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PROCEEDINGS OF
THE
LINGUISTIC
CIRCLE
OF MANITOBA
AND NORTH DAKOTA

PROCEEDINGS

of the

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PROGRAMME

The following papers were delivered at the Ninth and Tenth Annual Conferences of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota. The Ninth Annual Conference was held in the Oriental Room of the Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D. on October 29 - 30, 1965. After the opening remarks by Professor W.I. Morgan (North Dakota), President of the Linguistic Circle, the three sessions were chaired by Professor C.M. Jones (Manitoba), Professor R.A. Caldwell (North Dakota), and Professor G.H. Durrant (Manitoba). The annual dinner was held at the Bronze Boot, Highway 81, after which Professor J.B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba, delivered his key-note address Formulas in Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

The Tenth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Circle was held in the Senior Common Room, University College, University of Manitoba on October 27 - 28, 1967. Professor R.A. Caldwell (North Dakota), Vice-President of the Circle, delivered the opening remarks. Chairmen of the three sessions were Professor C.M. Jones (Manitoba), Professor W.I. Morgan (North Dakota), Professor A.L. Gordon (Manitoba). Mrs. V. Carnes made a motion of thanks in the form of a Miltonic poem.

The proceedings of both Conferences have been edited by H.D. Wiebe, University of Manitoba.

RONSARD'S IMITATION OF CLASSICAL TROPE

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University of Manitoba

In order to understand the background to our subject, two points must be mentioned briefly. Firstly, Ronsard's imitation of classical trope should be considered as part of the general Pléiade plan to imitate classical writers. In adopting tropical forms of Latin style Ronsard hopes to create a French style of comparable excellence.

Secondly, we should bear in mind the critical attitude to trope at the time when Ronsard writes. In our own time tropical functions, especially metaphor

and irony, enjoy unprecedented prestige. Since the symbolists, we think of metaphor as an indispensable poetic tool which points out new relationships and significantly alters our understanding of experience. In the sixteenth century tropes are much less highly regarded. We find for example only three lines devoted to metaphor in the Grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique, the most comprehensive work on rhetoric in French at this period. This comparative lack of interest is explained by the sixteenth century view of the purpose of language. For poets like Ronsard, language expresses truth which is well known, not to say common-place. Poetic language is different only in that it gives more memorable expression to the common fund of wisdom. Tropes help to achieve memorable expression by providing means of embellishment. They decorate and enrich and are therefore called "flowers of rhetoric" or "ornements de poésie". To enjoy them we must cultivate a Renaissance love of luxury.

Ronsard does not seem to imitate classical metaphors with any regularity except in the case of his Pindaric odes where he copies the metaphoric usages of his model. However, the Ovidian expression viscera terrae- the centre of the earth, does hold a certain fascination for him. In his early Hymne de France he boasts of the mineral wealth of his country and writes: "Le fer, l'airain, deux metaulx compaignons, ce sont les biens de ses riches roignons" (I, 29, 11. 111-112). Elsewhere, we read of the "dures entrailles Des rocz" (III, 134, 11. 265-266), and of the boyaux and rongnons of the earth where men dig gold and silver (XII, 87, 11. 3-4). It is interesting to note that Ronsard's images are more picturesque than the model. Indeed, the vivid anatomical associations of the French words seem almost to offend against the rules of classical propriety.

The classical metonymies offer Ronsard a rich source of inspiration. When Orpheus loses Eurydice forever, he describes his misery thus: "De jour en jour suyvant s'amenuisoit ma vie, Je n'avois de Bacus ny de Ceres envie" (XII, 141, 11. 325-326). In the last line Bacus and Ceres are substituted for wine and bread, the commodities of which they are the tutelary gods. A similar substitution can be found in a line from the Sonnets pour Hélène where the poet describes his country as "couvert de Mars et de la Mort (XVII (2), 330, s.LI, 11. 1-2). By Mars, of course, we understand in this context war.

Some of the most original metonymies in Latin are designated by Renaissance rhetoricians as metonymies of the material cause. This device

permits the speaker to name an object by the name properly applied to the material of which the object is made. In the noble Latin style metonymies of this type produce expressions such as ferrum=sword, and the much more novel pinus=boat made of pine wood. This latter trope fascinated Ronsard and inspired some of his most striking lines. The nymphs who see a Trojan vessel passing over the waves "...regardoient estonnées Les pins sauter, sur les vagues tournées" (XVI (2), 94, 11. 13-14). In the odes we find our metonymy accompanied by rich, incongruous metaphor, "Et le sapin des montaignes Galope par les compaignes Qui nous baignent alentour" (I, 153, 11. 94-96). In an elegy Ronsard mocks the vanity of man: his much vaunted reason only leads to war or sends him to sea in a frail skiff buffeted by the gale: "Et dedans du sapin lui faict tourner la terre A la mercy du vent" (X, 317, 11. 46-47).

The trope synecdoche which expresses the whole by means of the part and vice versa, is a favourite device with Latin writers. It explains usages such as tectum for domus, puppis for navis, carina for navis, and caput for homo. All these turns of style are imitated by Ronsard, but one particularly striking example will serve to illustrate. The poet imagines himself in one of his love sonnets adrift on a dark ocean. Only the twin stars, i.e., the eyes of his lady can light his way, and he asks, "Verray - je plus que ces astres jumeaulx En ma faveur encore par les eaulx, Montrent leur flamme à ma Carène lasse?" (IV, 47, s. XLIV, 11. 9-11). It is significant that these lines with their Virgilian flavour (Carène substituted for navire) come from the poet's early period, a time when his subservience to classical models was most complete.

The Renaissance rhetorics quote Virgil to demonstrate the synecdoche of the whole for the part: "Ardentesque avertit equos in castra, priusquam Pabula gustassent Trojae Xanthumque bibissent" (Aeneid, I. 11. 472-473). Sixteenth century glosses point out rather pedantically that Xanthum in these lines cannot possibly mean the whole river, but only some of its water. Although this distinction may seem to us petty, the Renaissance mind found it fascinating. As proof we find several "river-drinking" periphrases in Ronsard. Here is his description of the English "...toy peuple qui bois De l'Angloise Tamise" (XI, 22, 11. 69-70), and here are the Germans "...la nation qui prompte au tabourin Boit le large Danube, et les ondes du Rhin" (XI, 27, 11. 155-158).

Antonomasia (substitution of a common noun for a proper and vice

versa) is held in high repute by literary theorists of the Renaissance. The great majority of examples of this trope in Ronsard are classic in inspiration. He loves to dazzle by his learning, as in this heroic passage where patronymics replace the proper names: "Là forcenoient deux tygres sans mercy Le grand Atride, & le petit aussy Joyeux de sang: le carnacier Tydide Et le superbe heritier d'Aeacide" (XVI (1), 32, 11. 47-50). The splendid resonance of these lines is achieved unfortunately at the expense of clarity. The average poetry-lover who wants to get his allusions straight requires explanatory notes.

Notes are even more essential in the case of the antonomasia which substitutes the name of the country of origin for the proper name. Ronsard is particularly addicted to this device in his early works where classical influence is most apparent. In the Amours he talks enigmatically of the Mysien (IV, 108, s. CIX, 1. 11), the Thracien (IV, 124, s. CXXVII, 1. 8), the Ascrean (IV, 129, s. CXXXIII, 1. 4), and the Grec (IV, 130, s. CXXXIV, 1. 9). It is not always clear from the context that these names refer respectively to Telephus, Tereus, Hesiod and Ulysses. Similar difficulties occur in the odes where the writing is often reminiscent of the clues of a cross-word puzzle. Some clues we may guess easily: the African (II, 93, 1.30) who tamed the towering peaks (the Alps) is no doubt Hannibal, the Olympien (III, 99, 1.30) is Jupiter, the Délien (III, 128, 1.176) is Apollo. But what of the Lemnien (III, 132, 1.245) for Vulcan, the Troyen (III, 100, 1.46) for Ganymede, the Cynthien (III, 100, 1.36) for Apollo Musagetes?

The third major type of classical antonomasia employed by Ronsard is the device whereby we use the name of a particular person or god to designate someone else with similar qualities. Ronsard delights in dubbing his contemporaries with the names of figures of antiquity whom they recall. Montmorency and Gaspar de Coligny appear as "deus Achiles nouveaus" (VII, 91, 1.17), Catherine de'Medici is "Junon" (I, 67, 1.33), Madeleine de France is "Junon en majesté" (XVII (1), 68, 1.72), prince Charles is "un Paris en beauté de visage" (XVII (1), 71, 1.141). Henry II outshines every-body; he is "un second Mars" (XVII (1), 73, 1.183), "un Castor en chevaux" (XVII (1), 73, 1.187), "un Pollux..au mestier de l'escrime" (XVII (1), 73, 11.187-188). Ronsard carries the antonomasia even into the intimate poetry of love. Cassandre appears at one time as "une aultre Pandore" (IV, 36, s. XXXII, 1.4), at another as "une doulce Thalie" (IV, 128, s. CXXII, 1.11). Her lover, by virtue of his torment, becomes now "Sisyphe" (IV, 50, s.XLVII, 1.14), now "Tantale" (loc.cit.). Hélène, somewhat priggish, is a "sage Penelope" (XVII (2), 197, s. III, 1.10), even more impressive a "Pasithée" (XVII (2),

207, s. XIII, 1.1). At one point Ronsard is so moved by Hélène's beauty that he uses four antonomasias in a space of two lines in order to define her charm: she is "En prudence Minerve, une Grace en beauté, Junon en gravité, Diane en chasteté (XVII (2), 277, s. XXXVIII, 11.9-10).

If we attempt to draw some general conclusions, it is clear in the first place that Ronsard's imitations are in the main straight translations of the classical tropes. Our poet makes no attempt to recapture the spirit that produced the trope; he is content to take the end-result, the actual classical word, and then weave it gallicised into his own verse. Essentially he sees the tropes as a collection of stylish expressions, ready-made and available for use at the poet's discretion.

Secondly we note that the classical imitations occur mainly in the early works. This youthful predilection is not surprising, since it is in the early years that Ronsard is most conscious of classical style. At this period there is still something of the sixth-form pedant about him. Fresh from Dorat's lectures, he has learnt his lessons well and is eager to imitate the language of his literary favourites. In the mature poems on the other hand tropes are used with greater restraint. Occurring at appropriate moments they offer ornament as a counterpoise to plain discursive language. In this way they help to achieve the equilibrium which is the avowed ideal of classic and Renaissance aesthetics.

NOTE:
All quotations from Ronsard are from the edition of Paul Laumonier (Paris: Didier, S.T.F.M., 1914 - , 18 vol.).

* * *

NON-SLAVIC WORDS IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN
Eugene Grinbergs, Department of Russian, University of North Dakota

At the beginning of the historical period, the fundamental vocabulary of Slavonic origin was supplemented mainly by three groups of loan-words-- Greek, Germanic, and Turkic.

