Zemskaya offers the following interesting examples (*Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, No. 5, 1971, p. 71):

В РЯ роль фонетической системы в передаче информации снижена за счет усиления роли интонационных средств, жеста, мимики, использования знания обстановки речи, а также вследствие близкого контакта собеседников. В связи с этим возрастает роль явления нейтрализации. Звуки могут сильно менять свои качества, ослабляться и совсем исчезать в потоке речи, так что часть фонем в словах оказывается совсем не представленной. Приведем несколько примеров: *вместе с тем* [в'м'эс'т'эм], *разве же* [раз'ж], *по крайней мере* [пакра́йм'эр'нэ], *первый раз* [п'эра́с], *надо сказать* [наскъ'т].

The forms in brackets represent the "surface level" of less known modern colloquial *sandhi* phenomena in Russian from nineteenth century Russian, which uses *ss* for *gosudar' / sudar'* and other rare 'abbreviations' of this type.

POETIC FREEDOM OF IMITATION: JOHANN ELIAS SCHLEGEL'S DOCTRINE, AS ILLUSTRATED BY HIS "CANUT"

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Johann Elias Schlegel illustrates in his *Canut* the doctrine of "poetic freedom" when he creates for his tragic poem a protagonist closely coinciding in major characteristics with the historical King Knut the Great, but differing in invented details.

In *Canut* there is no doubt that history serves as a means of expression, and not as an object of imitation; history plays a subordinated role that does not limit the poet in his creative approach to exact accuracy of details.¹

To Schlegel, "poetic freedom" is attained by choosing those basic elements of the object to be imitated which harmonize with the most emphatic qualities of the historical character, but which do not always reflect that accuracy of details which distinguishes the historian. His way of portraying human qualities in a dramatic character reflect much more his own ideal, a humanitarian attitude which he called "Menschlichkeit" or "Menschenliebe." It is a combination of the rational modern and the idealized classical spirit of the German Enlightenment. The object of Schlegel's imitation grew out of a most sophisticated culture. He wished to present as a universal human King Knut the Great, a historical figure who, by virtue of his lack of sophistication, was seemingly just the opposite.

To illustrate Schlegel's doctrine, five of the characteristics of the personality chosen as the object of imitation will be examined in the light of what he calls *Menschlichkeit* or *Menschenliebe*. We will examine the sources he used and the works he could have used but does not mention. Our purpose is to show how, on these five issues, they reflect the historical King Knut the Great's personality. Schlegel acknowledges his debt to the Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, and to his book, the *Gesta Danorum*. He mentions the *Knytlinga Saga*, which, however, he treats as less important. The *Witherlaghs-Rätt*, a code of behavior for warriors supposedly inspired by King Knut, motivates the thematic aspects of the tragedy. Old English Chronicles and Snorri Sturlusson's *Heimskringla* are also examined.

The first quality, the rational mind, is essential to the Schlegel hero: "Der Mensch hat nichts edleres an sich, als dass er denkt . . ." says the author in his *Vorrede zu Theatralische Werke*. According to historical material, Knut's intelligence had two major qualities: he was wise and sly. His wise mind is clearly evident from the written documents he left explaining the success of his methods for consolidating his great conquests into a lasting empire. Slyness as a method of action was not considered unvirtuous in the old Germanic code of ethics. The manner in which King Knut had prepared his attack against Olav through a systematic campaign of bribing dissident Norwegians and Swedes,² and the way he assured for himself the English throne, show the skill of a sophist lawyer.

Secondly, *Menschenliebe* includes the concept of disinterested utopian love for human beings. *Canut*, the hero, is involved in helping practically all the characters of the tragedy in one way or another. King

Knut the Great showed unselfish generosity to his sister Estrithe and forgave her husband Ulfo, a Swedish hero who betrayed him.

Thirdly, Schlegel's hero is master of himself, self-discipline is part of his culture. In him, emotions are never allowed to displace reason. When faced with the task of judging Ulfo, Schlegel shows his Canut torn between the need to perform his royal duty, and the compelling desire to forgive, as his mankind-loving philosophy would dictate. The decision is made rationally; impulsive or emotional arguments play no role at all. In Saxo the decision of the historical king is motivated by irritation caused by Ulfo. It remains unclear whether the king's orders were due to a spontaneous decision or a desire to enforce the law, which did not allow under any circumstances ridicule of the warriors.³

Fourthly, Schlegel's Canut is unable to be bloodthirsty; his humanitarian views are emphasized and repeated throughout the tragedy. The historical King Knut's rule can be divided into two phases, each with a single great objective: the first goal, conquest by force; the second, consolidation and stabilization of power. He succeeded in both. Young Knut cannot be considered particularly greedy or bloodthirsty in achieving his heritage by force. None of the historical sources emphasize his cruelties.

The fifth and last point is that Schlegel shows open-minded liberality towards foreigners. This attitude is natural for a Saxon of the 1740's, when the court was divided between Catholic and Protestant, and shared Saxon and Polish cultural heritages. This is also a logical attitude for a king like Knut the Great, who ruled over several crowns. Ulfo the Swede, Godewin the Englishman, and Godschalk, the Slavic prince, are all historical figures, and they all enjoy both the historical and the fictional hero's benevolent protection.

Those acquainted with the historical sources, will be increasingly impressed by the coincidence of the main characteristics of Knut the King and Canut the hero; the historian and the artist agree to a surprising extent when Schlegel creates this portrait of an extraordinary person and a great king. His creative approach permits him to swing away from strict historical accuracy, in order to build a valid artistic motivation, to achieve a desired relevance to the poet's audience, and even, when necessary, to clarify and bridge with invented details certain ambiguous elements of the historical character and events. In spite of the appearance of some qualities typical of the Enlightenment of

Schlegel's epoch, with its neo-classical puritanism, and in spite of the disappearance of the realistic vigor of the old chronicles, we can state that no contradiction exists between the general picture of the historical figure and the protagonist of Schlegel's tragedy.

¹ J.E. Schlegel, "Vorbericht" zu *Canut* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, Jun., 1967, p. 8. "Man hat der Dichtkunst schon längst eine solche ja eine noch grössere Gewalt über die Geschichte um desto williger vergönnet, da diejenigen, die mit Hauptbegriffen von der Historie zufrieden sind, an dergleichen Nebenumständen nichts verlieren, diejenigen aber, die die Begebenheiten vergangner Zeiten auf das genaueste kennen wollen, sie nicht in den Gedichten suchen."

