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SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS ON AIN'T

Jenny Cheshire
Department of Linguistic Science
University of Reading

This paper analyses variation in the occurrence of the grammatical variable ain't, using empirical data from a long-term study of the speech of three working-class adolescent peer-groups in the town of Reading. It describes the syntactic and semantic functions that ain't fulfils in the speech of the peer-groups, and shows how these may be linked to the vernacular sub-culture to which the groups belong. It also considers the etymology of ain't, and the linguistic changes which the feature has undergone and which may still be in progress.

Ain't in nonstandard Reading English

Ain't is a widespread feature of nonstandard English dialects, both in Great Britain and in the USA. The nonstandard form corresponds to several standard English verb forms. (Note 1) It occurs as the negative present tense contracted form of be, both as the copula:

(1) We've got a park near us, but there ain't nothing over there.

and as the auxiliary:

(2) How come that ain't working?

It is also used as the negative present tense contracted form of auxiliary have:

(3) I ain't got one single flea in my hair, they're all married.

It does not occur as the full verb have (which, of course, is usually replaced in colloquial speech by have + got). In some American Black English dialects it is also used as a past tense auxiliary, where standard English has didn't:

(4) I ain't see the fight, and I ain't hear the fight (from Labov et al, 1968).

Whereas the standard English negative contracted forms are marked for person and number, ain't is not. Thus the one nonstandard form has five standard English equivalents: haven't, hasn't, (a)m not, aren't and isn't.

Derivation of ain't

Two alternative explanations have been given for the existence of the form ain't. Ain't may have developed from one of the standard English contracted verb forms by regular sound change, and may subsequently have been extended, by analogy, to other environments. Alternatively, ain't may have developed independently from each of the standard English verb forms.

Stevens (1954) takes the former view, and shows how ain't could have developed from am not, or from haven't. Standard English am not may have been syncopated into amn't (as it has been, for example, in some Scottish English dialects), and then, by assimilation of the first nasal, to ann't. Next, simplification of the long consonant may have been accompanied by a lengthening of the vowel to Early Modern [æ:], from which the [e] diphthong developed. McDavid (1941) also suggests that e nt developed regularly, in some dialects, from a vowel approximating to[æ]. He suggests further that in other dialects the [æ] vowel developed to [ɑ:nt], which accounts for the occurrence of the form aren't with first person singular subjects in interrogative sentences in British English and in some American English dialects.

Haven't may have developed into ain't as a result of a lengthening of the vowel (as in behave) and the loss of the fricative. We know from eighteenth century literature that the fricative was omitted in some contracted forms (isn't, wasn't and doesn't, for example) and in poetic forms (e'er, se'en). The initial aspirate would have been lost quite regularly in unstressed occurrences. Stevens (1954) favours this derivation, on the grounds that only regular phonetic processes are involved, and there are no 'phonological uncertainties'. Extension of the nonstandard form throughout the paradigm and to contracted forms of be may have taken place by analogy with the other negative present tense contracted forms (for example, can't, shan't, won't). There is no reason, of course, why both am not and haven't should not have each developed into ain't.

Jesperson (1940) shows how ain't could have derived independently from each of the standard English forms. Many of the irregular verb forms had two pronunciations, of which one predominated in positive sentences, and one in negative sentences. This meant that the contracted negative forms were clearly distinguished from the positive forms, and there was no confusion of meaning (cf. British English can, can't, [k æn], [kɑ:nt]). The verb have may, then, have had two forms, with long and short vowels. The form with the short vowel predominated in positive sentences, as [h æz] or [h æv]; and the form with the long vowel and the suffix -nt predominated in negative sentences. The fricative was dropped (this is attested in eighteenth century literature in isn't, wasn't, doesn't, as well as in hasn't and haven't), and the long vowel was diphthongized to give the form [hernt] and later, as the initial aspirate was dropped, [eɪnt].

Similarly, the lengthening of the vowel in am not, together with assimilation of the first nasal, gives the form [ɑ:nt], which

could have diphthongized to [eɪnt]. And the loss of the v in aren't again produces [ɑ:nt].

Finally, the derivation of ain't from isn't is explained by the loss of the fricative, the lowering and lengthening of the 'unstable' vowel (as in don't, can't), and its subsequent diphthongization. Stevens (1954), however, finds this etymology less plausible than the others. It is, of course, possible that after the loss of the fricative the form [ɪnt] became [eɪnt] simply by analogy with the other forms.

In some dialects the form [ɪnt] occurs as a phonetic variant of [eɪnt]. It would seem reasonable to assume that the [ɪnt] variant is a survival of an earlier form, and to expect it, therefore, to occur with third person singular forms of the verb be (i.e. to correspond to standard English isn't). In Reading English, however, the form [ɪnt] has a specific syntactic function. This will become clear in the analysis that follows.

Ain't as a sociolinguistic variable in Reading English

The analysis of ain't in working-class Reading English is based on the occurrence of the form in the informal, vernacular speech of three adolescent peer-groups. Members of the peer-groups were recorded over an eight-month period in naturally-occurring groups in the adventure playgrounds that they used as meeting places. Care was taken to ensure that the recordings were natural, spontaneous and relaxed (Cheshire, 1979). In addition, recordings of a more formal speech style were obtained for some speakers by asking teachers to record members of the peer-groups at school, in the presence of the teacher. Thirteen boys and twelve girls were recorded at the playgrounds, ranging in age from 9 to 17 (most were aged between 11 and 15). A total of 331 occurrences of ain't in the speech of the groups was analysed, out of a potential number of occurrences of the form of 439.

Table 1 shows the frequency of occurrence of nonstandard ain't in the vernacular speech of the three groups of speakers. The nonstandard form occurs with a high frequency, and its distribution shows regular patterning with both linguistic and non-linguistic context: all groups use ain't most frequently as auxiliary have, and least frequently as auxiliary be, and the girls use ain't less often than the boys, in all cases.

Ain't does not, however, show regular patterning with stylistic context. Table 2 shows the frequency indices for ain't as the negative auxiliary have and as the negative copula, in the vernacular style and the 'school' style of seven of the boys. (The frequency of occurrence of the negative auxiliary be in 'school' style was too low to be included here.)

Table 1: Frequency indices for ain't

Group	ain't = aux. have + not	ain't = full verb be + not	ain't = aux. be + not
Orts Road boys	91.18	84.16	79.07
Shinfield boys	100.00	94.74	63.16
Shinfield girls	65.58	61.18	42.11

Table 2: Frequency indices for ain't in vernacular style and in 'school' style

	Group frequency index: vernacular style	Group frequency index: 'school' style
ain't = neg. aux. have	93.02	100.00
ain't = neg. copula	74.47	77.78

The Table gives a clear indication of the lack of style shifting: in both cases the use of ain't actually increases in the more formal style.

Linguistic constraints on ain't

Wolfram (1973) found that the occurrence of ain't in the non-standard English of Puerto Ricans in New York City was constrained by the effect of multiple negation within the sentence, and by the standard English form to which ain't corresponded in the sentence: ain't occurred more often when it corresponded to standard English are + not and is + not than when it corresponded to am + not. Neither of these constraints, however, have a significant effect on the use of ain't in vernacular speech in Reading. Of far more significance in Reading English is the syntactic context in which ain't occurs.

In the recordings, ain't occurs in declarative sentences, in interrogative sentences, and in tag questions:

(5) I ain't in the bloody guest-house now.

(6) Oh, ain't you going?

(7) I'm going out with my bird now, ain't I?

Interrogative sentences occurred only 11 times in the data, and could not, therefore, be included in the analysis.

Table 3 shows the frequency of occurrence of ain't in declarative sentences and in tag questions. Bracketed figures indicate that the number of occurrences from which the index was calculated is low, so that in these instances the indices are not statistically significant. Despite gaps caused by low numbers, it is clear from Table 3 that the occurrence of ain't is consistently higher in tag questions than it is in declarative sentences. This is particularly evident in the speech of the girls. Tag questions, then, act as a strong constraint here, favouring the use of the nonstandard form.

Table 3: Frequency of occurrence of ain't in declarative sentences and in tag questions

	Declarative sentences	Tag questions
Aux. have		
Orts Road	88.68	100.00
Shinfield boys	100.00	(100.00)
Shinfield girls	62.50	80.00
Total	78.57	95.00
Main verb be		
Orts Road	68.00	100.00
Shinfield boys	92.31	100.00
Shinfield girls	44.44	89.66
Total	59.83	96.30
Aux. be		
Orts Road	76.67	100.00
Shinfield boys	60.00	(75.00)
Shinfield girls	31.25	(66.67)
Total	60.66	88.89

Phonetic realisations of ain't

The discussion so far has used the general term ain't to refer to all the nonstandard realisations of the negative present tense contracted forms of the copula and of the auxiliaries be and have. In reality, however, the nonstandard form has a

range of phonetic realisations, which fall into two groups: those that can be said to approximate to ain't, including [eɪnt], [eɪn], [eɪ?], [ẽɪ], [ẽɪ?], [æn]; and those that can be said to approximate to in't, including [ɪnt], [ɪn], [ɪ̃]. In addition there were 3 occurrences in the data of the form [ænt], and 3 of the form [æn], all in tag questions. Two of these occur as negative auxiliary be, and 4 as the negative copula, and all persons of the verb are involved, with the exception of the first person singular. However, these [ənt] forms are too low in number to allow further analysis.

If we take the traditional view that ain't derives from the standard English forms, then it would be reasonable to expect that a realisation as [ɪnt] would occur with third person singular subjects of the copula, or of auxiliary be - in other words, that nonstandard in't would correspond to standard English isn't, and nonstandard ain't to standard English (a)m not, aren't, hasn't and haven't.

Table 4 shows the distribution of in't (i.e. of those phonetic realisations that contain the vowel [ɪ]) with third person singular subjects and with non-third person singular subjects, for all

Table 4: Frequency index of in't =

$$\left(\frac{\text{no. of in't forms}}{\text{no. of in't + no. of ain't forms}} \times 100\right)$$

	Auxiliary have		Main verb be		Auxiliary be	
	3s	other subjects	3s	other subjects	3s	other subjects
Orts Road	24.00	8.33	63.24	41.67	50.00	15.38
Shinfield boys	(0.00)	(0.00)	33.33	0.00	(66.67)	0.00
Shinfield girls	0.00	0.00	61.54	10.00	(50.00)	(25.00)
Total	16.22	5.17	60.34	19.35	53.85	12.82

verbs. The indices for the Shinfield boys group show the distribution that would be expected if nonstandard in't corresponds to standard isn't: in't does not occur as the negative auxiliary have, nor does it occur with non-third person singular subjects of the negative copula and of negative auxiliary be. However, this group of speakers is small, consisting of only 3 boys. The other, larger, groups do not confine their use of ain't to this environment: the Shinfield girls use in't for the negative copula and for negative auxiliary be with subjects that are not third person singular, and the Orts Road boys not only use in't with non-third person singular subjects of the copula and auxiliary be, but also as auxiliary have, with all subjects.

In Reading English, then, the nonstandard forms ain't and in't do not correspond exactly to their supposed standard English equivalents. That this is so becomes still clearer when we consider the phonetic realisations of ain't in the syntactic contexts in which it occurs most often.