The Christianization of Russia, officially achieved in 988 led to the gradual replacement of pagan terminology. Centuries later, the chronicles still used archaic terms, for example, капище which means "heathen temple".

The Christian terminology, as might be expected, was mainly Greek and introduced words like церковь (through Germanic) "church", ересь "heresy", and many more recognizable ecclesiastical terms which still survive, like анафема, ангел, монах. Other terms, especially of vernacular origin, like божница "church", have become obsolete. However, божница "baznica" is not obsolete in Latvian. The Greek vocabulary also included personal names--Евгений, Василий, and words of secular culture-- тетрадь, "notebook", фонарь "street lamp", as well as Hebrew terms and names пасха, суббота, Мария, Иоанн.

Царь "Caesar" "tsar" came into use in 1547 as an additional title of the Grand Prince of Muscovy, who claimed to be heir to the Byzantine emperors. Besides the adoption of words, there exists in Russian certain numbers of translation-loans from Greek, for example, правописание (orthos + grapho), жизнеописание (bios + grapho). There also exists in the Russian vocabulary so called semi-translation loans. The artificial televisia induced the appearance of the телевидение into Russian vocabulary. Its first stem tele (originally Greek) was borrowed, and its second is a translation-loan of the original Latin root "vis" as "vid" and of the suffix -ia as -enie-.

The influence of the Tartars made itself felt mainly in the Russian vocabulary in highly specific culture-terms borrowed from Turkic--басма "seal, document", орда "encampment", караул "frontier post, guard", башмак "shoe, sandal", катуна "wife, woman". Some of these words according to Melioranski, in his book Borrowing Oriental Words in Russian Written Language Before the Mongol Period, need not have entered only in the Tartar period; many Turkic loan-words, including орда "horde", катуна "wife, woman", mentioned above were known earlier.

The Turkic loan-words were notably increased by other words which had been adopted by Russian in the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for instance, кабак "inn", колпак "cap, nightcap". This vocabulary grew in the course of the seventeenth century with the expansion of Muscovy eastwards and southwards into Turkic-

speaking territory, for instance, аркан "lasso, lariat".

The earliest borrowings in Russian, excluding those foreign words which it had inherited from Common-Slavonic, were from the Scandinavian and Ugro-Finic. A small number of Skandinavian words and names came into Russian-- крюк, ящик, ларь, Игорь, Олег, and few others. According to Professor Galkina-Fedoruk, University of Moskow, the fact that there are only a few words of Skandinavian origin testifies that the scientific basis of the so-called Norman theory of the formation of the Russian state is baseless.

From the Finno-Ugric languages only a few words came into Russian-- навага, пурга, тундра. The influence of Germanic languages on Russian was reinforced from the latter part of the twelfth century onwards by direct contact with the Teutonic Knights and the Hanseatic merchants in the East Baltic area.

During the three centuries from the fifteenth to the seventeenth the following words, among many others, were admitted: бунт "revolt", ярманка later ярмарка "fair". The words фортель, рынок, and герб are not German borrowings in Russian; they are Polonisms, in as much as both the meanings of those words and their pronunciation differ radically from those German words which were borrowed by Polish from German Vorteil, Ring, Erbe.

The Europeanization of Russian society in the eighteenth century continued at first under the auspices of Polish influence, which still retained its reputation as an aristocratic language.

The extensive administrative and military reforms of Peter I were accompanied by the appearance in the Russian language of a large number of foreign words. N.A. Smirnov, in his book Western Influence on the Russian Language During the Petrovian Era published 1910, describes penetration of foreign words into Russian speech as follows: "Now are appearing people entitled герольдмейстер, камергер, полицмейстер, and other more or less important personages at the head of which stands the император himself. All these important персоны in their ратуша, канцелярия, коллегия, and other administrative institutions which replace the former думы, and приказы, (designating the respective offices) can now штрафовать

(fine), трактовать (interpret the Law), конфисковать (confiscate), etc.

The German idealistic philosophy in the early nineteenth century also contributed such words as субъективный "subjective", объективный "objective", and some others, and loan translations such as мировоззрение "Weltanschauung", самоопределение "Selbstbestimmung", предполагать "voraussetzen", plus others.

Latin also had a great influence on Russian vocabulary. Latin words, for the most part, relate to concepts of art, science, technology, political and social relationship. Under Latin words we have a number of Latinized Greek terms which also became part of Russian, for instance амнистия "amnesty".

When a person establishes the concrete language from which a borrowing came he must clearly ascertain the etymological composition of the word. He cannot, for example, consider the word велосипед Latin on the basis of the fact that it consists of Latin roots (velox - swift, and pedes - of foot), since it came into existence in French. The word ерунда "nonsense", although it arose on the base of Latin "gerundium", is, by virtue of its origin, a Russian word. In Max Vasmer's Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch concerning this word is the following explanation: "Als Seminaristenwort aus lateinisch gerundium abzuleiten". (adopted by seminarians from the Latin term gerundium). In most cases, a foreign word appears in Russian in the same grammatical category as it appears in the original Language. However, in several cases, such usage is not observed, for instance in French, royal, an adjective means kingly; in Russian рояль, a noun means piano; in French sortir, a verb, means to go out; in Russian сортир, a noun, means lavatory.

Having once borrowed a word from another language, Russian rarely adopted it in the same form it had had in the original language. Words like "marschieren" and "naif" become facts in Russian only when the characteristic Russian verb and adjectival suffixes - ovat -овать, and -nyi -ный, -ний were substituted маршировать, наивный.

When nouns were borrowed, such re-shaping might not have been necessary. For example English "grog" and Russian грог.

Also during the reign of Peter I a group of maritime terms (about 750) were adopted from Dutch, English, French and Italian as well as German--

матрос (Dutch), мичман (English), абордаж (French), бригантина (Italian), юнга (German). Many other European loan-words consist of military and scientific terms which were borrowed from German and French. The German terms sometimes have Polish characteristics, for instance штурмовать "to storm" and French terms have German characteristics--генералитет "general staff". But in some cases the loans were made direct from the source, for instance French барьер "barrier".

French words, as we see, began to appear in Russian during the reign of Peter I, but an especially large number of them appeared at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. At that time the Russian language did not have as yet a well developed abstract vocabulary; therefore, western vocabulary elements, including the French, made up for the existing deficiencies-- сюжет, репертуар, жанр. Also a large number of French words for items of everyday life were adopted: пальто, кашне, браслет, капот, манто, etc. A considerable number of loan-translations from French came into Russian-- предрассудок, расстояние. Since Italy has long been famous for its music, musical terminology was borrowed from Italian, for instance альт, тенор, ария, бемоль, etc. From Italian through French, Russian also acquired the words шарлатан, баста. Beginning with the 19th century, a number of social terms have been coming into Russian from English, for instance клуб (club), митинг (meeting), виски (whiskey), пунш (punch). Recently into Russian came words like хобби (hobby), бутлеггер (bootlegger). Some words came into Russian through French from Spanish, томат, мантилья. The remaining languages gave Russian only isolated words like хутор "khutor", separated farm, гуляш "goulash" from Hungarian, чай "tea" from Chinese (North), гейша "geisha" from Japanese, гарем "Harem" from Arabic.

In the course of the eighteenth century we find Germans in control of the government both as favorites of empresses and on the throne itself, and we see them dominating the Imperial Academy of Science. The presence of Germans in high places, however, did not lead to a spread of German in Russia, but rather French, the language of "polite society" in the "Age of Enlightenment". Moreover, even those Russians who had no opportunity to study the language or no ability to master it, developed the habit of interspersing French words and expressions in their talk. This was sometimes carried to mania. In the Memoirs (Записки 1764-6) of Semjon Porosin, for instance there is a superfluity of French words, among them

иманжинировать "to imagine", каданс "cadence", минодерия "minauderie". Others, however, went much further than this and displayed a veritable frenzy for French words and turns of phrase, which made their speech and writing a Russo-French jargon. Sumarokov (Russian writer 1718-1777) gives an example on this in the curious sentence: Я в дистракции и дезеспере, аманта моя сделала мне инфиделите, а я ку сюр против ривала своего буду реванжироваться. (I am distraught and in despair. My beloved has been unfaithful to me, and I will certainly seek revenge.) But these represent an extreme development. Karamzin (Russian historian and writer (1766-1826) was able to focus attention on the purely Russian element and to develop a mode of literary expression close enough to everyday educated speech so as not to seem stilted and bookish.

By the middle of the 18th century, protests were beginning to be made against the abuse of French words and locutions in speech and writing. Porosin himself writes concerning this that "some Russians mix so many French words in their conversation that it seems as if Frenchmen were speaking and using Russian words." A more determined protest came from those who, like Admiral Siskov, cultivated and recommended the cultivation of the "high style" with its Church Slavonic elements.

By the 1830's a "modus vivendi" between Europeanisms, Slavonicisms, and the vernacular vocabulary has been found by Pushkin, who became a model for later writers. (Seven towns and cities were renamed in his honor after the revolution of 1917).

The penetration of the modern Russian vocabulary with alien words still continued.

The reactions against the preponderance of French may be seen in the views and lexicography of V.I. Dal (Dahl) author of "Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка" 1863. In an article, О русском словаре , he advocates the replacement of the foreign by the vernacular as a principle and adduces in illustration the word кокетничать "to flirt", for which he finds a choice of fifteen (18) Russian Equivalents, among them-- миловздорить, умильничать, казотиться. Yet it must be admitted, though Dal himself disagrees, that none of his many "synonyms" conveys the exact meaning of кокетничать . Dal's purpose was entirely laudable; he was drawing attention to the native reservoir of neglected words, but his stubborn insistence on the Slavonic element of Russian is similar to the

insistence on a Saxon-English which was being commended in England by some "Teutonists" at the same period.

P. Sergeic (P.S. Porochovscikov), writing in 1910 in an article titled Искусство речи на суде. (the Court Case -- Language versus Critics), expressed his indignation at what was happening to contemporary Russian as follows: "these ugly foreign words are gradually acquiring in our minds a sort of superiority over purely Russian words", and he quotes in illustration such phrases as детальный анализ "detailed analysis" and систематическая группировка материала "systematic grouping of material" as seeming preferable in the opinion of contemporaries to the vernacular подробный разбор and научное изложение предмета His conclusion is decisive: "The vast majority of these uninvited guests are not wanted, because we have Russian words, both simple and accurate, which have the same meaning."

The official language of Soviet Russia, for all its vagaries, is still the lineal descendant of the language of the nineteenth century - of Turgenev, and Lev Tolstoy, whom Lenin professed to admire, if not of Pushkin. And this tie has not been weakened by the change in spelling in 1918. The changes brought about in Russian by the Revolution have been far-reaching, but they have not materially affected the character of the written language, which displays the same relatively small differences between the journalistic and the purely literary style.

