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SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, 1973

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PROGRAMME

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Circle was held in Gamble Hall at the University of North Dakota on October 19 and 20, 1973.

After brief opening remarks by the association president, Richard F. Hampsten, the delivery and discussion of papers began at 2:30 Friday afternoon.

Friday evening there was held the annual banquet at the Westward Ho Motel in Grand Forks. An enjoyable meal was made even more so by the amusing after dinner address by Dean Bernard O'Kelly of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of North Dakota. Manitobans and North Dakotans alike were treated to the sort of account of our once common territory of Rupert's Land that history books just never tell. A reception followed afterwards at the home of President Hampsten.

Friday's four papers were followed by three more and discussion Saturday morning. The annual business meeting, with the Circle's new president, H.D. Wiebe, presiding, brought the 1973 meeting to a close.

The Seventeenth Annual Meeting will be held at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg October 25 and 26, 1974. The Executive request that paper titles and brief summaries be submitted by September 10.

A CARLO MARK TO BE SEEN AS A CONTRACTOR

"VANACIJA" — AN APPELLATIVIZATION OF THE NAME OF *VENICE* IN EASTERN EUROPE J.B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba

Appellativization or deonymization¹ is a process of the loss of onymic function, or onymic character, of a name. Such appellatives as gingo, chauvinist, bowdlerism, winchester, Don Juan, Don Quixote indicate that the original names of Jainko, Chauvin, Dr. Bowdler, Winchester, Don Juan, Don Quixote became generic terms with a specific semantic content. According to my explanation of 1937, the process of appellativization is marked by the semantic typification of an individual description of person or object.² In the following a rather difficult case of appellativization of a toponym will be discussed.

In concrete terms, I am concerned with the word vanacija in Middle Ukrainian which occurred for the first time in the literature of the seventeenth century. But its earlier existence in the Ukrainian vocabulary (at least in the sixteenth century) is to be assumed as a well founded hypothesis.

The word itself and its etymology evoked a controversy in linguistic literature. This was initiated in 1961 by R.V. Kravčuk in the journal Movoznavstvo, No. 16, in Kiev, 86-87. In quoting the relevant sources (such writers as Nekraševyč Ivan, Mytrofan Dovhalevskyj, Ukrainian Interludes of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries), Kravčuk explained this word as a morphologic-syntactical derivation, viz. v vanaciju from v anaciju, the latter meaning 'difficult situation'.

In 1960 a book, *Ukrajin'ski intermediji XVII – XVIII st.* (*Ukrainian Interludes of the Seventeenth – Eighteenth Centuries*), under the editorship of the academician M.K. Gudzij, was published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR., giving the meaning of *vanaceji* as follows:

'navčannja, hramota' (i.e. 'learning, study', p. 237)

Disregarding the unpersuasive explanation of Kravčuk, the present writer introduced in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* (Part 4, Winnipeg 1965, pp. 306-307) the following etymology of this word:

vanaceji Npl. (Intermediji 237), vanacija (XVIII c. Nekraševyč...) also manacija (XVII c...) 'learning, study'...

The very variableness of the forms suggests a f/e. deformation of a non-UK. word, most probably of GN. Venecija which in the XVI-XVIII cc. was well known in Ukraine as one of the leading cultural centres of Western Europe, cf. Studyns'kyj ZNTSh. 12, 3-5, Hordnys'kyj 363 ax. 2, 3-69; vanacija served as a basis for later f/e. distortions manacija (:mana, manyty, obmanjuvaty) and anacija, cf. Kravčuk 1. c.; still it is very likely that the word comes from innovacija > *novacija > *vanocija > vanacija; on account of the prevailing forms with -n- Kravčuk's etymology vanacija < vakacija 'vacation', 1. c., is hardly conceivable; improbable is also the explanation of Kul'čyc'kyj: Lat. vanitas 'vanity' (orally 29. 3. 1964); see also veremija, verecija, malzamija, etc.

As was expected, R.V. Kravčuk defended his theory. In a review of the author's *Etymological Dictionary* in *Voprosy jazykoznanija* (Vol. 4 for 1968, p. 130) he criticized this etymology as follows:

... Here we have great liberty at explanation. First of all Rudnyc'kyj had no right to refer to the meaing as "learning, study". This is his reconstruction for which there is no basis in any case for examples from Nekraševyč. Rudnyc'kyj wishes to depart from the name Venecija, the Western European centre of education and culture, well known supposedly in Ukraine in the 16th to the 18th centuries. The text of Nekraševyč "Intention on a Priest", or "Petition on a Priest" shows however that in this work written about the matters of a local rural parish there could not be any discourse about Venice. . 3

Another critic of his *Dictionary* G.Y. Shevelov wrote as follows in *Language*, Vol. 44, No. 4, p. 863 (Baltimore 1968):

A blending is not unthinkable in MU vanacija. (Rudnyc'kyj cites it as vanacéja, a ghost form: it is taken not from texts where it rhymes with zatija (Kravčuk 1961:86) but from the index to *Intermediji*, Akademija Nauk URSR 1960, where the editors substituted e for every ě [=i] (as is customary in Russian publications). I propose that the word is based on panacěja 'panacea', first 'universal remedy', then 'swindle' and 'difficult situation'. The variant manacija is a blend with mana 'specter', 'delusion'; the connection of

vanacija with Lat. vanitas, rejected by Rudnyc'kyj, is not untenable for bursaky facetious jargon. Cf. axinéja 'non-sense' based on Gk. athēnaîos 'Athenian' (or directly Athēnaia 'Athena'?); this word, however, is shared with Russian, and the etymologist should have raised the question whether it came into Russian from Ukrainian or vice versa.