Table 5 and Table 6 show the frequency indices for the main phonetic realisations of the nonstandard form in declarative sentences and in tag questions. Table 5 shows the frequency indices with third person singular subjects, and Table 6 shows the frequency indices with non-third person singular subjects. In both Tables the figures represent the total use of each form by all speakers in the study. (A full version of the Tables, showing the breakdown for each of the three peer-groups, can be seen in Appendix 1: the group figures show the same distribution of forms, except that the Shinfield girls use the standard English contracted form more often than ain't or in't, with third person singular subjects.)

Table 5 shows that although in't forms do occur more often with third person singular subjects and the verb be, as we would expect if in't corresponds to standard English isn't, these occurrences of in't are almost entirely in tag questions. In declarative sentences the form ain't predominates, for all verbs, and in't occurs only rarely (as the copula and as auxiliary be, and never as auxiliary have). In tag questions, the distribution is reversed: in't predominates here, for all verbs, and ain't occurs much less often as auxiliary have, and rarely or never as auxiliary be or as the copula.

Table 5: Percentage use of ain't, in't and standard forms, with third singular subjects

3rd Singular Subjects	Declarative Sentences			Tag Questions		
	ain't	in't	hasn't	ain't	in't	hasn't
aux. have	82.35	0.00	17.65	33.33	66.67	0.00
	ain't	in't	isn't	ain't	in't	isn't
main verb be	54.32	6.17	39.51	2.86	92.86	4.28
aux. be	50.00	8.33	41.67	0.00	85.71	14.29

Table 6 shows that these tendencies persist when the subject is non-third person singular. If the nonstandard forms corresponded to the standard English forms, then in't would not be expected to occur at all in this Table. In fact, however, in't is again the predominant form here in tag questions when the verb is auxiliary be or the copula, and it also occurs in tag questions as auxiliary have. In declarative sentences, ain't is the only nonstandard form that is used, for all verbs.

Table 6: Percentage use of in't, ain't and standard forms with non third singular subjects

Non 3rd Singular Subjects	Declarative Sentences			Tag Questions		
	ain't	in't	haven't	ain't	in't	haven't
aux. have	76.56	0.00	23.44	72.73	27.27	0.00
	ain't	in't	aren't	ain't	in't	aren't
main verb be	58.33	0.00	41.67	40.00	60.00	0.00
aux. be	61.22	0.00	38.78	44.44	55.56	0.00

It is clear, then, that the nonstandard forms in't and ain't do stand in a simple relationship here to the standard English forms isn't and aren't. That they are influenced to some extent by the standard English verb forms is suggested by the fact that in't forms occur with the verb have less frequently than with auxiliary be or the copula. But the main constraint on the nonstandard variants is the syntactic context in which they occur: ain't is the predominant form in declarative sentences, with all subjects and with all verbs, and in't is the predominant form in tag questions, in all cases except one: with non-third person singular subjects of auxiliary have the predominant form is ain't.

The tendency to use in't as an invariant form in tag questions is not confined to Reading English. Brown and Millar (1978) report that in Edinburgh Scots speech in't also occurs with all subjects of the verb be. An invariant past tense form, win't also occurs, with all subjects. (Note 2)

Standard English forms

Although the standard English forms are not of central interest here, it is worth noting the forms that are preferred in vernacular speech. In colloquial standard English, contracted negatives are abbreviated in one of two ways. The verb may be assimilated to the preceding subject:

(8) You're not making room for me,

or the particle may be reduced and assimilated to the preceding verb:

(9) You aren't a virgin.

In the data, the former, uncontracted negative form predominates when the verb is auxiliary be, or the copula. It occurs 100 per cent of the time with auxiliary be, and 74 per cent of the time with the copula. With the exception of isn't, however, and one isolated occurrence of haven't, the standard English forms

occur only in declarative sentences. Possibly the use of the full negative particle here emphasises the negation of the verb. With auxiliary have, however, the general tendency of Southern English dialects to prefer the contracted negative form is followed:

(10) No, you've had one. I haven't even had one, so shut up.

The semantic functions of tag questions

It is instructive at this point to look at the semantic properties of the tag questions that are used by the speakers. The syntactic and semantic structure of tag questions has been discussed in some detail (see, for example, Arbini, 1969; Palmer, 1965; Huddleston, 1970; Quirk et al, 1972; Cattell, 1973; Millar and Brown, 1979). For our purposes the most relevant analysis is that given by Hudson (1975). This will be described in some detail here in order to show how it applies to the data from the speech of the peer-groups.

Hudson shows that the 'illocutionary meaning' of an utterance is related to the syntactic properties of the sentence via an intermediary set of semantic properties that are concerned with the situation of the speaker and the listener, and with their beliefs regarding the 'truth' of the proposition expressed in the sentence. He points out, for example, that sentences (11) and (12) below have different syntactic properties, but can both have the 'illocutionary force' (in the sense used by Austin, 1962) of warning in certain circumstances:

(11) That kind of lock isn't safe.

(12) Is that kind of lock safe?

Sentence (11) will serve as a warning only if the hearer is in danger from the lock, and not if said, for example, by A to B whilst they are looking at a catalogue of locks. For sentence (12) to serve as a warning, not only must the hearer be in danger from the lock, but he must also believe that the lock is dangerous. It would be inappropriate for A to use sentence (12) to B if B knew nothing about locks, and if A knew that B knew nothing, although sentence (11) would be perfectly appropriate in these circumstances.

Conversely, sentence (13) can be used both as a challenge and as a kind of apology, depending on the circumstances in which it is uttered:

(13) This is your seat, is it? (from Hudson, 1975)

In this case the syntactic properties of the sentence are identical in both cases, but the beliefs of the speaker concerning the relationship of the hearer to himself (and of the hearer to the seat!) are different.

Hudson draws a distinction, then, between the 'illocutionary force' of a sentence, which may vary on the different occasions

on which it is uttered, and the 'permanent' properties of the sentence that are relevant to the syntactic distinctions of mood (for example, declarative, interrogative, imperative) and that apply at the level of semantic structure. These 'permanent properties' of sentences can be specified in terms of 'sincerity conditions'. Declarative sentences, for example, are subject to the sincerity condition below:

> 'The speaker believes that the proposition is true.'

and interrogative sentences are subject to the sincerity condition:

> 'The speaker believes that the hearer knows at least as well as he himself does whether the proposition is true or false.'

Hudson's discussion of the meaning of questions, then, involves the following separate categories: syntactic categories (e.g. interrogative, declarative), semantic categories (e.g. question, statement), and sincerity conditions on the semantic categories. The total meaning of the question, of course, also involves general pragmatic principles (e.g. rules of conversation) and illocutionary force ('whatever conclusions the hearer may draw from a particular utterance on a particular occasion').

Sentences that contain tag questions are subject both to the sincerity condition on declarative sentences and to the sincerity condition on interrogative sentences, since they contain both a statement (in the main sentence) and a question (in the tag). The majority of the tag questions used by the peer-groups do conform to both these sincerity conditions. Tag questions are mostly used to seek confirmation of an offered fact:

(14) He lives here, doesn't he?

to seek corroboration of a statement:

(15) My brother carried him all the way down the hospital, didn't he?

and to seek support for an opinion:

(16) Well, it is rude, isn't it?

The function of these tag questions corresponds to what is generally considered to be the central function of tags: to seek confirmation or corroboration for the hopes or suppositions expressed in the sentence to which they are attached (cf. Stockwell, Schachter and Partee, 1973). As noted above, the sincerity conditions on both declarative sentences and on interrogative sentences are fulfilled in these tags: the speaker believes that the statement in the main sentence is true, and he believes that the hearer knows 'at least as well as he does' whether it is true or false. In addition, he expects the hearer to confirm the proposition of the main sentence: the tag question is positively conducive.

As Hudson points out, tag questions of this type are always conducive (i.e. they require an answer, and they favour a particular answer, yes or no, over another). There are a number of tag questions in our data, however, that do not require an answer, and that, furthermore, do not conform to the sincerity conditions on interrogative sentences. The interchange below provides one example:

Mick: Any intruder that comes down here, they gets beat.
Jenny: Why didn't you beat me, then?
Mick: 'Cos you're a girl, in't you?

Here the proposition in Mick's main sentence is obviously true, and the function of the tag is not to ask for confirmation, but rather to show that the question Mick had been asked was in his opinion a foolish one. The tag carries overtones of sarcasm and of slight hostility. No answer is required here, then. The sincerity condition on interrogative sentences does not apply: the speaker is fully committed to the truth of the proposition, and he assumes, in addition, that the hearer also knows that the proposition is true.

A further example is Cathy's tag in the conversational fragment below:

Jacky: We're going to Southsea on the 17th of next month. And on Sunday they -
Cathy: Yeah, and I can't bloody go.
Jenny: Why not?
Cathy: 'Cos I'm going on fucking holiday, in I?

Again, no answer is expected, and it would in any case have been impossible to provide one, since I had no way of knowing when Cathy was going on holiday, and she knew that I did not know. The sincerity condition on interrogative sentences cannot apply here: the speaker believes that the proposition in the main sentence is true, but she does not believe that the hearer knows whether it is true or false.

Tag questions of this kind occur regularly in working-class speech. They occur in Reading, as we have seen, and they have been noted in Edinburgh (see Millar and Brown, 1979) and in London (see Hudson, 1975). Hudson suggests that it is because the sincerity conditions are not fulfilled that tags of this type strike outsiders as odd. Millar and Brown suggest, further, that the aggressive and hostile overtones that these tags possess result from the fact that they 'play on the conventional meaning' associated with tag questions that have the same syntactic structure: they 'mimic the presentation of an analytic truth, such that the hearer is made to feel that he really should have known either by intuition, perception or deduction that the proposition was true'.

A further type of tag question whose occurrence is not confined to working-class speech occurs in our data, where, again no answer is required from the hearer:

(17) You're a fucking hard nut, in't you?

This tag question was used provocatively, with the intention of starting a fight. Although no verbal answer was expected, a physical response may well have been: in this case, the hearer immediately jumped on the speaker and threw him to the ground. It is difficult to establish here whether the sincerity conditions are fulfilled or not; the speaker may not really believe that his friend is a 'hard nut', but may believe it only temporarily, or may be pretending to believe it in order to start a fight, and his assumptions about the hearer's beliefs are equally unclear.

Broadly speaking, then, the tag questions that are used by the speakers fall into two groups: a larger group, where tags have the 'regular' function of requiring confirmation or corroboration, and where Hudson's sincerity conditions are fulfilled, and a smaller group, consisting of tags that do not require an answer and that do not fulfill Hudson's sincerity conditions. (Note 3)

These groups turn out to be extremely relevant to our analysis of the phonetic realisations of ain't. Table 7 shows the number of times that ain't, in't and the standard English verb forms occur in the vernacular style of all speakers in the two groups of tags. Group 1 consists of those 'standard' tags that require an answer and that fulfil the sincerity conditions, and group 2 consists of what may be termed 'nonstandard' tags: tags that do not require an answer and that do not fulfil the sincerity conditions. The Table shows clearly that whereas in't occurs in

Table 7: Number of occurrences of in't, ain't and standard English forms in 'standard' tags and in 'nonstandard' tags

Verb form	in't		ain't		standard English form	
Tag type	1	2	1	2	1	2
Non-3s subjects						
copula	5	1	1	0	0	0
aux. be	1	4	4	0	0	0
aux. have	1	2	7	0	1	0
Total	7	7	12	0	1	0
3s subjects						
copula	59	5	2	0	3	0
aux. be	3	3	0	0	1	0
aux. have	6	0	3	0	0	0
Total	68	8	5	0	4	0
Combined total (all subjects)	75	15	17	0	5	0

both 'standard' and 'nonstandard' tags, ain't and the standard English contracted verb forms occur only in 'standard' tags. The use of in't, in other words, is categorical in 'non-standard' tags, but is variable in 'standard' tags.