² Practically all the old English Chronicles mention this, as well as Snorri Sturluson in the *Heimskringla Noregs Konunga sogur* (Olafs Helga Saga), Chapter 130.

³ *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*. Ed. by Levin and Munksgaard, Liber decimus, p. 292.

THE MODAL AUXILIARY VERB CAN: SOME SEMANTIC PROBLEMS

D.N. Walton, University of Winnipeg

The aim of this paper was to examine and evaluate a currently popular type of analysis of the English modal auxiliary verb CAN. According to this analysis, to say I can do x means that there is no sufficient condition for my not doing x. This analysis is rephrased as

- (H) There is no true proposition (or set of propositions) *logically* sufficient for the truth of the proposition that the event will not happen,

and further explicated as

- (I) p can be true = df there does not exist a set of true propositions that details $\sim p$.

Defining 'p is consistent with q' in the usual fashion as 'p does not entail the negation of q', we get an equivalence to (I),

(I') p can be true = df p is consistent with every true proposition. Thus expressed, the analysis promises to be of potentially great explicative value – we have explicated CAN via the logical concepts of truth, entailment and negation.

Next, we set down four conditions of material adequacy for any analysis of CAN. Read Cp as 'p can be true'.

- (R₁) If p then Cp.
- (R'₁) If ~ Cp then ~ p.
- (R₂) 'If Cp then p' must not hold.
- (R'₂) 'If ~ p then ~ Cp' must not hold.

There are even stronger reasons for requiring (R₂) and its contrapositive in (R'₂) than their obvious intuitiveness. If we were to reject (R₂) and allow 'Cp ⊃ p' while jointly allowing (R₁), 'p ⊃ Cp', we would be maintaining the equivalence 'Cp ≡ p'. That is: 'p can be true' would be equivalent to 'p is true'. Here we would have what we might call a "modal collapse" – possibility collapses into truth, and hence possibility becomes a redundant concept. Reasoning along these lines, we see that if we require (R₁) we must also require (R₂); otherwise to say 'I can do x' merely becomes another way of saying 'I do x'. These conditions seem so minimal that no plausible analysis could conceivably violate them. Nevertheless, surprisingly, (I') fails to meet (R'₂)! To see this we reason as follows. Assume p is false. Then p is inconsistent with at least one true proposition, namely ~ p. Therefore by the definition (I'), p can't be true. Hence according to (I') if p is false then p cannot be true. This is a clear violation of (R'₂). So we see that (I'), as intuitively plausible as it may seem, is inconsistent with even the most minimal set of adequacy conditions for CAN.

We might try to modify (I') to avoid this counter-example, except that attempts at modification also exhibit an embarrassing tendency to violate our conditions of adequacy. For example we might try

- (I'₁) p can be true = df p is consistent with every true proposition except ~ p.

But here again the same problem arises. Assume that p is false. Then '~ p.q' is true and inconsistent with p. and (R'₂) is violated. Again we might try

- (I'₂) p can be true = df p is consistent with every true conjunctively atomic proposition except ~ p.

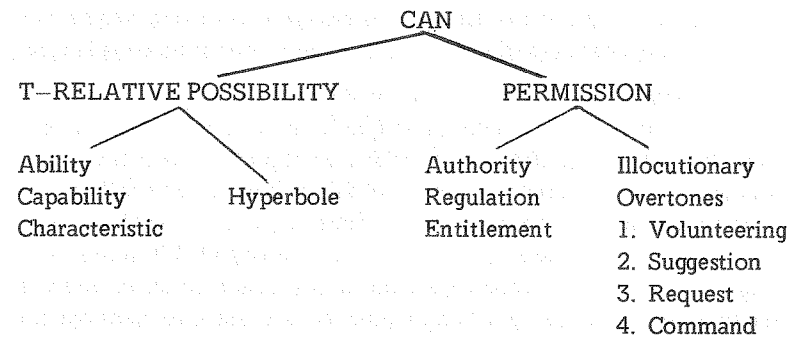
But trouble can be found even here. Again, assume that p is false. Then ~(pv ~ q) is true and inconsistent with p. These counter-examples may suggest an appeal to the concept of conjunctive normal form, since it appears that we must ban not only certain conjunctively molecular propositions from the consistency set, but also their equivalents. But again, this modification leads to difficulties.

An alternative I briefly suggest is

- (I'₃) p can be true at time t = df p is consistent at t with every proposition that is true before it.

Here tensed propositions, in order to belong to the consistency set, must refer only to events that took place before t. Since true tenseless propositions (laws of nature or logic) are true at all times, presumably they would all belong to the consistency set.

Next, I propose a number of overtone meanings of CAN that are parasitic on the two basic meanings as follows.



QUELQUES CONTRASTES LEXICAUX ENTRE LE FRANCAIS ET L'ESPAGNOL

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De toutes les langues romanes la française est celle qui s'éloigne le plus dans son évolution du tronc latin. Ses transformations ont été beaucoup plus rapides et intenses que celles de l'espagnol et de l'italien.

La raison principale, selon Henri Hubert, c'est que les Gaulois "ont appris le latin par la voie de la paresse." Le latin parlé en Gaule a éprouvé depuis la conquête romaine jusqu'à l'époque carolingienne de multiples contractions de syllabes, de multiples relâchements d'articulation.

Dans les siècles suivants l'e français qui se prononçait encore, commence à s'amuir. Le français s'acheminait vers le monosyllabisme, et ce raccourcissement des mots amena des amphibologies dans le langage par l'identité phonique de nombreux vocables. Par ex. *hui* (L. *hodie*: "en ce jour") se confondait avec *huis* (L. *ustium*: "porte"). Le peuple même a corrigé cet inconvénient en rallongeant à nouveau les mots; il a ainsi créé *aujourd'hui*, forme renforcée de *hui*. Le mot espagnol, par contre, n'a jamais changé: *hoy*.

Un autre exemple: *dortoir* (L. *dormitorium*), raccourci depuis le XIIe siècle. L'espagnol conserve presque la forme latine: *dormitorio*.

Contrairement à celle de la langue française, l'évolution de l'espagnol a été très lente. Le lexique espagnol est arrivé jusqu'à nos jours quasiment inchangé depuis les débuts de la formation de la langue.