Both Kravčuk and Shevelov encouraged the present writer to reexamine his etymology of *vanacija* and to consider their arguments in this respect. After a thorough investigation of all pros and cons he came to the final conclusion that his original explanation of the word was still the best one of the following reasons:

Taking into consideration all literary contexts in which vanacija occurs its meaning 'learning', 'study', is the most persuasive one. In this connection it should be mentioned that such a sense was accorded to this word by the academician M.K. Gudzij, a well-known scholar and connoisseur of middle-Ukrainian literature. It was he who introduced the translation navčannja, hramota, in the above mentioned book Ukrajins'ki intermediji... in 1960 (p. 237). It is worth emphasizing that Kravčuk was at that time a collaborator of the Academy in Kiev, the official publisher of this book, and consequently he, not the present author, is to be made responsible for the above translation of the word vanacija.

On the other hand, there is no reason to reject the possibility of Venetian contacts with Ukraine in the sixteenth century, when already in the twelfth century Venetian singers — venedici of Ihor Song — praised with their songs the glory of Prince Svjatoslav of Kiev, and Venetian diplomats were known in Ukraine in the 17th century (e.g. Vimina, Alberti, etc.).

Turning to the etymology vanacija < Venezia and its criticism by Shevelov in Language of 1968, I should emphasize that the form vanaceji was not invented as a 'ghost form' by the present writer; as such it was introduced by the editors of Ukrajins'ki intermediji... (p. 237); therefore, one can not properly discard it from a dictionary based on printed materials. Naturally, Shevelov would have been right if vanaceji were used as the only form, but this was not the case. As can be seen from the text of the dictionary (p. 306), vanacija is cited as well. Alphabetically it follows vanaceji; however, the bold face type indicates that it is to be considered as a parallel form of the whole entry.

Thus the discussion of vanaceji-vanacija seems to be closed for the time being. Perhaps it will be reopened some day with new findings and new documentation. So far, the etymology vanacija < Venezia 'Venice' (as a centre of learning, study, arts, culture) remains the most plausible and most objective explanation of this enigmatic word.

SAINTE-BEUVE'S CONCEPT OF THE ELEGY Lucy M. Schwartz, University of North Dakota

The elegy is a critical concept with a long history. Originally the Greeks used the term to refer to a specific metric form¹ while the subject matter of the elegy covered a wide range of subjects from military harangues to inscriptions on articles given to the gods. The lament for a death existed in this tradition but was far from the dominant type of Greek elegy. The Latin poets added the "love-elegy" to the Greek tradition and often used pastoral images combined with sarcastic social commentary. The modern English elegists Milton, Shelley, and Arnold, imitated the Latin tradition combining pastoral images with a lament for the death of a specific friend. Gray's Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard broadened the concept of the elegy to apply to a poem expressing a vague melancholy mood.

The French élégie tradition, like the English one, is linked to pastoral images and death-laments. The seventeenth century critic Boileau defines the elegy by its tone in Chant II of his *Art poétique*. He begins by comparing it with the pastoral *idylle*:

D'un ton un peu plus haut, mais pourtant sans audace, La plaintive élégie, en longs habits de deuil, Sait, les cheveux épars, gémir sur un cercueil. Elle peint des amants la joie et la tristesse; Flatte, menace, irrite, apaise une maîtresse. Mais, pour bien exprimer ces caprices heureux, C'est peu d'être poète, il faut être amoureux.²

He personified the elegy as a sad woman in mourning garments, weeping and moaning over a tomb, but coexistent with this notion of death-

¹ZMK ČSAV. 14. Praha 1973, 0.12.2.

²J.B. Rudnyckyj, Geographical Names of Boikovia, Winnipeg 1962, 203-06.

³ Translation from Russian.

lament are both the joys and the sorrows of lovers. After broadening the subject matter of the elegy, Boileau demands sincere emotions and claims that one must be in love to write a good elegy. This statement shocks the modern reader who is used to seeing Boileau as the advocate of *impersonal* poetry. Boileau takes this unorthodox stance to emphasize that it is the tone of a poem which makes it an elegy, not its metre or its subject.

Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, the famous nineteenth century French critic, had all these traditions available to him to formulate his own concept of the elegy. He read widely (especially Latin, Greek, and French Classical authors) and had a special interest in the elegy. Although literary anthologies see him only as a critic, Sainte-Beuve wrote four collections of poetry and a novel, all of which show the influence of the elegy.