There is an interesting link here between the categorical use of in't in 'nonstandard' tags and the vernacular culture in which the speakers participate. Nonstandard tags, as we have seen, have certain semantic properties in common: they are non-conducive, and they do not conform to Hudson's sincerity conditions. In addition, they all convey overtones of aggression, assertion or hostility to the hearer.

Almost all the members of the peer-groups were involved in a street corner vernacular culture, which is in many respects directly opposed to the mainstream culture in society. Dominant themes within the culture are aggression, violence and hostility: these can be seen, for example, as underlying features of the shoplifting, fighting, arson and vandalism which the peer-groups enjoy. Prestige within the peer-group is achieved through success in these activities, by carrying weapons and by generally 'acting tough'.

The extent to which speakers participate in the vernacular culture is reflected in their language by the frequency with which they use certain nonstandard linguistic features. (Cheshire, 1979). Interestingly, ain't is one feature whose frequency of occurrence is not directly correlated with the degree to which speakers adhere to the vernacular culture. It seems, though, that there is a more indirect link between ain't and the vernacular culture: when the feature occurs in a 'non-standard' tag, carrying overtones of aggression or hostility, then the form in't is categorical; when it occurs elsewhere, then any of the variable forms may occur. We can say, then, that when tag questions overtly specify the dominant themes of the vernacular culture, in't is used as an invariant verb form.

This kind of phenomenon is not unknown in language. In his discussion of negative concord in the Black English Vernacular, Labov (1972) gives an example of a cultural feature, book learning, coinciding with the use of nonstandard grammar. And Hudson (1975) argues that the n't that occurs in exclamations of the kind

(19) Hasn't he gone a long way?

is not a reflex of the deep formative NEG, as it is in questions such as

(20) Hasn't he finished yet?

(though it presumably was at one stage of English), but is instead a marker of 'exclamation', related to the negative form n't only at the level of morphology. Hudson points to other 'syntactic splits' that have occurred in English: the split between use and the modal auxiliary used, for example, or the split between owe and ought (which at one time was the past

tense form of owe). It could be argued, similarly, that the in't that occurs as an invariant form in 'nonstandard' tag questions is not related to the third person singular present tense form in't other than historically, and that it is now, instead, a marker of the vernacular themes of aggression and hostility (a 'force marker': cf. Hudson, 1975). (Note 4)

Ongoing linguistic change in the form of ain't

As we have seen, the phonetic variants of ain't are best explained as the result of the combined effects of linguistic change and morphological analogy. Our data suggests that these processes are still at work on the phonetic realisations of ain't.

It is reasonable to assume that the form in't derived by regular sound change from standard English isn't. In the tag questions in our data, the verb be occurs more often than the verb have (105 times, compared to 22 times), and third person singular subjects occur more often than other subjects (82 times with be, and 10 times with have). This means that third person singular forms of be account for 78 per cent of the verbs in tag questions. If this is typical of vernacular speech in Reading, and there is no reason to suppose that it is not, then this means that the form in't occurs more often in tag questions than elsewhere. It seems highly plausible that as a result of its widespread occurrence in tag questions, it is becoming used, by morphological analogy, with subjects other than third person singular subjects, and with auxiliary have as well as with be, in tags. In other words, what may be happening here is precisely what is presumed to have happened at an earlier stage of English to the form ain't: a form that occurs frequently in one morphological environment in colloquial speech is spreading throughout the paradigm, though here it is happening, at present, only in tag questions. In addition, as we have seen, the form in't appears to have become a marker of an overt vernacular norm in 'nonstandard' tag questions, so that here it occurs categorically.

We can use the figures for the frequency of occurrence of in't in the data to guess at the state of progess of the change. Table 5 suggests that the change is further advanced with third person singular forms of the verb have: in't occurs 66.7 per cent of the time here (again, this could be due to the fact that third person singular subjects occur more often than other subjects). Table 6 indicates that the change is also spreading to non-third person singular forms of be, and that it is beginning to affect non-third person singular forms of have also.

Conclusion

This analysis of the use of ain't in working-class speech in Reading has shown that whereas in standard English the negative present tense contracted forms of have and be are marked for

subject and for the verb, in nonstandard Reading speech they are marked instead for syntactic function: ain't is used predominantly in declarative sentences, and in't is used predominantly in tag questions. In 'nonstandard' tag questions the use of in't is categorical, and this may be due to the fact that here it is a marker of an overt vernacular feature, aggression. In standard tag questions the use of in't is variable, but there is some indication that a linguistic change is in progress, towards the use of in't with all subjects and with both have and be.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise stated, all sentences used as examples are from the speech of the peer-groups.

2. This is confirmed by the research of Jim Kirk, of the University of Sheffield.

3. For a more rigorous description of the syntactic and semantic structure of tag questions, that includes their functions in working-class speech, see Millar and Brown (1979).

4. It could be further argued that 'nonstandard' tags of the type described here are not tags in either a semantic or a syntactic sense: they do not have the semantic properties of tag questions (in that they are not conducive, and do not conform to Hudson's sincerity conditions), nor do they have the syntactic structure of tag questions, which normally repeat the NP and the VP of the main sentence.

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APPENDIX 1: Full version of Tables 5 and 6 (realisations of ain't)

	Declarative Sentences			Tag Questions		
3rd singular have	ain't	in't	hasn't	ain't	in't	hasn't
Orts Road	100.00	0.00	0.00	14.29	85.71	0.00
Shinfield boys	(100.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-	-	-
Shinfield girls	60.00	0.00	40.00	(100.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
TOTAL	82.35	0.00	17.65	33.33	66.67	0.00
main verb be			isn't			isn't
Orts Road	62.50	7.50	30.00	0.00	100.00	0.00
Shinfield boys	83.33	0.00	16.67	(25.00)	(75.00)	(0.00)
Shinfield girls	40.00	5.71	54.29	3.85	84.62	11.54
TOTAL	54.32	6.17	39.51	2.86	92.86	4.29
auxiliary be			isn't			isn't
Orts Road	80.00	0.00	20.00	(0.00)	(100.00)	(0.00)
Shinfield boys	(50.00)	(0.00)	(50.00)	(0.00)	(66.67)	(33.33)
Shinfield girls	20.00	20.00	60.00	-	-	-
TOTAL	50.00	8.33	41.67	0.00	85.71	14.29
Non-3rd singular have			hasn't			hasn't
Orts Road	82.86	0.00	17.14	57.14	42.86	0.00
Shinfield boys	(100.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(100.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Shinfield girls	64.00	0.00	36.00	(66.67)	(0.00)	(33.33)
TOTAL	76.56	0.00	23.44	63.64	27.27	0.00
main verb be			isn't			isn't
Orts Road	60.00	0.00	40.00	16.67	83.33	0.00
Shinfield boys	100.00	0.00	0.00	(100.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Shinfield girls	42.11	0.00	57.89	(50.00)	(50.00)	0.00
TOTAL	58.33	0.00	41.67	40.00	60.00	0.00
auxiliary be			isn't			isn't
Orts Road	76.00	0.00	24.00	42.86	57.14	0.00
Shinfield boys	61.54	0.00	38.46	(100.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Shinfield girls	27.27	0.00	72.73	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
TOTAL	61.22	0.00	38.78	44.44	55.56	0.00

NORTH FRISIA AND LINGUISTICS

A.G.H. Walker
Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle
Christian-Albrechts-Universität
Kiel, W. Germany

On the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein in Northern Germany adjoining the Danish border, there is a relatively small strip of land called North Frisia (Nordfriesland) which despite its smallness of size, some 2050.5 kilometres square, is one of the linguistically most diverse areas of Europe. In this small area one finds three indigenous and two standard languages in daily use. These are: High German, Low German, Frisian, Danish and Southern Jutish. In the case of Frisian one has to further differentiate ten main dialects, some of which are mutually incomprehensible. The names of some of the dialects may give an idea of their diversification: sölring, fering, öömrang, halunder, frasch, fräisch, freesch, freesk.

It is the aim of this paper to show briefly how this multilingualism has arisen and then to give a survey of some of the research being conducted and to mention further projects open to the linguist. It will become evident that research connected with sociolinguistics or with the sociology of language is still very much at an embryonic stage.

Present-day North Frisian multilingualism is a result of the expansion of once predominantly monolingual societies. To explain the advent of this multilingualism, we must first take the whole of Schleswig-Holstein into consideration. In the first four centuries following the birth of Christ, Schleswig-Holstein was relatively densely populated by a number of tribes, most of which are still unknown and indeed have never been localised. It seems though that the Saxons were living around the lower Elbe and it is possible that the Angles whom Tacitus refers to in his Germania were resident in that part of Schleswig-Holstein now known as Angeln. The tribes had little contact with each other, being separated by large woods and marshes. The language they spoke, however, seems to have been a uniform Germanic tongue, at the most divided up into minor dialects (cf. Kuhn 1955: 267-86 and 1963: 409). In the fifth century the mass migrations taking place all over Europe also left their mark on Schleswig-Holstein, as the whole area was vacated in the wake of mass emigration. The archaeologists tell us that there is no indication of any habitation in the seventh century, apart from around the Elbe. Thus all the land to the north of the Elbe was practically deserted. Then in the eighth and more so in the ninth and tenth centuries the Saxons who had remained around the Elbe started expanding and moved up into West and Central Holstein. In East Holstein we find Slavonic tribes around 800, the occupation of East Holstein being part of the migrations of the Slavonic tribes some time after 550. In the north we find in western Schleswig the Frisians who first settled on the islands in the eighth century

and later also occupied part of the mainland in the tenth and eleventh centuries. On the east side of Schleswig the Jutes were settling in Angeln and later also in Schwansen towards the end of the ninth century. Thus, in the eleventh century there are four different ethnic groups and four different languages in Schleswig-Holstein: the Saxons with Saxon or Low German; the Frisians with Frisian; the Jutes with Danish; and the Slavs with a Slavonic language (see fig. 1. This map is based on the present-day coastline of Schleswig-Holstein. This is (a) to facilitate comparison with the later maps, and (b) because the exact line of the coastline in the eleventh century is still unknown.). At this period there would not have been much language contact as there were still large woods, lakes and so on separating the four ethnic groups. However, at a later stage, following the clearing of woods and further expansion, language contact became possible. This period is somewhat hypothetical, but it is testified to by the appearance of the Scandinavian negation ekki *eitgi, now realised as ai, äi, ek, etc., being taken over into Frisian, and by other Danish loan words.

