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PROGRAMME

The following papers, printed here in abstract form, were delivered at the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota, held in the Sioux Room of the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks on November 15 - 16, 1968. The President, Professor R.A. Caldwell (North Dakota) addressed the Conference and welcomed the numerous delegates. The annual dinner was held in the Westward Ho Motel, at which the keynote address was given by Professor T.C. Correll (Manitoba). At the annual business meeting the following were elected as Officers for 1969-1970:

President: Prof. C. Meredith Jones (Manitoba);

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The present volume of Proceedings has been edited and produced by H.D. Wiebe, University of Manitoba.

MORPHOPHONEMICS AND PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY  
IN KAMBARI (NIGERIA)

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In this paper I wish to point out the relative importance of junctural phenomena in the construction of a practical writing system for the Agwara dialect of the Kambari language.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, I propose to show that vowel loss and assimilation in this particular language not only obliterate but actually contradict grammatically analyzable 'words' consisting of roots and their affixes. I begin with a very brief sketch of the phonology and grammar of Agwara Kambari (AK) which will serve as a basis for the remainder of this paper.

There are six basic vowels in AK,<sup>2</sup> all of which have forms that are oral or nasal, short or long. The six basic vowels are symbolized as *i*, *e*, *ə*, *a*, *o* and *u*. They are divided into two morpho-



phonemic groups so that A symbolizes *e, ə, a* and *o*, and B symbolizes *i* and *u*.

The vocalic structure of prefixes and roots is highly restricted in AK. To explicate these restrictions reference to both prefixes and roots will be made in terms of the two vowel categories, A and B, as follows:

- (1) The four members of group A are mutually exclusive within any one root or prefix + root.
- (2) The value of A in a root determines the value of A in a prefix.
- (3) Group B vowels are neither mutually exclusive, nor in any way restricted in their co-occurrence with group A vowels, nor do they in any environment determine the value of a prefixial group A vowel.

The basic tone contrast in AK is between high (´) and low (unmarked). The interval proceeding from high to low is greater than that proceeding from low to high. This accounts for the down-step pattern which spans a phonological phrase, the end of which is marked by certain intonation features.

The typical noun phrase in AK consists of a head noun with its class prefix, optionally followed by a number of modifiers (which are usually other nouns, demonstratives, numerals or pronominals), each of which is related to the head noun by a concord prefix. Subject-nouns are similarly related to verbs, that is, by means of a concord prefix. The class/concord prefixes of AK are summarized as follows:

class number	before consonant	before vowel	main function <sup>3</sup>
1a	kA	k	singular of class 2
1b	ku	kp/k	singular of class 2
2	A	∅(zero)	plural of class 1; abstract nouns

class number	before consonant	before vowel	main function <sup>3</sup>
3	mA	m	singular of class 4
4	N	m	plural of class 3
5	vu	v	singular of class 6
6	i	y	plural of class 5
7	u	w	abstract deverbal nouns
8	cu	c/č	a few mass nouns and others

All AK verb forms governed by a nominal subject commence with the appropriate concord prefix. Pronominal subject prefixes are identical in form with six of the eight prefix classes: 1 sg. = class 4, 2 sg. = class 5, 3 sg. = class 7, 1 pl. = class 8, 2 pl. = class 6, 3 pl. = class 2. Pronominal objects occurring as verb suffixes have the following forms: *-N/-mu* '1 sg.', *-u* '2 sg.', *-i/-ni* '3 sg.', *-c/-č/-cu* '1 pl.', *-š/-šə* '2 pl.', *-l/-le* '3 pl.' Unlike personal subject pronoun prefixes, the object forms, in spite of their similarity, do not in any way correlate with class/concord distinctions, referring freely to nouns of any class.

Every verb construction has its particular tone pattern. Negation of any verb phrase is achieved by dropping the modal marker and adding the negative particle *ba* as the final element. Here are a few examples of typical verb forms:

- baná↓* 'go!' (indicates the end of a non-interrogative phrase)
- u-bań tə↓* 'he/she goes/went' ('indicative')
- u-bána-y↓* 'he went' ('narrative')
- ú-bána↓* 'he should/may go' ('subjunctive')
- u-ku-bań tə↓* 'he will go' ('futurity' is indicated by the infinitive prefix *ku-*)
- w-ú t̄á ku-bána↓* 'he is going'
- w-i a ku-bám ba↓* 'he is not going'
- u-lap-ī t̄ə↓* 'he hit(s) him' (indicative)
- u-lap-ī-ni↓* 'he hit him' (narrative)
- u-lap-ī ba↓* 'he does/did not hit him'

In AK, isolated base forms and connected discourse forms differ from one another in an entirely structured, obligatory manner.

Here is an example:

isolated forms: #*á*li# *ásíngay*# *a* *śa*# (# indicates word boundary)  
'2-man 2-good 2-be' (2 indicates prefix class)

connected form: *á*ly<sup>ˆ</sup>*ásíngyá*ś<sup>ˆ</sup>*a*↓  
'They are good men.'