Carl A. Viggiani in an article in Romanic Review and an unpublished Columbia University dissertation studies the relationship between Sainte-Beuve's creative works and his concept of criticism. Dr. Viggiani shows how three notions of the poet as "studious," "primitive," or "elegiac" influenced Sainte-Beuve's vision of the creator as well as his criticism.³

Sainte-Beuve defines the elegy for the first time in *Vie, poésies, et pensées de Joseph Delorme* (1829). Like Boileau, Sainte-Beuve feels that the elegy should not be too pretentious or elegant in tone. He also wants to banish mysticism and sweeping metaphysical generalizations from the elegy. For these reasons Joseph Delorme condemns Lamartine and prefers André Chenier:

[André Chénier] nous offre le plus parfait modèle de l'élégie d'analyse. . . Et moi aussi je me suis essayé dans ce genre de poème, et j'ai tâché . . . d'être originel à ma manière, humblement et bourgeoisement, observant la nature et l'âme de près, mais sans microscope, nommant les choses de la vie privée par leur nom, mais préférant la chaumière au boudoir, et dans tous les cas, cherchant à relever le prosaisme de ces détails domestiques par la peinture des sentiments humains et des objets naturels (169-170).⁴

The goal of Joseph's elegies is analysis of human emotions without psychology. He wants to capture the reality of everyday life, emotional in essence, without neglecting the details and objects that make up the

ebb and flow of life. Nature is something less grandiose for Sainte-Beuve than for Lamartine. The poetry must remain humble and rustic. Sainte-Beuve has defined elegy neither in terms of metric form like the Greeks nor of tone like Boileau. What concerns Sainte-Beuve is content, and his definition of the content of the elegy is wide enough to include all lyric poetry. Most remarkable of all, the critic has totally ignored the idea of death traditionally associated with the elegy.

In the dedication of Les Consolations (1830) Sainte-Beuve redefines poetry in terms of elegy. He offers the elegy as "food" (a remedy) for those suffering from mal de siècle:

La poésie est cette nourriture par excellence, et de tous les genres de poésie lyrique, le genre rêveur, personnel, l'élégie ou le roman d'analyse en particulier. On s'y adonne avec prédilection; on s'en pénètre, c'est un enchantement...⁵

Here Sainte-Beuve equates lyric poetry with the elegy and uses the expression *rêveur* so often associated with elegy in his writing. He describes a mystical quality which is directly related to memories of the past. The theme of *souvenir* or memory becomes an essential part of Sainte-Beuve's concept of the elegy.

The conglomerate of themes which emerges from Sainte-Beuve's four collections of poems centres around love which, along with beauty and happiness, passes with time resulting in death and the suffering lover who finds consolation in nature, friendship, and memory. The interrelationship of these themes with a detailed natural setting constitutes "the elegy" for Sainte-Beuve. Since he pays no attention to metric form in this definition, it can apply to prose as well as poetry. In fact Sainte-Beuve had already (see previous quotation) equated the élégie d'analyse with what he calls a roman d'analyse. His novel Volupté (1934) is an example of the roman d'analyse.

The major themes of *Volupté* are the themes of the elegy: love, memory, and the passing of life and happiness with time. The theme of *souvenir* or memory dominates the entire novel which is composed of memories which Amaury recalls for his friend.

Volupté shows Sainte-Beuve's continuing preoccupation with the themes of elegy and their incorporation into a narrative framework. This preoccupation is important because Sainte-Beuve uses Volupté and his concept of the elegy as criteria for judging other novels. He espe-

cially shows a preference for the type of novel he calls the roman intime or roman d'analyse which shares the major themes of Volupté.

Perhaps these novels appeal to Sainte-Beuve because they have the quality of elegy as well as its themes. They are products of a society which is destroyed forever but remains in memory:

On aurait tort de croire qu'il y a faiblesse et perte d'esprit à regretter ces agréments envolés, ces fleurs qui n'ont pu naître, ce semble, qu'à l'extrême saison d'une société aujourd'hui détruite.⁶

Cette société offrait donc plutôt dans son ensemble et malgré ses gloires récentes, un beau et dernier ressouvenir, un des reflets qui accompagnaient les espérances subsistantes de la Restauration, une lueur de couchant qui ne devait plus se retrouver. 7

With the images of dying flowers and setting sun, Sainte-Beuve illustrates the themes of death and the passing of time. These novels are souvenirs, a monument to the memory of an age which is past and about to be forgotten. Thus Sainte-Beuve's article itself becomes an elegy:

Pour nous, en effet, faut-il le trahir? ce cadre où la critique, au sens exact du mot, n'intervient souvent que comme fort secondaire, n'est-ce dans ce cas-là qu'une forme particulière et accommodée aux alentours, pour produire nos propres sentiments sur le monde et sur la vie, pour exhaler avec dégoût une certaine poésie cachée. C'est un moyen quelque fois au sein d'une Revue grave, de continuer peut-être l'élégie interrompue.⁸

Sainte-Beuve has often been accused of writing biased criticism, of using too much biography, of misjudging his contemporaries. Here he explains that the goal of his criticism is not an objective impersonal evaluation. He wants to express his own feelings and impressions. Thus he intends his criticism to become an elegy in prose.