Following this first period of expansion, where languages first came into contact, we find one language expanding to the detriment of others. Due to a shift in the economic and political power structure, Low German becomes the most important language in Schleswig-Holstein. This is shown by the rise in power of the Holstein knights which is further aided by the predominance of the Hansa. Thus Low German becomes the official language of commerce and administration in the towns and market centres of the Danish speaking area. Although Low German gains some ground in East Holstein, expelling the Slavonic language there in the middle ages, it has to wait until the seventeenth century before making any gains in the north, when Frisian speaking Eiderstedt becomes Low German. This is the only part of the Frisian speaking area which was in contact with Low German at the time. It is as yet uncertain as to just what caused the language shift, completed within a century, but it is thought that Eiderstedt, which considered itself the 'Frisia Frisissima' due to its wealth, preferred Low German and the attached prestige to offset itself from its poorer Frisian neighbours. A further part of the Frisian speaking area is lost to Low German as a result of the catastrophic flood of 1634 destroying the old 'Strand' and leaving the present islands of Pellworm and Nordstrand, which were then settled by Low German and, above all on Nordstrand, Dutch speakers. The Low German-Danish (Jutish) boundary approximately between Husum and Eckernförde seems, however, to have remained constant for centuries.

The first major breakthrough that Low German achieves in the Jutish area is between 1800-1850 when Angeln goes over to Low German. Before this there seems to have been a long period of bilingualism or diglossia. However, due to the outbreak of the Dano-German conflict in the first half of the nineteenth century, bilingualism was no longer permitted as one had to show one's colours, speaking either German or Danish. First of all the well-to-do farmers switched to the more prestigious Low

German. In Central Schleswig, economically more backward, the language shift took a bit longer (fig. 2). By 1890 nearly the whole of the prosperous east coast was Low German while Jutish was still spoken in the poorer regions of Central Schleswig (fig. 3).

In recent years the Jutish-Low German language shift has changed to a Jutish-High German language shift, that is where Jutish speaking parents speak High German with their children. It is uncertain when High German started to supersede Low German as the vernacular as opposed to just the official language but this seems to be a development which has only arisen since World War II.

One has to differentiate two kinds of language expansion and shift. The shift to Low German was geographically defined on a horizontal plane where Low German came up from the south into the Jutish area, introducing a period of language contact which then resulted in Low German monolingualism. The High German shift is more a vertical shift, having an official language imposed on an indigenous one.

Due to the decline of the Jutish speaking area, the Frisian area came more and more into contact with Low German, thus introducing a bilingual Frisian-Low German language contact area. It seems that Frisian and Jutish never really expanded at each other's expense and that in fact Jutish was for a long time the buffer zone between Frisian and the encroaching Low German.

The present situation in Schleswig-Holstein is approximately as follows (fig. 4): there is Low German-High German bilingualism in most of Schleswig-Holstein. Up at the Dano-German border there is Jutish-Low German-High German trilingualism, and on the west coast Frisian-Low German-High German trilingualism. Up in the north west corner there is Frisian-Jutish-Low German-High German quadrilingualism. The Jutish-Low German border is, however, only approximate as we have very little recent data from the area. It does though give an idea of how Low German has expanded. (For a fuller historical survey and literature see Wilts 1978a.) If we now concentrate on North Frisia, our main area of interest (fig. 5), we see how it can be divided into various parts, all exhibiting different patterns of multilingualism. We find quadrilingualism in the north of the mainland in the three villages Rodenäs, Klanxbüll and Neukirchen where Frisian (F), Southern Jutish (SJ), Low German (LG) and High German (HG) are used in every-day life. (In the following I shall just use the abbreviations.) To the south of this we have the trilingual area of F-LG-HG down to and including Hattstedt. East of the Frisian part just south of the border there is SJ-LG-HG trilingualism, except around Aventoft, where LG does not seem to have penetrated. To the east of the Frisian area and south of the Jutish area there is the normal North German LG-HG bilingualism. This we also find in the small town of Bredstedt in the otherwise F-LG-HG trilingual area, and on the islands of Pellworm and Nordstrand. Furthermore there are two LG-HG

enclaves on Föhr in Nieblum and Wyk. The trilingual F-LG-HG area also encompasses the Halligs of Gröde, Hooge, Oland and Langeness, the eastern part of Föhr and the central part of Sylt. On the western part of Föhr, the eastern part of Sylt and the northern part of Amrum there is very little LG. Here LG plays no role in the community and the language is only learnt through connections with other parts of Schleswig-Holstein. Thus one often finds certain differences in linguistic competence between the sexes. The men, who have to travel to work and have colleagues from outside the immediate vicinity, can speak LG whereas the women, who spend most of their time in their own village, speak little or no LG. On Amrum the small resort of Wittdün, which was founded about 1900, is purely HG. On Sylt, List, which used to be partly SJ, is now purely HG, as is also Hörnum, which, however, was not founded until the beginning of the 1930s.

This division of North Frisia into different areas of multilingualism does, however, pose some problems. The division, for example, into the trilingual area F-LG-HG does not mean that all inhabitants of this area are trilingual, indeed many are monolingual, but rather that the indigenous population, that is those born there and whose parents were also born there, originally spoke the three tongues concerned. It does, however, have to be admitted that in Hattstedt for example, there is only one lady left who speaks Frisian, and she was born in 1896. Similarly in Klanxbüll there are perhaps only eight speakers of SJ left, but nevertheless because there are still some members of the indigenous population able to speak the nigh-on extinct languages, I have included the villages in the respective tri- and quadrilingual areas. In a generation's time it will be necessary to draw a somewhat different map.

A further problem is the question of the role of the languages in each community. Up in Rodenäs and Neukirchen for example the locals maintain that they can speak LG, yet I have not found any members of their own families in my research so far with whom they speak LG, unless the particular member has come from outside North Frisia. Thus it would seem that LG is used principally when working outside these two villages or when talking to people not born in the villages. I do, however, wish to consider LG as being in some sense indigenous here as the locals maintain they speak it and know with whom they speak it, whereas in Aventoft for example, or Morsum on Sylt, or in the western part of Föhr, the locals deny the ability to speak LG with any degree of competence and maintain that it does not belong to the community. (For an introductory survey of North Frisian multilingualism see Århammar 1975a.)

Frisian is usually only spoken in the family and in the village. Once a Frisian speaker leaves his village and ventures further forth, he usually has to use LG as the lingua franca. HG is now, however, rapidly taking over this role. HG is also the language used in school, church and most spheres outside the home. SJ is also a language for the home although in Aventoft it is also spoken in the shops and pubs as a tremendous number of Danes come from just north of the border, where SJ is still

widely spoken, to buy wines and spirits etc. Thus SJ here seems to be receiving support from the Danish hinterland, whereas in Rodenäs and Neukirchen, with no easily accessible shops for the Danes, it is rapidly dying out. The fifth language spoken in this area, Danish, that is the standard language, is not indigenous and is for the most part only spoken by members of the Danish political minority. A SJ speaker can not necessarily speak or even understand Danish and a command of the language is usually indicative of one's political leaning. In fact some SJ speakers are very nationalistically minded Germans and reject any affiliation with Denmark. (For further discussion see Laur 1978.)

The complex picture of multilingualism that we find in North Frisia seems to represent one stage in the linguistic development of the area. All statistics to date would seem to indicate that the minority languages are declining and that they are perhaps destined to die out. Some research carried out in the village of Rodenäs in 1975 showed most clearly for example that the generation born after about 1955 has practically abandoned the minority languages of F, SJ and LG and now only speaks HG (fig. 6, after Spenter 1977). This statistic is perhaps typical of a large part of North Frisia but there are some strongholds where Frisian is still relatively firm. On Föhr for example, a statistic published in 1975 (Århammar 1975b) showed only a relatively slight decline in the use of Frisian (fig. 7).

Following the introductory survey of the linguistic situation in North Frisia, I should now like to describe some research projects in the area.

(1) The first topic I should like to mention is the question of the dynamics of language shift within the family. When languages are declining this can perhaps be best observed within the context of the family. If we are to regard F, SJ and LG as declining languages, it means that couples who speak together one language, speak another to their children. The most frequent model is that the grandparents speak F to each other, but LG to their children. These children in turn speak LG to their spouses, but HG to their children, who also speak HG together. Thus we have a shift from F via LG to HG in three generations (fig. 8). This simplified model is a basic trend underlying a multiplicity of variants. There are, however, ample examples of language shift going in another direction although it is very difficult to find such examples coming into effect after about 1965.

In fig. 9 the mother came from a LG speaking background, speaking LG with her parents and brothers. The father spoke HG with his parents because his father (the grandfather in the diagram) was a teacher, although the latter in turn spoke LG to his wife as they both came from a LG background. The father and mother met in F at some social occasion, both having learnt the language in the village where they were brought up. Thus the language used at the first meeting decided the language of their marriage, and in this case the family language as well, as the parents did not wish to switch languages with their children. It is furthermore interesting to note that the

children speak F with their maternal grandparents whereas they speak HG with their paternal grandparents. This is due to the fact that, being brought up in F they assumed as small children that everyone else could speak F. Their maternal grandparents were in a position to reply in the language, and willing to, whereas the paternal grandparents could not speak F and also thought it pedagogically wiser to educate their grandchildren in HG.

In fig. 10 we have a mother who has been brought up in a LG home. She spoke LG with her parents who also had LG as the language of their marriage, the mother, i.e. grandmother in the diagram, being unable to speak F. The paternal grandparents were similar in so far as the grandfather could speak no F and therefore spoke LG with his wife. However, this couple then diverged in the language they spoke with their children, the grandfather keeping to LG whereas the grandmother retained her F mother tongue. Once the mother and father married, they spoke LG together as the mother could speak no F. Following the marriage though she moved into a Frisian community and had to learn F. Then, as the paternal grandmother, who was living in the immediate vicinity, and the father both spoke F with the children, she felt obliged to do the same, thus providing the language shift to F in the children's generation. Thus we have here an example of social pressure being exerted on the wife, forcing her to learn F and to speak it with her children.

In fig. 11 we have a similar case where a LG speaking mother marries into a Frisian family and has to learn F. However, as she met her husband in LG, this remains the language of their marriage, even though the father speaks F with both his parents and his children. The only language switch concerns his wife who speaks F with her children.

In fig. 12 we have an example with Jutish. As the mother comes from a Frisian family and cannot speak SJ, her quadrilingual husband, who has a command of F, uses this as the language of their marriage. For pedagogical reasons, though, they decide to speak HG with their first child, it being slightly mongoloid, though they return to their more natural tongue, F with their second child. The children, however, communicate in HG as the first child does not gain active competence in F or LG. It is usually the case with children that, when the parents speak one language with one and a second language with another, the highest language in the hierarchy F - LG - HG is chosen as the medium of communication, though there are sometimes cases where child 1 will speak F to child 2 and receive a reply in LG.

These models all show language shift within the family. However, even in a family exhibiting the 'normal' language shift (fig. 8) the linguistic situation is highly complex. As part of my research I have designed a simple questionnaire to try and find out who speaks what to whom within the family. In fig. 13 we have such a questionnaire which has been filled in by a family in Lindholm. In this particular instance the father speaks F with his parents, his brother, his brother's wife and their children. He speaks LG with his own wife and HG with his children. Thus we have the sequence F - LG - HG.