The differences between isolated and discourse forms center mainly around root-final phrase-internal vowel loss and assimilation. The following tentative formulae represent an ordered set of morphophonemic rules governing the phonological changes that take place at phrase-internal word boundaries:

- (V=any vowel, A=any vowel of group A, C=any consonant,  
N=homorganic nasal, #=word boundary, ˆ=high tone, ˜=nasalization, ˉ=lengthening)
1. Transfer of high tone:  $V\#\left[\begin{smallmatrix} V \\ NC \end{smallmatrix}\right] \rightarrow V\#\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \acute{V} \\ LNC \end{smallmatrix}\right]$  (nouns only)
  2. Transfer of nasalization:  $\tilde{V}\#V \rightarrow \tilde{V}\#\tilde{V}$
  3. Compensatory vowel length:  $V\#V- \rightarrow V\#\bar{V}$
  4. Elimination of glottal stop:  $V_i\text{ʔ} V_j\#\left[\begin{smallmatrix} C \\ LV \end{smallmatrix}\right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{smallmatrix} V\#C \\ LV\#\bar{V} \end{smallmatrix}\right]$
  5. Reduction of identical vowels:  $V\#\bar{V}_i- \rightarrow \bar{V}_i$
  - 6,7. Palatalization of front vowels: 6.  $i,e\#\bar{V} \rightarrow y\bar{V}$   
7.  $A\#\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \bar{i} \\ u \end{smallmatrix}\right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{smallmatrix} A_y \\ A_w \end{smallmatrix}\right]$
  8. Reduction of diphthongs:  $Vy\#\left[\begin{smallmatrix} V \\ C \end{smallmatrix}\right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{smallmatrix} y\bar{V} \\ iC \end{smallmatrix}\right]$
  - 9-11. Loss of final vowel: 9.  $V\#\bar{V}_2- \rightarrow \bar{V}_2$
  10.  $\#CVCV\#C- \rightarrow \#CVCC$  (nouns only)
  11.  $ACV\#C- \rightarrow ACC$  (verbs and 3-syllable nouns only)

Here are several examples applying the above rules:

- (a) *eśé*? *é*#*a*ś<sup>ˆ</sup>*a*      2-dog 2-be (base forms)  
*eśé*? *é*#*á*ś<sup>ˆ</sup>*a*      (by rule 1.)  
*eśé*? *é*#*á*ś<sup>ˆ</sup>*a*      (by rule 3.)  
*eśé*#*á*ś<sup>ˆ</sup>*a*      (by rule 4.)

- eśyá*ś<sup>ˆ</sup>*a*      'they are dogs' (by rule 6.)
- (b) *kolóbo*#*ka*? *a*      la-boy la-be (base forms)  
*kolóbka*? *a*      'it is a boy' (by rule 11.)
- (c) *íli*#*yacúvu*      6-thing 6-2-ear 'ear plug(s)' (no rules apply<sup>4</sup>)

Since vowel loss and assimilation are entirely structured in AK, these and other morphophonemic phenomena naturally constitute an important part of the information bearing redundancy mechanism of the language. The difference between normal speech and a punctuated enumeration of isolated linguistic forms lies precisely - phonologically speaking - in the respective absence or presence of internal vowel losses, assimilations and so on. On the other hand, the end of an utterance, no matter whether it is a single 'word' or a whole 'sentence', is signaled - again phonologically speaking only - by the presence of certain intonation features and the complete absence of vowel loss or assimilation.

In attempting to formulate a practical orthography for AK, a number of purely linguistic questions had to be decided at the very beginning: for example, whether to mark all or only certain phonemic contrasts. The answer to this particular question is not relevant to the purpose of this paper, but several other questions and their answers are. One relevant question is whether or not to observe vowel loss and assimilation; another closely related question is where to make word boundaries. These are of course pedagogical questions, and I will treat them as such by referring first to the psychological notion of 'word image'. It is necessary in this connection to determine what kind of word image - if any - the native speaker of Ak may have. In the absence of any established writing tradition, I will assume that the native speaker has no fixed word image because, for one thing, he does not know what a 'word' is. He simply utters shorter or longer, as the case may be, phonological, grammatically structured phrases such as *kolóbo*↓ 'boy', or *kolóbka*↓ 'the boy', or *kolóbkákabántə*↓ 'the boy went away', or *kolóbkákabántákpákúni*↓ 'the boy went to his home.' Any word image that may ever develop will naturally come from written tradition. Therefore, I would suggest that the best 'images' will be those that assist the reader in attaining fluency. Obviously, writing whole phrases as one 'word' will not make easy reading. On the other

hand, it may turn out to be quite easy to read very short 'words', but making them easy in this way may well result in increased difficulty in the comprehension of the whole utterance. Therefore it seems that the most helpful 'images' for the reader may be units of an intermediate length separated from each other in such a way that he can pause at points that are both phonologically, and, as much as possible also syntactically, plausible. Where then, might potential reading pauses best occur? It has been my observation that, among other things, these pauses occur after vowels rather than consonants, thus reflecting the fact that practically all citation forms end in vowels (a few noun roots end in *m*). Turning to the syntactic plausibility of reading-pause placement, the best solution - in order to obtain 'images' that are neither too long nor too short - seems to be to have at least one noun or verb root per 'image.' The exact break will be determined by phonological criteria reflecting the fact that citation forms almost always end in vowels. This will mean that some elements which are theoretically prefixes will actually be written as 'suffixes.' The 'image' value of this decision will be to force the reader to complete a syntactically meaningful stretch of reading and thus prevent him from making false stops as though he were reading unrelated citation forms.

I shall now give several examples, each in four forms ranging from theoretical base forms to practical orthography. A brief discussion of how the practical orthography was determined follows the examples. (Notation: A = base forms, B = citation forms, C = normal spoken form, D = suggested practical orthography.)

- 1A #kA-lóbó#k-Á#kA-baná#tə#A-kp-áí#kú-ní#  
 la-boy la-def. la-go ind. loc.-lb-house ib-his
- 1B kolóbka↓ kabańtə↓ akpákúni↓  
 the boy he went to his home
- 1C kolóbkakabańtəakpákúni↓
- 1D Kolobka kabanta kpa kuni.  
 The boy went to his home.
- 2A #A-kyaí a#A-? úwá-ŷ#i-kyámbá#i-mA-kere#M-a#  
 2-worm 2-enter-narr. 6-body 6-3-girl 3-def.

