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FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, 1972

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PROGRAMME

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Circle convened in the Moot Court, Robson Hall, The University of Manitoba, on October 20-21, 1972.

At 2:00 p.m., Professor J.B. Rudnyckyj, President of the Circle, opened the meeting and introduced the Associate Dean of Arts, Professor D.J. Lawless, who, after timely remarks about pertinent linguistic facts he observed overseas, extended a hearty welcome to all participants on behalf of The University of Manitoba.

The Annual Dinner was held in the Senior Common and Victoria Rooms of University College. Dr. Robert Roy, President of The Manitoba Modern Languages Association, delivered the banquet address, The Teaching of Ethnic Languages in Manitoba. The well-documented analysis of the problem and his objective conclusions resulted in a lively discussion, chaired by Professor C. Meredith Jones.

Eleven papers were read and discussed at the sessions. For the first time Brandon University was represented on the programme. The discussions were enhanced by the expertise of Professor L. Zgusta, a guest from the Department of Linguistics, The University of Illinois, Urbana. Professors Eugene Grinbergs and John Kazazis preferred at this time to withhold the abstracts of their respective papers, The Term CAVIAR in Slavic and Other European Languages and The Tragic Novels in Herodotos and the Hellenic Tyrannis. Their contributions were appreciated and participants will certainly miss their digests.

At the business meeting it was noted that the first seven volumes of *Proceedings* are no longer readily available. Therefore, the editor was instructed to investigate the possibility of a second edition.

The next Annual Meeting will be held in Grand Forks, N.D. The President-Elect, Professor Richard F. Hampsten, of The University of North Dakota, requested the members to submit titles, with brief summaries, of their prospective papers for the 1973 conference to the Executive before September. Since it is not possible to include all papers in the programme, first considerations will be given to suitability and early submissions.

MODERN GREEK-ENGLISH DICTIONARY:

A Section of Edited Entries

Demetrius J. Georgacas, Director and Editor, Greek Dictionary Project, University of North Dakota

A set of eighty-seven edited entries of the Modern Greek-English Dictionary, running from ἀμόντιο to ἀκούραστος, was presented at the meeting.¹ They included nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and one suffix. For reasons of space they cannot be reproduced here. The following remarks, made to the audience as an introduction and guide to the text, are given here in abbreviated form.

The basic raw material, consisting of more than 600 metal card file drawers filled with over 2½ million cards bearing material, is housed in the Dictionary Office on the campus of The University of North Dakota (Montgomery Hall 217). This material derives from notations of oral usage and from quotations excerpted from newspapers, magazines, folk tales and folk songs; collective volumes and anthologies of prose and poetry (including the prose of such special fields as education, medicine, philosophy, the arts, etc.); separate works of individual authors, poets, prose writers; specialist writers in education, science, medicine, philosophy, the arts. The materials represent chronologically and in quantitative progression Modern Greek of the 18th century, more of the 19th, still more of the 20th, and even much more of the second half of our century. This is in keeping with the plan and intent of the project, which is to serve the current and immediate future needs of users while still retaining useful words and special terms going as far back as the 15th century. The editing personnel includes the Editor and the Research Associate, Barbara Georgacas, M.A. (Classics), a midwest American, who is an avid reader of English works of any category and who also does the research on botanical, zoological, and other scientific terms. Research assistants and student assistants have been employed in excerpting, alphabetizing and, recently, in collecting needed new material. In addition, a dozen colleagues read proofs of edited materials and serve as consultants to the Editor.

The sections of each entry are arranged in the following order:

1. The entryword in boldface type, followed by the phonemic transcription in italics within slanted lines, and, if required, by a second or third form of the word, also in italics, but without phonemic transcription.

- 2. The grammatical information follows:
 - (a) a noun is followed by its Greek article;
 - (b) an adjective is followed by the indication of the endings of the masculine, feminine, and neuter forms, e.g., καλός ή ό; in the case of two-ending forms, the masculine-feminine ending is shown as mf and the neuter one as n, e.g., ἀμμώδης mf, ≃ες n; if accents vary (i.e. only in orthography, because there is only a stress accent), these are indicated graphically, e.g., στιγμιαῖος -α ~ ο (= στιγμιαῖος m, στιγμιαία f, στιγμιαῖο n.).
 - (c) a verb is followed by the indication of any secondary present form(s), the forms of past tenses, and participle(s); however, participles with adjectival use(s) are listed as separate entries.
- 3. The level of usage is suggested: e.g., a word of learned provenience is marked (L); this informs the user, even before he looks for other information, that the word or its meaning pertains to the learned level of Modern Greek and that, in origin, it is either an ancient, Koine, Byzantine, Patristic, medieval, or modern puristic term. If a word is either literary, regional, dialectal or slang, this is also shown.
- 4. The semantic specification includes, when necessary, the sphere of its uses, e.g., anatomy, the arts, athletics, aviation, biology, chemistry, journalism, medical, military, musical, nautical, navy, painting, philosophy, etc. Where this is useful, the glosses (meanings) are preceded by the indication of whether a verb is transitive, intransitive, middle, passive, or medio-passive. When called for, the meaning is indicated as figurative. Each meaning is followed by synonymns and antonyms in parentheses. The main line of the meanings is arranged on historical principles.
- 5. Samples of usage. In this section the classified meanings are elucidated by samples in the following order: the spoken language, proverbs, quotations from folk tales, literary prose, folk songs and select poetry. The passages from literature, technical, professional, and scholarly discourse (Fachprosa) are followed by the individual author's name in parentheses; the names of well-known authors are given in abbreviated form; in the case of folk tales and folk songs the name of the anthology editor is given.

This section takes most of the entry's space because this is the first dictionary of Modern Greek compiled with the express aim of illustrating the meanings of words documented in literary and scholarly writings. However, it should be pointed out that it is possible to include only a selective fraction of available samples; it may become necessary to reduce the number of the samples from these writings even more drastically before the dictionary is printed.

 Etymology. The etymological data, worded succinctly and even cursorily, are listed in angular brackets. They are placed at the end of each entry in order to avoid an overloading of the grammatical information in the initial lines.

A word of Modern Greek is derived either from a forerunner form of post-medieval or middle Greek, often surviving in a Modern Greek dialect; from early Byzantine Greek, Patristic Greek, Koine Greek, ancient (classical) Greek; from loan words of a foreign language previously spoken in Greek speech territory; from other languages spoken in lands close to it, i.e., Slavic, Albanian, Italian, or Turkish (and indirectly Arabic); as a modern borrowing from languages such as French, Italian, English; from one of the other major Western European languages, such as German or Spanish; or as a loan translation, especially from the sciences, philosophy, the arts, etc.

Numerous neologisms coined by scientists in modern times are either Greek, Latin or hybrids with elements of the two classical languages; such terms are only indirectly of Greek (or Latin) origin, as, for instance, $\mathring{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\rho\gamma$ (\leftarrow German Allerqie).

Significant as the forthcoming dictionary may be, the corpus of the material that has been assembled in two decades will be even more important to the scholar. It is intended to place this material in an institution in order that researchers and scholars on the international level may benefit in perpetuity from both the persistent labor and the funds invested in the project.

LEXICOLOGY AND GENERATIVE GRAMMAR Ladislav Zgusta, University of Illinois, Urbana

The current practise of transformational grammar is to have the derived word compounds appear first in their single morphemes that are combined into the respective wholes only at a later stage of the generation of the sentence; e.g., the cruis er and the battle ship. However, such a conception leads to difficulties. A compound like Indo-European has either a meaning that is fully derivable from the single morphemes (as in Indo-European relations, cf. Indo-American, Indo-Australian etc.), or it has a non-derivable meaning (as in Indo-European languages). Similarly a cruiser is either any vehicle or boat that cruises, or it is a specific type of ship differentiated from other types of ships not only by the ability to cruise. An attempt to generate derived words and compounds with non-derivable meaning from their constituent morphemes during the generation of the sentence would cause the problem of how to cope with unpredictable sematic effects. They could be dealt with by a device like Weinreich's Second Lexicon, but such a solution would entail the necessity of treating the majority or at least a good part of words as idioms.

LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES: A CASE STUDY H. Christoph Wolfart, The University of Manitoba

1. The nature of language boundaries, their emergence and their disappearance, have traditionally been the concern of historical and comparative linguistics. For example, the basic triangle of "linguistic parenthood" (however ill-fitting the metaphor) which involves two "daughter" languages derived from one "parent" language, need not be viewed as an icon representing sudden split or similar simplistic notions, but rather as a schematic diagram of the emergence of a language boundary. While the starting and ending points of such a development are generally known, the details of this process are less well understood.

The opposite situation, with the triangle turned upside down, has a very different status: since the complete dissolution of a language boundary, i.e. complete language mixture, would create severe difficulties for linguistic reconstruction and genetic classification alike, it has been claimed that such dissolution simply does not occur — a striking

¹ For more information on this project see D.J. Georgacas, "Compiling a Modern Greek-American English Dictionary", *Proceedings of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota*, vol. 4, no. 1 (October 1963), pp. 4-12.

 $^{^2}$ See the international journal *Orbis*, XXII, 1 (June 1973), where the entire set is reproduced.

instance of *petitio principii*. Thus the limitations of a particular methodology may be projected onto the phenomena under study themselves.

Among related problems, the classification of creoles (cf. the Hall-Taylor controversy concerning Haitian French Creole) and the treatment of areal convergence phenomena (Sprachbund) are the most widely known. Although it is frequently possible to distinguish, retrospectively, those features of a language which are called "genetic" from those which are attributed to diffusion and analogy, the theoretical basis for this work remains subject to dispute. In fact, this area has long been a favourite battleground on which to attack a neogrammarian strawman: the more flamboyant skirmishes of Meillet vs. Schuchardt, of Sapir vs. Boas, and of Hall vs. Bàrtoli are now a matter of history, but the problem itself persists.

In synchronic linguistics, boundaries may have been less prominent; but they are no less important. In discussing the territorial extension of a language, for instance, the purely linguistic criterion of a bundle of isoglosses is commonly supplemented with geographical and political features. Quantitative techniques for determining language boundaries in principle hold a great deal of promise. But both actual instances, the lexicostatistical approach which is based on the number of common vocabulary items as well as the technique of dialect distance testing which attempts to measure mutual intelligibility, have severe limitations. And Chomsky's solution of constructing a grammar on the basis of the central, monolingual, idealized speakers of a language, and then using this grammar to decide marginal problems, may be aesthetically satisfying but cannot be regarded as empirically satisfactory.

Linguistic boundaries are not restricted to marginal areas. Where an individual or an entire speech community uses several codes side by side, the problem of boundary maintenance and interference is quite obvious. Whether the situation involves simply different contextual registers or functional dialects, or those extreme cases of code-switching (as in Arabic or at the northern and southern extremes of the German-speaking area) which have been called diglossia, or indeed bi- or multilingualism, is essentially a matter of degree. Once the ideal, homogeneous, mono-idiolectal speaker is dismissed, the different codes can be described in terms of their internal structures, and the boundaries in terms of the relations that hold between these.

No attempt is made in this paper to suggest solutions to these problems. However, issues of this kind provide the framework against which to study individual cases of linguistic boundaries.

2. Island Lake² is located approximately 290 miles northeast of Winnipeg. Canadian government sources identify the Island Lake residents as Cree and in no way distinguish them from the Cree of Oxford House, Gods Lake, or Norway House. Most other sources, however, (including the basic work of Michelson) speak of "mixed Cree and Ojibwa" as do the people of Island Lake themselves. According to early reports, informant responses, and the results of dialect distance testing, the mutual intelligibility of Island Lake with both Cree and Ojibwa is low.

The size of the population (about 2,800) and parallel studies of Island Lake ethnohistory, demography, and population genetics present a rare framework for a population-based study of presumed language mixture.

The aboriginal hunting groups and their seasonal aggregation into a "local, named group or band" provided the nucleus for summer settlements at Island Lake which were increasingly encouraged by the fur trade and, later, by administrative, missionary, and mining activities. Preliminary estimates of the ethnic composition of the total Island Lake population place the Cree and Ojibwa components at approximately 30:70.

3. The study of a reportedly mixed language was the primary focus of the Island Lake survey; a secondary goal was to experiment with the techniques of linguistic survey work.

The initial phase of the survey involved the recording (by M. Wiebe) of questionnaire-based interviews with 24 speakers of different sex, age, ethnic derivation, and location. The original questionnaire of 551 items concentrates on diagnostic differences in phonology and verb morphology. Inflected verb forms and sentences testing for certain grammatical features constitute about 53 per cent of the questionnaire and, as might be expected, this part created many difficulties of elicitation and evaluation.

4. The people of Island Lake use all three terminological possibilities to designate their language: almost one half of those asked for their first language spontaneously responded with Cree, and about one quar-

ter each gave Saulteaux (i.e. Ojibwa) and Island Lake. However, the choice of name is largely independent of the intelligibility relations described by the same speakers.

5. Phonological diagnostics provide the most accessible evidence on language affiliation, and the overwhelming majority of the Island Lake data (examples 1,2) point in one direction: that the language of Island Lake is basically Ojibwa.

CREE	OJIBWA	ISLAND LAKE		
piĥtokēw	pi̇̃ntikē	pīntikē	'he enters'	(1)
maskwa	mahkwa	mahkwa	'bear'	(2)
pisiskiw	pišihki (w)	pisiski	'animal, cow'	(3)
āhkik	āskik	āskik/āhkik	'seal'	(4)
-st-	-hs-	wāpastim	'white dog'	(5)
		nāpēhsim	'male dog'	

There are of course many exceptions to this general rule, ranging from one common to all respondents (3) to items used by only a few individuals (4) to cases where both Cree and Ojibwa reflexes are used side by side by the same speaker (5).

Interference phenomena of many different types occur in the speech of individual speakers. For example, a word may combine phonological features of Cree with morphological features of Ojibwa (6) or it may be completely syncretic phonologically (7). A very striking kind of hypercorrection is also found (8).

CREE	OJIBWA	ISLAND LAKE	(ISLAND LAKE INDIVIDUAL)		
nistāw	nīhtāwiss	nihtāwihs	nĪstāwihs	'my (m) male cross-cousin'	(6)
cistēmāw wātihkan	assēmā wānihkan	ahsēmā wānihkan	astēmā wāniskan	'tobacco' 'pit'	(7) (8)

The morphological evidence analyzed to date fully confirms the phonological data.

6. The speech of Island Lake is by no means homogeneous. While further research is required before the situation can be sketched, there appears to be a clear-cut division between Red Sucker Lake and the other three settlements: the former shows no nasal-plus-stop clusters, e.g. mak 'loon' for (general) Island Lake mank, or wanakos 'star' for wanankos. These forms are more similar to Cree in this respect, but the

same phenomenon occurs in the Ojibwa of Big Trout Lake; if a Red Sucker Lake isogloss can be established it may have interesting implications for population composition and migration patterns.

7. There can be little doubt that the speech of Island Lake is Ojibwa with an admixture of Cree even though the full details and the extent of this admixture remain to be determined. To indicate one direction for further research, it is clear that a quantitative approach would be of great methodological interest. At the same time these survey techniques would have to be supplemented by various other approaches, ranging from specific intelligibility tests to detailed studies of interaction with Cree and Ojibwa speakers and to actual life histories.

I would like to repeat my thanks to the people of Island Lake for their active participation in the survey and the interest they have taken in the entire study, and to M. Wiebe who made the recordings at Island Lake. This work was supported by the Graduate Faculty Research Board of the University of Manitoba.