The mother on the other hand speaks HG with her parents, LG with her husband and HG with her children. She speaks LG with her mother-in-law and F with her father-in-law; HG with her brother but LG with his wife and children. With her husband's brother and his children she speaks F, but with her husband's brother's wife LG. Their children speak HG together, HG with their maternal and paternal grandmother but F with the paternal grandfather. With their maternal uncle and all his family they speak HG, they speak F with their paternal uncle and his children but HG with his wife. Thus we have a curious mixture. The question arises, how does this mixture come about? The mother comes from Ladelund, near the Danish border, and thus could not speak F. The normal languages in Ladelund are SJ and LG. Since, however, the father could speak no SJ, he spoke LG as HG was not yet established as the lingua franca. Thus the mother and father met in LG and retained this language as the language of their marriage, thereby both giving up their mother tongues in preference of a third language. The reason for them speaking HG with their children was purely socio-economic, considering F and LG to be detrimental to their development. When the mother moved to Lindholm she spoke no F, but as it was a predominantly Frisian community, she was obliged to learn it. Her mother-in-law had herself only learnt F once she moved to Lindholm, again from Ladelund, and thus it was natural for her to speak LG rather than F with the mother. Her father-in-law on the other hand was a dour Frisian who only spoke F and who expected all others to do the same with him, especially in his own family. Thus the mother was forced to speak F with him. The role of the grandparents is also reflected in the language the grandchildren speak with them. With their paternal grandmother they speak HG as she was more willing to adapt and adopt the language the parents spoke with their children, whereas the dour grandfather would only consider speaking F with his grandchildren. Thus the children learnt F, especially as they were often with their grandparents as small children. One very frequently comes across cases of children speaking one language with their parents, usually LG or HG, but another with their grandparents, then either F or LG, as in the days of the large family the grandparents often had the job of looking after the children while the parents were working, and would then pass on their mother tongue.

The father's brother has a purely F speaking family and his children who are younger than the father's children, assumed while still young, that their cousins could speak F. As the father's children had learnt F on their grandfather's knee, they could reply in the same language. Once the first two sentences had been uttered in F, the future mode of communication was settled.

Once it has been established that there are various patterns of language shift within the family, the question then arises as to how the shift comes about. There are various possible reasons, for example: sometimes it is due to a move. One speaks F with the children born in an F village. After a move to a HG town, one speaks HG to the children born there. Alternatively it may be due to a change in attitude. The first children have difficulties in school because of their F mother

tongue, so all later children are brought up in HG. One very important factor though is the language one first meets in. It is one of the basic rules of North Frisian multilingualism that for a particular person one nearly always retains the language that one met in. Thus the later family language can be determined by such arbitrary factors as the formulation of an invitation to a dance - whether it be in F, LG or HG. As it is becoming more the rule that one addresses strangers in HG, this induces a switch away from the smaller languages. It is now necessary to conduct further interviews to find out the reasons for language choice and language shift within the given context of the family.

(2) The present multilingual situation in North Frisia seems only to be one stage in the development from the once primarily monolingual society via the multilingual society to another monolingual society. One might be tempted to conclude that it is a linguistic universal that a minority language, when in direct competition with a majority language, is doomed. However, it is not just the status of the minority language as such which leads to its demise but, in the case of North Frisia, rather a complex number of factors (cf. Walker 1978). At this point one has to add that the factors are not the same for the whole of the area because the various parts of North Frisia have differing social and economic circumstances. However, there do seem to be some common factors: (a) the marked dialectal diversity in a language spoken only by about 9000 people, (b) the lack of an orthographic tradition, (c) the lack of a literary tradition, (d) the general inability to read and above all to write the language, (e) the lack of Frisian in the mass media, (f) the small area in which a dialect can be used, (g) the need to seek employment outside the village (and thus outside the area in which the dialect is spoken), (h) the demise of the village school and the rise of the centralised educational establishments, (i) the lack of understanding for the minority languages on the part of the school teaching staff as is and was sometimes found, (j) the great influx of refugees after World War II, (k) the influx of tourists, especially on the islands, (l) the parental attitude towards the minority languages, which are considered obstacles in the children's progress, (m) the greater demands made on a child today, (n) the feeling that Frisian is a characteristic of the lower classes, (o) the general apathy of most of the population towards the fate of the minority languages, (p) the linguistic flexibility of the Frisians, who can accommodate themselves to the language of their speech partner, (q) the Dano-German conflict in the border area, (r) improved communications and mobility, (s) the difficulty in finding a marriage partner who speaks one's own dialect or is willing to learn it, (t) the shift from the large family unit to the small family.

To illustrate how it is necessary to differentiate between the various parts of North Frisia I can cite the example of Frisian tuition in the schools here. On Sylt there is Frisian tuition in four primary schools and the parents of the children involved support it. On the other hand an attempt in 1978 to introduce Frisian tuition in two primary schools on the mainland was rejected by the parents. The question then arose as

to why this should be so. It transpired that one of the reasons was that the mainland area is still in the process of development and is seeking to improve itself. The Frisian language is regarded as an unnecessary impediment. On Sylt, on the other hand, the population has already attained a certain degree of wealth and economic independence and can thus afford, as it were, the luxury of its cultural heritage. (For a deeper analysis see Walker 1980a.)

Although it is possible to list a number of contributory factors, we are still far from understanding fully the dynamics of language decline. A detailed survey with questionnaires in one or two specially selected villages would help us further. (For an example of a similar survey in the SJ-LG-HG trilingual area see S.R. Petersen 1975.)

(3) A third area of research is the question of language change within a multilingual context. It is well known that there is language change as such, but how does a multilingual context affect it? If language change is observed, to what extent is it a natural internal change or a change due to the influence of the other languages present, above all the standard language? Furthermore, to what extent can the language change be interpreted as being symptomatic of language decline? To what extent do all the languages in a multilingual context undergo changes so that they all eventually have the same underlying system?

As HG is the standard language in North Frisia, one would have to analyse F, SJ and LG to see to what extent language change is taking place here. One example could be the question of gender with nouns in Frisian. In the Mooring dialect there are the three genders di (m), jü (f) and dåt (n). According to the hitherto best dictionary of the dialect (Jørgensen 1955) there are a fair number of nouns with genders differing from the HG noun, e.g. dåt bräif (der Brief), dåt schölj (die Schule), jü scheew (der Tisch), but one finds that the younger generation (born after about 1960) tends in a large number of cases to use the HG gender. Indeed, one sometimes hears the comment: 'It's der Tisch in HG, therefore it must be di scheew.' A further problem is that one sometimes hears all three genders, even within one and the same family, which is indicative of a language in fluctuation.

A further example is the definite article in Frisian. In the Mooring dialect there are two forms of definite article, both subdivided according to gender. Thus the strong form is di moon (the man), jü wüf (the woman/wife) and dåt bjarn (the child) whereas the weak form is e moon, e wüf and et bjarn. One of the rules governing the use of the two forms is that the weak form refers to one unique thing: e.g. e san (the sun), e moune (the moon), whereas the strong form refers to the thing one is talking about: e.g. jü wüf, weer ik ma snåaked (the lady I was talking to). Thus if one says e wüf kamt it means 'my wife is coming' (or in colloquial English 'the wife is coming'), whereas jü wüf kamt means 'the lady

(I was referring to) is coming'. The present younger generation seems to have lost this rule and says quite cheerfully jü san, di moune, etc.

Whereas the example of language change with the gender reflects an assimilation into the HG gender system, the second example may perhaps be interpreted as a loss of rules indicative of the decline of a language. It does not however seem to indicate a loss of the weak form as it is still very much in use.

Further possible examples of a declining language are the loss of irregular forms. Thus, for example, the irregular singular/plural combination in the following examples just keep the one form: schouf (shoe), schuur (shoes) - schuur; gois (goose), gäis (geese) - gäis; fötj (foot), fätj (feet)- fätj; etc. This last example is interesting because it shows not only the tendency for the singular form to be given up in favour of the plural form, but may also be interpreted as a change of ö ä. We have another case of this in the verb mönje ('to be allowed' or 'to have to'). However the whole paradigm seems to have changed here. Thus, whereas the older generation says: ik mötj, dü möist, hi mötj, we mönje, the younger generation tends more to say: ik mätj, dü mäist, hi mätj, we mänje. One might be tempted to posit a vowel change, but we seem to have a case of more exact semantic specification as the verb mönje is still known, though little used. The verb mänje now means 'to be allowed', e.g. mätj ik en biir heewe (may I have a beer), whereas the verb mönje has kept the meaning of 'to have to', although the border between it and the other verb of similar meaning schale seems to be nebulous. Thus there is the new verb mänje in contrast with mönje. The latter, however, having lost the meaning 'to be allowed' seems to be dying out due to the semantic field of 'to have to' being amply covered by schale or corresponding phrases, e.g. deet et nüsi? (is it necessary?). I am, however, unsure if this semantic change can be interpreted as a sign of a declining language.

A further example of change where F and LG are assuming the HG system is in the form of address. The present-day grandparent generation (born before 1915) uses the binary system dü(du) and the 3rd person in their address. Thus they would address the brother as dü in F or du in LG but the mother in the 3rd person, e.g. in F: wal mam me e brüüdj linge? (will mother pass me the bread?). The younger generation has now the binary system du/Se in LG similar to the HG du/Sie system, while F has to a degree lost the use of the 3rd person but not yet fully accepted the 2nd person plural. Thus we have a ternary system here. (For a fuller account see Walker 1977.)

(4) Language planning. In the case of declining languages there often arises a movement trying to preserve the endangered tongue. We have such a movement in North Frisia which is most productive. Each winter there are about eighteen Frisian courses in adult education classes held throughout Frisia.

There are several amateur dramatic groups which put on Frisian plays, and several increasingly popular dance groups sporting local costumes. There are various Frisian associations more or less actively supporting the language movement, which also has the blessing of the local authorities and government. Frisian is being taught in some schools and several people, often autodidacts, are producing small dictionaries and teaching materials. Furthermore, it is now possible to study Frisian at the College of Education in Flensburg and at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel. However, there are a number of problems:

(a) The question of Frisian tuition in school. At present Frisian is taught in the primary school in the western part of Föhr (Westerland Föhr) one hour a week in the classes 3 and 4 (9 and 10 year olds) and in the grammar school in the small town of Wyk two hours a week in class 6 (12 year olds) and in the 6th form (cf. Faltings 1979). On Sylt, Frisian is taught two hours a week in classes 3 and 4 in the primary schools in Morsum, Keitum and Tinnum and one hour in classes 3 and 4 in Wenningstedt (cf. Schaarschmidt-Runge 1979). In the Danish minority school in Risum on the mainland, Frisian is an integrated part of the school curriculum (cf. Tångeberg 1979). From this short survey it becomes apparent that Frisian is still only modestly represented in the schools of the area. This is perhaps due to two main factors: a lack of qualified teachers and a lack of teaching material. One must perhaps also differentiate the innate language competence of the schoolchildren. Whereas on Westerland Föhr of the 53 children being taught 43 have an active knowledge of Frisian, only a few are able to speak Frisian on Sylt or on the mainland. Thus, in the latter instances, Frisian tuition is a question of foreign language teaching, though on a different level to other languages such as French, as most will have a certain passive knowledge of the language, having grown up in a Frisian community. Thus it is necessary to find or train teachers able to teach Frisian at the relevant schools in North Frisia, to introduce Frisian as part of the curriculum for the whole of a child's school career and not just for two years in primary school, and to produce pedagogical materials for all classes in the main dialects so that teachers are not constantly forced to make do with makeshift substitutes.