- 2B akyaí a↓ aí úway↓ ikyámbímekerma↓  
 worms they entered body of the girl
- 2C akyaíúwíkyámbímekerma↓
- 2D Akya uwi kyambi mekerma.  
 Worms entered the girl's body.
- 3A #Ø-áí#A-singáy#A-ŷa#  
 2-man 2-good 2-be
- 3B ályásingay↓ aŷa↓  
 men good they are
- 3C ályásingyá ŷa↓
- 3D Alya singya ŷ a.  
 They are good men.

The only difference between forms B and C is that the former are broken into syntactically minimal groups (examples 1 and 2 consist of noun phrase+verb phrase+noun phrase; example 3 of noun phrase+verb particle). Forms A have been included to show the total morphological structure without any morphophonemic adjustments whatever. In determining form D, forms C, B and A have been taken into consideration in that order: C determining the extent of elision, B the approximate number and position of word divisions, and A any further word divisions. The exact position of word divisions has been determined largely by the principle of letting all 'words' end in vowels without regard to the morphological structure of the base forms. (In 2D for example, there are three instances of prefixes written as suffixes.)

The above outlined procedures are intended to be both phonologically as well as syntactically helpful to the reader: phonologically in observing the smooth syllable links of connected discourse (indicated thus:.) and syntactically by focusing on phrases rather than 'words' in the sense of morphological clusters of roots and affixes.

In reality the above procedures were formulated on the basis of attempts by a native speaker linguistically unsophisticated (in the technical sense) in the writing of his own language.<sup>5</sup> What seemed to be

rather haphazard attempts on his part - attempts which were roughly similar to the D forms given above - finally led me to undertake the present study and eventually convinced me that he was heading in the right direction both linguistically as well as pedagogically. As a result, I am quite convinced that the traditional concept of 'word image' is of little value, at least for the writing of this particular language. What is of great value, apparently, is the phonological and syntactic smoothness of writing conventions based more immediately on connected speech and less on morphological analysis rather than the other way around.

If the kind of practical orthography suggested in this paper reflects both (1) a basic division between phonology and grammar and (2) the emphasis in current linguistic research on syntactic process rather than morphological arrangement, then I think that the word 'practical' in the title might just as well have been replaced by its opposite, 'theoretical.'

NOTES

1. This dialect of Kambari is spoken in the Agwara District of Borgu Division, Ilorin Province, Nigeria. The Kambari language is classified by Greenberg as a member of the Central Branch of Niger Congo.
2. The consonants of Agwara Kambari include labials *p b ɓ f v m*, alveolars *t d ɖ c s z n*, palatals *ɕ ʝ ʎ*, velars *k g*, and labiovelars *kp gb*. There are also two glides *ɹ h*, two liquids *r l*, two semivowels *w y* and a series of palatalized units *ky gy ny ly*. The symbols *ɓ* and *ɖ* represent ingressive stops; *ɕ ʝ ʎ* represent affricates. The homorganic nasal *N* is bilabial before *p b ɓ f m*, alveolar before all alveolars, palatal before all palatals, velar before *k g v w ɹ*, and labio-velar before *kp* and *gb*. Before front vowels (*i e*) the alveolar consonants *c z s* are replaced by *ɕ ʝ ɖ* respectively.
3. This is not an exhaustive list of sg./pl. combinations. Statistically infrequent groupings have not been included, e.g. *váíí* 'man' (class 5), *áíí* 'men' (class 2). There are also a few nouns in various

classes which make no sg./pl. distinction, e.g. *ikyámhá* 'body, bodies' (class 6).

4. Rules to remove the symbol  $\neq$  and to introduce the symbol  $\downarrow$  are not included in this brief presentation.
5. I am referring to Mr. Peter Samuel Agwara, my language informant for about a year of research conducted in his home village of Agwara.

TIME AND LANGUAGE IN MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*  
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There are many possible critical approaches to *Paradise Lost*. A re-examination of the poem from the vantage point of the various Renaissance traditions concerning time and history can provide a number of interesting insights. One of the few things which we today can know with certainty about the intellectual climate which gave birth to *Paradise Lost* is that there were a number of ideas about time and history afloat in the atmosphere. Most of these conceptions fall into two main classes: the classical Platonic notion of infinitely repetitive cycles of time and the later tradition of linear historical time, made possible by the triumph of the Judaeo-Christian world-view. This latter conception we can more accurately call "finite" or "limited" time, for at the Second Coming of the Messiah the world will be redeemed forever and history, hence time as we know it, will cease altogether to exist. If we accept the implications of this point of view, no longer does history appear as a hopeless cycle of *ad infinitum* repetitions but rather as a series of theophanies, each with its own intrinsic value. Periodic regeneration of the Creation is supplanted by a single act of regeneration anticipated at a definite point in future time. Thus, whereas the Golden Age of the ancients was capable of being recovered innumerable times, the Christian Paradise might be regained only once.

*Paradise Lost*, viewed against the backdrop of this climate of classical, medieval and Renaissance opinion, catches up a number of familiar themes about time and history: the work of the days; the



exemplary nature of history; the finitude of the world; history as a sequence of events in time from which certain moral lessons can be extracted; and the distinction between different kinds of time in the history of the created world. Thus at least three distinct "times" or epochs may be identified in *Paradise Lost*: 1) time prior to the creation of the present heavens and earth; 2) time after the creation, but before the establishment of the present order of unequal days and diverse seasons (before the Fall); and 3) time since the establishment of the present order, after the Fall of man. The crucial distinction here is the differentiation of pre- and post-lapsarian time, time before the Fall of man and after. The first is presented as an aspect or function of order, while the latter is a reflection of the disintegration of the whole cosmic order after the Fall. Prelapsarian time in the poem (Books I - VIII) is consistently defined and re-defined in terms of the idea of order, while postlapsarian time is presented in terms of disorder, the breaking of pre-established harmony.