MATHEMATICAL LOGIC AND EMPIRICAL LINGUISTICS Douglas N. Walton, University of Winnipeg

If we study philosophical aspects of the logic of explanation in linguistics, using various Chomsky remarks as a starting point, we will find that two kinds of objections have often been made against the types of linguistic explanations that he seems to prefer: behavioristic objections that Chomsky's mentalism is unscientific, and objections emanating from mathematical logic to the effect that natural language is inherently mystical. Our conclusion is that the model of explanation that can be reconstructed from Chomsky's remarks is indeed consistent with new directions in semantic studies of segments of natural language and, generally speaking, does offer a scientifically fruitful approach to linguistic theory.

¹On this and many of the other points mentioned here, cf. U. Weinreich, W. Labov, and M.I. Herzog, 'Empirical foundations for a theory of language change,' in W.P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel, eds., *Directions for historical linguistics*, Austin, Texas. 1968.

² For a more detailed analysis, further discussion, and full references and acknowledgements, see my article, 'Boundary maintenance in Algonquian: a linguistic study of Island Lake, Manitoba,' *American Anthropologist*, in press.

The problem for theoretical linguistics is not lack of data, but the lack of a theory that specifically allows for explanations presupposing a reasonable degree of inexactness. Do fundamentally inexact, unquantifiable and inarticulate factors in explanations, like introspective evidence and reliance on the intuition of the native speaker, rule linguistics out of the domain of science? Increasingly, theoreticians are answering in the negative. Early positivistic reluctance to accept such explanations as essentially scientific has long ago ceased to be defensible. Yet the logic of explanations in linguistics has been greatly understudied, perhaps because much of the positivistic spirit remains alive in influential writers like Skinner. The debate between "hard" and "soft" approaches to science is perennial. Yet we can argue that Chomsky's proposal, namely that the resources of the "hard" sciences can be utilized in a partial fashion in less exact explanations without reducing such explanations to "hard" science models entirely, is a reasonable and modest one.

It is often argued nowadays by mathematical logicians that natural languages as wholes are not amenable to scientific treatment and that semantic and syntactic concepts can only be defined within a logical system. Syntax becomes proof theory and semantics becomes truth theory or model theory. Outside the system, talk of meaning or grammaticalness is metaphorical, bogged down in the vagaries, contradictions and mysticism of so-called "ordinary language" or natural language. Thus it only makes sense to talk of meaning relative to a system, an artificial language. The argument seems to be that a natural language, as a whole, is too much explicandum to tackle at once, and that explanation should proceed piecemeal, taking each tiny segment of natural language one at a time for analysis. Thus we seem to have a kind of relativism, which holds that our resources only enable us to tackle a given natural language piecemeal. For the structure of one chunk may be entirely different from another in a way that forbids the kind of unified, absolutistic approach that linguistic theorists, like early logical theorists, have always hankered after. The logicians argue that we have only recently begun to discover the limitations of our linguistic resources. The early dreams of Hilbert and others for holistic, unified structures have been shattered by the logical paradoxes and incompleteness results of Gödel and others.

The slender logical resources at our present disposal ought to signal caution and circumspectness in approaching natural language, a recogni-

tion of its formidableness, power and complexity as a subject of analysis, and a hesitancy about making claims for a universal grammar or global semantics.

While we argue that linguistic explanation is irreducibly Cartesian in appealing to inner mental data, we find no inconsistency between Cartesian explanations and a scientific linguistic theory. The appeal to the intuition of the native speaker is one element in the logic of the verification of linguistic hypotheses that must be given its due weight alongside other factors that are amenable to standard data-processing methods. The route to a scientific semantics, we argue, is an acceptance of Cartesian explanations taken together with an increased recognition of the role of scientific and technological (in particular logical and mathematical) notation in explicating expressions in natural languages. We counsel against acceptance of the dilemma that seems to confront semantics: either to relativize meaning concepts to artificial languages (to avoid the unclarities of natural language) or to avoid artificial languages altogether in semantic analysis (because they abstract away from natural language, legislate "usage", or fail to match expressions in natural language with notational counterparts in any simple one-to-one correspondence). Artificial languages can and are being used to provide models for segments of a natural language, and the success of these explications has shown a way to organize, clarify, classify and explain linquistic phenomena that goes far beyond traditional semantics. The resources of science can be utilized in a Cartesian semantics without imposing the Draconian restrictions of positivism and behaviorism that would deny us the primary data of the linguist. We can pass between the horns of this apparent dilemna, and to some extent we have, by the increasing recognition among linguists of the theoretical resources available to them from the areas of mathematical logic and artificial lanquages.

THE TEACHING OF SECONDARY LANGUAGES IN MANITOBA Robert R. Roy, Winnipeg School Division

The subject suggested to me for this evening is the teaching of secondary languages. Therefore, I will not talk about the teaching of the language which holds the primary position in our society, namely, English. Rather, it is my understanding that I have been invited to talk about the teaching of all other modern languages. While some of these

(German, Ukrainian, and French) are not second languages to many learners, they are, nevertheless, secondary languages in Manitoba even though they are spoken by important groups in that society.

Giving an after-dinner talk on the teaching of secondary languages in 1972, presents the speaker with a certain dilemma. How can one be light and entertaining about a subject that seems to inspire only pessimism? Enrolments in secondary languages are dropping out of sight. Participation in grade XII French in Winnipeg has dropped from 64% to 19% in the last four years. The provincial picture is at least as gloomy. In Winnipeg grade XII German has dropped from 2% to 1% in the same period. The provincial picture in German is similar. During the same period in Winnipeg, participation in the grade XII Ukrainian program has increased from 1/2% to 1%, but the rate has now been static for three years. The statistics in Winnipeg for Ukrainian are more encouraging than they are in the rest of the province. These are the only three languages taught at present in public schools at the grade XII level. There are apparent important gains at the elementary level but they represent areas where language teaching has been made legal only recently. The figures for German and Ukrainian often merely reveal that existing programs have gained the right to come out from underground. While legislation gives a great deal of new freedom for language program development, the economic climate is such that new budgetary allotments have to be won from boards intent on reducing their budgets. The elementary French programs frequently consist of only a few minutes of instruction a week. Can one expect that modern languages at the junior high level are doomed to the same fate as Latin? Will they gain and hold an important place in the elementary school? Faced with this problem. I have decided to talk to you about high school students - the source of what looks like secondary language disappointment. I have selected them because in reality they give more cause for optimism than the adults.

Most of the information I will present to you is based on a questionnaire survey of 5% of the schools of Manitoba in which any grade between VII and XII is taught. The sample included a large range of schools such as large city schools, large town schools in southern Manitoba, as well as schools serving hardly more than a dozen students in remote northern regions. Most of the cultural groups were well represented in the sample. It may surprise some of you that most high school students consider knowing a second-language to be important. In fact, more than 75% of them do. About 80% of them think that learning a second language should be compulsory usually at the junior high school level. And why should they study a second language? Well, 80% feel that it would increase their job opportunities, 65% feel it would help their further studies (somebody is feeding questionable information!) and even 45% feel it would improve their social position. These youngsters seemingly have no judgment at all! They want to be like D.P.s!

Are you surprised at these facts? Well there are more. Many students would have liked to study a third language. Forty-two per cent would like to have taken a third language instead of one of the other subjects they are now studying. And 39% would like to take one in addition to the programs they are now taking. More than 50% feel that knowing a third language is important in Manitoba. The third languages they would have picked are German (14%), Ukrainian (8%), French (7%), Canadian-Indian (6%), Latin (6%), Chinese, Hebrew, and Russian (2% each), and other unnamed languages (15%). In one junior high school this year, the option was offered to grade VII students of taking French and German or French and Spanish. Sixty per cent of them took up the offer. The other 40% will take French only.

The most highly motivated for the study of a secondary language are the French and the Ukrainians in that order. With a degree of motivation that is statistically different and lower, in descending order of motivation, are the Indians, the other cultural groups, and the English, and at the bottom of the scale of motivation, the Germans. It is reasonable to conclude and not surprising to find that those who are most strongly motivated to study the secondary languages are those for whom the native language is a secondary language. Children of German-speaking families are an outstanding exception.