(b) Frisian tuition at college. Frisian can be studied in Flensburg and Kiel. In Flensburg there is, as yet, no permanent member of staff for Frisian, the tuition being given by visiting academics. However, there are now basic guidelines (Studienordnung) for the tuition so that a student can study a full course and become qualified to teach the subject in junior schools. In Kiel there is a department for Frisian (Friesische Philologie, for its history see Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle 1979) with a Professor and two assistants ('wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter'), who, however, are primarily concerned with the compilation of the North Frisian dictionary). There is a full programme of tuition so that students can be trained to teach the subject at grammar schools

(Gymnasium) and secondary modern schools (Realschule). As Frisian has only been developed as a full teaching subject in the last two or three years, the main problem is the compilation of teaching material. This in itself involves a great deal of research.

(c) In the adult education classes many of the teachers are themselves not pedagogically trained and have as their primary qualifications their native-speaker competence and the desire to promote their mother tongue. The principal difficulties arise here once a group has passed from being pure beginners to a more advanced stage. Then again, there is a lack of materials.

(d) In the first three instances the lack of materials has become evident. There is a lack of dictionaries for the different groups of people being taught, the schools, for example, having other needs than the university. However, there is a strong output on this sector at present (for example see Wilts 1978b). A further primary need is for adequate grammars of the various dialects. While trying to compile language courses for the language laboratory, for example, it became abundantly clear how little is known about the North Frisian grammar, which in many instances completely diverges from HG.

However, while trying to compile materials, the linguist runs into manifold difficulties. The first difficulty is the orthography. The frequently occurring orthographic 'reforms' show how important a part this single question plays in North Frisia (cf. Jørgensen 1979). Unfortunately it sometimes happens that a piece of work is orthographically outdated before it has been published (cf. Wilts 1979 and 1980). In one case, where a language course had been completed, it took many long debates before a decision could be reached as to whether or not the nouns should be written with capital letters as in German. Only then could the course be published.

A further difficulty is the dialectal variety. While trying to compile a small dictionary for the island of Föhr, 82 kilometres square in size, there was some disagreement as to the correct form of certain words. It then proved necessary to include the form from each of the three main dialects on Föhr and from the adjacent dialect of Amrum. As a result it was possible that for any one given article there could be four different Frisian forms, although often two or more dialects did have a common form. To have ignored this dialectal variation would have limited the dictionary's usefulness very much and perhaps have led to its rejection by the Frisian speaking populace. A similar policy has been adopted for a dictionary of the Nordergoesharde on the mainland. As it was not possible to agree on the same form for two villages lying some eight kilometres apart, there have to be two different columns, one for each village. In the same way as opinions often differ between adjacent villages, it is equally as difficult to find a consensus of opinion within the one village, especially if people are being interviewed from different

generations. Thus the linguist has to make do with one informant or try and reach some sort of compromise. No dialect has as yet a proven norm.

The two main problems of language planning at present seem to be the question of personnel and of teaching materials, whereby the production of the latter has its difficulties.

(5) Dialectology. North Frisia is not only an area of multilingualism but also of multilectalism as each village seems to have its own dialect in each of its languages. The most marked dialectal differences are, however, to be found in Frisian. Unfortunately there is very little work of late in the area either with SJ or LG so that statements about these dialects are mostly of a hypothetical nature. For SJ there is a description of a dialect in Ladelund (Willkommen 1977) and for LG a description of a dialect in Eiderstedt (Lohse 1977). Frisian dialectology is, however, more productive. The North Frisian dialects are almost unprecedented in their variety and a worthwhile project would be to produce a dialect atlas. As in many villages, especially in the southern part of the mainland, there are only a few speakers left and most are aged well over 60, this project must be seen as being of primary importance.

Subsequent to Århammar's comprehensive research report in 1968 (Århammar 1968, see also Hofmann 1956 for an introduction to North Frisian dialectology) there have been two further studies in this field. C.F. Stork analysed the dialects of the Mittelgoesharde in 1971 (Stork 1971) and the author described the dialects of the Bökingharde and a village dialect from each of the three adjoining main dialect areas (Wiedingharde, Karrharde, Nordergoesharde) (Walker 1980b). Both are based on the principles of structural dialectology and in the latter a method was developed for the quantification of isoglosses so that the variation between the various dialects could be measured. The results are shown in fig. 14. Further research is being conducted by students from the University of Reading who spend their year abroad in Kiel and who are then sent out to a village in order to do their BA dissertation on the dialect spoken there. Certainly the students prove most popular in the villages concerned. Two students have also written their dissertations on the LG dialects of Pellworm and Nordstrand.

(6) Traditionally one of the main areas of linguistic research in North Frisia has been lexicography. The idea of an exhaustive dictionary of all the North Frisian dialects first arose in 1906 although there had been pioneer attempts before this. As a result of the work in this field the Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle was founded in 1950 with Hans Kuhn as its first head. (For a history of the Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle and North Frisian Lexicography see Walker & Wilts 1976 and the literature mentioned there.) The concept of the large dictionary encompassing all the Frisian dialects was changed in 1975 when it was decided to publish a dictionary of one dialect first, namely of the Bökingharde. This

dictionary is now in progress and about 20,000 words are being processed. This does not, however, mean that the idea of the large dictionary has been abandoned, for which we have about 600,000 entries catalogued, but rather that it has been postponed.

Three dictionaries of a North Frisian dialect have been published relatively recently and a further four are in preparation. The dictionary being compiled in the Wörterbuchstelle, for which material collected over the past three centuries is used, is one of the latter. It would be interesting to compare the methods and motivation of each individual dictionary as these seem to differ quite widely. One on Sylt, for example, is trying to turn the dialect into a viable modern language. There they have taken a large German-English dictionary and are translating all the German words into Frisian. To do this a committee has been formed which discusses new lexical creations. These, however, tend to land on deaf ears among the local populace. Similarly there is a dictionary based on a frequency list, whereby the most frequent 4,000 words in German have been translated into Frisian, involving again many a new creation (Petersen, E. 1975).

In this paper I have tried to describe the linguistic situation in North Frisia and to outline some areas of research. Other areas such as code switching, types of multilingualism, interference, or the concepts of dialect, colloquial language (Umgangssprache) and language per se in a multilingual context could also be mentioned. One hopes that some of the research can be conducted in the near future as a lot of the material available at present will be irretrievably lost in a generation's time.