An examination of the poem itself provides corroboration for the thesis that time is an important category of analysis for *Paradise Lost*. All of the figurative expressions of time in the first eight books of the poem -- the hierarchy of being, the cosmic dance, the circling of the planets and spheres, the revolution of the seasons -- are stock Renaissance emblems of order. Taken together, this image pattern suggests that before the Fall of man, time is an expression of the order of the universe and is best viewed by analogy with God's time or eternity. Thus each of the characters in the hierarchy of being in the poem must perceive and experience time in his own way, and each of these different times - divine, diabolic, angelic, human - is consonant with the possessor's position in the hierarchy of being.

If time in the prelapsarian world is a function of existence which is governed by the principle of hierarchical order, and if God himself stands at the top of the hierarchy and is the consummate origin and end of order, then it is essentially divine time which we see in the eight books of the poem which portray the unfallen world; but divine time seen by analogy, almost in a Neoplatonic sense, in the various levels of time of the creatures. This portion of the poem is full of figures and *exempla* which are not merely things but signs as well, pointing not only to their own modes of perceiving and experiencing

time, but also to God's. From this point of view, every created thing is in itself a theophany of eternity, now imperfect but in the fulfillment of time, the *Kairos*, perfect in its own order. Ironically, the language of the fallen world, rich in history and typology and poetry, occasionally intrudes into these first eight books in the form of epic similes, allusions and anticipatory symbolism, but only the poet-narrator and we as readers share enough of the divine point of view to recognize these for what they are. It is only with the Fall, the breaking of order, that the green Paradise of the first eight books takes on its characteristically Janus-faced thrust of retrospect and anticipation and acquires both a past to recall in sacred metaphor and a future to anticipate in sacred typology.

After the Fall, time comes to be a very different thing. Once the hierarchy of being is broken in the Fall, time, unlike eternity, becomes historical, finite, limited. The imagery of the poem reflects this shift: the metaphorical emblems of order are replaced by figures of cosmic disorder, unnatural birth, death, and sexuality. The world-view shifts in the proverbial twinkling of an eye from Ptolemaic to Copernican. It is true that the action of the poem turns on that first disobedience of man, the Fall of Adam and Eve. But the Fall cannot be understood unless it is seen in the light of the whole Providential schema, including the Creation, the Fall, and, in the last two books of the poem, the terms under which regeneration in time may proceed. In Books XI and XII, time once again becomes ordered and thus appears as the potential instrument of man's redemption. As Adam vicariously experiences both Hebraic time, which typologically anticipates Christ, and Christian time, the fulfillment of the types, he finds the order of time and its former resemblance to eternity restored, although in a form quite different from the earlier prelapsarian order.

Thus Books XI - XII are devoted to the restoration of pre-existing order, although now in an explicitly historical context. Human time is no longer a vertical but a horizontal theophany of the Divine, and God's time is less divine temporal exemplar than the goal of a linear succession of events. In this succession it is the central Mystery of Christ which is the heart of all history and which extends both backward and forward to embrace all times. Thus the poem ends, hesitating like the archangel Michael "betwixt the world destroy'd and

world restor'd" (XII, 3) with its "shadowy Types" fulfilled, its temporal paradise lost regained as the "paradise within," and the whole sequence of human time transfigured in another pattern.

These observations on time in *Paradise Lost* have many implications for a study of language in the poem. If we ask ourselves the question, "What does time have to do with language?" we shall immediately see its relevance. Logically, we suppose that human beings use language, both written and spoken, to communicate something about their condition as human beings. If we take time to be one aspect of the human condition, it follows that time is that aspect of existence which is implicit both in the content and the structure of any language system. Thus whereas the Hopi Indian must frame his thoughts within the structure of a process language which can tell us that "it is summering," but not simply that "it is summer," the English language has provided us with verb changes called tenses which express the ideas of an event's having occurred in the past, occurring at the time of speaking or writing, or being about to occur at some point in future time. It is no surprise then, to find Milton, writing within a language system so temporally constructed as English, manipulating that language to suggest certain concepts of time in his poem. This he does, both explicitly, as with certain large patterns of imagery connected with time, like the chain of being, the cosmic dance, the planes of correspondence, the seasonal and diurnal revolution, and the scene of cosmic disorder after the Fall; and implicitly, by more subtle linguistic patterns involving verb tenses, figures of speech, key words and motifs which are used in noticeably different ways before and after the Fall of man. For this reason, we can assert that it is partly because of the distinction between pre- and post-lapsarian time that language can become in *Paradise Lost* a major vehicle to poetic irony.

We already have seen that within the primary distinction of pre- and post-lapsarian time exist a number of different times -- divine, diabolic, angelic, and human. Certainly each of the creatures in the hierarchy must perceive and experience time in his own way, not only because of certain pre-conditioning experiences, but also because of his perceptual and conceptual limitations. Each of these different times is consonant with the possessor's position in the hierarchy of being, and each character in the poem has his own language to express his own

perceptions of time. It should come as no surprise to us, then, that the kind of language each character uses tells us something not only about the time in which he exists, but also something about his moral condition as well. Accordingly, God's "plain" unadorned style is characterized by a high incidence of words used in a primarily moral or theological sense. The narrator of the poem, Milton's *persona*, uses sacred metaphor, as Anne Ferry has so aptly demonstrated, in a vain attempt to recapture the fleeting unity of a now-fallen world. Again, for Satan, language suggests the division of consciousness: after the Fall of the rebel angels he no longer uses words in a figurative sense as his unfallen counterparts do, and consequently becomes an arch-literalist and arch-liar. Michael and Raphael, on the other hand, still can participate in the language of divinity but, good Renaissance commentators and chroniclers as they are, scale down their language, "accommodate" it to their human pupil by representing "spiritual" with "corporeal" forms. Moreover, only for those participants in the cosmic drama who are blessed with foresight beyond the immediate present - specifically, God, the narrator, the angels and the reader himself - do words like *fruit*, *grace*, *taste*, and *Fall*, which the unfallen Adam and Eva use and understand only in a literal denotative sense, acquire their later fallen connotations. Thus language in *Paradise Lost*, especially in its ironic aspects, is controlled by changing concepts of time and history in the poem.