Not only are high school students desirous of studying secondary languages but those of French, Ukrainian, and German extraction are highly satisfied with their language teachers, the skills they are developing, and their classroom activities. The English have a significantly lower degree of satisfaction, the Indians and the others, much lower still. About 75% of all students feel that language study is beneficial.

It is surprising to find that with such a high degree of motivation and satisfaction so many students should drop their language programs.

Forty-three per cent of those who dropped language study did so for personal reasons. For example, they felt they had never been really convinced of the value of a course or had found the program too difficult. The quality of instruction and administration accounted for about 30% of the drop-outs.

But it seems there is another important reason. Fifty-seven per cent of the grade VII students felt they could become fluent speakers while only 30% of the grade XII students held the same conviction. Seventy-five per cent of the grade VII students felt their programs to be beneficial but only 60% of the grade XII students still held the same conviction. That loss of confidence is even more striking when you keep in mind that about 60% of the grade VII students dropped language study before grade XII. It seems that a major contribution of the school is to convince students that learning a language in the normal school setting is almost impossible. To support this conclusion is the fact that 55% of the grade XII students felt that the most beneficial influence on their learning a second language was outside of school.

The obstacles then to the teaching of secondary languages are less in the student than in the adult mind and society. If the crisis in the teaching of secondary languages is to be overcome, some of the following suggestions may be valuable:

- The provision of more intensive programs by enlarging the in-school language programs, by making them more meaningful and by providing more out-of-school opportunities: "Le festival du voyageur", "Oktoberfest", and "Folkorama", are not enough! Learning languages in isolation from their cultural basis is dull if not impossible.
- 2. The provision of several genuine language options in our high schools: If the characteristic of the high school of 1972 is its flexibility as revealed by the great variety of options available, it had better stock up the language shelf. It is inconceivable that a group of educators such as the CORE Report Committee should in 1972 list a number of compulsory areas to guarantee the quality of high school instruction and fail to mention second languages.
- 3. Communicate the feeling that language learning is important: In many divisions, federal grants for French are poured into the general fund and are not used to improve the language program. Several divisions have forfeited their 1972 grants by their failure to report proper use of their 1971 grants. Various cultural groups manifest

- cannibalistic attitudes towards other cultural groups. They direct much energy to making sure that other cultural groups do not receive any benefits which they themselves are not getting. Actions such as these carry a pretty clear message.
- 4. Overcome our methodology hangups: Since World War II, teachers have given linguists and psychologists more faith than they deserve. The result has been considerable disillusionment with many high-priced packages and miraculous formulas. While students generally want a greater emphasis on conversation, particularly at the grade XII level, they also want more grammar and more drill. Teachers have to be freed to develop curricular materials in consideration of the day-to-day experience in the classroom and in the community.
- 5. Recognize that secondary cultures are not second-rate cultures: Students must have access to materials that have a distinct Canadian flavor. European materials must be placed in second place where they belong. Universities must stop hoping that the French-Canadian or German-Canadian fact will go away. The university language departments and the schools must accept the Canadian negro.

CONCLUSION:

Various suggestions have been advanced. It is hoped that you didn't expect to hear solutions to all the problems. Several problems await those who would teach secondary languages. In conclusion let me cite an example taken from the bold history of language teaching in Manitoba. I met recently an anglophone who had taken her primary schooling in one of the French schools of one of the French districts of Manitoba. She had spent three years of high school as a boarder in a French convent. She had graduated as a teacher and had gotten a job teaching French in an elementary school in a French area. She had married a second-generation Frenchman educated in French schools in Manitoba. But she confessed that in their home and in contact with their French-Canadian friends, they speak almost only English. Their first child is now of school age but does not speak French. Where is she going to school? To a French school, of course.

Languages of the synthetic type, with their elaborate morphology, have often proved to be highly refractory to syntactic description. American Indian languages are especially interesting in this respect, since many of the more synthetic ones have long been the subjects of relatively intensive linguistic analysis. Many of the published descriptions resulting from this work, especially those of the so-called "structuralist school," have never been excelled in terms of the richness, insight, and elegance of their morphological analyses. Despite these insights into morphology, however, the structuralist approach provided linguists with very little knowledge of syntactic processes.

The advent of transformational-generative grammar produced a marked shift in emphasis, in that linguists were provided with a powerful metatheory which insisted upon the centrality of syntax. Transformational studies of synthetic languages have resulted in significant additions to our knowledge of syntactic processes. In particular, the notion that complex morphological structures are the surface products of complex transformational sequences seems especially crucial for our understanding of the syntax of synthetic languages. In reading these transformational studies, however, one is often struck by a certain clumsiness of explication, by ad hoc formalisms, or by implausible or unworkable explanations. It seems clear that our ability to account for syntactic processes in these languages has not yet reached a very significant level of adequacy.

In the past few years a number of linguists, notably James McCawley, Charles Fillmore, and Wallace Chafe, have been moving toward a metatheory in which the base component of a grammar is seen to be essentially semantic in nature, rather than syntactic. In his recent book Meaning and the Structure of Language (1970), Chafe has sketched the outlines of such a metatheory, in which semantic representations of sentences, generated by a semantic base, serve as the input to a sequence of post-semantic processes, or transformations, which produce surface syntactic structures. The post-semantic processes envisioned by Chafe differ from Chomsky's transformations in that they move or otherwise manipulate semantic units, rather than syntactic ones. In this view of language, then, syntax is seen to be entirely the product of transformational processes.

This paper proposes to test some of the implications of such a metatheory by examining a few of the post-semantic processes responsible for the complex surface phenomena of pronominalization and concord in Dakota, Onondaga, and Wichita, three languages of the Macro-Siouan Phylum. All are American Indian languages, and all are more or less synthetic in type.

The semantic representation of a sentence, according to Chafe, is a configuration of four distinct types of semantic unit: selectional units, lexical units, derivational units, and inflectional units. In any semantic representation these units are subgrouped under nodes of two types, nouns and verbs, other "parts of speech" being post-semantically derived. Needless to say, numerous post-semantic processes must apply to these semantic representations to convert them into surface syntactic structures. Of special interest are the processes which literalize and linearize these representations; e.g., in English the inflectional unit definite is often literalized as the definite article the, which must then be linearized to precede the noun to which it refers.

The term concord is normally used to refer to those post-semantic processes that either move semantic units from noun nodes into verb nodes, or copy semantic units from noun nodes into verb nodes. (In the former case the semantic unit or units involved will be present in the verb node but not in the noun, whereas in the latter case the unit or units involved will be present in both noun and verb nodes.) Synthetic languages characteristically possess numerous types of concord phenomena. Chafe (1970b: 49) has neatly summarized this fact for Onondaga:

Is is especially characteristic of post-semantic processes in Onondaga that they add units to the verb while very often subtracting them from elsewhere in the sentence. The structure of the verb is gradually augmented, while that of associated nouns is eroded. By the time surface structure is reached it is often the case that the only word left in a sentence is the verb. Such complete erosion of nouns does not always take place, however, and frequently enough is left of a noun that it becomes symbolized as a separate word.

Complete erosion of a noun, in Chafe's terms, implies the deletion of the lexical unit from the node in question. The widespread phenomenon of noun incorporation must then be viewed as a kind of "partial noun erosion," in that the lexical unit of the noun node in question is also moved into the verb, where it appears as a separate stem in the surface literalization.

Pronominalization is the name given to another, universal type of "noun erosion," namely that which results from the post-semantic deletion of the lexical unit from a noun node. The complete erosion of a noun node, mentioned above, is thus due to the interaction of concord and pronominalization transformations. Pronominalization is typically anaphoric, however, in that the noun node involved carries no new semantic information; the deletion of the lexical unit normally leaves behind a small set of non-lexical semantic units which are literalized as a surface pronoun.