Foreign words in contemporary Russian, although they represent numerous strata do not, however, exceed ten percent of its entire composition. Only a small part of these foreign words come into general usage. The majority have a stylistically fixed usage in literary speech, appearing as terms, professionalisms, and specifically bookish terminology.

* * *

FORMULAS IN BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM
J.B. Rudnyckyj, Department of Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba

Before I proceed with the presentation of my "formulas", I would like to say that the problem itself is not confined to Canadian boundaries

and Canadian reality only, although there is an assumption that "bilingualism" and "biculturalism" are Canadian inventions of 1960's. A glance at some European, Asian and African countries shows that such problems exist and are actually global in scope. Some of these problems are even more explosive than in Quebec. Based on cultural, economic, political and other differences between ethnic groups, they erupt from time to time - even with violence.

The recent civil war in Cyprus could be cited as an extreme case of inter-ethnic tensions. Less well known, however, are events in Switzerland and northern Italy, which I had the occasion to visit in the summers of 1964 and 1965.

For instance Switzerland: traditionally peaceful and neutral as it may seem this country has also its bilingual and bicultural tensions, namely in the canton of Bern. Here, Franco-German antagonism troubles the harmonious relations of the four ethnic groups. As is known, a nation of 5.5 million people, Switzerland has three official Languages: German, French and Italian. In 1938, Romansh (Rheto-Romance) was ceremoniously proclaimed a fourth "national" (non-official) language of the Swiss people.

The Southern, French part of the canton of Bern is actively opposed to the German majority in this area and is striving for a separate canton in the Swiss confederation. This action is commonly known as "jura-separatism." Without going into details, it should be stated that there is a general feeling in the French minority of that canton that a separate cultural administrative and political unity should be formed and that the solution of the problem should be peaceful.

Not so peaceful seems to be the situation in southern Tirol-Alto Adige in northern Italy. Since 1945, the German-speaking majority of this area has been waiting for a linguistic and cultural autonomy and, disappointed by the actual state of things, began in its extremist circles to revolt against the Italian rule in that area. After a wave of sabotage acts, carried out on bridges, railroads and public buildings, mainly in 1961, the climax came in 1964 when actual fighting with firearms began with victims on both sides, (Italian soldiers and Louis Amplatz, one of the south Tirolian leaders). Despite efforts of foreign ministers of Austria and Italy, the problem has not been settled as yet.

As mentioned before, there are bilingual and bicultural problems elsewhere on our globe - in Asia, Africa and the Americas. And naturally,

the question arises what precisely is the meaning of "bilingualism and biculturalism?" Dictionaries do not adequately provide an answer to this question. Most of them list only the term "bilingualism" which, according, e.g. to the American College Dictionary is defined as: (1) "The habitual use of two languages" and (2) "The ability of being bilingual." The Oxford Dictionary defines it similarly. There is no dictionary to my knowledge - listing the term "biculturalism," although it appeared more than a decade ago in the English usage. Let us turn to special works on language and culture. The linguistic research considers bilingualism as one of the aspects of "languages in contact", the term coined by André Martinet and popularized by Uriel Weinreich and Einar Haugen. Language contact is defined as "the alternate use of two or more languages by the same persons" and such persons are called "bilinguals." With reference to constitutional recognition of languages, the following typology of bilingualism might be presented:

1) oBL

2) $\frac{s}{o} BL$

3) $\frac{u}{o} BL$ *

4) marginal Swiss $\frac{o}{n} BL$

In the USA there is only one official language, American English, and there are several types of semi-official bilingualism, e.g. AmE - Spanish, AmE - Italian, AmE - Polish, AmE - Chinese, AmE - Swedish, AmE - Greek, etc. To be sure, there are cases of non-official bilingualism; it means the cases where an individual uses two unofficial languages without knowledge of the AmE. I noticed in New York e.g. the existence of German-Russian bilinguals, Ukrainian-Polish, Yiddish-Czech, etc. But these are marginal cases and they refer exclusively to the older generation of recent newcomers. As a result, we can present the following formula of the USA linguistic pattern:

$$US\ lp. = \frac{o\ UL}{\frac{s}{o} BL + \frac{u}{o} BL + \frac{u}{o} UL}$$

Another situation exists in Canada. Here we have two official languages - English and French and several languages spoken as mother tongues throughout the country. Taking into account the unilingual and bilingual situations, the following formula of the Canadian linguistic pattern might be presented:

*) See key to abbreviations at end of article.

$$C\ lp. = \frac{o\ BL + o\ UL}{\frac{s}{o}BL + \frac{u}{o}BL + \frac{u}{o}UL}$$

Very interesting, from this point of view, is the situation in Belgium: Here we have the following formula since 1964:

$$B\ lp. = o\ UL_1 + o\ UL_2 + o\ BL\ (r)$$

More complicated is the situation in Switzerland:

$$Sw\ lp. = \frac{o\ ML + o\ BL + \frac{o}{n}BL}{\frac{o}{n}UL_1 + \frac{o}{n}UL_2 + \frac{o}{n}UL_3 + n\ UL}$$

A similar complicated pattern exists in Yugoslavia:

$$Y\ lp. = \frac{o\ ML + o\ BL}{o\ UL_1 + o\ UL_2 + o\ UL_3 + UL_4 + \frac{s}{o}BL}$$

With its more and more advanced theory of "two mother tongues": Russian in addition to native tongues, the Soviet linguistic pattern might be presented as follows:

$$S\ lp. = \frac{o\ UL + o\ BL + o\ ML}{o\ UL_1 + o\ UL_2 + o\ UL_3 + \frac{u}{o}UL + \frac{u}{o}BL}$$

Further psychological and sociological research is badly needed as far as bilingual individuals and bilingual communities are concerned. As E. Haugen states, "the linguistic and cultural aspects are often confused, both by linguists and social scientists." This point is made by James Soffietti in Journal of Educational Psychology 46, 222-7, 1955: he distinguishes between bilingualism and biculturalism.**) In view of the fact that different languages can be used in the same culture and the same language in different cultures,

**) To our knowledge, it is the first time the term "biculturalism" was used in scholarly literature.

he suggests that bilingualism and biculturalism do not necessarily coincide. Just as there are linguistic accents there are cultural accents, resulting from the interference of conflicting habit patterns, and they may be just as hard (or undesirable) to get rid of as the former. It is therefore possible to distinguish four situations: (1) bicultural-bilingual; (2) bicultural-monolingual; (3) monocultural-bilingual; (4) monocultural-monolingual. 'A person learning a second language in a monocultural setting will not automatically learn a whole new set of cultural patterns" (225).

This phenomenon was observed by Haugen also in his study of Norwegians in America: "a bilingual speaker of English and Norwegian in America is not necessarily bicultural. His very use of loanwords from English is governed by an effort to bring his old language into line with the new culture; after the process is completed, he may switch from one language to the other without talking about different things, or feeling himself as culturally distinct from his monolingual neighbors" (Norwegian Language in America p.72).

According to Haugen, just as the bilingual may have less than two complete languages, so the bicultural may have less than two complete cultures. While it is an easy assumption to make that the degree of bilinguality is directly correlated to the degree of biculturalism, this cannot be sustained on the present evidence. Since lexicon is the index of culture, and in its totality presumably can describe the culture, we would expect the greatest correlation to be here: the lexicon expresses the meanings, which are the culture. But the correlation of the more purely linguistic and structural parts of language with culture is indirect, and therefore less responsive to cultural change. The extent to which phonology, morphology, or syntax reflect biculturalism is a point, on which further research is necessary. Linguists will find it helpful here to create liaison areas between themselves and the social sciences, fields which in America have been called by such pretentious but often useful names as "metalinguistics," "psycholinguistics," "ethnolinguistics," "glottopolitics," and the like. Some of the problems raised in connection with bilingualism will prove to be almost entirely problems of biculturalism, involving attitudes to the people who speak the languages rather than the languages themselves.

An illustration of how these fields can play into one another and mutually contribute to the solution of bilingual problems is afforded by research on the linguistic conditions of North and South America. As presented in Haugen's Bilingualism in the Americas, one finds in this area

four kinds of languages involved in contact situations: native, colonial, immigrant and creolized. The native languages are the numerous Indian and Eskimo languages; the most important colonial are English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish; the immigrant languages include these and innumerable other languages, especially from Europe; the creolized languages arose in response to the introduction of slavery by the colonizing powers in certain areas, above all the Caribbean.

The mutual relations of these languages have awakened a good deal of scholarly interest in recent years, though there is still much to be done in what has probably been the most interesting laboratory of bilingual experience in recent history. The social dominance of some languages at the expense of others is to be explained by political conditions; for information about these we must turn to historians and political scientists. Politically submerged groups have found their languages threatened with extinction; only a strong cultural resistance has reversed this trend, as in the case of the French Canadians. In areas of linguistic overlapping the establishment of educational systems will raise certain language problems; these have been especially acute in the southwestern states of the United States, where Spanish, Indian, and English have lived side by side for a long time. Educators have produced a vast literature, showing frequently all too little insight into the linguistic problems involved, but still instructive for the material collected concerning cultural and linguistic interference in formal school situations. Here one may point to an interesting UNESCO report on The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education (1953) with brief statements for most of the countries of the world.

In following the linguistic research in this field, I ventured at international congresses in Bolzano in 1964 and in Vienna in 1965 to introduce the term "cultures in contact" as a broader concept of "acculturation", "cultural interpenetration", "assimilation", "integration", etc. Let me conclude with the following resumé of my "intervention" at this year's International Congress of Historians in Vienna during the rather exciting and stimulating discussion of the main topic "acculturation" on August 29th:

1. The term "acculturation" is inadequate and, therefore misleading. Among others, it implies the notion of "superior" and "inferior", "dominant", and "dominated" cultures. Though, in some cases, in the history of world cultures one has to deal with relationship between such cultures, there are several other cases of cultural intercourse which are not covered by the above

term. Therefore, the author suggests the term "cultures in contact" which - in his opinion - exhausts all possible phenomena in this respect.

2. With reference to his previous papers on the subject, the author presents the following typology of "cultures in contact":
    a) enclavic cultures (Ec),
    b) symbiotic (co-existent) cultures (Sc),
    c) mixed (hybridized) cultures (Mc).

3. As further methodical postulates, the author suggests the distinction of individual and community contacts, diachronic and synchronic approach in the research, universality of basic principles, etc.