Si nous ouvrons côte à côte un dictionnaire espagnol, un autre français et un troisième bilingue et que nous nous appliquions à conférer des mots de signification identique ou approximativement correspondante, nous nous rendrions compte de combien le nombre d'expressions espagnoles qui manquent en français surpasse de beaucoup celui des expressions françaises qui font défaut en espagnol. L'histoire de la langue française nous apprend que l'ancien français avait un vocabulaire extrêmement varié que les dictionnaires de nos jours ne mentionnent plus. Ceci est dû à deux raisons principales: 1) les transformations de la société, l'évolution des mœurs, la disparition d'objets, d'ustensiles, d'armes, de vêtements, etc.; 2) la réforme délibérée de la langue par Malherbe au début du XVIIe siècle.

Brunot déplore la disparition d'une foule de jolis mots que nous ne pouvons plus rendre que par des périphrases.¹ Je ne retiens de sa liste que le mot *ennoïtier*: "Commencer à faire nuit." Nous l'avons en espagnol: *anocheecer*: "tomber la nuit."

J'ai été frappé par le nombre considérable de mots de l'ancien français très ressemblants ou presque identiques à leurs correspondants espagnols. En lisant n'importe quel texte du moyen-âge on peut faire de ces mots une moisson abondante.

On sait que le latin est entré en Espagne à la fin du IIIe siècle av.J.C. La Gaule a donc un siècle et demi de retard par rapport à Hispania quant à l'influence de la langue latine. L'implantation précoce du latin dans la péninsule a contribué puissamment à son plein

épanouissement. Le substrat celtibère est minime, et le superstrat germanique n'existe, pratiquement, dans la formation du castillan, que pour une centaine de mots de son vocabulaire. Le grec, qui se parlait sur la côte du Levant ibérique fut peu à peu évincé; et la langue arabe ne fut jamais imposée aux Espagnols par la nation dominatrice durant les huit siècles de son empire. Le royaume visigothique qui dura à peine deux siècles influa peu sur le sort de l'espagnol. La culture latine était définitivement enracinée dans la vie espagnole. Les liens avec Rome ont été solides et durables, et l'Espagne a contribué à l'essor de la civilisation romaine: cinq empereurs naquirent en Espagne ou de familles issues de l'Espagne; et parmi les écrivains espagnols d'expression latine on trouve Sénèque, Lucain, Quintilien, Martial, et d'autres encore.

Quant à la culture arabe, son empreinte a été intense et féconde. Avant l'an mil, quand l'Europe était encore barbare, inculte — malgré les efforts de l'Eglise et de la Féodalité — les savants et les philosophes arabes se consacraient déjà à développer les sciences et les arts et à conserver le patrimoine de l'ancienne Grèce. Le premier foyer de culture du continent européen eut son siège à Cordoue dès le VIIIe siècle, et sa renommée attira en Espagne des intellectuels venant de France, d'Italie et d'Allemagne.

L'influence arabe se manifeste dans la vie du peuple espagnol sous tous ses aspects et elle subsiste dans le vocabulaire qui ne contient pas moins de quatre mille mots d'origine arabe.

Les mots germaniques comme ceux qui ont enrichi le français ne manquent pas non plus en espagnol: *toalla*, en anglais *towel*; l'ancien français avait le mot *toaille*, disparu en français moderne, où il a été remplacé par "essuie-mains", "serviette de toilette."

Marouzeau consacre un chapitre de son livre "*Aspects du Français*" aux lacunes de cette langue.² Il regrette (ainsi que Brunot) la perte de mots du vieux français, tel l'adverbe *céans* "ici dedans", qui ne s'emploie aujourd'hui que dans l'expression "le maître de céans."

Marouzeau cite une vingtaine de mots, pour la plupart allemands, qui n'ont pas de correspondants en français. Comme il ne cite pas de mots espagnols, je vous donnerai les suivants:

D'abord ceux qui constituent en espagnol une survivance du nombre duel: *padres* (père et mère); *hermanos* (frères et soeurs); *suegros* (beaux-parents) *los senores de Z* (Monsieur et Madame Z.); *los*

duques de X. (le duc et la duchesse de X.); *ambos* (les deux); *sendos*, (un pour chacun).

D'autres mots espagnols ne peuvent se traduire en français que par des composés. Quelques-uns marquent des rapports familiaux: *nieto* (petit-fils); *suegro* (beau-père); *suegra* (belle-mère), *cunado*, *cunada* (beau-frère, belle-soeur).

Remarquons la gaucherie de l'expression *jeune-fille*, et son ambiguïté. Aujourd'hui on n'emploie *demoiselle* que rarement, dans la langue polie, ou bien en parlant d'une *vieille fille* ou d'une *demoiselle de magasin*. En espagnol il existe cinq synonymes pour désigner la jeune fille: *joven*, *moza*, *muchacha*, *doncella*, *senorita* (*damoiselle* et *donzelle* appartiennent aussi au vieux français).

La liste de mots espagnols dont la traduction en français ne peut se faire que par une périphrase est considérable, par ex.: les verbes *escampar* (Cesser de pleuvoir), *asomarse* (apparaître ou montrer le tête à la fenêtre, à la porte), *atardecer* (décliner ou tomber le jour), *relampaguear* (faire des éclairs).

"Mais ce n'est pas seulement en français qu'il manque des mots que d'autres peuples ont réussi à créer pour exprimer certaines idées d'une façon adéquate. En espagnol aussi, il faut des circonlocutions pour traduire des mots français, tels que *tartine* (*rebanada de pan*), *desormais* (*en lo adelante*), *le lendemain* (*el día después, el día siguiente*), *chez* (*en casa de*), etc.

En glanant dans la *Chanson de Roland* et dans d'autres oeuvres littéraires du moyen-âge, nous avons rempli une corbeille de mots, communs à l'ancien français et à l'espagnol, toujours vivants dans l'espagnol de nos jours, disparus en français moderne. Ils gardent dans les vieux textes une force expressive, des sonorités qui enchantent; ce sont comme des fleurs fanées douées d'un étrange et magique attrait. Ainsi: *maltalantis* (esp. *maltalante*: "de mauvaise humeur"); *soloir* (esp. *soler*: "avoir l'habitude"); *doloir* (esp. *doler*: "faire mal", "regretter"); *ambes* (esp. *ambos*: "tous les deux"); *ardoir*, *ardre* (esp. *arder*: "brûler"); *oir*, *ouir* (esp. *oir*: "entendre"), etc.