NIPS, CHIPS, AND HOLY WATER Murray G. Wanamaker, University of Winnipeg

Although the English spoken in most parts of both Canada and the United States is similar, there are differences that can cause confusion and amusement. In Manitoba, for example, hamburgers may be called "nips"; the colourless liquid that many Canadians pour on their "chips" (french fries) is not holy water, as assumed by some visitors to Quebec from the U.S., but vinegar.

Considerable information about Canadian English has been collected, but not much has been published. In 1972 the Survey of Canadian English (SCE) was carried out across Canada, with representative grade 9 students (in the classroom) and their parents (at home) answering 104 linguistic questions in the form of multiple choice: 42 on pronunciation, 27 on grammatical usage, 30 on vocabulary and 5 items on spelling conventions. The total number of usable sheets returned from Canadian-born responseents was 14,228. Information supplied to participating teachers included "How to Administer the Survey" and "How to Use the Survey as a Teaching Aid."

"The Survey of Canadian English: A Report," by H. Scargill (project director) and H. Warkentyne, is presented in detail in *The English Quarterly* (published by the Canadian Council of Teachers of English), Volume Five, Number Three, Fall 1972, 47-104. This article gives complete statistics of the SCE, including percentage responses to each item for each province and for all of Canada. In addition, the authors give analyses and comments for each entry.

The techniques of collecting and assessing geographical and social variations of English require careful consideration by all teachers as well as researchers. Obviously, a mailed questionnaire has both advantages

¹A couplet of a dactylic hexameter and pentameter (actually a hexameter with the second half of the third and sixth feet silent) according to Cecil Maurice Bowra, "Elegiac Poetry, Greek," Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. M. Cary, A.D. Mock et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 310.

² Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, Oeuvres complètes de Boileau, ed. A.C. Gidel (Paris: Garnier, 1872), II, 313.

³ "Sainte-Beuve (1824-30): Critic and Creator," RR 44 (1953), 263-272 and "An Introduction to Sainte-Beuve's Critical Vocabulary," Diss. Columbia, 1949.

⁴Poésies complètes (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1863), I, 169-170.

⁵*Ibid.*, II, 6-7,

⁶Oeuvres (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), II, 1025.

⁷*Ibid.*, II, 1044.

⁸*Ibid.*, II. 1353.

and drawbacks, as the creators of the SCE were well aware. It is especially difficult to analyze pronunciations. For example, this is Question 51: How do you pronounce the a of father? A. like the o of bother, B. like the a of lather, C. like the a of farm, D. like the a of farther. Father and bother may have the same vowel, but there is no way of telling exactly how the informant pronounces both of them without using phonetic transcription. Furthermore, how do you distinguish between the a of farm and the a of farther in your own speech? (Apparently there were second thoughts about listing the answers "C" and "D". An earlier xeroxed print-out gives them separately, but the report in The English Quarterly combines them under "C".)

Let me emphasize that I certainly do not wish to cast doubt on the accuracy of the SCE or to minimize its importance. It is a solid foundation stone for further work in Canadian English. But no language survey should be accepted uncritically, and I am trying to point out some of the difficulties and pitfalls involved in this sort of research in the hope of stimulating more results of high quality.

We owe it to ourselves and our students to become familiar with IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols or at least some modified phonemic forms. Aside from their value in other contexts, they are becoming indispensable for dictionary use. Although no fundamental change in the bases of English spelling is foreseeable, the one sound-one symbol approach to written equivalents of pronunciation can clarify mysterious diacritical marks. At present, most dictionary symbols can be confusing unless one studies carefully the respective pronunciation keys.

Consider the ways that three Canadian dictionaries indicate pronunciation: The Winston Dictionary of Canadian English, Intermediate Edition, ed. Thomas M. Paikeday, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1969 (WDCE); A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles, ed. Walter S. Avis, Gage, 1967 (DC); Dictionary of Canadian English (Senior Dictionary), eds. W.S. Avis and others, Gage, 1967 (DCS).

The WDCE gives pronunciations in a simplified version of the International Phonetic Alphabet. The distinctive sounds of English as generally spoken in Canada are represented by twenty-three letters of the Roman alphabet and ten new symbols based on the IPA. The forms of the latter are the ones most common in North America. The DC (a more expensive and more specialized dictionary which will be found in

fewer homes and classrooms than either of the others) also uses *IPA* symbols, some forms of which are more common in Europe than on this side of the water and several of which are phonetic rather than phonemic. The *DCE* looks backward rather than forward, continuing to use the more familiar (but less accurate) diacritical marks, although adopting the well known schwa (\circ), now used in many dictionaries.

For comparison, here is the usage of five other well known desk dictionaries: Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary, 1963 (FWSCD), Random House Dictionary of the English Language, College Edition, 1968 (RHD), American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1969 (AHD), Webster's New World Dictionary, 2nd ed., 1970 (WNWD), Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 8th ed., 1973 (WNCD). All use diacritical marks and all use the schwa. Except for the schwa, however, the only non-alphabetical symbol is n, found in WNWD and WNCD, although AHD does provide lists of IPA and Trager-Smith symbols on a separate page headed "Pronunciation Key." The pronunciation of cheap is given as (chēp) in all except RHD, which uses (chēp).