4. In conclusion, the author presents the following working formula (model) of study of the problem of "cultures in contact":

$$Cc = \frac{Ec \ : \ Sc \ : \ Mc}{T}$$

where types of cultures indicate their relationship to technological civilization.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	-	Bilingualism	o	-	official
Cc	-	Cultures in contact	r	-	restricted
Ec	-	Enclavic cultures	$\overset{s}{o}$	-	semi-official
lp	-	language pattern	Sc	-	Symbiotic cultures
Mc	-	Mixed cultures	T	-	Technological civilization
ML	-	Multilingualism	UL	-	Unilingualism
n	-	national	u	-	unofficial

UNITY AND POWER: POPE'S DUNCIAD OF 1743

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There were many editions of the Dunciad before 1743, in which year Pope's masterpiece was published in its final and splendidly unified form. It is necessary to mention only four major versions: the three-book poem of 1728; the "Variorum" version of 1729, in which humorous and biting notes were added; the so-called New Dunciad of 1742, which eventually became Book IV of the four-book version; and the final, four-book version itself, published in 1743 and sometimes called the "Cibber Dunciad," from the name of its hero, the theater personage Colley Cibber. The Dunciad volume in the reasonably definitive though still incomplete Twickenham edition of Pope's poems further reduces these four most important versions to two: a three-book poem with Lewis Theobald, the Shakespearean scholar, as hero-villain, called Dunciad A; and a four-book work with Cibber serving in a similar capacity, called Dunciad B. It is with Dunciad B that this paper will be concerned, as this is the masterpiece, the ultima Thule, the capstone of Pope's poetical career in more ways than one. One might refer the interested scholar to Aubrey Williams' ground-breaking analysis of the poem, Pope's "Dunciad": A Study of Its Meaning, wherein many religious, philosophical, and social ideas of the past--on which full understanding of Pope's work depends--have been brought to light. But it would now seem appropriate to consider the nature of the poem as a whole.

The Dunciad is a long, satirical fantasy or fantasy-satire in four "books", which narrates a symbolic story in an extremely complex manner. Some readers find this story difficult to follow, because of the unusual ways in which it is communicated. In a sense, it is not "told" at all but implied. It is there, nevertheless, and is essentially the tale of a war against culture and of the destruction of that culture. In Books I, II, and III, an army is created, a feint made, a battle fought, and a victory won. Book IV then plans and illustrates the new world of anti-culture which is to exist after the final victory.

Anti-culture and anti-intellect are personified in an exiled but ambitious deity, the goddess named "Dulness," who also functions as Commander-in-Chief of the army and Queen of the world to be. Her soldiery consists of many little people called "dunces," representing or typifying bad music, bad architecture, bad theater, bad scholarship, bad education, bad government,

bad thinking, bad theology, and, above all, bad writing. Many of these dunces are named and many were Pope's personal enemies (Colley Cibber, for instance, King over all the dunces), but these facts are essentially irrelevant. Many are not named, others were dead before the poem was ever written, and still others are entirely imaginary. They are all symbolic fantasy-creatures, hero-villains in a work of epic art, dramatic characters in a poem of high satirical humor and deep cultural tragedy.

The Dunciad is an extraordinarily allusive poem, particularly with respect to Paradise Lost and Virgil's Aeneid, as Williams has emphasized. It is partly by means of classical allusions--sometimes so subtle as to be hardly discernible--that the war story is carried forward, though great care with diction, syntax, accents, and even grammatical moods has much to do with the narrative progress. In general, one finds that the poem increases in vigor from the first book through the last, and this increase itself constitutes a unifying progression. For instance, Book I is pervaded by a slow, formal structural system in which consecutive or nearly consecutive lines begin with identical or very similar words. And though Book II contains a symbolic, threatening, military march by the army of dunces through the actual London streets, it is a rather slow-paced march, and appropriately so:

> Thro' Lud's fam'd gates, along the well-known Fleet
> Rolls the black troop, and overshades the street. . . . (II, 359-360)

This couplet imitates remarkably well in its accent pattern the sound of marching feet. And even its diction reminds one of numerous lines in Pope's own underrated translation of the Iliad, for instance, "Now near the Greeks the black battalions drew."

But though this march of course advances the war narrative, the book which contains it cannot equal the rhetorical drive of Book III and the wild but controlled variety of sound and scene in Book IV. These later books make skillful use of particular verb systems (among other things) to produce impressions of speed and energy. Book III, for instance, utilizes the imperative mood to an astonishing degree and equally astonishing effect.

The sources of the speed and power of the fourth and final book are too complex to be explained adequately by a mere discussion of verb techniques. However, one might mention one device which is common in this book and consists of bestowing a long series of verbs on one lonely

subject. Such a series usually gives an impression of headlong speed. In the famous section which describes a typical young person making the Grand Tour and failing to improve himself thereby, one two-letter subject, the pronoun he, is followed by fourteen verbs before the end of the sentence is reached.

This fourth book simply cannot be summarized adequately in a paper of this sort. So far as I know, it is the greatest piece of English poetry produced in the entire eighteenth century. But we can conclude our explanation of the poem as a tale of war by remarking that very early in this fourth book we are shown that the fighting described so brilliantly and so indirectly in Book III has had its result. Various praiseworthy personified abstractions are dragged bound and fettered into St. James's Palace, which has been captured by the goddess and her army and where she is now enthroned with Cibber asleep on her lap. Book IV is primarily devoted to boastful speeches by devotees of Dulness, concerning how they now intend to conduct themselves and the world. The empire of the goddess has been restored. The war in the Dunciad has been won.

* * *

THE HEROIC IDEAL IN SYDNEY'S ARCADIA (Abstract)
Myron Turner, Department of English, University of Manitoba

Since this will appear, in reduced form, as part of a forthcoming article, I present here the following abstract:

In the Arcadia Sidney works with a Renaissance conception which sees the hero as a godlike figure capable of awesome deeds of body and mind. One of the roots of this conception is Aristotle's notion of the magnanimous man, the man who possesses an extreme of virtue and who performs deeds of virtue for the sake of honors, even though he knows that the greatness of his virtue can never be fully honored. Obviously, Aristotle's formulation involves a good measure of what might be called justifiable pride. Moreover, the Renaissance notion of the hero is influenced as well by notions of

Stoic self-sufficiency. In the Arcadia Sidney sets out to reconcile the pride and self-sufficiency of the hero with Christian humility and dependence upon God. Hence he puts Pyrocles and Musidorus--his central male heroes--through the humbling experience of love and fortune, so that they will learn the limits of their humanity and not come to believe that they are indeed gods and self-sufficient.

* * *

GRETTIS SAGA AND THE RENAISSANCE NOVELLA
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The two latest Icelandic sagas, Grettis saga and Njáls saga, both contain considerable material which deviates from the narrower Icelandic classical tradition. In the former case the influence of both folk-tradition and pan-European 'novellesque' materials originating in the Orient are particularily in evidence. The last six chapters of Grettis saga are a case in point. The scene is Byzantium and the ostensible theme the avenging of Grettir's death by his brother Thorsteinn. However, after vengeance has been taken, Thorsteinn becomes enamoured of a beautiful lady of the city and a series of amorous adventures ensues which centre upon the deception of the lady's husband. The ingenious and burlesque manner of the deception shows a strong affinity with the treatment of the same theme in Renaissance novellas. The culmination of the action is reached in a trial of the lady's honour by ordeal. Discovery and disgrace are circumvented by employment of a devious oath which is unmistakably the same used under identical circumstances in the story of Tristan and Isolde. Like many other novellesque motifs it has been traced to the Orient.

During the course of the 13th century, the literature of the continent moved its centre of gravity from the idealistic attitude of the chivalric world to the more realistic and practical outlook of the rising middle class. The Arthurian hero was displaced by the trickster-hero with his conquering wit and ingenuity and his penchant for illicit sexual relations. The novella form came to the fore, first in verse and then in prose.

Although the classical Icelandic saga was essentially as unlike the Renaissance novella as was Arthurian romance, the spirit of the later age appeared and gained ground with the progress of time. In the 1260's or 70's a saga was written, Bandamanna saga, whose low-caste heroes outwit the chieftains conspiring to divest them of their wealth acquired through trading. It is based on a cruder story, Ölkofra Tháttr, which is close to the fabliau and Schwank in style and content, with its crass indecency and trickster hero. Bandamanna saga has been called "an essentially plebeian story," "the first reasonable and modern comedy in the history of modern Europe," and a "lustige Novelle."

Grettis saga, written a generation later than Bandamanna saga and in the same district of Iceland, contains novella characteristics in its last six chapters. Are these restricted to the chapters dealing with Constantinople, or are they more widespread in the saga?

Chapters 74 and 75 relate Grettir's well-known swim from Drangey, where he was hiding as an outlaw, to mainland Iceland to fetch fire, an episode whose authenticity has been widely questioned. Grettir's amorous encounter with the farmer's maid during this exploit has been compared with several myths of the gods and, finally, with the story of Hero and Leander. The latter would offer a plausible source for this episode if the novella-like vulgarity of the Icelandic version could be attributed to contamination with some European novella with a similarly crass content. Such a novella can, in fact, be found in Boccaccio (Day 3, Tale 1), of which the earlier prototype was known in several European countries. This story contains the same indecent motifs as the episode under question in Grettis saga. It has been shown that Icelandic students studying at Italian universities in the 13th century brought novella materials home to Iceland. This offers a plausible line of transmission for the several elements of the fire-fetching exploit in Grettis saga.

A more general perusal of Grettis saga now shows that the hero has an astonishing affinity with the jester and wag of the Italian Renaissance. From an early age Grettir was both an inveterate lady's man and an arch-practical joker. The fire-fetching episode is an example of the first. One further example will suffice to illustrate the latter characteristic, which is widespread in the saga.

In the year 1026 or thereabouts Grettir was living on Reykir Heath with a companion. One day he caught sight of his longstanding enemy

Thórir approaching the spot with a band of armed men. Grettir and his companion made their horses lie on the ground and dragged them into a diminutive dairy shed in which they had been living. Thórir passed by unsuspecting. But this was not good enough for Grettir. He donned a disguise and set off after Thórir. "It would be a good jest," he told his companion, "if they didn't recognize me." He arranged to meet Thórir later on the heath, and when the latter asked him whether he had seen Grettir he averred that he had and sent the company galloping off at top speed into a swamp where they spent the rest of the day extricating themselves. In the meantime, Grettir and his companion rode to Thórir's farm and paid their respects to his daughter with a satirical verse. This verse, like many of the others in the saga, is considered spurious.

Although wit and guile are characteristics found in older saga heroes, Grettir is different in that he uses his wits less to elude capture than out of sheer playfulness. Nor is the relation of the sexes absent in the older sagas. There, however, it is treated with deep respect, and the outcome is always tragic. Grettir's character derives its particular hue from the combination and cumulative effect of all the elements mentioned. This is unique in Grettis saga.

Grettir's character and career follow a clearly marked pattern which bears a close affinity with a particular kind of story-telling common in Southern Europe in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. This kind of story-telling was symptomatic of the decline of mediaevalism and the emergence of Renaissance culture. From their original antipodal positions, continental literature and what might be regarded as a branch of the Icelandic saga comprising Ölkofra Tháttr, Bandamanna saga, and Grettis saga, veered sharply together in the novella-style before the older world that bore and nourished the saga came to an end.