La vieille langue s'emploie encore couramment au XVIe siècle, par ex. *ores* (esp. *ahora*: "maintenant").

La Bruyère constate la disparition du verbe *souloir* auquel l'usage de l'époque avait préféré la périphrase *avoir l'habitude* ou *être accoutumé*; et l'auteur des *Caractères* ajoute:

"*Moult*, quoique latin, était dans son temps d'un même mérite, et je ne vois pas par où *beaucoup* l'emporte sur lui".³
Ce vieux mot *moult* s'apparente à l'espagnol *mucho*, *muy*.

Si au XVIIe siècle la bonne société et les écrivains en France s'efforcent de n'employer qu'une langue noble, un vocabulaire choisi et restreint, en faisant fi de la vieille langue, les préoccupations d'ordre philosophique et politique et les progrès des sciences au XVIIIe siècle provoquent un énorme enrichissement lexical.

En Espagne la littérature dans beaucoup de ses genres reflète l'action, la pensée, les sentiments, les passions aussi bien des Grands que du peuple; il n'y a pas, à proprement parler, comme en France, une langue classique et une autre populaire. Les grands auteurs n'ont aucun souci quant à l'usage des mots qui leur conviennent; ils s'en servent en puisant à pleines mains dans le trésor immense du fonds ancestral de la langue.

Au XIXe siècle les écrivains et les artistes français remettent en honneur le moyen-âge que les classiques avaient méprisé. Depuis le Romantisme jusqu'à nos jours, de nombreux écrivains se sont plu à glisser dans leurs écrits des mots anciens; ces archaïsmes non seulement donnent de la précision à l'idée, ils rehaussent aussi par leur étrangeté la beauté littéraire.

¹ F. Brunot: *Histoire de la langue française*, 1966, Vol. I, p. 350.

² J. Marouzeau: *Aspects du Français*, 1963, pp. 198 et suiv.

³ J. de La Bruyère: *Oeuvres complètes*, NRF, 1951, pp. 432-434.

APPEARANCE AND REALITY IN CHEKHOV AND PIRANDELLO

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Although Appearance-Reality is a grossly overused term, it is the one that best allows us to perceive the ironic in literature. In its most familiar sense, Appearance-Reality shows us that what appears to be true is contradicted by reality, that which "is" true (though truth is generally hypothetical - i.e. non-philosophical - in most fictions).

Kenneth Burke's formula for irony, "What goes forth as A, returns as non-A," is helpful for our purposes, for it points out that peripety is often the key to analysis in both classical and modern fictions.

In many fictions (cf. *Oedipus*, so replete with dramatic irony) Appearance and Reality is simplicity itself, but it is often presented in an extremely complex form. For example, the appearances may be multiple ($A > A > A$) or (A^n); or they may affect more characters than the "hero"; or appearance and reality may equate ($A=R$); or they may merge or fuse (AR); or they may exist together ($A+R$); or appearance may develop into reality ($A > R$) or vice versa ($R > A$). For when the author excludes dramatic irony, the audience is often in the position of knowledge similar to the characters on the stage or in the fiction.

In Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*, the treatment of Appearance-Reality might be diagrammed: $A > R > A=R$. That is to say that what for Vanya, Astrov, and Sonya has appeared to be true, though they were reluctant to believe it, is true and will remain so. Appearance and Reality have equated and are frozen in time.

Chekhov's "technique" is that instead of saying one thing and meaning something different, he says something and means it, but either causes the audience to see the irony or causes the audience to postpone perceiving the irony until the characters themselves see it.

If in *Uncle Vanya* appearance equals reality, in *The Three Sisters* reality is found to be worse than appearance: $A > R > A=R-$. Because of Natasha, the sisters are driven from the house, the last stronghold of gentility, so that the crass, vulgar, materialistic world of Natasha can survive. All hope for them is gone as they are left with only their work which they already despise. Moscow disappears even as illusion.

The Cherry Orchard depicts the same replacement of "aristocratic" family by the rising middle-class, the descendants of serfs, as the entire ménage is forced into a real rather than a voluntary exile. These plays are not comedies, but ironic tragedies.

Pirandello's plays also equate appearance and reality, but in a somewhat different manner. *It Is So! (If You Think So)* might be formulized: $A^n > A=R$ or $A > A > A > A=R$. The discrepancies between the truths of Ponza and Signora Frola, the non-resolving comments of Signora Ponza which give credibility to both versions of the truth, and the "gimmick" of the destroyed city allow us to see that the hypothetical truth of the play (though other avenues of interpretation are not closed) is that there is no truth. Appearance and reality equate.

The formula for *Henry IV* might be $AR > A=R > A+R > R > R+A$. That is, the protagonist's first close tie with Henry IV was when he willingly assumed the task of emulating him for the pageant (AR). At the time of his madness, he "became" Henry ($A=R$); and when that madness abated, he was both Henry and himself ($A+R$). When he confessed his sanity, he existed again in the real world (R or $A+R > R$); but after his revenge, he became both himself and Henry "forever" ($R > R+A$). Perhaps here the hypothetical truth is that no one can ever be any one.

In the trilogy, *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, *Each in His Own Way*, and *Tonight We Improvise*, the appearance-reality idea is embodied in life-art, character-actor, nature-imitation of nature motifs. Characters in a fiction, though created "pure" in the mind of the author, must be presented by actors (who have independent lives of their own) and interpreted by a director (who is not their creator). A work can neither be judged in the theatre nor be unique, Dr. Hinkfuss says in *Tonight We Improvise*, unless it can give of itself, "no longer employing actors but its own characters that by some miracle have assumed flesh and voice." The three plays use, respectively, character versus actor, the key (*a chiave*, *a clef*; a drama based upon a "real-life" happening with the "keys" of that happening present in the theatre), and a technique something like the *commedia dell'Arte* the author represented by only a sketch of plot upon which the actors may improvise.

Thus have Chekhov and Pirandello utilized the concept of Appearance-Reality, so that it became for them not a literary device, but rather a philosophy of art.

ANALYSIS OF FRENCH TEXTS:

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Paul A Fortier, and J. Colin McConnell, The University of Manitoba

Paul Valéry provides a convenient theoretical base for computer-aided study of prose fiction, because he wrote no novels and died in 1945. Thus he cannot be accused of distorting literary theory to permit computerized study. Yet, scattered throughout the thousands of his pages we can find the elements of a coherent theory of the novel.