The following set of Dakota sentences exhibits both concord and pronominalization:

1. wičhaša ki he matho wa 70 That man shot a bear. 2. mivėš matho wa wa o I myself shot a bear. 3. matho wa wa?o I shot a bear. 4. wičhaša wa wa?o I shot a man. 5. wičhaša wa ya?o You (sng.) shot a man. 6. wičhaša wa ma?o A man shot me. 7. wičhaša wa ni?o A man shot you (sng.). 8. John ?ixat?a John laughed. 9. ?iwaxat?a I laughed. 10. John haska John is tall. 11 mahaska I am tall.

The first seven sentences show the existence of four verb prefixes which mark concord for singular first and second persons. The prefix /wa-/ seems to represent "first person singular subject," the prefix /ya-/ is "second person singular subject," the prefix /ma-/ is "first person singular object," and the prefix /ni-/ is "second person singular object." Examination of sentence eleven, however, shows us that this is not quite correct, for there we see /ma-/ representing a subject. In fact, languages with case concord of this type are known as stative languages; semantic agents are represented in surface structure as active case (/wa-/ and /ya-/), while semantic patients are respresented as stative case (/ma-/ and /ni-/).

In a recent paper, David Rood (1971) has shown that Wichita is typologically stative, with case concord that closely parallels the situation in Dakota. Chafe (1970b) has indicated that Onondaga is also stative, although he seems to confuse stative concord with ergative concord. While it is clear that the surface structures of stative and

ergative languages are somewhat similar, it also seems to be the case that the post-semantic processes which produce them are radically different, and the two types should thus be rigidly distinguished. (Cf. Fillmore 1968)

Further examination of case concord in Macro-Siouan reveals some interesting facts. The verb see is an experiential verb, whose subject is an experiencer semantically, rather than an agent. The concord marker for experiential nouns in Dakota is in the active case. Thus Dakota must possess a rule which realizes semantic experiencers as surface actives. Wichita and Onondaga also possess such rules, as they also realize semantic experiencers as surface actives. One is tempted to suggest that this phenomenon might be universal to languages of the stative type, although the fact of genetic relationship for the three languages considered here makes such a hypothesis rather suspect.

Noun nodes which are semantically marked as beneficiaries, however, seem to be treated differently in Dakota and Onondaga. Chafe (1970b) has indicated that such nouns in Onondaga are normally realized as surface statives. In Dakota the situation appears to be considerably more complex: beneficiary nouns are realized as actives, unless the sentence possesses an agent noun node, in which case the beneficiary is realized as a surface stative plus a dative morpheme of some type. The existence of several types of syntactic constructions in Dakota with beneficiary nouns argues for the case that the term beneficiary, as used by Chafe, actually subsumes more than one kind of noun-verb relationship.

Of special interest in Dakota is instrumental concord:

	/ / /	
12.	šûka ki he nawaxtake	I kicked that dog.
	šûka ki he mayaxtake	That dog bit me.
1 J.	SUNA NI IIC IIIAYANIANC	mai dog bit me.

In sentence twelve the verb form must consist of /na-/, "by action of the foot," plus /wa-/, the concord marker discussed above, plus /-xtaka/, a stem with the approximate meaning of "to forcefully attack." Sentence thirteen has the same stem, with instrumental marker /ya-/, "by action of the mouth." Chafe has suggested that any action-process verb in English may be optionally accompanied by an instrumental noun node. The following ill-formed sentences, however, indicate that some verbs in English must be inherently instrumental, as the choice of lexical unit for the instrumental noun is highly constrained at the semantic level.

- 14. *John kicked the mayor with his arm.
- 15. *John bit into his steak with a stick.

Such observations suggest that there are action-process verbs in many languages with obligatory instrumental noun nodes. Such nodes may be retained intact, they may be eroded by concord and pronominalization phenomena, or they may be eliminated as a part of the literalization process. Instrumentals of this type in Dakota are eroded; in English they are eliminated through literalization.

In summary, it would appear that a semantically-based linguistic metatheory, similar to that suggested by Chafe, holds great promise as a means of describing such complex phenomena as pronominalization and concord in synthetic languages. While it is clear that our knowledge of semantic structures is far from adequate, it also seems to be the case that a semantically-based approach to syntax will bear more fruit than any other approach that is currently available.

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SWAMPY CREE OF SHAMATTAWA, MANITOBA

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THE PROBLEM: Aside from early accounts by traders or missionaries, linguistic studies of Cree are relatively rare. What little work has been done deals primarily with the Plains Cree (Bloomfield, Wolfart) and the James Bay dialects (Ellis). However only morphology has received more than cursory attention (Ellis 1961, 1962, 1971, Wolfart 1969, 1971). Only two brief articles dealing with the Cree sound system have been published (Bloomfield 1930:1-6, Longacre 1957), both of which are sketchy and were not intended as phonological studies. This

preliminary report surveys a few aspects of Cree phonology and is subject to considerable re-evaluation as the analysis of the data proceeds.

FIELD WORK: Shamattawa is within the Swampy Cree dialect area, one of the most widespread of the Cree dialects. The settlement is situated 490 miles north, north-east of Winnipeg, Manitoba; 200 miles south, south-east of Churchill, Manitoba; at the junction of the God's and Echoeing Rivers. The population consists of 456 treaty Indians, 3 non-treaty Indians and 10 whites. Actual field work was carried out at Shamattawa from July 4 to September 18, 1972.

A large portion of the population is monolingual in Cree. What English is acquired comes through the local school. Only those who have been away from Shamattawa for a considerable length of time either at school in the "south" or in hospital are fluent in English. Further there is virtually no interaction with Ojibwa groups in Northern Ontario or Manitoba (in contrast to the situation described by H.C. Wolfart at Island Lake, Manitoba). Thus the Cree spoken at Shamattawa can be considered relatively free of non-Cree language influences.

The hypothesis that the people at Shamattawa spoke a variety of Swampy Cree was confirmed very early in the field work. The inventory of distinctive segmental units consists of:

consonants	stops	p, t, c, k;	fricative	s;
resonants	m, n, l;	glides	h, w, y;	
vowels	i, o, a, i:,	o:, a:, e:,		

The description of the realization of these units and their distribution within words constitutes the focus of this paper.

CONSONANTS

Articulatorily p is a bilabial stop, t a lamino-alveolar stop, \check{c} a post-alveolar affricate, k a dorso-velar stop. All the stops are non-aspirate. They are realized as both tense and lax variants. Stops are tense when they occur:

word initially or word finally; immediately following the vowel with primary word stress; or as the initial element of a consonant cluster.

All other stops are lax.

s occurs in two durations. It is long intervocalically and when preceding a short vowel followed by \check{c} , n, or m. The short vowel is very much reduced.

[pissci:ma:n] /pisici:ma:n/

'under the canoe'

m is a bilabial nasal and n an alveolar nasal. In normal conversation short vowels which occur between m and a labial, or n and a dental are reduced and the nasal if stressed has an extended duration:

[pmo:te:w] /pimohte:w/

'he walks'

[ntitwa:n] /nititwa:n/

'I say it'

The segmental unit l stands out by having a very limited occurrence in the dialect. It occurs in only three words:

/ali:kis/

'frog'

/alikwaca:s/

'squirrel'

/alikwahoy/

reecu

It is also found in the Cree renderings of some English names:

/ala:pat/

Robert

/ma:liy/

Mary

/hinta:liy/

Henry

The common surname Redhead by contrast is not re-interpreted in Cree.

h does not occur initially or finally. A breathy on-glide may accompany word initial vowels or follow word final vowels, it is however only a matter of speech style and is non-distinctive.

y occurs medially and finally. Initial y does occur in Plains Cree, but not in the Shamattawa variety of Swampy Cree. w occurs initially, medially and finally.