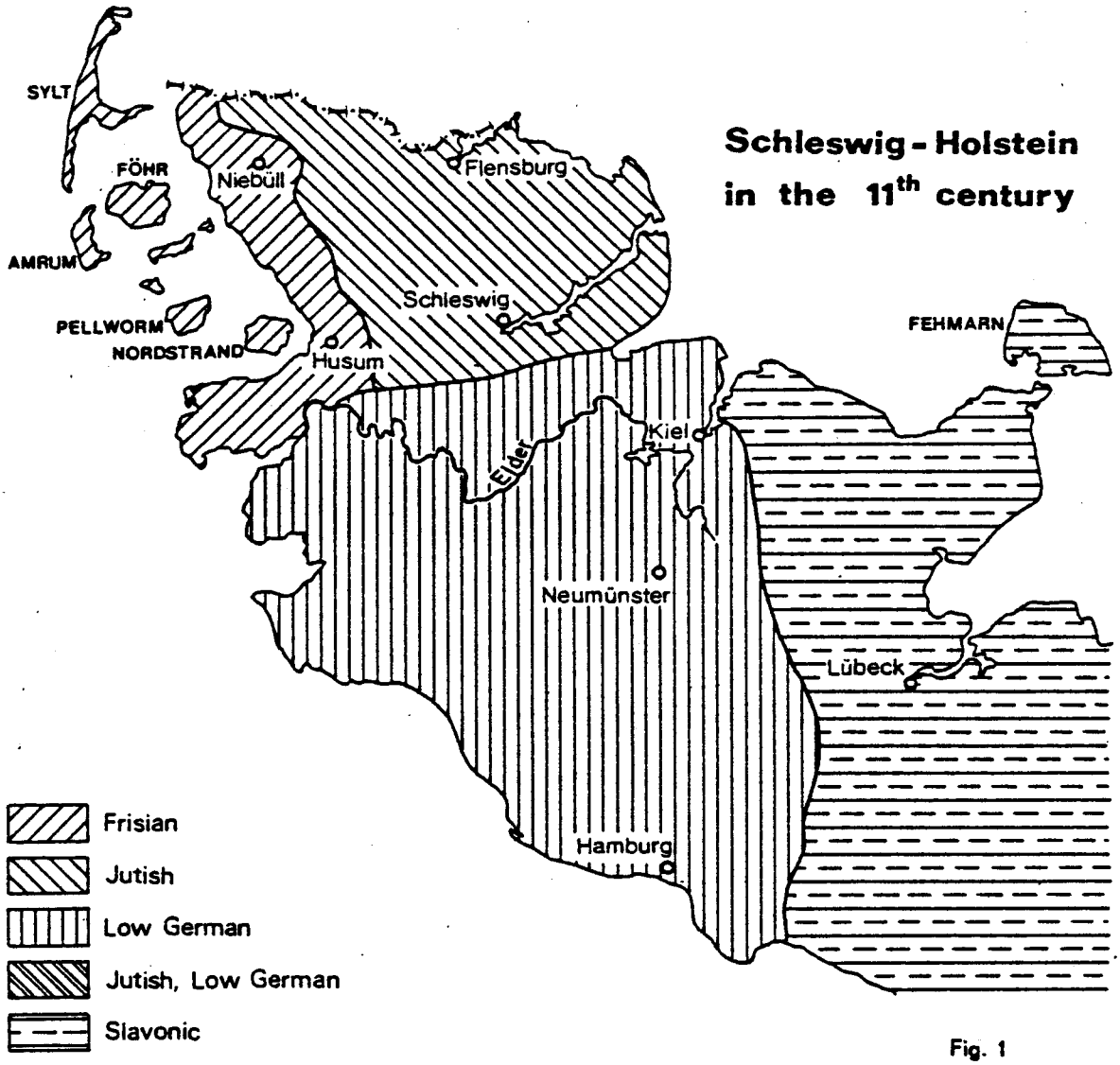


Fig. 1

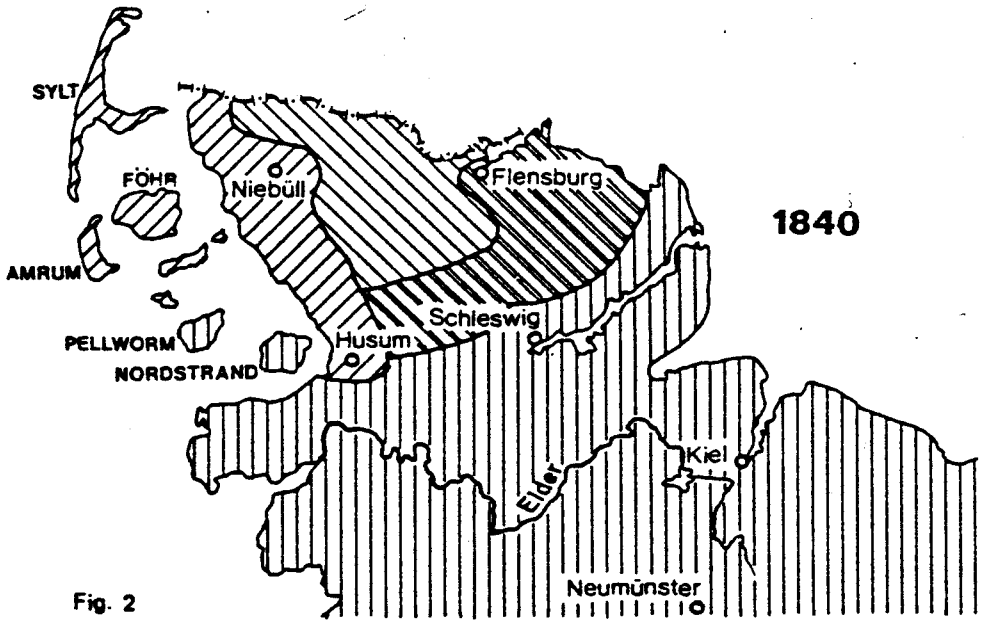


Fig. 2

0 50 km

G Leschewsky

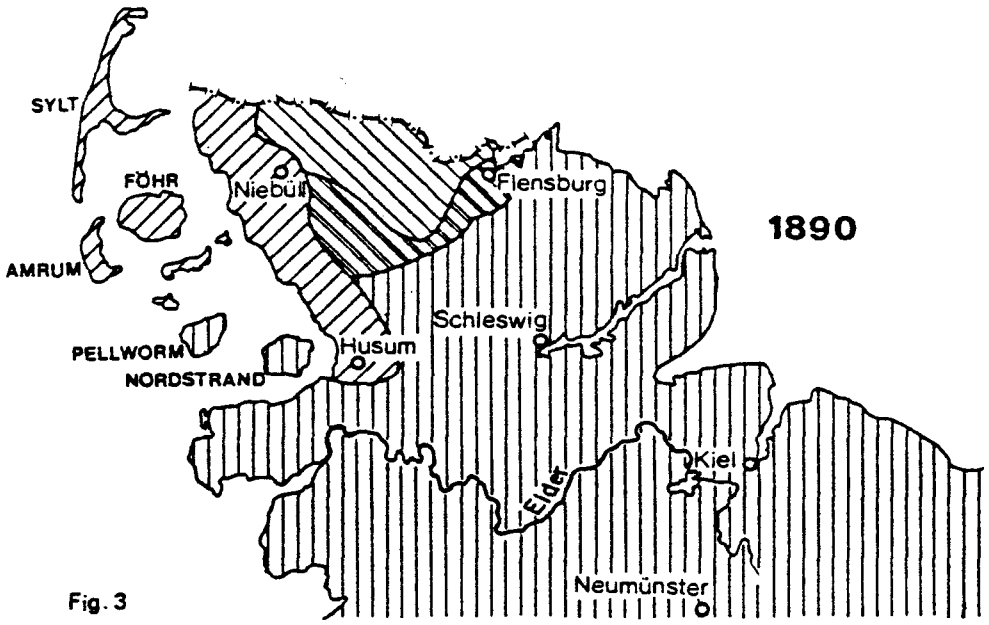
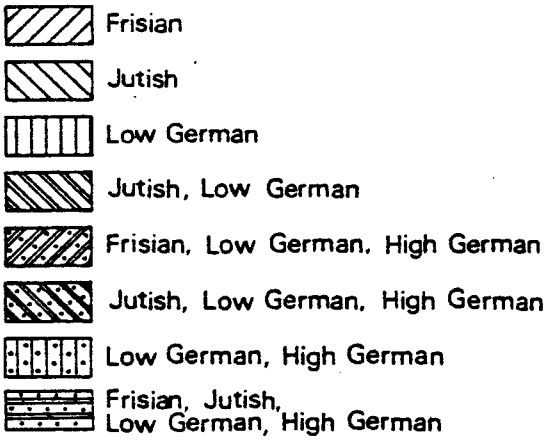


Fig. 3



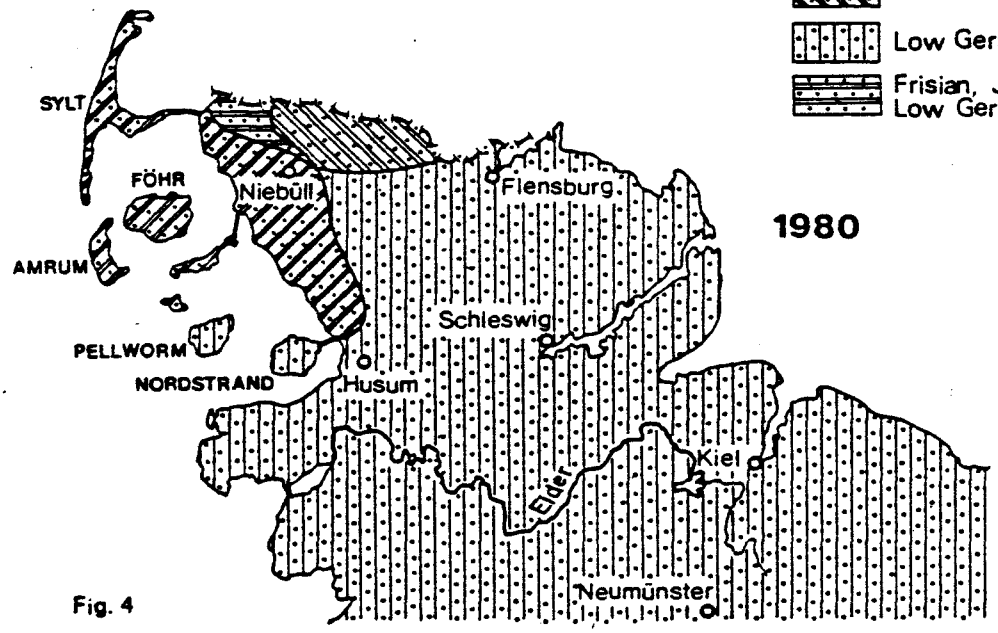


Fig. 4

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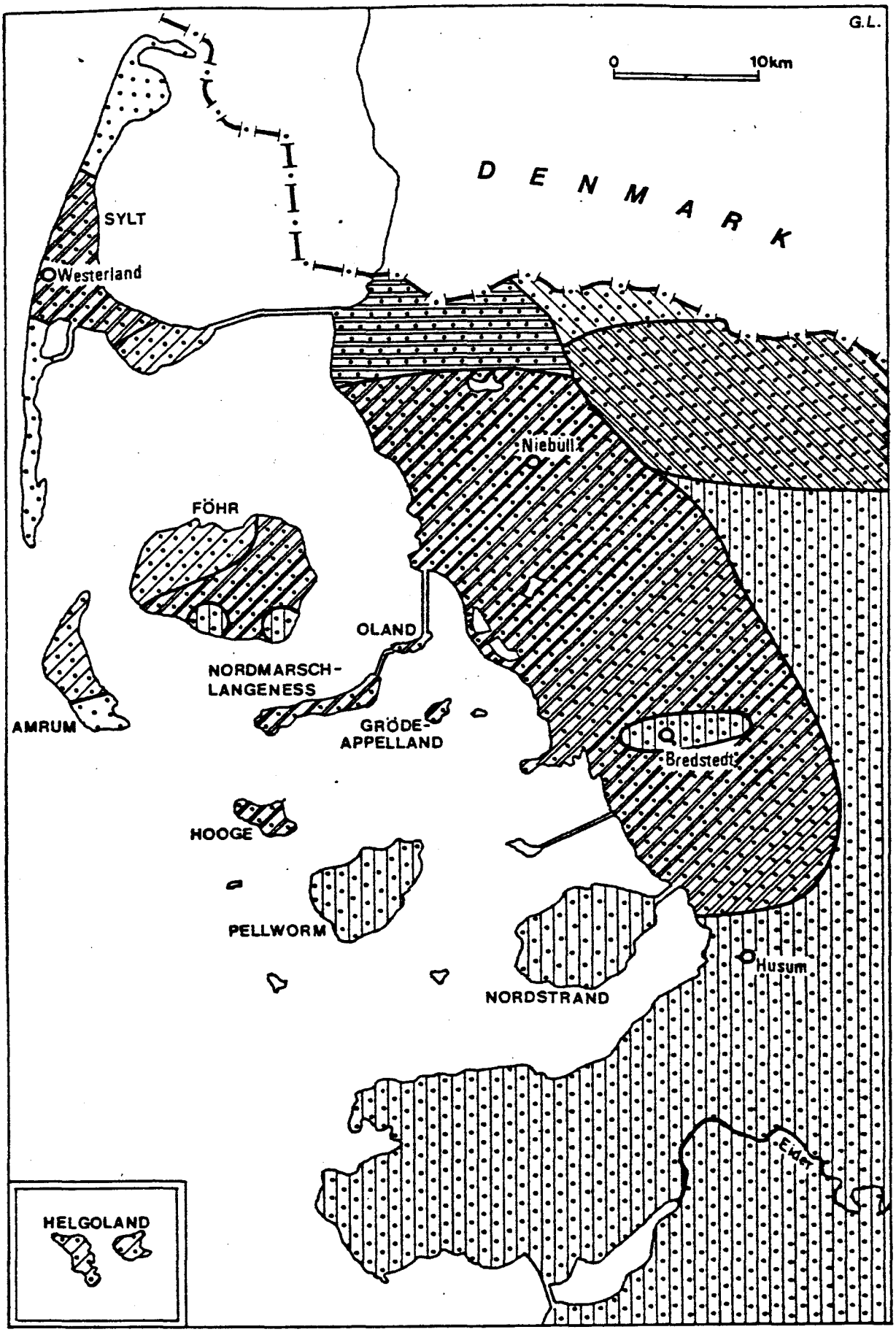


Fig. 5 North Frisian Multilingualism

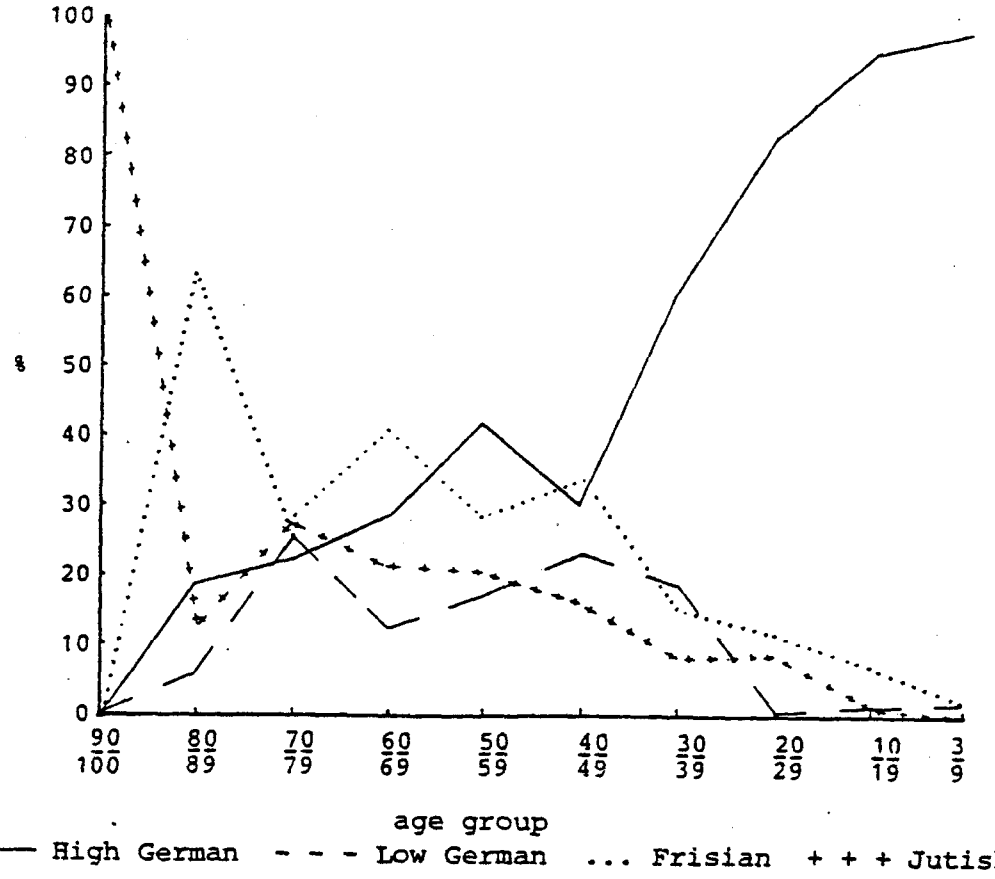


Fig. 6 The mother tongue in Rodenās (after Walker 1978:131)