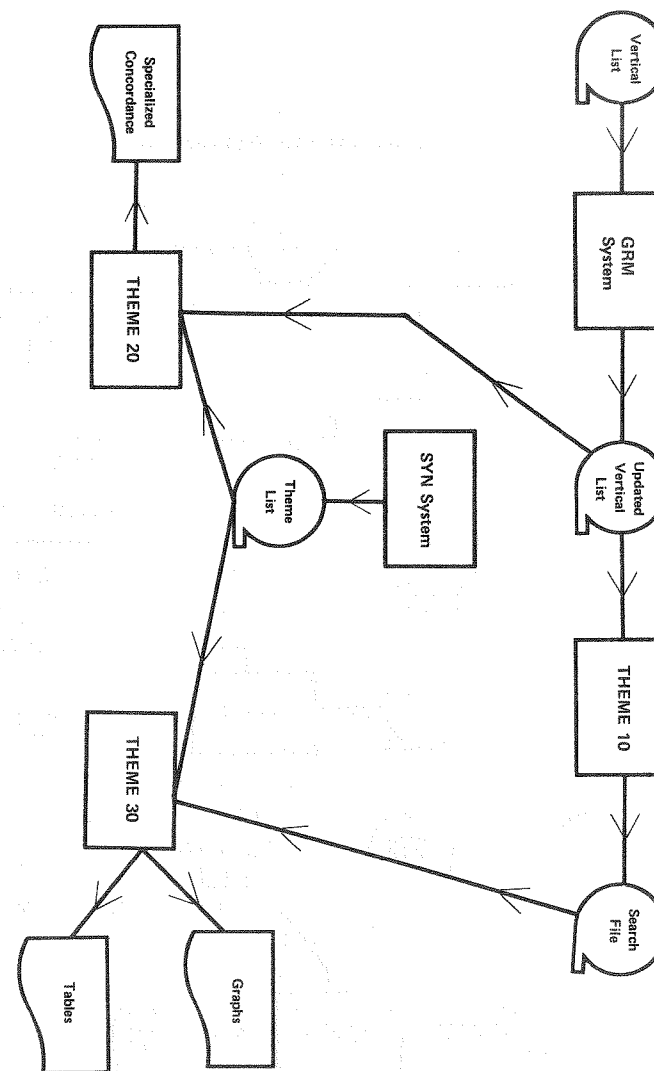
Valéry defines the novelist's goal as the production of the suspension of disbelief. He recognizes three means of achieving it: the evocative power of words, the fictitious structures of plot, characterization and atmosphere, and the introduction of true-to-life details, which must work together for a common aim. This leads to the theoretical justification for computer-aided study.

In prose fiction, the evocative power which Valéry recognizes is, of necessity, created through frequent use of a single key word, or of words related to a single concept, that is to say a theme. The most frequent words or themes can be identified by computer – even a word list or a concordance can do the job. Then the theme, or themes, can be related to the rest of the work in such a way as to shed light on the fictional structures of plot, characterization and atmosphere, and to show why the author chose to incorporate certain aspects of reality, rather than certain others, into his work. In theory at least, the computer, by providing factual information about themes, can lay the foundation for a general interpretation of works of prose fiction. It is definitely not a question of making broad extrapolations on the sole basis of the frequency of a given word or theme. It is much less a question of setting up computer-aided stylistics as an arcane pseudo-science. The computer is used for what it can do best: manipulating data. It provides the critic with objective criteria to which he applies his trained sensitivity and interpretative power. This approach has been used to study the theme of water in Camus's "la Pierre que pousse", the theme of doubt in Beckett's *En attendant Godot*, and the violence theme in Céline's *Voyage au bout de la nuit*.

This method has produced positive results in the form of interpretations which can stand on their own merits as literary analysis; it can be justified in terms of an accepted theory of literature. Its drawback so far has been the amount of time and boring work needed to trace the frequency and distribution of themes, using a word list or concordance. We are now constructing a computerized system for thematic analysis of texts, which should overcome this problem (See Table 1). The frequency and distribution of single words, specified themes, groups of themes, and even grammatical classes of words can be analysed. Bar graphs will show their frequency and distribution throughout the text, or in any portion of the text. Specialized concordances, or frequency and distribution tables can also be produced. Two sub-systems are being created: one for producing, from the texts, complete lists of words

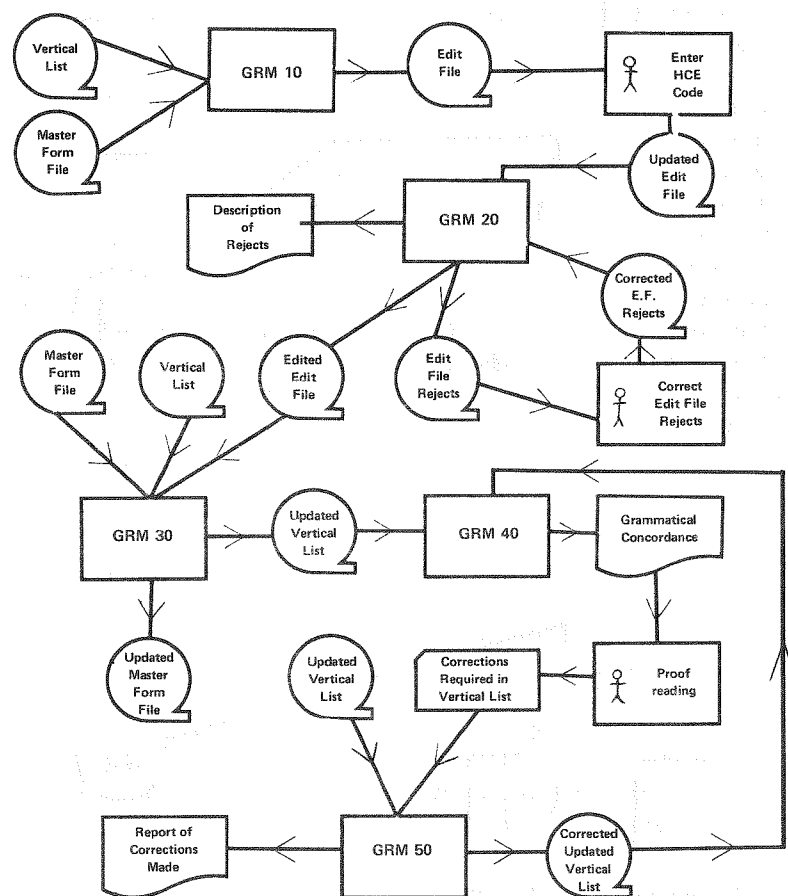
from which rapid and efficient searches can be made; another for creating lists of words evoking themes.