These are only sample comments to indicate some of the ways that Canadian speech, and other kinds, may be symbolized. Since we cannot draw accurate conclusions about spoken English without collecting samples, and since sounds must be represented in printed form, we should give serious thought in teaching and learning to regular use of letters and symbols based on the IPA.

THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF HOLZ, WALD, AND WITU IN OHG
Arne Brekke, University of North Dakota

A perusal of the Old High German dictionaries, glossaries, glosses, and literary monuments shows that the most common meaning of holz during the early part of the OHG period was 'woodland', 'forest', and that the central meaning gradually shifted, in the course of the follow-

ing centuries, in the direction of wood as material. In order to get a full picture of the range of meaning and the semantic development of holz during the OHG period, it is necessary to consider it not only by itself but in its relationship to a few words which were closely related to it in meaning, and which were variously used as glosses for and translations of the same Latin terms. These words are especially wald and witu.

In a topically arranged glossary from about the year 750, named *Vocabularius Sti Galli*, we find the following entries:

Abores pauma Ligna uuitu Silua holz Ermis [erēmus] uualt

We can see from this that pauma was used, like New High German Bäume, to designate individual trees; uuitu was used in the meaning 'firewood', 'wood as material'; holz for 'woodland', 'forest'; and uualt, interestingly, for 'wilderness', 'desert'.

A similar picture is presented by the various versions of the so-called Abrogans, the oldest and most extensive alphabetical Lat.-OHG dictionary or glossary dating from the second half of the eighth century. Here also holz is used only in the meaning 'woodland', 'forest'. Further, we see that uualth (uuald), which is the Vocabularius Sti Galli is used to translate Lat. erēmus, 'wilderness', 'desert', could also be used to render Lat. silua and saltus. We can account for these divergent meanings by assuming that OHG wald (<*walpus) had had approximately the same meaning as Eng. wild, which Webster defines as "an uninhabited tract or region, as a forest or desert; a wilderness; waste; as the wilds of Africa." During the OHG period, wald in the meaning 'woodland', 'forest', becomes more and more prevalent, but the older meaning 'wilderness' continues to show up throughout the period.

In a shortened form of the *Abrogans*, which appeared in Bavaria in about 790, still another word, *forst*, is used as a gloss for Lat. *nemus*, and this word was subsequently added as a second gloss beside *uuald* Lat. *saltus*.

Thus in the second half of the eighth century, the time from which we have the earliest literary records in Germany, holz seems to be the principal word used for 'a wood', 'forest'. The words wald and forst have made their entrance as competitors for this position, the former

still with a strong connotation of 'wilderness', 'uninhabited land'; witu is the word used to designate 'firewood', 'wood as material'.

The alphabetical Bible glossary Rd-Jb and the extensive topically arranged collection called Rb, both originating in Reichnau in the early 9th century, as well as the Murbach glossary Jd of the same period, show that holz had already at that time become considerably limited in meaning, and that wald and forst had become more common for designating grove or forest. The Jd has the following continuous entries:

Lignum holz
Silua walt
Saltus communiter quidem walt dicitur . . .
Nemus vurst

Holz has here taken the place of earlier witu, and walt has taken the place of holz. This development was naturally not complete at this time, but it is indicative of a tendency which continued throughout the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries.

The works of Notker the German, from the early part of the 11th century, offer numerous examples of the use of holz and wald. Notker was not only a very prolific translator; he was also quite discriminating in his use of the German language. For this reason, his use of these words is of special interest.

The word holz is used 24 times in Notker's works, and in two thirds of those cases it is clearly used as the equivalent of Lat. lignum 'wood as material'.

Notker uses wald almost consistently for translating silua or in the meaning of 'grove', 'woodland', 'forest'. Thus we can say that wald, at the end of the OHG period, came close to the meaning which it has retained in German ever since.

Strongly indicative of the declining position of witu is the fact that this word is not used at all in the works of Notker. The concept of wood as material is covered by holz. Witu persisted throughout the OHG period, however, and shows up in the Middle High German as wite. It did not become a part of the NHG literary language, but it appears as wit, wid in Swabian sources of the 16th century, and it has been preserved in Bavarian until recent times.

The findings in this paper can be summarized as follows: At the beginning of recorded German literature in the second half of the 8th

century, holz has the meaning of 'woodland', 'forest'. At that time the concept of wood as material was covered by witu, which seems to have had the meaning of 'tree', 'woodland', 'forest' at an earlier time. Gradually holz goes through a narrowing of meaning, similar to that which witu seems to have gone through before, with the result that it replaces the latter. The position gradually vacated by holz is filled by wald which was previously used in the meaning of 'wilderness', 'uninhabited, uncultivated tract or region'.

LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN THE MICHIF LANGUAGE
John C. Crawford, University of North Dakota

What is known as Michif¹ - by those who recognize its existence a way of speaking common in the Turtle Mountain area of North Dakota - includes considerable influence from a number of sharply distinct linguistic sources; first and most basically the Cree language and culture; second the French, brought by fur traders and trappers, whose French-Cree families developed a cultural identity distinct from both European and Indian groups. It is this group of course which gave rise to the linguistic developments which we refer to as Michif. A third important influence is from other Indian languages, 2 in particular Ojibway, since on the Turtle Mountain reservation there has been a mixture of Ojibway and Cree elements. The people enrolled there are known as the Turtle Mountain Band of the Chippewa (Ojibway) Tribe. The Oilbway language continues to be spoken on the reservation, along with the topic of this description, Michif. A fourth major influence is the modern one from English. Today practically everyone on the reservation speaks some English. It is the language of the schools, of most homes. Most people under twenty speak only English. It is thus to be expected that English affects Michif.

And yet, the main visible elements in the language are two: French and Cree. The characteristics of the mixture (do not read 'mixed language') and the problems that the combination raises for the description of the language are the topics for this paper. Of course, we do not intend to handle the topics exhaustively; we will merely describe a few instances that illustrate the nature of the combination and suggest some directions for incorporating them in an over-all description.

One source of problem for the description of language materials of this sort is that there is considerable dialect variation. Part of this stems from the fact that French continues to be a spoken language in the near proximity of the reservation, particularly in Canada. There is considerable communication and movement back and forth across the Canada — U.S. border. This being the case, there are people whose main language is French living on the reservation. This also means that for a fairly large number of people whose first language may be Cree or Michif, French is a second language. It is not surprising, therefore, that the percentage of French forms that find their way into the speaking of Michif will vary from family to family and from person to person. The over-all result is that it is a little difficult to draw a line between speakers of French who know some Cree or Michif and speakers of Michif who use a relatively high percentage of French forms in their speech.

Likewise the relationships between Cree and Ojibway elements are complex. There are Ojibway-speaking people on the reservation, particularly near the western boundary and in an area north of Dunseith just off the reservation proper. The situation is further complicated for the analyst, in that the distinction between Cree and Ojibway elements is not always easily made. However, it can be seen that there are families whose ancestry is Ojibway but who now speak Michif. In the speech of such people it is to be expected that some forms will show Ojibway influence. There is also today, along with the increasing interest in the preservation or even the extension of the Michif language, a parallel interest in promoting Ojibway on the reservation.

In looking at particulars of how French and Cree elements are combined in Michif, one very striking characteristic can be seen in the compartmentalization of French and Cree elements. It seems that almost all native American words in the general category of 'noun' have been replaced by French counterparts. Conversely, most verbs are of Cree-Ojibway origin and maintain the general characteristics of Algonkian word structure. To illustrate:

Ain nomm keeyawyow, lee zhvou awawnehawt. Keeshipwayyetayw, dondonawayw, but la bremm keeyawyow.

All the noun phrases in this passage — ain nomm (a man), lee zhvou (the horses), la bremm (the fog) — are obviously French. The other forms are Algonkian, except for the English connective but.³ With respect to the replacement of Cree nouns by French ones, these data

are highly representative. For many speakers, the only non-French nouns are a few that represented items unknown to Europeans, like squash, skunk, borrowed into English from Algonkian languages, and a few recent borrowings from English, like bingo.

On the other hand, in that all forms other than nouns are Cree, the passage is not so representative of Michif. There are some situations for some speakers in which entire sentences are taken over from French. Some examples include:

Si sher lee vyan.

Si bon lee C.C.

The C.C. is good'.

Zhai deu main.

Mou nou si John.

'Meat is expensive'.

'The C.C. is good'.

'I have two hands'.

'My name is John'.

There are also examples of longer phrases, like prepositional and noun phrases, which are French in their entirety:

dan la vil 'in town'

lee pchee tsouree dee gros cheu 'the mice with long tails'

In the preceding examples various French-based articles and possessive forms occur. In these a gender distinction is maintained:

ma vyay 'my wife' mou vyeu 'my husband'

The characteristic animate-inanimate gender classification of Cree does not show itself in these French words. That it does operate in Michif can be seen, nonetheless, in forms like the following:

dawyawn lee koutou 'I have knives'.
dawyawn lee forshet 'I have forks'.
dawyawn ain feezee 'I have a gun'.
dawyawow ain kawnarr 'I have a duck'.
dawyawawuk lee kawnarr 'I have some ducks'.

In these forms the animate-inanimate distinction is shown in the verb forms meaning 'have'. Thus we find both the masculine-feminine French gender distinction and the animate-inanimate Cree distinction operative and overtly marked in Michif language, neither one as heavily as in its source language of course.

The sound system or systems of Michif also merits discussion. It seems quite clear that the system of sound differentiations that operates in the French vocabulary is not the same as the one working for Cree. For example, the inventory of qualitative and quantitative vowel distinctions is not the same, and for French, but not Cree, nasalization is an important dimension of contrast.

Discussion of the theoretical relevance of the situation is not within the scope of this presentation. Since, however, we are employing a means of writing in this paper and elsewhere which is neither traditionally French nor strictly Cree, some commentary is called for. This in turn will clarify by illustration some of the relationships between Cree and French in the Michif social situation.

ee for [i]

Tawnshee keeyaw 'How are you?' Gawteekeewawn 'I'll go home'.

ay for [e]

Geepaypimouhtawn 'I came walking'. Kaykwy omaw? 'What is this?'

aw for [a]

Keeyaw mawkaw? 'How about you?'