With Michael's narrative, Adam for the first time recognizes the full import of those cosmic symbols, both verbal and visual, of which he was previously unaware, just as he understands the fulfillment in Christ of the burden of history he has so recently assumed. Michael is telling him of events not in a far-off future but events that he, Adam, will in the *kairos*, the fullness of time, vicariously share. Adam has lost the world of analogy, of hierarchy and identity, of archetype and transparent sign and replaced it with typology and moral history, symbols of a different sort from the unbroken order of prelapsarian time. He has lost the unity of the unfallen world, but he has gained an "ample world" with its "choice / Unlimited of manifold delights" (IV, 434-435) that not even Eden could offer. Under the old dispensations of order and hierarchy, Adam could not have known history except as a static symbolic pageant or meaningless emblem book. Under the new dispensation to which Michael guides him, however, earthly things may

be the shadow of Heaven in quite another sense than an idealistic one: they may acquire a real relevance both for themselves and for the events they anticipate. Adam thus is confronted by the theological paradox of *felix culpa* as well as its aesthetic and ethical equivalent: mankind, cut off from the light of pastoral nature and the "ascending Scale/Of Heav'n" (IV, 354-55) yet is able to wander in the abundant world of time and history. This theory of symbolic perception as effected by the Fall of man suggests that for Milton man's salvation depends at least partly on his ability to perceive and interpret symbolically the significance of events viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*. Milton implies that the earthly Paradise must necessarily be destroyed in order to be regenerated, both literally and metaphorically speaking. There seems little doubt that, for the eye of the poet at least, the color of time was infinitely more pleasing than the relative blankness of the prelapsarian world.

Yet fulfillment, even on earth, can never be a cessation of action but must rather be continuous and fruitful motion toward some ultimate goal. Books XI and XII of *Paradise Lost* demonstrate the necessity for a naïve faith in the validity of history as salvation, as the process by which man, through gradual intellectual and moral betterment, may regain the stature which he once had. It is not one man only but the whole of mankind that is being led by Michael's hand slowly back to Eden. Thus the poem in its farthest reaches points toward a Redemption designed for recapturing the unity of an artificially divided time and language and thus for re-establishing the primal analogous relationship of symbol and image, knower and known, Creator and creature. For Redemption necessarily entails the salvation not only of man but also of time and language itself, until, in the final stages of the coming apocalypse, time and eternity once more will become literally "each to other like, more than on earth is thought."

DRAMATIS PERSONAE IN THE ESKIMO LANGUAGE: A PRECIS.  
Thomas C. Correll, University of Manitoba

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Robert Longacre has suggested that "the clause posits a situation in miniature."<sup>1</sup> Plot, props, scenery, local color and *dramatis personae* are all important components of human situations. Natural languages have proliferated their means for elucidating *dramatis personae* in a number of interesting ways. The inventory of pronouns, systems of personal reference, the kinship lexicon, terms of address, names, the mechanisms for dialogue and prose, and the folk-knowledge concerning the nature of language and communication all may provide insights for an understanding of the *dramatis personae* recognized in the culture that underlies any language.

I have had the good fortune to live among the Eskimos since 1953. Learning and describing their languages has occupied me for the bulk of that period. The Eskaleut stock can be shown to be comprised by at least three languages: Aleut, Yupik and Inupik. The dialects of North Alaska, Canada and Greenland constitute the latter (Inupik) group. During the summer of 1968, it was possible to inaugurate research into the nature of the traditional boundary between Yupik and Inupik speaking Eskimos in the area of Unalakleet on Norton Sound in Western Alaska.<sup>2</sup>

One important aspect of this research involves an attempt to begin an ethnography of the village as a communication reticulum. Hymes and Gumperz have called for an "Anthropology of communication."<sup>3</sup> Such an approach to the study of speech and communication behaviours will focus on the sets of complex interpersonal and intergroup communicative pathways that exist in any speech community and the ethnologically relevant rules for their use and explication. Emphasis will be on answers to such questions as the following: What types of codes are recognized? (Praise, curse, prayer, insult, persuasion, promise, denial, etc.) Is talking important? How long must one remain silent in order to be counted suspicious or dangerous? What is the connotation of the use of English (or other) language? What is the status of gossip? What kinds of information are transmitted in

this fashion? Is there a communicative system or structure for the group? etc. etc. Answers to these questions are not forthcoming in traditional anthropological or linguistic description.

This brief paper sets forward in outline some of the important *linguistic* issues faced in the elucidation of the *dramatis personae* perceived by Eskimos of Unalakleet. Such a study is essentially phenomenological in nature and can hardly proceed without a thorough knowledge of the language. One opts for structured interrelations between sociocultural systems and languages; language is viewed as prefabricating a particular set of means for perceiving and using the human environment. Alfred Schutz, discussing "Phenomenology and the Social Sciences"<sup>4</sup>, states:

This world built around my own I presents itself for interpretation to me - a being living naively in it. From this standpoint everything has reference to my actual historical situation... The place in which I am living has not significance for me as a geographical concept - but as my home. The objects of my daily use have significance as *my* implements, and the men to whom I stand in relationships are *my* kin, *my* friends, or strangers. Language is not a substratum of philosophical or grammatical considerations for me, but a means for expressing my intentions or understanding the intentions of others. Only in reference to *me* does that relation to others obtain its specific meaning which I designate with the word *we*. In reference to us, whose center I am, others stand out as *you*, and in reference to you, who refer back to me, third parties stand out as *they*. My social world with the *alter egos* in it is arranged, around me as the center, into associates, contemporaries, predecessors and successors, whereby I and my different attitudes to others institute these manifold relationships. (Italics mine.)

#### PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL REFERENCE -

Important progress toward an understanding of the components of pronominalization has been made by linguists and those currently concerned with formal semantic analysis. These studies have proceeded largely by analyzing the componential structures of sets of contrasting features that define lexical domains. Unfortunately they are frequently written in a jargon understandable only to the protagonists of such studies. While adopting a more homely style, it is my intention to discuss the components of the Eskimo referential systems as crucial for any understanding of the nature of Eskimo *dramatis personae*.

The Eskimo language enumerates four persons. The first and second are not distinguished from those signified by speakers of Indo-European languages: I, me, we, us, etc. and you, etc. Two sets of third persons emerge in the Eskimo system, however, and may be called third and fourth persons respectively. The so-called fourth person is, in part, a reflexive third person. At other times it is best understood as the most "intimate" of two third persons. If *I* am speaking to *you* about *him* (third) when *she* (another third) enters the situation, the fourth person forms will be employed to identify *him* while the third person forms will refer to *her*. The intimacy referred to here may be either grammatical as above (viz. earliest mentioned over against most recently mentioned referent), or social (viz. more well-known contrasted with less well-known referent.)

Three numbers are recognized in the Eskaleut languages as a whole: singular, dual and plural. These three categories of number apply not only to pronouns but to all nouns. Hence it is possible to speak of all combinations of singular, dual and plural possessive persons and singular, dual and plural objects possessed by those persons.

To complicate further the itemization of *personae* in the Eskimo languages, besides the four persons and three numbers, two whole sets of pronominal forms are distinguished on the basis of whether they are grammatically *independent* or *dependent*. This distinction is determined on the basis of syntactic dependencies. The former occur in predications which are declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative. The latter occur in more subordinate structures of a causative, conditional or infinitive type.

The chart depicts the array of forms that results from the interplay of person, number and dependency. The vertical code numbers refer to persons: 1 is first, 2 is second, etc. Number is indicated in the following way: 1 is first person singular, 11 is first person dual, 111 is first person plural, etc. The horizontal code, sg., dl., pl., refers to the number of the object possessed or otherwise related to the person or persons. Hence, with the simple free root /nuna/ "land", one may generate the following illustrative forms: *nunaga* (Ind. -1-sg.) "my land"; *nunana* (Ind. -3-sg.) "his (or her, or its) land"; *nunapta* (Dep. -111-pl.) "our lands"; *nunammik* (Dep. -444-dl.) "their lands (two)"; etc. Note that certain forms have historically coincided and, as a result, certain ambiguities are present at this level of analysis.

The independent:

	sg.	dl.	pl.
1	-ga	-(k)ka	-kka
11	-vuk	-kpuk	-vut
111	-vut	-vuuk	-vuut
2	-t	-kik	-tit
22	-tik	-tik	-ttit
222	-si	-si	-si
3	-ŋa	-ŋik	-ŋit
33	-gik (ŋak)	-ŋak	-ŋit
333	-gat	-ŋak	-ŋit
4	-ni	-nni (ŋni)	-ni
44	-ptik	-ttik (ktik)	-tik
444	-ptik	-ttik (-ktik)	-tik

The dependent:

1	-ma	-(ŋ) ma	-ma
11	-pta	-kta	-pta
111	-pta	-pta	-pta
2	-pit	-pit	-pit
22	-ptik	-ptik	-ptik
222	-psi	-psi	-psi

3	-ŋata	(-gikta)	-ŋita
33	-ŋata	(-gikta)	-ŋita
333	-ŋata	(-ŋikta)	-ŋita
4	-mi	-mmi (-nmi)	-mi
44	-mik	-mmik	-mik
444	-mik	-mmik (-ŋmik)	-mik

It is important to point out that these pronominal forms also occur in association with the verbs of the language and that in this context they are elaborated even further in intransitive and transitive contexts. For example one may hear *tusarama*, "When I hear". In this case, the *-ma* is the same as (Dep. -1-sg.) in the chart. However, one might also hear the transitive expression *tusajmasi*. "When he hears you". In this case the *-jmasi* is a transformational product of combining the subject "he" (Dep. -3-sg.) with the object "you" (Dep. -222-sg.). The morphophonemic processes have historically occluded the identity of the discrete morphemes as outlined on the chart.

This brief introduction hardly suffices to point out the generalities of the Eskimo pronominal reference system - let alone its idiosyncratic irregularities and "secrets". Nevertheless one gets an image of how the system works in a general way. No analysis of the total inventory of the taxonomies and dynamics of *dramatis personae* in the Eskimo sociolinguistic system would be complete with merely the formal elucidation of the components of nominal and verbal persons as above. On the contrary, my research has lead me also to an investigation of other domains: the highly fashioned *demonstrative pronoun* which locates referents in natural, social and semantic time and space; the *kinship lexicon* with its interesting variations from one area of the arctic to another and the interesting mechanisms for protracting human relations via this medium; the phenomena associated with *naming* persons, places and events; and the stimulating means for organizing social reality while storytelling or narrating a human experience, etc.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. Robert F. Longacre, *Grammar Discovery Procedures*. Mouton, 1964.
2. The research at Unalakleet, Alaska was carried forward under Canada Council Grant No. 68-0185 which was awarded to Dr. E. S. Burch, Jr. of the Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba for a study of "The Structure of Two Eskimo Societies".
3. Dell Hymes and John Gumperz, *The Ethnography of Communication*, American Anthropologist Special Memoir, December, 1964.
4. Adolph Schutz, *Collected Papers I: The Problem of Social Reality*. The Hague, 1967.