Table 1 System for Computer Aided Thematic Analysis



The first subsystem adds grammatical information, such as part of speech and basic form, to the record for each text word, so that searches can be done on the basic form rather than on the inflected forms of words (See Table 2). The vertical list is in alphabetical order and contains each word in a text, identification of its position, and a context line.

Table 2 System for Addition of Grammatical Information to Vertical Lists



The process of adding grammatical information begins with GRM10, a program which uses the vertical list and the master form file as input, and outputs a file of card images. The header card shows that information follows for a new computable word, that is to say a group of letters which may in fact be several different words in the true sense. The grammar cards provide sets of grammatical information required for this computable word. One grammar card is made up for each true word. These grammar cards are taken by the program from the master form file, if they are in it. The sequence cards record all the positions of this computable word, and leave a space for entering a number that shows which grammar card matches each occurrence of the word. The concordance corresponding to the vertical list is available to aid in categorizing these words.

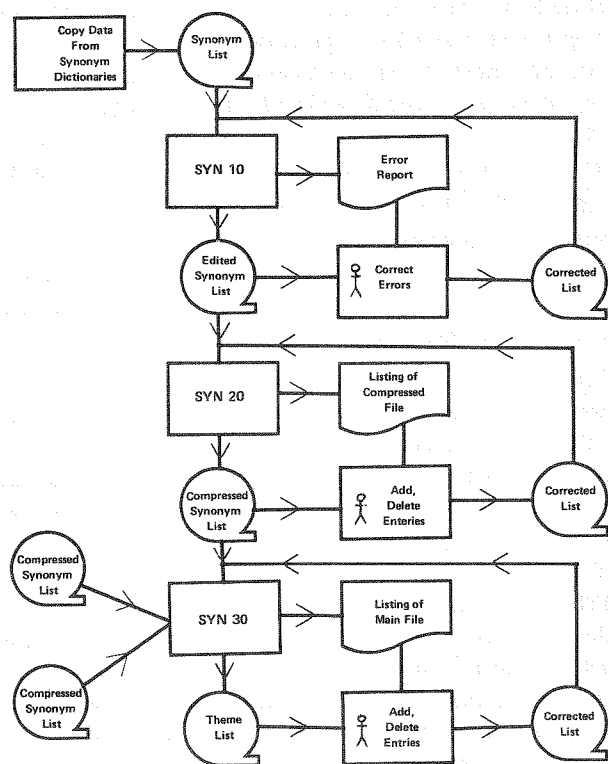
Once this code number, and any grammar cards which may have been lacking in the master form file have been added, the file is submitted to GRM20 which tests the format of each card, and also checks that each entry on the cards is matched in the vertical list. Any card which does not meet the requirements of GRM20 is written onto a reject file, along with associated cards if necessary. A message describing the error is printed, and the rest of the file is checked. When the errors have been corrected, the reworked file is submitted and examined again by GRM20. Eventually the file must become perfect.

Once the file is error-free, it, the vertical list and the master form file are submitted to GRM30, which adds the grammatical information to the vertical list, and updates the master form file by adding to it any grammar cards which were not already in it.

At this point, the grammatical information added to the vertical list is checked, by having the updated vertical list printed out in the form of a grammatical concordance by GRM40. This concordance is proofread and further corrections are input to GRM50 which produces a corrected, updated vertical list and a report of corrections made. The new vertical list is then printed out in grammatical concordance form, proofread, corrected and so on until the file contains no errors. The vertical list is then ready for submission to the program which creates a search file containing a single record for each word containing the basic form, part of speech, and as many identification numbers as there are occurrences of the word. Graphs and tables are produced from this file. The vertical list with the grammatical information added is used to produce specialized concordances.

The second subsystem sets up the theme lists against which the search files are compared (See Table 3). The first step in this system is to consult the ten synonym dictionaries existing for the French language; the synonyms for the theme word are noted and copied into a data file. SYN10 checks the file for errors. After these have been manually corrected, the file is resubmitted to SYN10, then to SYN20 which eliminates duplicate entries of a synonym, alphabetizes the file, and provides a print out of the compressed file. The file is then manually corrected and updated, and resubmitted to SYN20 for a further check. This is the primary synonym list. Other files produced in the same way and containing all the synonyms of each word in this primary list comprise the secondary synonym lists.

Table 3 System for Creation of Theme Lists



When the primary and secondary synonym lists have been produced and corrected, they are merged by SYN30, to create the theme list properly speaking. This is a list of all the words recognized as evoking a specified theme. SYN30 operates much the same as SYN20 except that it adds a code to each record, indicating whether it is a primary or secondary synonym. This makes it possible to weigh the significance of the evocations of a theme.

The theme lists, together with the search files or the vertical lists produce, in the final section of the system, the frequency and distribution tables, the graphs, and the specialized concordances which are the end products for which we constructed the whole system. We are confident that these computer-produced aids will permit more thorough and objective analysis of French texts than has hitherto been possible. Once a good number of such analyses have been carried out on many different works of literature, it should be possible to determine thresholds of frequency beyond which a theme can automatically be considered to be important. At that point, development may be sufficiently advanced to permit the use of statistical approaches.

PROPOSITIONS AS LINGUISTIC ENTITIES

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A perennial issue among philosophers has been the so-called "problem of universals." Recent philosophers of logic have been discussing this problem in the following terms: "To what sort of subject do the predicates 'true' and 'false' properly apply?" A "conceptualist" would respond that these predicates properly apply to (mental) judgments. For "nominalists," (physical) sentences – bundles of sound waves, graphite grains, etc. – alone may be termed true or false. "Realists," meanwhile, maintain that these predicates properly qualify (formal) propositions. At the present time, judgments are hardly in contention, one reason being that the term judgment connotes Kantianism, which, to modern formal logicians, connotes logical fantasticality. Nominalism and realism (or "Platonism"), however, each have their advocates. On the side of propositions, one may cite I. M. Copi [1] and W. & M. Kneale [2]. Among the opponents of propositions, are B. Mates [3] and W. V. Quine [5].