By extension, these spellings may carry over to words of French origin:

lee kawnarr 'the ducks' ain lyayv 'a rabbit' maw vyay 'my wife'

Part of the justification for taking this approach lies in the fact that we expect people learning Michif or learning to read and write it to be under increasing influence of written English and not so much from French. We therefore place a greater value on accommodating the orthography to English values than to French ones. If the educational objectives on the reservation were to include serious and continuing emphasis on the teaching of French, then perhaps these writing norms should be revised. As it is, we have chosen some spelling conventions from French, especially for sounds which occur exclusively or predominantly in French words. Notice words in the above samples spelled with ai, eu, ou.

¹ Data for this study were collected in Belcourt, North Dakota, in the summer of 1973. Principal resource persons were Ms. Adelle Allard, Ms. Wallette, Mr. Lawrence Wilkie, Ms. Elma Wilkie.

ARAGON'S BLANCHE OU L'OUBLI: THE LINGUIST AS HERO A.L. Gordon, University of Manitoba

In a general way Aragon's Blanche (Paris: Gallimard, 1967) may be considered as a meditation on the powers of language and the capacity of literature to express the "truth". Specifically the relationship of words and things is explored in the story of Geoffroy Gaiffier, Aragon's linguist hero who writes a novel in order to understand the desertion of his wife Blanche.

A first threat to the understanding of "truth" is the unreliable nature of the individual word. Vicissitudes of vocabulary are observed by Gaiffier in France (changing slang) and in Indonesia where political conditions explain first the introduction of European loan-words (sado/carriage < dos-à-dos, didong/Frenchman < dis donc, etc.), and at a later date javanization of terms such as Soekarno, Soekiman and Batavia to Sukarno, Sukiman and Djakarta.

Words are also treacherous because of their inherent ambiguity. Hence Blanche abounds in puns, both witty and poignant (cf. la maîtresse du lieu/la mettre, est-ce du lieu?/là mes tresses! du lit, euh, or the multilingual meanings of bout' à la m', pp. 374-75); Gaiffier notes too how new meanings are added to old words, sometimes displacing entirely the original sense (métro, frigidaire).

Ambiguities are aggravated in more elaborate verbal structures such as the novel. In particular, Gaiffier is fascinated by the relationship of fact and fiction — Flaubert distorts the autobiographical basis of L'Education sentimentale, but fiction becomes fact with Hölderlin (Diotima's death in Hyperion foreshadows the tragic end of Suzette Gontard). Aragon concludes by emphasizing the infinite potential significance of all literature. In this way brilliant political applications for

our time are read into Hölderlin (p. 95), Flaubert (pp. 248-49) and Shakespeare (p. 236).

Uncertainties of word and discourse necessitate extreme prudence and refinement in the handling of language. Thus Gaiffier makes a witty assessment of the meaning of the name Gamy John (p. 316), and examines elsewhere the rich variety of Malay pronouns (p. 84). Implicit in this wealth is the relative nature of the self; the latter has no stable essence, but assumes its form in interaction with another being.

Two reactions are possible in this shifting linguistic situation: the optimist will feel in life's elusive quality an exhilarating sense of freedom, manifest symbolically in the name of the secondary character Miss Peradventure, and in that of the unborn child Avenir; the pessimist, like Aragon himself, will know only despair over the incommensurable nature of language and experience. All languages are insufficient (cf. pp. 243-44 on the relative merits of English, French and Russian). The private meta-language of the novelist, his "heterogeneous Sioux" (p. 378) may prove valid for a moment, but in the end life writes itself larger than words and becomes an absurd comedy. Gaiffier ends therefore as a disillusioned role-player with an unfathomable script, but he is not totally embittered and his last acts are, significally, deeds of kindness.

Aragon's linguistic explorations have no doubt many personal connections with his own life as a committed writer. Philosophically his views of language bring him close to certain existentialist positions. Like Sartre's Roquentin, Gaiffier displays a deep scepticism with regard to the conceptual powers of language, but like Camus's Meursault he retains an instinctive love of nature. It is Aragon's special virtue to have illustrated these attitudes with a dazzling wealth of examples, which are both precise and poetically moving.

CLASSICAL MOTIFS IN 'RENAISSANCE' POETRY L. Palanca, University of North Dakota

The discovery by the ancients that all senses set certain peculiar limits within which the desired standards are comprehended brought about the attempts of speakers and writers to please the sense of hearing through applying proper cadences and proper sounds.

²Contacts with other Indian languages, like Dakota, Assiniboin, are likely also to have influenced Michif, but I have no specific data.

³ It is quite likely that the English word crept in here because of the presence of the English-speaking linguist. Native speakers of Michif uniformly resubstitute a Cree connective.

⁴ Note that in these 'French' examples, English words occur: C.C. (Civilian Conservation Corps) and John.