The voicing of consonants is non-distinctive. Intervocalically consonants tend to be voiced. \check{c} is only voiced when it is preceded by a nasal with the intervening vowel reduced:

[njisčiy] /ničisčiy/

'my finger'

CLUSTERS

The following clusters occur:

a stop may be preceded by s medially and finally, but not initially;

stop plus w occurs initially and medially, but not finally;

a stop may be both preceded by s and followed by w medially.

The h plus stop cluster of Plains Cree has two possible reflexes in Shamattawa Cree. The most common reflex is the sequence long vowel plus stop (V:C), where Plains Cree has the sequence short vowel plus h plus stop, or long vowel plus h plus stop.

(Plains Cree) $\begin{cases} V \\ V \end{cases} + h + Stop \rightarrow V : + Stop (Shamattawa Cree)$

The other set of reflexes for Plains Cree hp, ht, $h\check{c}$, and hk at Shamattawa are p (a bilabial spirant), Θ (an inter-dental spirant), sc and x (a velar spirant). Thus far the full distribution of these reflexes cannot be stated. The choice of reflexes is not free and both sets can be found in the same paradigm:

[mba:pin]	/nipa:hpin/	'I laugh'
[kipa:pin]	/kipa:hpin/	'you laugh'
[pa:poh]	/pa:hpiw/	'he laughs'

VOWELS

Shamattawa Cree has four vowel qualities plus a length contrast. As in the other Cree dialects there are seven vowels: i:, i, o:, o, a:, a and e:. Although e: does vary in duration it is always non-distinctive.

Long vowels and short stressed vowels are more tense than short vowels. Phonetically the tense high vowels are slightly higher, and the tense non-high vowels slightly lower than the lax high and non-high vowels respectively.

Vowel clusters do not occur, but vowel-semivowel clusters are common. w has a strong rounding and backing effect on a preceding i. a and a: are similarly more rounded before w:

[apo] /apiw/ 'he sits' [nowa:pamɔ:w] /niwa:pama:w/ 'I see him'

STRESS

Longacre (1957:67) repeated Bloomfield's (1930:2) observation that stress is non-distinctive and tends to fall on the third syllable from

the end of a word or close knit phrase. To this he added that in disyllabic words the stress tends to fall on the last syllable. Both these generalizations merely indicate tendencies and are subject to a great deal of variation. Thus far my own analysis has been unable to contribute to a more adequate description of word stress in Cree.

CONCLUSION

The two striking features of Shamattawa Cree are the occurrence of the segmental unit l and the spirantization of preaspirated stops. The distribution of these features as well as scalar phonetic features will be traced along demographic lines through the speech community.

Further study of this dialect will contribute to a better understanding of Cree morphology and dialectology; continued research in this and other dialect areas will equip the linguist to deal more efficiently with questions and problems in Cree orthography, dialect and language boundaries, and other areal concerns.

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THE PRONUNCIATION OF SAULTEAUX Paul H. Voorhis, Brandon University

Anyone who wishes to learn something about the Saulteaux language as it is spoken in Manitoba will find that all readily available publications deal with more easterly dialects (where the language is generally known as Ojibwa, Chippewa, Ottawa, Odawa, or Algonquin).

These publications include especially the following:

Baraga, R.R. Bishop, A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, Montreal, 1878; reprinted Minneapolis, 1966.

______, A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language, Montreal, 1878.

Bloomfield, Leonard, Eastern Ojibwa, Ann Arbor, 1958.

Verwyst, F. Chrysostom, *Chippewa Exercises*, Harbor Springs, Michigan, 1901; reprinted Minneapolis, 1971.

Wilson, Edward F., The Ojebway Language, Toronto, 1874; reprinted Ottawa, n.d.

This paper is concerned with presenting some of the differences between Manitoba Saulteaux and the dialects presented in these publications.

David Jones and Evelyn M. Todd, in A Revised Spelling System for Ojibwa, Peterborough, 1971, present a phonemic alphabet for Ojibwa, specify the sounds represented by the letters, and list the corresponding letters used by Baraga (Verwyst uses Baraga's spelling), Bloomfield, and Wilson. This alphabet is given below with a near equivalent of the sound of each letter underlined in an English or French word.

The English examples are all taken from Jones and Todd. a: annoy. i: in. o: over or look. ā: father. ē: fiance or pet. i: ski. ō: nose. w: water. y: player. p: spear, bee. t: store, door. č: cheese, jelly. k: skip, go. s: soap, zebra. š: shoe, treasure. h: perhaps, or a glottal stop as in Scottish bottle; silent after n. m: music. n: nice, before č: crunch, before k: sink, before s, š, h, or y: French bon.

Examples: wāpank, tomorrow; kwayakk, good; pōsin, get in; nipā, he's asleep; takkon, carry him; pintik, inside; čimān, boat; onči, from; kiškinšik, your eye; sēkisi, he's scared.

French rive, été, and chose sound more like \bar{i} , \bar{e} , and \bar{o} than English ski, fiance and nose do. French pas, tu, and car more like p, t, and k, than English p, t, and k do, except after s.

 \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{i} , and \bar{o} , are phonetically long, that is, they are held or extended in pronunciation, whereas a, i, and o are phonetically short, that is, they are hurried or spoken quickly.

In Manitoba Saulteaux, p, t, č, k, s, and š are voiceless at the beginning of a word, at the end of a word, and in the middle of a word when two of these consonants are beside one another; otherwise they are voiced. The same is probably true in most details for the other dialects.

Manitoba Saulteaux pronunciation differs from that described above as follows: a after w: French bonne, hereinafter written a, e.g., ininiwak, men \rightarrow ininiwak.

 \tilde{a} after w: \underline{saw} , hereinafter written \bar{a} , e.g., $ninkotw\bar{a}sswi$, $six \rightarrow ninkotw\bar{a}sswi$, $w\bar{a}pank$, tomorrow $\rightarrow w\bar{a}pank$. \bar{o} nose or \underline{food} .

h is dropped, e.g., kisākihin, I love you \rightarrow kisākiin, masinahikan, paper, book \rightarrow masinaikan.

ni is dropped at the beginning of a word before mp, nt, nč, or nk, e.g., $nimp\bar{a}p\bar{a}$, my father $\rightarrow mp\bar{a}p\bar{a}$; $nint\bar{a}niss$, my daughter $\rightarrow nt\bar{a}niss$; $nint\bar{a}nism$, my boat $\rightarrow nt\bar{a}nism$; $ninkotw\bar{a}sswi$, six $\rightarrow nkotw\bar{a}sswi$. In slow, careful speech, ni may be retained in this position; most speakers then drop the following m or n, e.g., $nip\bar{a}p\bar{a}$, $nit\bar{a}niss$.

nh is dropped, e.g., $apin\bar{o}\check{c}\bar{i}nh$, child $\rightarrow apin\bar{o}\check{c}\bar{i}$. n is dropped before y, e.g., $nimiss\bar{e}nyak$, my older sisters $\rightarrow nimiss\bar{e}yak$.

In most words, w is dropped between vowels in rapid, casual speech, though it may be retained in slow, careful speech; a and \bar{a} retain their pronunciation even when the proceding w is dropped, e.g., ininiwak, men $\rightarrow ininiak$; niwapama, I see him $\rightarrow niapama$; iwa, $that \rightarrow i\bar{e}$; apiwin, chair $\rightarrow apiin$; minawa, $again \rightarrow minaa$; anokkiwak, they are working $\rightarrow anokkiak$; kiwa, he is on the way home $\rightarrow kia$; kwiwissa, boy $\rightarrow kwiissa$; ikkwa, woman $\rightarrow ikkwa$, iniawa, they are asleep $\rightarrow nia$, iniawa, iniawa, where are they going $\rightarrow anta$ iniawa, iniawa

In a few words, w between vowels is apparently always retained, e.g., $aw\bar{e}$, this, that; $n\bar{i}win$, four. w is dropped after a consonant before \bar{a} , e.g., $nkotw\bar{a}swi$, $six \rightarrow nkot\bar{a}sswi$. In a few words, w is dropped after a consonant before other vowels in rapid, casual speech, e.g., $kiminw\bar{e}nimin$, I love you $\rightarrow kimin\bar{e}nimin$; $kw\bar{i}iss\bar{e}ns$, boy $-k\bar{i}iss\bar{e}ns$.