In this paper, I want to argue in favor of a class of entities which it seems most appropriate to call "propositions," to this extent opposing the nominalists. But I also want to maintain that the predicates 'true' and 'false' as applying to propositions must either be abandoned or allowed to mean something different from what they mean for sentences – a suggestion the realists might not overcome. My thesis is this: If we start where Quine does – with sentences, and respect – as he appears to do – Peirce's distinction between tokens and types, then we must question Quine's opinion that propositions "at best . . . give us nothing the sentences will not give." It seems to me, frankly, that sentences "give" us more than Quine wants to accept.

Quine says that, just as a sentence may admit of both a true and false utterance (= "verbal performance"), so it may admit of both a true and false inscription (presumably, "scribal performance"). But exactly what is here being performed? What is a sentence? We may find out, I think, by speaking not of "performance," but of "production." If sentences are verbally or scribally produced, they are a species of humanly and individually fashioned implements; they are, in a word, *artefacts*. Men fashion them in conventional ways, from conventionally prescribed materials, to do conventional jobs. Learning a language consists in learning these conventions, and, more specifically, in learning how to make and use sentences.

"In Peirce's terminology," Quine continues, "utterances and inscriptions are tokens of the sentence or other linguistic expression concerned, and this linguistic expression is the type of these utterances and inscriptions." This is, of course, Charles Saunders Peirce, according to whom [4], a "Type" is a "definitely significant Form," and a "Token" is a "Single object" or "Single event" which, embodying the type, is a sign of the latter, and thereby of the object the type signifies. We must not be misled by the word 'Form'. What the tokens of a single type share is not a common shape, but a common use. We inevitably indicate this use when we speak of the tokens as being of the same type. This suggests that its type is precisely a token's *conventional job*.

Let us consider briefly some properties of the conventional job of an everyday implement. The conventional purpose of a knife is to cut (divide smoothly) substances which range along a certain portion of the hard-soft continuum. The more precise limits of the range will depend on the texture and the amount of the substance to be cut. A surgeon's scalpel, a cook's paring-knife, and a barber's razor have different con-

ventional jobs, and, incidentally, require different skills of their users. Each variety of knife is a means of doing a certain kind of cutting-job. What a knife is and what it is meant to do are conventionally defined. A knife is used correctly when it does one of its conventional jobs, and when this job can be recognized as the one intended by the user.

By analogy, what a sentence is and what it is meant to do are conventionally defined. Just as there are different kinds of knives, there are different kinds of sentences. And just as different kinds of knives can sometimes perform the same job (a scalpel, for instance, doubling as a paring-knife), so can different sentences. One such job is that of *denoting facts*. This conventional job, I suggest, is what we ought to mean by a *proposition*. It is a fact, to take Quine's example, that $2 < 5$. The sentence ' $2 < 5$ ' conventionally denotes this fact, though, as Quine remarks, the conventions might be different, i.e., the same string of symbols might have had or might yet come to have some other job. Other sentences – ' $5 > 2$ ', ' 2 is less than 5 ', etc. – have the same job, i.e., *express the same proposition*. The physical shape of a sentence is its "formal cause," its conventional job is its "final cause." Or in Peircean categories, whereas a sentence's physical shape is a kind of "Firstness," its conventional job is a "Thirdness."

If this is how we are to understand *propositions*, it will follow that the terms 'true' and 'false' will have different meanings as those terms are applied to propositions or to sentences. A sentence will be used correctly when it is performing one of its conventional jobs and when we can recognize that this was the job the producer of the sentence intended for it. If its job is that of denoting a fact, then a correctly used sentence is *true*. A *false* sentence denotes a non-fact. Propositions, however, are either authentic or inauthentic. In the latter case, there may be no such fact, or there may be no such job – e.g., the job (like Archimedes' plan to move the earth) may be technically impossible. But when there is a fact which various sentences can actually denote, and when it is their conventional job to denote this fact, we call that job a *proposition* and say that the proposition is *true*.

¹ Copi, I.M. *Symbolic Logic*. Second edition, New York, 1965, pp. 2f.

² Kneale, W. & M. *The Development of Logic*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 49f.

³ Mates, B. *Elementary Logic*, New York, 1965, pp. 8ff.

⁴ Peirce, C.S. *Collected Papers*. 8 vols. Ed. C. Hartshorne, P. Weiss, and A.W. Burks, Cambridge, Mass., 1931-58, iv. 537.

⁵ Quine, W.V. *Philosophy of Logic* Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970, ch. I, esp. pp. 10 and 13.

NONRESTRICTIVE AND RESTRICTIVE FEATURES IN ICELANDIC SYNTAX

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Examples of the subordination of að-clauses, nonrestrictive/restrictive adjectivals, and some deep-level adjustments:

- (1) hann sér (að) ég kem
(he sees (observes visually) (that) I am coming)
- (2) hann heldur, (að) ég komi
(he thinks (that) I will be coming)
- (3) \bar{M} hann sér ekki að ég kem neitt beint inn um dyrnar
(\bar{M} he does not see (observe visually) that I am coming at all straight through the door)
- (4) hann heldur ekki, (að) ég komi neitt inn um dyrnar
(he does not think (that) I will be coming at all through the door)
- (5) þetta er ekki / veikur / maður
(this is not / a sick / man)
- (6) þetta er ekki / veiki maðurinn /
(this is not / the sick man /¹)
- (7) Hann sagði "ég fer pangað á morgun"
(he said: "I am going there tomorrow")
- (8) Ég fullyrði, að hann kemur hingað í dag
(I can say for certain tha he is coming here today)
- (9) Ég fullyrði, að hann komi hingað í dag
(I can say for certain that he will be coming here today)

In an extended version of this paper it is suggested that noun phrase clauses with the subordinator (að) (cf. example (1)) are nonrestrictive in the same way as adjectives (with the morphological marker

of strong adjectives) are nonrestrictive (cf. example (5)). By the same token it is contended that (að)² + subj. (cf. example (2)) is a marker for restrictive clauses just as adjectives (with the morphological marker of weak adjectives) are restrictive. Restrictiveness merely implies that a certain utterance is given a contextual mooring by placing it against the negating background of its own (intuitively felt) converse. The converse may also be described as an alternative, i.e. *veiki maðurinn* (the sick man) presupposes as an alternative such a phrase as *heilbrigði maðurinn* (the healthy man) as a negating background. Together with their heads restrictive phrases form a construction of fused rather than discrete units, and this kind of fusion may be said to represent a relatively deep structural level. In trying to reduce the preceding definition to a statement revealing universal componential features or meaning postulates one may use the expression that a certain thing is *this but not the other alternative*.