#### THE LANGUAGE MERGER IN NORWAY: PROS AND CONS Arne Brekke, University of North Dakota

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During the past century and a half Norway has been the scene of a unique language controversy. The conflict has arisen in connection with attempts to make the language more Norwegian after Danish had been firmly established as a written language through more than four centuries of political union with Denmark.

When Norway became independent from Denmark in 1914, the search for a more national language became closely associated with the search for a national identity. More and more Norwegian words and expressions started to be used by Norwegian authors in the Danish framework. Prominent among these were the national poet Henrik Wergeland and the folk tale collectors P.C. Asbjørnson and G. Moe. The great educator Knud Knudsen (1812-1895) worked untiringly for the modification of the Danish spelling by the introduction of forms from the language spoken by educated people in the Norwegian cities.

To some Norwegians, this process was too slow. They wanted a complete break with the Danish tradition. The leader of this group, the outstanding linguist Ivar Aasen (1814-1846), made use of the relatively new science of comparative linguistics to re-establish a literary Norwegian language on the basis of the main dialects. This language gained rapidly in popularity and was declared to be on equal footing with the traditional language by the Norwegian Government as early as 1885.

Thus by the end of the 19th century, Norway found itself in the dilemma of having two official languages, the one claiming to be more cultured, the other to be more patriotic.

Since early in the twentieth century, the Norwegian Government has engaged in an interesting linguistic experiment on planning and guidance. On the one hand, it is an attempt to bring the written form of each language closer to the educated speech within each group, on the other hand, an attempt to bring the two languages closer together.

The year 1907 saw a major breakthrough in the Norwegian spelling reform, and from that year on it can no longer be said that Danish is the model for Norwegian spelling.

Shortly after the 1907 spelling reform there was a good deal of sentiment in Norway for greater cooperation between the two Norwegian languages - even for an eventual merger. We shall refer to the Dano-Norwegian language as *Riksmål* (Rm) and Aasen's new language as *Landsmål* (Lm).

One person who played an important role in the early effort to bring the two languages closer together was the school teacher Hans Eitrem (1871-1937). His formulation of the basic principle for a common language is one that has come to be accepted for much of the planning that has since taken place: "Inflections, words, syntax and pronunciations which have good support in Norwegian dialects and are developed on Norwegian soil without foreign influence, and which are also found in Rm, shall be taken into the common language as main forms, or at least be permitted as side forms". As a prerequisite for a

fruitful cooperation between the two languages, it was pointed out that Lm must give up its sectional and puristic traits.

In response to a proposal made by Eitrem and his group, the Ministry of Church and Education appointed a committee in 1909 to study the difference between the two languages and to try to find out what could be done to eliminate these differences.

The committee came up with proposals for two kinds of changes: 1. purely graphic changes; 2. phonic changes. The first kind of change was easy to implement since it did not involve changes in pronunciation. In the case of phonic changes, however, the choice of one or the other spelling would affect the pronunciation. In this connection, the introduction of diphthongs where there had earlier been monophthongs has been a matter which has caused controversy ever since the language planning first began. Monophthongs versus diphthongs is one of the most distinguishing differences between East Norse (Danish, Swedish and some eastern Norwegian dialects) on the one hand, and west Norse (from which the Lm was first mainly drawn) on the other.

During the years following 1909 the effort to merge the two Norwegian languages had the support of prominent statesmen and linguists in Norway like Fritjof Nansen, Eivind Bergram, Halvdan Koht, Hjalmar Falk, Alf Torp and Didrik A. Seip.

Two language reforms were undertaken, in 1917 and 1938 respectively, in an effort to bring the two languages closer together. The 1917 reform was of relatively minor nature: most of the proposed forms were optional. In the 20's and 30's the language conflict assumed strong political overtones. With the growth of the Agrarian Party and the Marxist Labor Party, neither the conservative Rm nor the nationalistic Lm had any longer any appeal. The language to strive for was the *folkemål*, the folk language.

Many of the changes made optional in 1917 were now made obligatory. Of the many phonic changes proposed were: the *-a* endings of feminine nouns singular and of neuter nouns plural, and the *-a* endings of past tense verbs that had traditionally ended in *et*.

Furthermore, diphthongs were introduced in many words that had earlier had monophthongs.

The 1938 orthography had a serious drawback, however: it was not based on any literary or spoken tradition. Furthermore, the many optional forms made it difficult to teach in the schools. As might be expected, it met with violent opposition in both language camps.

In 1948 the Ministry appointed a committee to study the feasibility of establishing a textbook norm. The following year a permanent commission was created to handle this difficult problem.

With the appointment of the Language Commission, the language conflict in Norway entered a new phase: the battle for or against the Commission. Conservative circles within the Rm and the Lm group alike have subjected the Commission to tremendous pressure to leave their respective languages alone. For this reason, there have been clear signs of moderation in the 1960's in the official effort to merge the two Norwegian languages.

A nine-man committee appointed in February of 1964, headed by the distinguished linguist Hans Vogt, had less a mandate to work on merging the two languages than to "protect the cultural heritage we have in the two written languages and in the spoken language of town and country". Instead of being bound to work for fusion, the council was directed to "promote on a voluntary basis a natural cooperation in the cultivation and normalization of our two written languages".

In spite of opposition to a language merger in Norway from conservatives in both camps, the two Norwegian languages are inevitably growing closer year by year.