In most words, ya is pronounced like i, and, in some dialects, ay is pronounced like \bar{e} ; elsewhere before vowels y is simply dropped, e.g., kwayakk, good \rightarrow kwaikk, kwēikk; nissayē, my older brother \rightarrow nissaē, nissēē; $\bar{a}n\bar{i}n$ ēkkitoyan, what did you say \rightarrow $\bar{a}n\bar{i}n$ ēkkitoin; $\bar{a}nt\bar{e}$ ēnok-

 $k\bar{l}yan$, where do you work $\rightarrow \bar{a}nt\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}nokk\bar{l}in$; $nimiss\bar{e}yak$, my older sisters $\rightarrow nimiss\bar{e}ik$; \bar{e} $minikkw\bar{e}y\bar{a}n$, what I am drinking $\rightarrow \bar{e}$ $minikkw\bar{e}\bar{a}n$; $\bar{a}nt\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{a}yan$, where are you going $\rightarrow \bar{a}nt\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{a}y\bar{e}k$, where are you (plural) going $\rightarrow \bar{a}nt\bar{e}$ $\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{e}k$.

In a few words, y is apparently always retained, e.g., $\bar{o}t\bar{e}n\bar{a}nk$ $ay\bar{a}$, he is in town. In some other words, y may apparently be retained in slow, careful speech, e.g., kwayakk, good.

Note that the dropping or weak pronunciation of certain short vowels which occurs in some eastern dialects — Bloomfield's work treats such a dialect — does not exist in Manitoba Saulteaux.

Each vowel in a Saulteaux word forms a separate syllable. The last syllable of each word is stressed and has a high level or slightly rising pitch. At the end of a sentence, this high pitch may cause a Saulteaux statement to sound like a question, or like an unfinished sentence, to people accustomed to the pitch patterns of European languages.

In addition, the third or fourth syllable from the last may be stressed with high pitch in a word of three or more syllables at the end of a sentence or clause. If the third from the last syllable contains a long vowel, that syllable is always stressed, e.g., kišikonk, in heaven; nimitok, I think he's dancing; mokkoman, knife; ēšipiaman, what you write; nkotāssāpik, six dollars; inentamok, they think so. If the third from the last syllable contains a short vowel, that syllable is stressed in some examples, e.g., kakkina, all; nipāāk, they are asleep; masinahikan, book. In other examples, the fourth from the last syllable is stressed in words of more than three syllables, and only the last syllable is stressed in words of three syllables, e.g., iškotē, fire; pakānak, nuts; kipankiššinomin, we are falling. The cause of this variation is unclear; it may be free or conditioned by unknown factors.

Of course, Manitoba Saulteaux is also distinguished from the dialects of the above publications by some vocabulary differences. A few of these differences are mentioned below.

The greeting pōšō from French bon jour is replaced in Manitoba Saulteaux by ānīn, literally "how", understood to be short for "How are you?"

Of noss and nimpāpā, both "my father", the former is obsolescent, and when used refers only to priests, in Manitoba Saulteaux.

Of ninka, ninkašši, and nimāmā, all "my mother", the first is obsolescent, and when used refers only to Mary, the Mother of God, in Manitoha Saulteaux. The second does not occur.

Of the many Ojibwa words for "this" and "these", Manitoba Saulteaux uses those which end in w, to which a final \bar{e} is added. \bar{e} is also added to "that" and "those". w is sometimes dropped, and there are a number of dialect variants in the plurals. Examples are: $aw\bar{e}$, this (animate); $ow\bar{e}$, this (inanimate); $okow\bar{e}$, $onkow\bar{e}k$, oko, these (an.); $onow\bar{e}$, $onow\bar{e}n$, ono, these (in.); $aw\bar{e}$, that (an.); $i(w)\bar{e}$, that (in.); $iki(w)\bar{e}$, $inki(w)\bar{e}k$, iki, those (an.); $ini(w)\bar{e}n$, $ini(w)\bar{e}n$, ini, those (in.).

Note that "this (an.)" and "that (an.)" are identical.

For oncipā, he comes from, Manitoba Saulteaux has ontossē.

The so-called obviative suffix, when it ends in n, is only singular in Manitoba Saulteaux, instead of indifferently singular or plural as in the dialects of the publications. A plural obviative is formed by dropping the n, e.g., okikkēnimān, he knows him; okikkēnimā, he knows them; wāškēššian, deer (obviative singular); wāškēššia, deer (obviative plural); omissēin, his older sister; omissēi, his older sisters.

LA MARQUISE DE SEVIGNE: A CASE STUDY OF STYLISTIC EXPRESSION Bernhardt Lesér, University of North Dakota

Madame de Sévigné created and developed a new dimension in the written art of expressing human emotions. On the one hand, she accepted and mastered the formalistic rules of the French Classical school; on the other hand, she violated those rules under the powerful pressure of her emotions. In doing so she gave originality to epistolary art, of which she was indisputably the master.

I have chosen for analysis a farewell letter of Madame de Sévigné to her daughter, Françoise-Marguerite de Grignan, dated October 5, 1673, and written during the first halt on her return journey from the Château de Grignan, where she had spent fourteen months. I choose to divide it into four parts, my guideline being the impressive scale of emotions she reveals in this letter and her creative manner of bringing them forth. We will observe the presence of the Apollonian powers of form, balance and imagination, as well as the Dionysian powers of emotions, passions and irrationality. The conflict between these contrasting elements produces a recurring, wave-like pulsation which carries the ideal portion of the message. The letter reads as follows:

"De Madame de Sévigné à Madame de Grignan

A Montélimar, jeudi 5e octobre (1673)

- 1 Voici un terrible jour, ma chère fille, je vous avoue que je
- 2 n'en puis plus. Je vous ai quittée dans un état qui augmente ma
- 3 douleur. Je songe à tous les pas que vous faites et à tous ceux
- 4 que je fais, et combien s'il s'en faut qu'en marchant toujours
- 5 de cette sorte nous puissions jamais nous rencontrer. Mon coeur
- 6 est en repos quand il est auprès de vous: c'est son état naturel
- 7 et le seul qui peut lui plaire. Ce qui s'est passé ce matin me
- 8 donne une douleur sensible et me fait un déchirement dont votre
- 9 philosophie sait les raisons: je les ai senties et les sentirai
- 10 longtemps. J'ai le coeur et l'imagination tout remplis de vous;
- 11 je n'y puis penser sans pleurer, et i'y pense toujours: de sor-
- 12 te que l'état où je suis n'est pas une chose soutenable; comme
- 13 il est extrême, j'espère qu'il ne durera pas dans cette violence.
- 14 Je vous cherche toujours, et je trouve que tout me manque parce
- 15 que vous me manquez. Mes yeux qui vous ont tant rencontrée depuis
- 16 quatorze mois ne vous trouvent plus. Le temps agréable qui s'est
- 17 passé rend celui-ci douloureux, jusqu'à ce que j'y sois un peu
- 18 accoutumée; mais ce ne sera jamais assez pour ne pas souhaiter
- 19 ardemment de vous revoir et de vous embrasser. Je ne dois pas
- 20 espérer mieux de l'avenir que du passé. Je sais ce que votre
- 21 absence m'a fait souffrir; je serai encore plus à plaindre,
- 22 parce que je me suis fait imprudemment une habitude nécessaire
- 23 de vous voir. Il me semble que je ne vous ai point assez em-
- 24 brassée en partant: qu'avais-je à ménager? Je ne vous ai point
- 25 dit assez combien je suis contente de votre tendresse: je ne
- 26 vous ai point assez recommandée à M. de Grignan; je ne l'ai
- 27 point assez remercié de toutes ses politesses et de toute
- 28 l'amitié qu'il a pour moi; j'en attendrai les effets sur tous

¹This paper is based on the speech of Brandon University students in the IMPACTE and Mature Students programs, especially the following who have assisted in the preparation and teaching of the course "Introduction to the Saulteaux Language": Joyce Courchene, Kenneth Courchene, Cecil Desjarlais, Ruth Fontaine, Lionel Houle, Audrey Malcom, Clarence Malcom, David McKay, Florence Paynter, Grace Ross, Sister Ida Spence, Gladys Whitford.