* * *

THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY (Abstract)
R.L. Carnes, Department of Philosophy, University of North Dakota

For several decades, proponents of linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity have identified themselves with Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. Although they worked separately, Sapir's and Whorf's contributions to these doctrines have come to be called the "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis." The Hypothesis has found many supporters and detractors from a variety of disciplines. Scholars have attested to the "obvious" truth and also to the "obvious" worthlessness of the Hypothesis. In spite of the interest generated by the Hypothesis, it has remained a vague and ambiguously articulated collection of statements about a supposed relation between language, knowledge, and a "higher reality" reflected by language patterns. An exhaustive analysis of both Sapir's and Whorf's writings yields the following possible assertions:

A.   The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis has at least two forms, as indicated by J.W. Swanson:
      1.   A "strong form" which has to do with the metaphysical presuppositions of the Hypothesis, and which provides a schema in which the problem of linguistic relativity arises.
      2.   A "weaker form" which has to do with the supposed loss of meaning in translations.

B.   The "strong form" yields the following inferences:
      1.   A "world" exists beyond the world of our perceptions, which is at the roots not only of experience but of the "reality" upon which the perceived world rests.
      2.   The "principle" of linguistic relativity rests on the "strong form" of the Hypothesis.
      3.   Whorf carried the "principle" of linguistic relativity to the point of becoming a form of linguistic determinism.

C.   The "weaker form" yields the following inferences which should be collated with those of the "strong form".
      1.   The "weaker form" describes a property of languages such that the "nuances" of meaning and "subtle connotations" found in the expression of any particular

language cannot be completely expressed in any other language without a loss in meaning.
      2.   While not directly related to the problem of linguistic determinism, the "weaker form" ultimately seems to be derived from the "stronger form".

D.   While Sapir advanced a hypothesis similar to that which was later offered by Whorf, the similarity is only superficial:
      1.   Sapir cautiously outlined a schema in which he described the parallel development of language and concepts.
      2.   Sapir hypothesized the influence of language on thought, but did not carry the idea to the point of a linguistic determinism.
      3.   Although he was cautious in most of his statements concerning the relation between language and thought, Sapir, in his last years, acknowledged language as an influence "greater than most men believe".
      4.   Even in his most forceful statements, however, Sapir did not develop the metaphysics of language implicit in the contemporary interpretation of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

E.   Whorf's contribution to what has come to be called the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis does not reflect the caution of Sapir.
      1.   In its broadest context, Whorf's contribution may be called a metaphysics of language.
      2.   Within the text of Whorf's conception of the influence of language on thought, there exists a "Kantian" dichotomy between phenomena and noumena: Whorf's version, while apparently Kantian in its broadest outlines, involves a misinterpretation of the Kantian Metaphysics.
      3.   Whorf thought that the noumenal world would eventually be "discovered by science."
      4.   While Sapir acknowledged the influence of language on perception, Whorf described language as the prime determinant of our conception of the world.
      5.   Whorf used the "patterned relations" of language in much the same way that Kant used the Forms of Sensibility and the Categories of the Understanding.

6. Whorf's metaphysics of language should be called the "Whorfian Thesis" to distinguish it from the more cautious assertions of Sapir.

The list of experimental objectives is as follows:

(1) It must be demonstrated that a speaker of any language "A" organizes his experience in a different way than does a speaker of any language "B".

(2) It must be demonstrated that languages or "linguistic systems" are a part of the "background" set of psychological factors which are brought into play during experience and which "organize" that experience.

(3) It must be demonstrated that differences in the organization of experience are the result of the effect of the linguistic system, and not other causes.

(4) The "world view" held by a speaker of any language "A" must be demonstrated to be different from the "world view" held by a speaker of any language "B".

(5) The difference in "world views" must be demonstrated to be an effect of the difference in the respective "background linguistic systems" of the speakers of languages "A" and "B".

(6) It must be demonstrated that all data presented to the individual in the process of perception prior to linguistic patterning are in the form of a "kaleidoscopic flux of impressions."

(7) The existence of a "noumenal" world of "higher relations" must be demonstrated as being the initial cause of the "kaleidoscopic flux of impressions."

(8) It must be demonstrated that the patterned relations of the "noumenal world" are reflected in the patterned relations of languages.

(9) The end product of the process of perception, i.e., the experience of the "factual" world, is structured in the same way as is the language system; it must be demonstrated that language provides the correspondence between the noumenal structure and the structure of experience.

Given these assertions with their attendant experimental implications, an epistemological analysis of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis reveals the following arguments and conclusions:

1. Within the context of the Whorfian Thesis, it is contradictory to say that the noumenal world awaits discovery by the sciences.
   (a) According to Whorf, we can know only that which has been produced by experience and by the action of language patterning on experience.
   (b) The noumenal world, for Whorf, is that realm which lies beyond human perception, but which is the ultimate cause of perceptions.
   (c) According to Whorf, then, it is impossible to know of the noumenal world except through the medium of language.
   (d) Thus, any discovery of the noumenal world by the sciences would have to be through the medium of language.
   (e) Any discoveries by the sciences would be discoveries of further types of phenomena, since phenomena are the constituent elements of human knowledge.
   (f) The noumenal world is thus, by definition, beyond discovery by the sciences.

2. The first stage of perception is the level of the "kaleidoscopic flux of impressions." Whorf thought that language patterns mold these impressions into meaningful perceptions. Each person, however, perceives "pragmatically" or "operationally" the same. Each person, according to Whorf, perceives in a different way, relative to his particular language system.
   (a) If all men perceive "pragmatically" or "operationally" the same, then these perceptions must occur before the operation of language on perception.
   (b) This would have to be on the level of the "kaleidoscopic flux of impressions" since all further stages in the experiential process involve the action of language.
   (c) Human beings do not have conscious awareness of a "kaleidoscopic flux" in their experience.
   (d) If human beings are not conscious of the "kaleidoscopic flux of impressions," and if this is the level on which all experience is the same (i.e., before language patterns exert their force), it is difficult to see how men perceive "pragmatically" or "operationally" the same.

3. Whorf states that the patterned relations of language "reflect" the patterned relations of a noumenal world.
    (a) At best, this is only an assumption, since, within the context of the Whorfian schema knowledge of the noumenal world is impossible.
    (b) To know that the patterns of language reflect the patterns of the noumenal world would require that we be able to compare the two sets of patterns.
    (c) Since (as demonstrated in 1. a - f above) it is impossible to know the noumenal entities, it is impossible, within Whorf's schema, to verify the reflection of patterns in the noumenal world by language.

4. The "reflective" quality of language could, if it were possible to verify it, provide us with a "correspondence" criterion of truth concerning our perceptions.
    (a) This is empirically indemonstrable, however, since it is impossible within Whorf's schema to demonstrate the accuracy of the reflection.
    (b) Further, no elaboration is given of the usage of the term "reflect". If language patterns reflect the patterns of a noumenal world, no explanation is given of the nature of the reflection.

5. Re: the "weaker form": no criterion is provided in the Whorfian Thesis for translatability.
    (a) In the absence of a criterion with which we can judge whether or not the meaning in any expression in a language has been translated without loss of meaning into another language, it is impossible to state that the meaning has been lost.
    (b) The inclusion of a bilingual does not alter the conclusion stated above. If an individual is aware of the nuances of both languages, then he cannot be aware of the meaning of an expression in any particular language, exclusive of his knowledge of the other language.

This paper has outlined some of the reasons why the Hypothesis is not susceptible of empirical verification; it should be noted, however, that in no way has the conclusion been drawn that the Hypothesis is worthless.

Neither has this study conclusively demonstrated that all tests relating to the Hypothesis are either worthless or impossible. The Hypothesis is neither simple nor unambiguous. Possibly, in its comprehensiveness, too many hypotheses are included for it to be adequately tested with present research methods. The logical problems inherent in the Hypothesis seem to preclude the verification of large segments of its assertion. Perhaps the best course to be followed by philosophers and linguists would be to recognize the Hypothesis for what, at the end of this study, it seems to be: a vigorously speculative suggestion about a possible relation between language and the processes through which we form our thoughts about the world around us. The absence of conclusive empirical data should disturb only the philosophically unsophisticated. Perhaps the final word has already been succinctly given by Max Black:

> I do not wish the negative conclusions reached to leave an impression that Whorf's writings are of little value. Aften enough in the history of thought the unsoundest views have proved the most suggestive. Whorf's mistakes are more interesting that the carefully hedged commonplaces of more cautious writers.[7]

[7]Max Black, Models and Metaphors, p. 257.

* * *

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF A DIALECT STUDY
THE DIALECT CALLED "BUNGI" (Abstract)
Margaret Stobie, Department of English, St. John's College, University of Manitoba.

Professor Stobie gave an informal account of her study of this "dialect" which flourished in the Red River valley and the western shores of Hudson's Bay in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

She indicated that Bungi is a mixture of the Scots dialect of the early settlers in Manitoba and of Indian, largely Cree, language. She traced the history of the term "Bungi" and of previous study of the dialect, outlined the nature and method of her own present study and of her future study, which would involve a study of the language and sound-patterns of the Scottish highlands and islands as a possible source of an element of Bungi.

Professor Stobie finished by playing tape-recordings of her interviews with elderly inhabitants of central and northern Manitoba who still preserved speech idioms, terms and intonations which may be survivals of Bungi and who at the same time recalled in a lively and interesting way the earlier days of some of the Manitoba settlements.

* * *

SWINBURNE IN INDIA:
NOTES ON SWINBURNE'S PANTHEISM (Abstract)
F.A.C. Wilson, Department of English, University of North Dakota.

This paper undertook a study of Swinburne's poems 'Hertha' and 'Hymn of Man' from the point of view of the student of comparative religion: I wanted to show their indebtedness to Indian religious symbolism.

Swinburne was friendly with Thomas Bendyshe, a don at King's College, Cambridge, and himself a student of comparative religion, and it was shown that, in 1869, Bendyshe read with Swinburne some of the more accessible texts in Hindu religious poetry. They certainly read the Mahabharata, and thus the Sita. Evidence was presented to show that Swinburne went on to read beyond this: that he knew the Vedic Hymns and also the translations and related papers of Sir William Jones, the eighteenth-century orientalist.

It was then suggested that 'Hertha' is based, more firmly than has been suspected, on the dominant symbolism of the Sita. I also tried to show that 'Hymn of Man' is indebted to some of the speculations of Sir William Jones,

especially to passages where Jones points out affinities between Hindu creation myths and Orphic legend. I suggested that one of the sources of Swinburne's symbolism in 'Hymn of Man' was the 'Foreword' to Jones' 'Hymn to Narayena', a complication that also interested Shelley.

At the same time, I brought out the fact that Swinburne's friendship with Mazzini in 1869-70 militated against his pantheistic enthusiasms. Mazzini did not look with favour on Hindu religion; he wanted his adherents to follow his own form of belief, a species of Comtism. It was shown how Swinburne watered down, or distorted, some of his references to Indian symbolism, and that he did this, in part at least, in deference to Mazzini.