THE CONCEPT OF ADVANCEMENT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY:

THE *CHRONIQUES* OF JEAN FROISSART

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The *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart, the Flemish writer and poet, is the largest single narrative source for the study of a crucial transition period in European history, the fourteenth century. The author of the 16-volume work, an indefatigable traveller, devoted his life (1337-1400?) to recording the Hundred Years War and related events - which he felt to be the chief events of his time ("tant de merveilles ne de grans fais d'armes") in which he claims that his own surpasses all other accounts of wars anywhere. His essentially personal method of enquiry, and the subjectivity of his at times disproportioned sympathies, may, by historians of ideas, be turned to positive account. Medieval "anonymity", not at all inappropriate in an historian, is laid aside in passages in which Froissart shows himself thinking aloud and which thus provide valuable insights into the contemporary mind. What manner of mind? Our chronicler frankly proclaims that he speaks of and for cosmopolitan upper-class society. Froissart deals with men rather than events, men who were the leaders and typical representatives of chivalric society. We may regard his prose writings - with their biographical data and recorded conversations, as well as his own opinions - as keys to the attitudes and thinking of contemporary society, its scale of values and views on a variety of subjects: nationalism, religion, love, economics, social revolts (as I am attempting to do elsewhere). Historians today are interested in a writer's awareness of his own innate or acquired sense of values, and in his representation of society's consciousness of itself and, in particular, its attitudes toward change. Froissart leaves us in no doubt, through his choice of theme and terminology, as to his sense of values which he, like his contemporaries, viewed as unchanging in a society that, similarly, could not conceive of change. Yet there is throughout the *Chroniques* a recurring theme in which change within certain limits is implicit: the concept of advancement.

Society is human. Yet no society has ever believed that it can die. War was the medieval means of self-preservation. Froissart shows

his society conscious of the striving to emulate an idealized heroic past in which Prowess, which here appears as the supreme virtue, is described as having originated after the Flood among the Chaldaeans (thus scarcely to be regarded as a Christian virtue). But by proclaiming that the events of his time were without parallel, Froissart shows that medieval man could conceive of the passage of time in terms other than of decay. While the basic structure of society was assumed to be divinely ordained, and therefore perfect and unchanging, there nevertheless existed the idea of movement within and through it. Men were familiar both with decline (through death, defeat, age, improvidence, or weakness) and with its opposite, advancement. Moralists might warn against unbridled ambition, yet the existence of careerism even within a relatively static society was no paradox. Because the creation of new forms of wealth was not generally understood, within the ruling landed classes rewards came through a redistribution of existing land and wealth. At its most conservative, advancement consisted in the knight's preservation and transmission of his patrimony and rank. The knight's opportunities for employment were hedged by convention; his whole existence had meaning principally in and through war. War was much closer to life than at present: it was not then a discontinuity in an otherwise "normal" existence. And apart from providing opportunity for self-fulfilment, war had to pay the knight's expenses and provide a profit.

We come now to the central place of Arms, in Froissart's view. Advancement, in the widest sense, is the profitable employment of time through action. Such action was through arms. Arms were the only means by which a knight could win reputation for Prowess, the indispensable quality which would propel him to the heights of honour. Honour, because it rarely if ever went unrewarded, could mean fortune and fame also in one's lifetime which would guarantee at least earthly immortality thereafter. Thus the *Chroniques*' purpose is not to describe war so much as performance in war: as a method of earning a living and of self-fulfilment. Herein lies a socially recognized "good": for praiseworthy feats of arms constitute "good" (or often "marvellous", "fine") deeds by "good" men. Here is justification for the description of the gentleman-in-arms as "a military engine". Knightly "science" so-called was of war rather than peace. Indeed chivalric individualism could degenerate into mere brigandage, as Froissart shows in his

accounts of the gentry who joined the Great Companies and in his definition of arms. Then too, in the fourteenth century, nationalist considerations began to add a totally new dimension. The knight, now an indentured employee with systematized payments and incentives, was less responsible personally; Prowess was more important than land tenure, birth or privilege; and the enlarged scale of conflict maximized opportunity for profit and fame.

In war, that most competitive of professions, a knight could win advancement only in and through physical competition with another. -- Competition, however, within limits. Mindful of the mutual benefits of the ransom system, both parties sought to avoid harm. The *Chroniques* echo with cries of what "great pity" it was when the vanquished died - not least of all from the victor who thus could derive no financial benefit therefrom. Froissart values combat, particularly in the formal context of jousts, as its own justification through the resulting display of chivalric virtues. But he also shows the combatants looking for more tangible reward. In an isolated passage in his well-known study *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, Johann Huizinga observes that the financial side of the knight's career was frankly avowed: "Froissart never omits to enumerate the profits which a successful enterprise procured for its heroes". This is not quite correct. Frank avowals of this sort are not commonly met with; and Froissart's use of the term "profit" is complex and sadly deficient in numerical significance. The eminent Dutch scholar nevertheless goes on to express impatience with Froissart's notions of causality - those "personal quarrels and motives of passion", pride, fidelity, honour, cupidity and courage in our chronicler's "empty" narrative. Two points here. First, Froissart does not by any means labour such fashionable symbolism as causal factors; second, his comparatively scanty information on motivation may, as here, be given a new dimension by study of what he has to say about advancement. For in the *Chroniques* advancement is straightforwardly represented as both symbol and reality. More than anything it is a principle of potency very different from the 14th century's "confessed pessimism" which, Huizinga alleges, was so all-pervasive. It was an ideal pursued without idealism. For though Froissart judged the quality of the spirit by the motion and fortunes of its physical shell, the body, he rarely distinguished qualitatively between actions. His is the equitable, almost casual, tone of the

non-participant. Nevertheless, Froissart's concept of advancement does something to restore scale and realism to the efforts of men. And his emphasis upon personal achievement was not without relevance in a time of slow change and even slower recognition of impersonal forces making for change.