29 les chapitres: il y en a où il a plus d'intérêt que moi, quoi-

30 que j'en sois plus touchée que lui. Je suis déjà dévorée de

31 curiosité; je n'espère de consolation que de vos lettres qui

32 me feront encore bien soupirer. En un mot, ma fille, je ne vis

33 que pour vous. Dieu me fasse la grâce de l'aimer quelque jour

34 comme je vous aime. Je songe aux pichons, je suis toute

35 pétrie de Grignans, je tiens partout. Jamais un voyage n'a été

36 si triste que le nôtre; nous ne disons pas un mot.

37 Adieu ma chère enfant; aimez-moi toujours: hélas! nous revoilà

38 dans les lettres. Assurez M. l'Archevêque de mon respect très

39 tendre, et embrassez le Coadjuteur; je vous recommande à lui.

40 Nous avons encore dîné à vos dépens. Voilà M. de Saint-Geniez

41 qui vient me consoler. Ma fille, plaignez-moi de vous avoir

42 quittée.

The first part, ending on line 13 with the word "violence", presents the shock of separation. The second part, ending on line 23 with the word "voir", establishes the absence in the past, the present and the future and thus brings the matter, through these dimensions, closer to reality. The third part, ending on line 38 with the word "lettres", expresses the high point, the realization of the separation, where emotion reaches and breaks the boundaries of composure. Then this nightmare abruptly ends in a sober, devastating perception of the naked truth. For the first time the word "Adieu" is pronounced. The fourth part reestablishes the ties with daily life.

The letter starts with an explosive "introduction brusquée". The first sentence is, in its function and structure, classical. It establishes the place and the time for the separation, identifies the relationship between the letter writer and the receiver, and sets the mood. Because of its "hémistiches" and rhythmic patterns, the sentence may be related to the Alexandrine, so characteristic of the masters of French tragedy: "Voici un terrible jour // ma chère enfant;//je vous avoue// que je n'en puis plus."

The effective sound painting emphasizes the two contrasting elements introduced. The powerful sound structure or the word "terrible" contrasts with the helplessness illustrated by the deep UI and U vowels and the soft consonants in "je n'en puis plus". The first sentence shocks. The pain of the separation has reached the raw flesh and blood of the heart.

A parallel motion now takes place in the imagination of the author, who, by referring with mathematical accuracy of her depressed mind, makes the separation visual and alive. The rhythm of this part is remarkable; it illustrates the beat of a trotting horse: "Je songe à tous les pas que vous faites et à tous ceux que je fais et combien s'il s'en faut qu'en marchant toujours de cette sorte, nous ne puissions jamais nous rencontrer." The next sentence is balanced in its message as well as in its form: "Mon coeur est en repos// quand il est auprès de vous;//c'est son état naturel// et le seul qui peut lui plaire."

The remainder of this introductory part gives, surprisingly, a logical reason for hope. The author knows that she will suffer for a long time but does not deny the possibility of relief and cries out: "...l'état où je suis n'est pas une chose soutenable; comme il est extrême, j'espère qu'il ne durera pas dans cette violence".

The second section speaks with gracious elegance of "temps agréable" and refers to the fact that "je me suis imprudemment fait une habitude nécessaire de vous voir". This light social talk, this "babillage" of the salons blends into the expression of genuine feelings and logical rhetoric. It becomes clear, however, that, while the introduction presents a state of sudden shock caused by separation, the essence of the second part is the penetration of that shock into the mind of Madame de Sévigné, and its invasion of her entire world. The shock becomes an articulated substance of past memories, connects with the painful emotions of the present, and finally spreads and reaches out into the future. It unites the dimensions in memory and sorrow, and brings the fact of a painful separation closer to reality. The perception becomes a conception and finally a realization.

It begins with a lonely mother who now realizes the ideal values of the physical presence of her daughter; the simple word "tout" gains the dimension of a universe: "Je vous cherche toujours, et je trouve que tout me manque parce que vous me manquez". Finally she — the mother — breaks through the artificial imagery and cries for the embrace of her child: "... mais ce ne sera jamais assez pour ne pas souhaiter ardemment de vous revoir et de vous embrasser".

The third and main part of the letter begins on this note: "Il me semble que je ne vous ai pas assez embrassée en partant". And if the memory of this physical contact had opened the channels of realization, the first and only question is asked: "qu'avais-je à ménager?". It

opens a cascade of doubts, an avalanche of anguish, a torrent of growing emotions. The poetess is overwhelmed by frustration and insecurity; the equilibrium of the rational argumentation is scattered, but the stylistic form of the letter remains in control. At first she accuses herself four times of having failed to serve or express her love: "Il me semble que je ne vous ai point assez embrassée en partant. Je ne vous ai point dit assez combien je suis contente de votre tendresse; je ne vous ai point assez recommandée à M. de Grignan; je ne l'ai point assez remercié de toutes ses politesses et de toute l'amitié qu'il a pour moi".

Four times she centers her despair around herself. Running, flying, she hopes to escape from her torment into the bitter lonely "moi": J'en attendrai les effets sur tous les chapitres. . . Je suis plus touchée que lui. . . Je suis déjà dévorée de curiosite. . . . Je n'espère de consolation que de vos lettres. . .

Left with the torment of loneliness, she reaches the tragic turning-point: "En un mot, ma fille, je ne vis que pour vous. Dieu me fasse la grâce de l'aimer quelque jour comme je vous aime."

To compare and to equate her burning love of her daughter with the love of God is a sacrilegious utterance that opens the abyss of a night-mare of passions and pain, an irrational and intimate confession, a powerful flow of what was the spiritual and the sensual of her torn ego: "Je songe au pichons; je suis toute pétrie de Grignans; je tiens partout". These words, the sentence fragments, belong to her alone. But still we gain insight into the sanctuary of her love and hate; her sanctity and sacrilege, her mystical and sensual sides.

Then, suddenly, a sober present is spotlighted, a rigid dry reality, and above all silence: "Jamais un voyage n'a été si triste que le nôtre; nous ne disons pas un mot." After this outcry of Hubris, the realization of the separation becomes a fact. She, who in a moment of ecstasy had dared to rate her love for her child higher than her love for God, now commands her adored child to this same God. For the first time Madame de Sévigné is able to pronounce the word "Adieu".

The last part of the letter makes a transition from tragedy to real life: "Ma chère enfant, aimez-moi toujours; helas! nous revoilà dans les lettres". "Les lettres": in them is one part of the life of Madame de Sévigné. They are the words to and from her adored child, but they also represent archbishops, friends, names, elegance, culture and gossip. For

the moment the only intimate contact "la marquise" still has with her daughter in the lunch basket her daughter had packed for her.

The epistolary art, which reached a high level in 17th century France was largely the result of the establishment of a country-wide stage-coach and postal system. Before Madame de Sévigné, it was merely a tool in the service of communication in a world of elegance, the transmitter of news or a medium for polemic arguments. The epistle served the common good of all and was a game of wit and polished form.

Madame de Sévigné honored the classical expression and the ideal of beauty admired in her time. But she also introduced into the genre of the literary letter the true expression of her own living heart. The human tragedy, the message of which was carried in her letters, was a genuine art expression. The diaries and epistolary novels of later years are indebted to her. Her letter was not only composed and written but, indeed, also lived.