* * *

THE ICELANDIC LANGUAGE IN MANITOBA AND NORTH DAKOTA[1]
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North American-Icelandic loanwords are either (1) pure loanwords or (2) loanblends. The pure loanwords reveal varying degrees of phonemic substitution.

The following pure loanwords, listed here with Icelandic spelling, will serve as examples:

AI (i.e., the Icel. in Man. and N.D.)	I (Icelandic)	E(English)
desk	skrifborð	desk

1) Loans from the Icelandic language of Manitoba and N.D. are identified in this summary as North American-Icelandic abbreviated as AI; for further discussion of the terminology used here see Einar Haugen: The Norwegian Language in America II, Univ. of Penn. Press 1953. The material for this paper was collected by the writer in 1963 and 1964.

bókin er þarna a deskinu
(the book is there on the
desk)

A list of pure loanwords could be expanded almost ad infinitum.

Loanblends reveal two kinds of morphemic substitution: (a) substitution of a derivational suffix or marginal substitution and (b) nuclear substitution, i.e., substitution of a part of a compound.

(a)   Marginal substitution:

AI	I	E
farmari	bóndi	farmer

hann er farmari
(he is a farmer)

| tóstari | brauðrist | toaster |

tóstarinn er a borðinu
(the toaster is on the table)

| steibla | fjós | stable |

hann er úti í steiblunni
(he is out in the stable)

It is noteworthy that farmari and tóstari do not represent the same degree of need for adopting loans. The Icel. noun bondi (farmer) was certainly a part of the vocabulary of the first Icelandic immigrants to both Canada and the United States, whereas brauðrist (toaster) was not. In other words, these two nouns constitute a good example showing that in AI loans were adopted irrespective of need.

The form of the last noun steibla can hardly be explained in terms of simple substitution. Rather this appears to be an example of what Haugen has called "a contamination between the loanword and a native term of similar sound or meaning." In the case of steibla such nouns as geifla (a grimace, pron. geibla) come to mind. It is noteworthy that in AI the suffix

-ari is but rarely substituted for the English -er. One might even question the two examples listed above and consider the possibility of pure derivation of the AI verbs farma and tósta which would then have preceded the nouns. Then it should be taken into account that English nouns with the suffix -er have fitted easily into the category of strong masculine nouns in Icelandic as will be further discussed later on in this summary.

(b)   Nuclear substitution:

AI	I	E
dróggbúð	lyfjabúð	drugstore

hann vinnur i dróggbúðinni
(he works in the drugstore)

| sprústré | grenitré | spruce tree |

AI loanshifts include words and phrases which have the appearance of an Icelandic word or phrase, even though they occur in a new context. Traditionally, loanshifts are divided into (1) creations and (2) extensions.

AI creations have a morphemic arrangement identical or similar to that of the English model as is borne out by the following examples:

AI	I	E
ísrjómi	rjómaís	ice cream

má bjóða þér ísrjóma?
(may I offer you ice cream?)

| yfirskór | skóhlífar | overshoes |

maður verður að nota yfirskó
(one has to use overshoes)

Loanshift extensions can be (a) homophonous, (b) homologous, and (c) synonymous.

The homophonous extensions consist of loans which resemble their English model only phonetically. Even though the technical term used here suggests a semantic extension of an already existing Icelandic word, the identical appearance of the Icel. word and the AI loan may often be a mere coincidence. The following examples will explain this point further:

AI	I (i.e., proper Icel. meaning)	E
Galli (used by Canadian Icelanders to denote East-Europeans, mainly from the Ukraine)	(a Gaul)	Galician

Nýja Ísland er fullt af Göllum
(New Iceland is full of Galicians, i.e., Ukrainians)

kar	(tub, bowl)	car

hefurðu kar?
(do you have a car?)

Apparently the AI Galli first denoted an immigrant from Polish Galicia, but its meaning was soon extended so as to include East-European immigrants in general. In Manitoba the Ukrainians are by far the largest East-European ethnic group; as a result of this, the AI Galli, in the majority of instances, now means 'Ukrainian'.

A homologous extension resembles its English model both phonetically and semantically. Three subtypes have been noticed:

The first subtype tends to create a conflict with conventional Icelandic usage in that it assumes in certain contexts, and in accordance with its English model, a meaning which it does not have in Icelandic; this type may well be classified as semantic confusion. To mention only a few examples, the verbs kalla (call), lifa (be alive), and vanta (lack, be in need of) in AI often correspond with a special English usage by assuming the meanings telephone, stay or reside, and want or desire. In AI the noun háskóli is not only used in its proper Icelandic sense, meaning university, but also to denote high school. In the same way the adjectives stuttur (short), and þunnur (thin) have in AI assumed the specific meanings short of money and slim.

Thus the expression ertu stuttur? means are you short of money? and hann er býsna þunnur would mean he is fairly slim. Needless to say, words and expressions of this kind have enjoyed considerable notoriety among Icelanders on both sides of the Atlantic.

The second type of homologous loanshifts includes several instances where the influence of the English model reveals itself in what might be called a preferred usage of one of two or more synonyms. Thus the verb hafa (have, possess) is in AI often preferred to the verb eiga (own, possess). However, this use of hafa does not represent a new meaning. In the preferred use of the noun tengdabróðir, tengdasystir (brother-in-law, sister-in-law) over the corresponding synonyms mágur, mágkona one notices in AI an expanded use of the element tengda- which occurs in tengdafaðir, tengdamóðir, (father-in-law, mother-in-law, parents-in-law) which all represent common Icelandic usage. Since the element tengda- obviously corresponded with the English -in-law, it was only natural that by analogy the somewhat uncommon terms tengdabróðir and tengdasystir would win out over mágur and mágkona.

The third subtype of homologous loanshifts contains words which, owing to an influence from their English model, always differ in meaning from their Icelandic counterpart, even though both may be said to belong to the same semantic sphere. This difference is of subtle nature, and it is liable to affect proper communication between Icelandic monolinguals and bilingual North American-Icelanders. The following examples can be used as examples: briggja: AI a bridge, proper Icel. a pier; nón: AI noon, proper Icelandic usage mid-afternoon (3 o'clock p.m.); stó in AI means a stove; in Icelandic it denotes a fire place.

Synonymous loanshift extensions resemble their model only semantically. Unfortunately, a good example from AI remains to be recorded. However, it is noteworthy that the noun gólf is frequently used in AI to denote a storey of a building. This meaning is known in Modern Icelandic, but it is so uncommon that one would be tempted to designate the AI usage as a synonymous loanshift extension rather than as a preferred use of a synonym; (gólf in Icel. usually means floor 'in a room', the ordinary term for the storey of a building is hæð).

Even though AI loans have been listed above with their Icelandic counterparts (proper Icel. usage), this does not imply that speakers of AI consciously replaced native elements with foreign elements. The comparision

between AI dröggbúð (drugstore) and the Icel. lyfjabúð may serve as an explanation of a certain process of substitution or a process which results in substitution, but it does not necessarily imply that those who coined the loanblend dröggbúð deliberately replaced the native element lyfja- with the foreign element drögg-. What is of significance is, of course, that the first element in dröggbúð is an importation. To this should be added that there are instances where two different creations for the same concept have been coined, almost simultaneously, as it were, in both AI and Icel. The AI hreyfimynd and Icel. kvikmynd for the English 'moving pictures' are good examples of such simultaneous creations. There are still other examples where the same loan appears to have been adopted simultaneously in both AI and Icel. The nouns kommúnisti (AI kommjúnisti) and nælon (nylon) are representative of this kind of borrowing.

In his discussion of American-Norwegian loans Haugen speaks of the "inability to recall the N word" as one of the reasons leading to the adoption of English loanwords. This factor must also have been of importance in AI. Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that the language and culture of AI immigrants were "pre-industrial" in their nature. As a result, English loans were bound to be frequently used by those who became engaged in the various types of industry and tried to apply the Icelandic language to them. To this one might add that the frequency of loans in AI is very high in such specialized areas as commerce (names of products included), industry, education, and medicine.

In many instances the ending of an AI loan will determine its gender. First to be considered are the strong masc. nouns with the nom. plur. end. -ar and declined like the Icel. hestur, hamar, dans, stóll. The following will serve as examples: ambjúlans (ambulance), próspektor (prospector), kerteiker (caretaker).

A closer examination of the above loans reveals the importance of certain endings or suffixes in the assigning of nouns to the masc. gender. This is, for instance, obvious in the case of -er -or in the nouns kerteiker and próspektor. It should be noted that these two endings are usually not included in Icel. grammar books (see for instance Stefán Einarsson: Icelandic Texts Glossary, Baltimore 1949, 23); the ending -er occurs in Modern Icel. in the slang word makker (a str. masc. loan from Danish, 'partner in the game of cards'). The wide acceptance of -er as a str. masc. ending (suffix) in AI speech is no doubt due to the similarity between the AI pronunciation of

the Icel. ending -ir in masc. nouns like læknir ('a doctor') and English -er; this kind of similarity or proximity between -i and -e manifests itself as a confusion of the two sounds; this confusion again is brought about by the phonetic difference between English i and Icelandic i; the former is lower (in the direction of Icel. e than its Icelandic counterpart; the substitution of e for i indeed a pronounced characteristic of AI speech.

In the case of monosyllabic nouns like sjans (chance) it is impractical to speak of endings as being a significant factor in the assigning of the noun to a specific gender. In his discussion of AmN loans Haugen has suggested that the influence of suffixes in determining gender should be recognized "as a special case of the rule that the last morpheme in a word always determines its gender." This statement implies a gender determining role of rhyming words where phonetic similarity exists as between Icel. dans (dance) and AI sjans (chance).

The present writer does not wish to disregard the role of rhyming words in the assigning of nouns to a gender, and certainly it appears likely that such endings as -er and -or (see above) must have played an important part in assigning the loans of which they are a part to a fixed gender. In this regard it is no doubt more logical to stress the established rules of Icelandic grammar and the fact that these rules demand that loans with the ending -er (the correspondence with AI of the end. -ir is assumed here, see above) be assigned to the masculine gender than to maintain that the AI loan fer (fare) on account of its phonetic resemblance to the Icel. str. neuter nouns ker (tub, bowl), sker (skerry), must fall into the category of str. neuter nouns. The latter assumption would have obvious weaknesses. Firstly, Icelandic nouns rhyming with fer do not necessarily belong to the str. neuter category as is borne out by the str. masc. hver (hot spring). Secondly, one is tempted to assume that the connection between the AI fer and the Icel. str. neuter far (in a sense the former has replaced the latter) may have played some part in the assigning of gender in this particular instance.

Examples of weak masc. loans like kennari have already been discussed. Feminine loans fall into str. fem. with the nom. plur. -ar or -ir (-ur) and weak fem. like tunna. The following can be listed as examples: miting (meeting), reiling (railing), keik (cake), porsjón (portion), nörsa (nurse), steibla (stable).