Accordingly, in the fifth century B.C., Thrasymachus of Chalcedon introduced cadence into prose and Gorgias of Leontini the Gorgianic figures of rhetoric: parison, antithesis, homoioteleuton (rhyme), isocolon, chiasmus. Not long after Isocrates combined rhythm and Gorgianic figures in his prose.

Latin prose writers followed Isocrates and increased the number of clausulae. Cicero, Caesar, Quintilian and Pliny the Younger (possibly others) preferred the cretic spondee (/__/__) as in esse dicebas or publicam possis or Catilina convenit, the double cretic (/__/_) as in atque custodient or vastitatem vocas, the cretic dichoree (/__/_) as in nomini puniantur or sumptuosae videntur and the first paeon spondee (/___/_) as in exaudire potuisti or, the especially Ciceronian, esse videatur (videaris, videatis, fateatur).

These clausulae may close every sentence in more elaborate passages, as frequently in the orations against Catiline, or be used even in inner clauses, but Classical prose is never a continuous series of clausulae as the feet of a line of poetry. The Gorgianic figures are employed even more sparingly in both prose and poetry.

In the fourth century A.D., when syllabic lengths were forsaken and forgotten and Classic poetry became almost extinct, prose writers changed clausulae into *cursus*, i.e., accentual instead of metrical clausulae. Moreover, the fourth century writers began to saturate passages with clusters of Gorgianic figures so as to produce a sort of ancient Roman *satura* or medley of prose and poetry. Indeed it appears that the end of the metrical system of Classical writers coincided with the end of metrical clausulae and that new or accentual poetry rose out of the "satura" of St. Zeno and other early Middle Ages writers. In fact St. Zeno's prose artistry is strikingly like the refinements of later poetry. So, the use of inner and outer homoioteleuton in four isocola (273B1-2):

iura evacuat fora compescit ora eradicat iras extinguit

is like Dante (Inf. 3, 1-4):

Per me si va nella città dolente, Per me si va nell'eterno dolore, Per me si va tra la perduta gente. Giustizia mosse il mio alto fattore,

Shakespeare (Ham. II, ii, 115):

Doubt thou the stars are fire; Doubt that the sun doth move; Doubt truth to be a liar; But never doubt I love.

and Alphonse de Lamartine (Le Lac. 61-64):

Que le vent qui gémit, le roseau qui soupire Que les parfums légers de ton air embaumé, Que tout ce qu'on entend, l'on voit ou l'on respire, Tout dise: "ils ont aimé".

So also St. Zeno's clustering of isocola, antitheses, chiasmus, homoioteleuton in two lines (321B5-7):

Qui se exaltaverit humilatur, Qui se humiliaverit exaltatur

is like Shakespeare (Romeo and Juliet, I, v, 142):

My only love sprung from my only hate!

Too early seen unknown, and known too late!

His antithesis combined with ABBA homoioteleuton (or chiasmus of sounds), as in for example (487A7-9):

(... natura aquarum) homines susceperit vivos evomat mortuos.

aqua nostra suscipit mortuos et evomit vivos,

was improved by Petrarch and others and employed in many sonnets:

Petrarch (Sonnet 272, 1-4):

La vita fugge e non s'arresta un'ora, La morte vien dietro a gran giornate, E le cose presenti e le passate Mi danno guerra, e le future ancora; Shakespeare (The Phoenix and the Turtle, 37-40):

Property was thus appall'd That the self was not the same Single nature's double name Neither two nor one was call'd.

The antithesis with ABAB rhyme found in St. Zeno (513B5-7):

Columna nubis te deducit per diem, ut ostenderet caecum: ignis columna per noctem ut significaret arsurum

was especially liked and perfected by Petrarch (Sonnet 134, 1-4):

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra; E temo, e spero; ed ardo, e son un ghiaccio; E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra; E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.

and Lord Macaulay (Sermon in a Churchyard st. 8):

Soon fades the spell, soon comes the night; Say will it not be then the same Whether we prayed the black or white Whether we lost or won the game?

The antithesis is the elaborated Gorgianic figure by Milton (On His Deceased Wife):

But oh! as to embrace me she inclined A wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night.

This can be compared with Shakespeare, either (Romeo and Juliet II, ii, 156f):

Love goes toward love, as schoolboys from their books But love from love, toward school with heavy looks

or (Hamlet IV, i, 56ff):

To be or not to be
... to suffer ...
Or to take arms ...

Yet the most often quoted passages from poetry and prose are usually combinations of two or more Gorgianic figures of rhetoric accompanied by an accentual rhythm.

So, the poetry that rose from the "satura" of the early Middle Ages marks, like the Renaissance style in architecture, a return to Classical motifs. These motifs, however, are now frequently employed and are joined with the accentual rhythm that began to rise in the third century A.D.

¹ For the sources of this information, cf. my article "Rhythm and Birth of Rhyme" in the *Proceedings of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota* (Nov. 1970), 14-18.

²E. Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa 2 (1898, 5 ed. reprint 1958), 951.

³Cf. my *Prose Artistry and Birth of Rhyme in St. Zeno of Verona* (Exposition Press, Jericho, N.Y., 1973) 29-31 and 100-103.