Expression

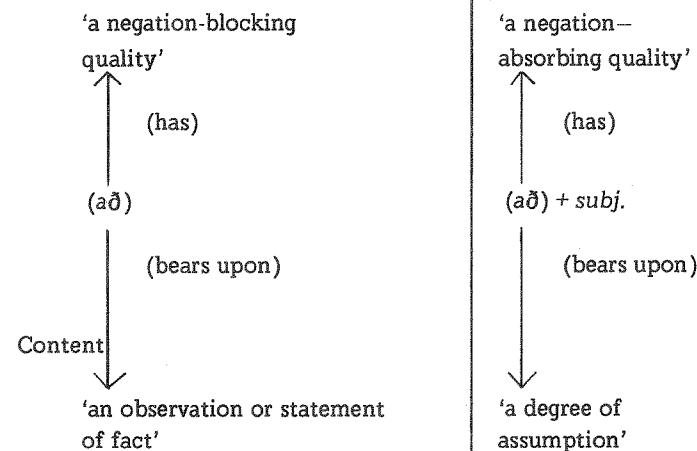


Figure 1

Figure 1 shows some universal features of nonrestrictive and restrictive contexts. Figures 2 and 3 further elaborate these features.

NONRESTRICTIVENESS	RESTRICTIVENESS
a) main clause + a noun phrase clause with the subordinator (ađ)	a) main clause + a noun phrase (ađ) + subj. clause
b) noun head + a nonrestrictive adjectival _____	b) noun head + a restrictive adjectival _____
Formal features: negation-blocking qualities	Formal features: negation-absorbing qualities
Semantico-syntactic features: a composite construction understood as a non-contrastive lineal order of events or phenomena represented by discrete linguistic units	Semantico-syntactic features: a (partly mentalistic) contrast of affirmative and negative alternatives implying a previous filtering through the "medium of language." ³

Figure 2

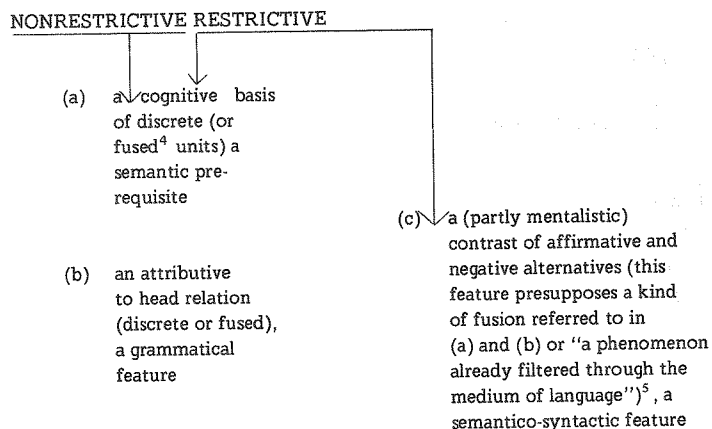


Figure 3

Example (7) presents a direct quotation, example (8) a parallel statement, and (9) an indirect quotation. The continuing adjustments within the direct quotation and the subordinate clauses in examples (7) to (9) not only involve a contrast between (ađ) and (ađ) + subj., but adjustments within the nodes of pronouns (ég → hann), verb phrases (fer → kemur → komi) and adverbs (á morgun → í dag). If one tries to incorporate this information into a rewrite rule for the subordinators of noun phrase clauses with (ađ), and if one takes into account that restrictiveness (r) implies a relatively deep level of subordination just as is the case with the reflexive pronouns (p) in contrast with the third person pronoun, the following rewrite rule is in order:

$$\text{sub} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (a\check{d}) \\ (a\check{d}) \end{array} \right\} + \text{subj. } (r) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\overline{S} \quad p) \\ \overline{S} \quad p \end{array} \right\} + \text{concomitant deep-features (adjustments within the nodes of 'participant', 'process', and circumstance.)}$$

Figure 4

Finally, one may present a special diagram showing the parallelisms of (7), (8), and (9) as the three stages from which the Reporter may select his level of expression (cf. Figure 5).

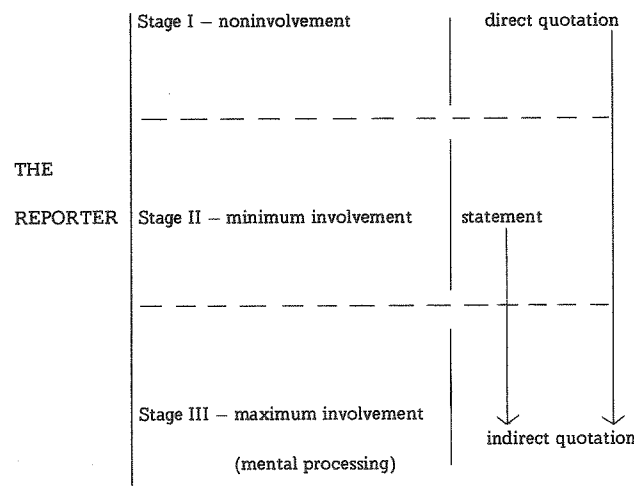


Figure 5

These three stages not only show different degrees of involvement on the part of the Reporter, but Stage III (also designated as the mental processing level) shows the Reporter in the role of a medium, through whom a direct connection is established with Stage I. Stage II accommodates nonrestrictive units, whereas Stage III, which is in fact a combination of Stages I and II, presupposes the use of restrictive units. The above summary shows only one of many ways in which it can be shown that nonrestrictive/restrictive deep level structures are explicitly marked in Icelandic.

¹ Negation transformations play an important part in examples (3) to (6); the negating elements are either *ekki* (not) or *ekki-neitt* (not anything, not at all).

² Notice *að* is enclosed in parentheses to indicate optional use.

³ Cf. Halliday, "Language Structure and Language Function." *New Horizons in Linguistics* (ed. J. Lyon). Harmondsworth 1970, pp. 153-154. The asterics in (3) denote ungrammaticality, i.e. *að* blocks negation, whereas *að + subj.* absorbs it.

⁴ 'fused' units belong in the 'Restrictive category'.

⁵ This previous 'filtering' is of course quite obvious in the instance of both restrictive adjectivals and subordinate clauses with (*að*) + *subj.* The slashes in (5) and (6) also show the scope of the negation.