One can assume that the form of such loans as reiling, porsjón, steibla

(i.e., the ending of those loans) determines their gender. On the other hand it is difficult to rule out the semantic factor in the assigning of keik to the fem. gender; in this instance the obvious connection with the Icelandic weak fem. kaka (cake) may well have been of importance. However, one should not rule out the possible influence from such rhyming words as steik (str. fem. steak).

Of the vast number of neuter loans, which without exception fall into the category of str. neuter nouns, the following will serve as examples: beisment (basement), farmasí (pharmacy), fens (fence), freim (frame).

The foregoing discussion has revealed that the pure loan nouns in AI have been spontaneously brought into harmony with only the largest (most frequent) declension types of the Icel. grammar. A further comparison of the genders shows that of 360 pure loan nouns collected for this article 47% belong to the str. neuter, 29% to the masc. gender, 20% to the fem.; roughly 4% shows a vacillating gender. A list of some five hundred loan nouns which Vilhjálmur Stefánsson collected among Icelanders in North Dakota in 1903 (see Dialect Notes 2,354-362 (1903)) shows 35% of loan nouns as neuter, 30% as masc., 12% as fem., and 23% with a vacillating gender. A comparison of these two lists seems to indicate a trend towards increased consistency in gender designation of AI loans.

In most instances the gender of loans has some unambiguous markers such as the definite article, adjectival modifiers, and substitute pronouns. Yet, there are examples of lack of agreement between antecedent and substitute. In AI it is, for instance, not uncommon to refer to the str. neuter kar (car) with the third pers. fem. pron. hún (she); Þetta er gott kar, og hún er búin ao duga lengi (this is a good car and it has stood up (lasted) well (long).

Adjectives constitute proportionately a small part of AI vocabulary, and if used at all, they are not declined. The following expressions include adjectival loans: Þeir eru fiarska næs (they are very nice); hún er bisí (she is busy); hann er smart (he is smart).

The numerous AI loan verbs are conjugated like the weak verb síma (telephone). In other words they fall into the largest class of weak verbs in Icelandic. The following loan verbs have been listed: akselereita (accelerate), bánsa (bounce), d(s) jömpa (jump).

Further, there has been a tendency in AI to violate the rules of conventional grammar by conjugating strong verbs as if they were weak. The poet Guttomur J. Guttormsson has held this practice up to ridicule in his AI classic "Winnipeg Icelander" of which the first stanza runs as follows:

Eg fór o'n í Main street með fimm dala cheque
Og forty-eight riffil mer kaupti
Og ride út í country með farmara fekk,
Svo fresh út í brushin eg hlaupti.
En Þa' sá eg moose, úti í marshi það la',
O my - eina sticku eg brjótti!
Þa' fór Það a gallop, not good anyhow,
Var gone, Þegar loksins eg skjótti.

Some borrowing of adverbs in AI speech has been noticed. The following expressions contain both a loanshift and a loanword: hann vinnur hart (he works hard), Það er um að gera ao koma örlí (it is important to come early). Various exclamations such as sjúr (sure), well, o kei (O.K.) are not uncommon. Terms of greeting and leave-taking expressions such as halló, bæ bæ (by by), gudd bæ (good-bye) and terms of polite address such as Miss, Mr., and Mrs. are seldom translated. On the other hand the non-Icelandic greeting góðan morgun (good morning) is sometimes heard.

The complete rejection of the formal honorific pron. Þér on the part of North American-Icelanders has attracted attention on several occasions. The American way of being informal may have had something to do with the disappearance of Þér in AI. There are, however, other reasons for this that deserve to be considered.

Only a cursory glance at early AI publications will suffice to show that even in the early days of Icelandic settlement in North America there was a shift of emphasis from the Christian name to the often newly adopted family surname. Even though surnames were in Iceland before the emigration from there to North America began, their sudden expansion in AI as a distinguishing feature between formal and informal speech must have reduced the importance of the honorific Þér. A complete lack of pronominal distinction in English corresponding with Þú: Þér is likely to have further weakened the position of the latter. A third factor is still to be considered. In AI the second person pron. Þú, because of influence from English, came to be frequently used as an indefinite pron. Even though this type of use occurs in Icelandic, it became much more pronounced in AI speech. The following

excerpt attests to this: Ef Þú hefir verið hér lengi, oq ef Þér líkar vel i Þessu landi, Þa fer Það oftast svo, að Þú flytur ekki heim aftur (If you have been here long, and if you like it in this country, then the upshot is in most cases that you do not go back home again). It is obvious that in a conversation, this type of use (i.e., Þú as an indefinite pron.) would make the use of Þér awkward or impossible.

There are, of course, instances which show that AI vocabulary has preserved words which were common in nineteenth-century Icelandic, but are now either rarely noticed or have completely vanished in Modern Icelandic. The following Danicisms, often heard in AI, can be listed as examples: allareiðu (D. allerede, E. already) fiólín (D. violin, E. violin), innleiða (D. indlede, E. begin, prepare), Norskari (D. Norsker, E. Norwegian).

An examination of the material collected for this article shows that among loans in AI, nouns are by far the most common and constitute a much larger group than the verbs which form the second largest category. Other parts of speech constitute but a small fraction of the total vocabulary of loans. This is in accordance with a well-known law which serves as a regulating factor in linguistic borrowing.

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ENGLISH WORDS ENDING IN - ee
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Introduction

It may seem odd that a foreigner, still poorly acquainted with your language, should dare to present a paper in English to the members of the Linguistic Circle.

But this piece of research, which deals with a concrete aspect of the English language -- namely the words ending in double e -- is nothing but the

work of a dilettante; therefore I beg my audience to receive it with a lenient ear and to consider that, I have undertaken this study, because I have a keen interest in the linguistic facts of the English language and an ever-increasing desire to know more about them.

I have been a professor of French at the University of Havana for some thirty years. It was only two years ago that I settled in the United States and that I took my first steps -- strenuous but enthusiastic -- in the study of the English tongue. I find this language extremely beautiful, rich and suggestive, with all its shades of meaning; so much so, that I have long been eager to understand and speak it.

English Words Ending in -ee

I have found a considerable number of English words (almost 300) ending with the digraph -ee. Many of these words are loan-words from the French, having proceeded, through phonetic evolution, from the past participle -atus, -ata of Latin verbs. For example: lessee ME. - OF. lessé, pp of the verb lesser-L. laxare (the Modern French laisser); donee- F. donée-L. donare, pp-donatus.

But this origin does not apply to all words ending in -ee. I have there-fore endeavored to examine each case separately.

It is first necessary to distinguish between: a) the suffix -ee which belongs only to those words which come from the Latin; b) the digraph -ee, simple ending which appears through phonetic transformation in words of Germanic origin; c) this same digraph, which has acquired precise semantic value, that of the object of the action signified by the root of the word, and which is added by analogy to the root according to previous examples already acclimatized in English, e.g.: grantee which comes from the French but which is previously from VL. credentare -L. credent, credens pr.p. of credere, to believe; to this category belong numerous words created to suggest the idea of passive agent, correlative to the idea shown by the termina-tion -or, -er applied to the root of a word to signify the active agent, e.g.: advisor, advisee, nominator, nominee, etc.: d) this digraph again in a group of English words borrowed from various other foreign languages, either directly or through the intermediary of another carrier language, where the English -ee has only a phonetic value, imitative of the corresponding sound of the original word in those cases where an attempt has been made to

represent the exotic sound of the original language. This is what happens in the words borrowed by the English from the Chinese, the Hindus and other peoples in the course of their prolonged contacts with the Asian countries, as well as in many other loans.

It is of interest to see the article that Webster devotes to this ending:
I) -ee   1)   animate and usu. undergoer, recipient or beneficiary of a specific action: appointee, draftee, grantee, trainee, trustee;   2) a person furnished with a specified thing: patentee;   3) a person that performs a specified action: escapee, standee.

II) -ee: n. suffix (probable alter. of y, ie).   1) one associated with: bargee, goalee, townee;   2) a particular esp. small kind of: bootee, coatee;   3) one resembling or suggestive of: goatee.

The 1965 Funk and Wagnall's further defines the value of the suffix:

-ee: 1) suffix of nouns. A person who undergoes the action or receives the benefit of the main element: payee; often used in legal terms and opposed to -er, -or, as in grantor, grantee.   2) A person who is described by the main element: absentee (fr. OF. -e, fr. L. pp. -atus).

Among the English words ending in -ee the most venerable are those which entered the English vocabulary in the Norman era and they are all judicial terms. French existed in England for three centuries alongside English, and it was natural that the laws of that distant epoch were rendered into the language of the conquerors. There were couples of correlative words in Old French, e.g., apelour-apelé, written in Anglo-Norman appellor-appellee. The suffix -our, -or was applied to a noun whose idea had an active meaning; the suffix -ee, to that noun having the passive meaning. Among these legal terms we notice how many of them deviate from present-day French expression, e.g.: donor (donateur), donee (celui qui reçoit un don); bailor (déposant, prêteur), bailee (dépositaire de biens); mortgager or mortgagor (débiteur hypothécaire), mortgagee (créancier hypothécaire); elector (électeur, votant), electee (élu); promisor (engagé par une promesse), promisee (détenteur d'une promesse).

Jespersen points out that, analogously to the agent nouns in -or, English forged numerous legal terms with the suffix -ee, derived not only

from French verbs, as in bailee, mortgagee, lessee, sublessee, appellee, donee, referee, assignee, presentee, feoffee, electee, nominee, depositee, promisee, donatee, payee, pledgee, allottee, abandonee; but he also points out verbs of English origin that have also taken this termination: trustee, draftee and others. These last are truly hybrids, barbarisms. In the world of administration and justice in England, the creation of words of this kind has proliferated in an exaggerated manner, especially in modern times.

It is appropriate to cite the opinion of Sir Ernest Gowers in his book Plain Words: Their ABC.

"Yet another favourite device for making new words is the suffix -ee. This is an erratic suffix, not conforming wholly to any rule. But in its main type, it serves to denote the object of the verb, generally the indirect object, as in assignee, referee and trustee, but sometimes the direct object, as in examinee, trainee and evacuee. It therefore makes for confusion of language if the suffix is used to form a word meaning the subject of the verb. Escapee is worse than useless; we already have escaper. When unskilled labour is used to "dilute" skilled labour, the unskilled ought to be called not dilutees, as they are officially termed, but dilutors. The skilled are the dilutees.

Apart from misuse such as this, we are getting too many -ee words; they are springing up like weeds. Their purpose seems to be the same as that of many of our new verbs; to enable us to use one word instead of several. But we have got on very well for quite a long time without such words as expellee, persecutee and amputee."

I have compiled a list of English words belonging to the language of jurisprudence; it includes about fifty words. Only a few of these correspond to terms of Anglo-Norman or Old French and are therefore of authentic Latin origin. The others are coinages composed of an English noun or verb to which is added the ending which suggests the idea of a passive subject as opposed to the idea of the active subject, indicated by the ending -or; thus, absentee is formed from absent-plus-ee; legatee, from to legate-plus-ee; trainee, from to train-plus-ee.

Let us now look at the Anglo-Saxon words which do not have the suffix -ee (since this comes from French and Latin) but which simply happen to end in double-e.

The digraph -ee, duplication of the sound e, is a sound found in many languages which use the Roman alphabet. It can be medial or final and, more rarely, initial, and it symbolizes in spelling the long "e". Writing attempts to represent the pronunciation of a people at a certain time, whereas the spoken language is the result of phonetic changes occurring in the course of centuries.

The digraphs ee, oo, aa have disappeared in the modern spelling but are conserved in many cases. In Old Spanish, until Cervantes, we observe, for example, vee (he sees) from veer, L. vedere (to see); fee (faith) from L. fide; the modern Spanish equivalents are el ve, fe.

In Old French this digraph existed in common nouns and in adjectives of the feminine gender. Thousands of examples of this are found in Godefroy. All of these words, I repeat, are feminine. In some rare cases, masculines ended in ee: un rée (accused, guilty) née (born), engendrée (engendered).

More than 40 words of Anglo-saxon origin display this digraph final-ee. There are hundreds more with this digraph in the medial position. With the digraph in the initial position, only eel and its compounds and errie form derivatives.

Among these 40 words we find verbs (to see, to flee, to free), nouns (bee, fee, glee, knee, tree), adjectives (free, three), a pronoun (thee), and interjections (prithee, whooppee).

The phonetic changes of the language since Old English up until Modern English help us to understand the present spelling and pronunciation of the words. This has nothing to do with the suffix -ee of French origin.

We can appreciate a perfect regularity in the evolution of many Anglo-Saxon words when we compare their present forms to those of Old English: to see, OE. seon; to free, OE. freo; to flee, OE. fleon; bee, OE. beo; glee, OE. gleo; knee, OE. cneow; tree, OE. treow.

In Middle English the digraph ee represented the phoneme long e (e:). I believe the important fact to remember is the vocalic mutation in English pronunciation, more or less since the beginning of the Fifteenth Century, after the death of Chaucer, and which constitutes one of the characteristics of the new period of Modern English. This is the "Great vowel shift" of

which Thomas Pyle speaks in his book The Origins and Development of the English Language (p. 170). The pronunciation of the vowels a, e, i in Middle English resembled that of the corresponding Latin vowels. The spelling did not change, the printers of the Fifteenth Century conserved, without change, the spelling used in the Medieval manuscripts; but this spelling no longer corresponded to the new sounds; pronunciation underwent transformations while the written language remained immobilized and static. Then the vowel e (pronounced closed e or open e) took the value i; and the digraph ee has this sound lengthened (i:).

I would again like to call attention to the fact that the digraph ee in Modern French (written with the acute accent above the first e) indicates the feminine of the noun, adjective or participle; whereas in English it has no value distinctive of gender. Meillet teaches us that grammatical gender is one of the least logical of grammatical categories and speaking of English, he adds that "English has profited by the total destruction of the word-ending in which the mark of the gender appeared in order to point out a useless distinction" (Ling. Hist et Ling. Gén. pp. 202-204). "The only debris which it has saved is the use of the pronoun he in speaking of men, she in speaking of women, and it in speaking of animals and things; this constant difference, concerning the pronoun, no longer has any of the old inconveniences of gender, and English has achieved on this point a decisive progress."

The spelling ee (double-e) in many past participles found in Anglo-French texts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (of which we have cited two examples: née and engendrée) were retained in the orthography of Modern English, a curious fact which corroborates the remarks of Meillet. It seems odd to us today to see French words such as refugee, advisee, parolee, applied indifferently to individuals of both masculine and feminine sex.

Let us return to the English words in double-e borrowed from the French at different periods and which are of Latin etymology. There are a) words whose forms are alike in English and French: enrollee, congee, employee, levee, decree, degree, etc.; b) words which vary in their evolution and whose exact correspondents do not exist in French, e.g.: nominee (nommé), formed from the verb to nominate, the correlative is nominator; promisee, correlative of promissor or promisser; c) those words which have undergone other changes, e.g.: shivaree (charivari), pedigree (OF. pied de

grue), marquee (F. marquise), filigree (F. filigrane); d) loan words which preserve the French orthography with or without the acute accent above the first e of the digraph and are pronounced "à la française" with the sound ei, for example: neé or nee, fiancée, soiree or soirée, protégée, entrée or entree, mêlée or melee.

There are words created in France which have crossed the English Channel and have returned to France as anglicisms, such as pedigree and comité.

Let's examine the word committee which on first appearance seems to be a gallicism. Bloch and Wartburg's Etymological Dictionary teaches us that the word comité was used for the first time in France by duGard in 1650 and written committée, since it was borrowed from English. This word is derived from the verb to commit, from the Latin committere. Godefroy cites the Old French comité or commité which had the meaning of "company". Samuel Johnson in his Dictionary gives only this indication: "committee (from commit)". Ernest Weekly's Etymological Dictionary adds that the Old French pp. commite was replaced by commis, pp. of the verb commettre. The word, in the modern sense, then, is English formed by commit and ee and received the collective meaning around 1600. Under the influence of England, a liberal country, the French Revolution naturalized the word in place of commission. Several comités were created: le Comité du Salut Public, le Comité de la Sûreté Générale among others. Another authority, Charles Talbut Onion, editor of the Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, points out that this word is formed from "committ-plus-ee after legal terms such as feoffee. Hence French comité."

I have re-examined the dictionary to take note of all the words ending in ee. There are: eight letters of the alphabet (B,C,D,E,G,P,T,V,Z) (in the United Kingdom and in Canada zee is pronounced "zed"); some words used in Scotland; hypocoristic terms (such as bootee, goatee); "coined" words, abbreviations (Jaycee for Junior Chamber of Commerce, emcee for master of ceremonies, Kaycee for Kansas City, and Seabee, the alteration of Cee Bee, Construction Battalions), the blendings or fusions (camporee, Jeep: alteration of gee pee, i.e. general purpose), and words of unknown or uncertain origin such as Yanquee or Yankee.

I have grouped sporting terms, nautical terms, terms of jurisprudence; those which belong to the language of administration, finance, commerce,

the military; the terms of medicine, geology, astronomy, heraldry, gastronomy, theatre and poetry.

I have also grouped the words according to their etymological origins: Celtic (banshee, spree), Greek (apogee, perigee, trochee, spondee), Scandinavian (scree), Dutch (snickersnee), Arabian (coffee), Turkish (elchee), Spanish (grandee, manatee), Hebrew (galilee, etc.), Chinese (lychee, pongee and others) and Hindi (dungaree, saree, jamboree, and others), and finally North American Indian words (common noun: tepee, names of tribes, cities, lakes, waterways: Cree, Cherokee, Shawnee, Tennessee, Milwaulkee, Tallahassee, Tuskegee, etc.)

I have attempted to interpret the orthography and the phonetics of the digraph ee in English words. This final sound has four characteristics: 1) it is generally an i; 2) it is generally long; 3) it is generally stressed; 4) its intonation varies. If the final i has the primary accent, it is longer and is pronounced on a higher note. (e.g., grantee, trustee, evacuee, escapee, advisee, referee, refugee). If the word is paroxytone (e.g., committee) the final i is not accented, is shorter, and is pronounced on a lower note; other examples are coffee, coulee.

In words of French origin there is vacillation of the value of the digraph: the same word is pronounced two ways: i or ei, for example melee (meilei or meili).

The English tonal accent has undergone a shift through time not only in the indigenous vocabulary, but also in the loan-words. Thus, the word character, proparoxytone today, was paroxytone at the time of Shakespeare, while in French it is oxytone, since the French tonal accent is placed on the last pronounced syllable, whether at the end of the word, or whether at the end of the semantic or rhythmic group.

One could make a special study of the English pronunciation according to the sounds of constitutive vowels and according to the primary and secondary accents. Certain words are always pronounced the same; others are pronounced in two, three, four, or five different ways.

But we must end this discussion. I have no time to discuss the proper nouns, first names and family names ending in double e, but I cannot resist simply alluding to the words created by backformation, for example, chinee,

portuguee, and to the numerous nounce -words (hapax legomena) created
by many English writers.

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ODE ON A FESTIVE OCCASION
Valerie Carnes, University of North Dakota.

On that Most Synod of Rebel Angels, variously called the Linguistic
Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota.

Of that Sciential Sap, that sometimes flows
From th' Fallacious Fruits of Academe,
Sing, Heav'n'ly Muse, from Manitoba's height
(Or if Dakota's plains delight thee more)
Sing still, things unattempt'd yet in prose or rhyme,
That to th' height of this great Argument
I may assert Canadian providence,
And Justify Linguistics' ways to men.

Our leader, Caldwell hight, so lately sprung
Of Grand Forks. Him th' Almighty hurl'd
Precipitously to th' dreadful task
Of shepherding that horrid rebel crew.
Aided by Berry, Morgan, and by Jones
He wielded th' satanic Sceptre new.
Glendinning first to that Bad eminence
Ascends to speak of Grettirsagas old
Novellas, knaves accosting that Proud Fair
Best quitted with disdain. Next Carnes
(a fairer lost not Heav'n) reason'd long
Of language, culture, Ben Whorf and Sapir
Fixt fate, Free Will, in wand'ring mazes lost.
Next Marg'ret Stobie, fairest of all fair
Defects of Nature, in measur'd tones and sweet

Discours'd of Bungi, blessing dubious
Of dialectical speech. And now drew on
Th' happy Hour, that spiritous Time, when turn'd
One-third th' rebel host to Commons Room.
Th' table heap'd with Fruits, they took thir fill,
Then clim'd once more to high Parnassus Hill.
Wilson thir comic Demon, utt'ring speech
Delightful to th' ear of mortal men.
So glitt'ring was the web of words he wove
That Swinburne nodd'd not, nor did they sleep.
Nor did they aft'wards, for when th' hour was late
To Berry's house they hast'nd, to imbibe
A less sciential, if more potent, Sap.
(Since little lives are rounded by a sleep)
They turn'd Motelwards for thir Nightly Nap.
They slept. But then repair'd to topics sweet,
Analysis of slow bathetic dips
From ancient heights of speech. With Bessasson's
Kind shepherding, they graz'd th' northern fields
Of loan and shift, contamination, golf
On golf of usage laid to wond'ring view.
Then on more southern wind, to tow'ring heights
They flew, to soar, to swoop, to dive into
Th' divatigious mazes much perplex'd
Of English diagraph ee -- a Torrèd task.
Our revels now are ended. Home we turn.
Th' world lies all before, wherein to roam
And justify Linguistics' ways to men.
Thus mortal guest to mortal host extends
Immortal thanks. With wand'ring steps and slow
From Ed'n we take our solitary way.

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