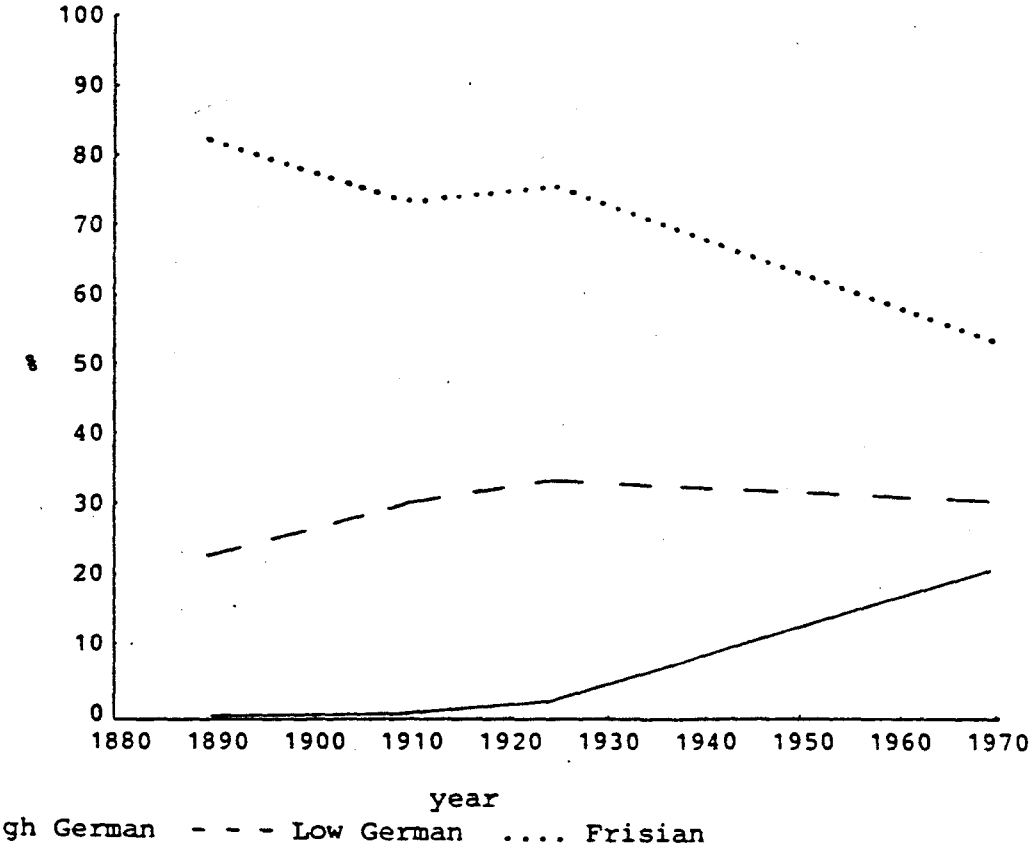


Fig. 7 The language of the households on Fōhr (without Nieblum and Wyk) (after Walker 1978:132)

Fig. 8

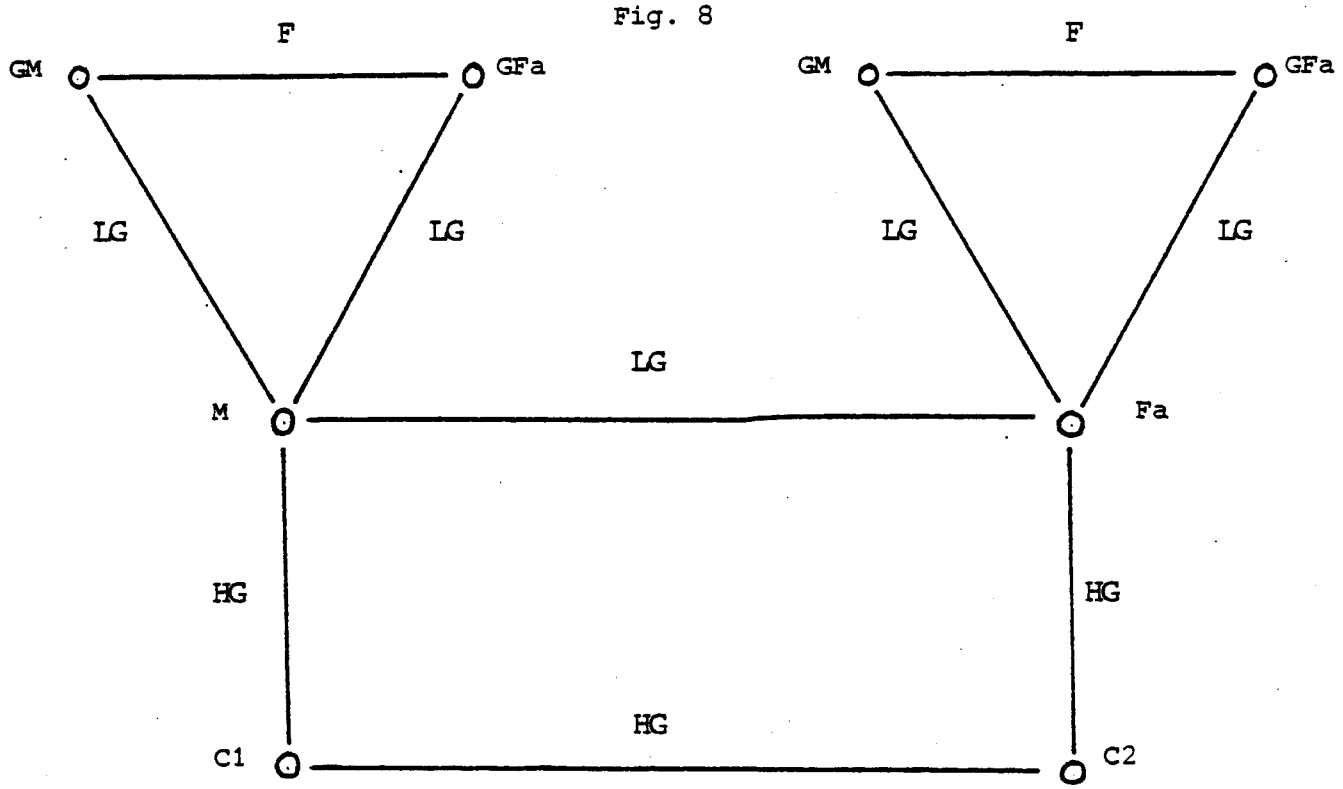
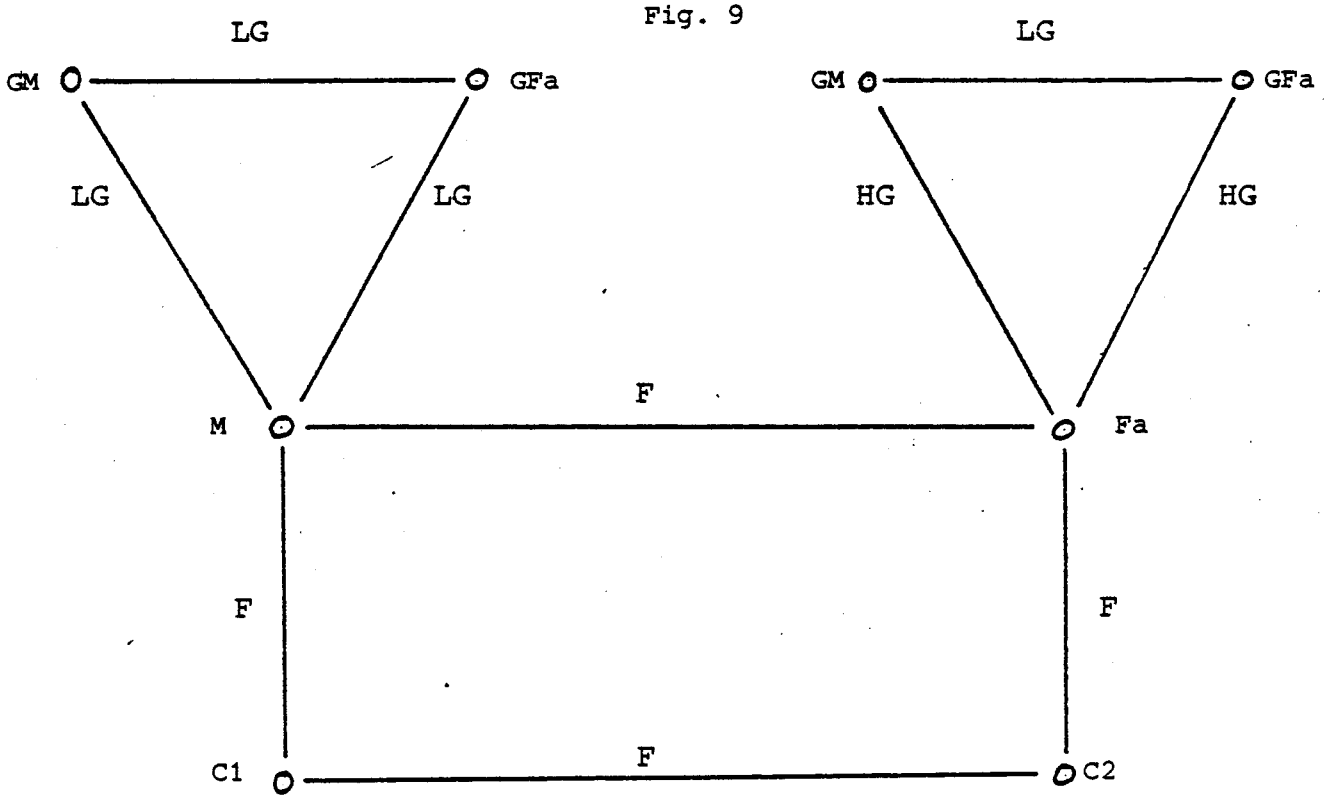


Fig. 9



GM = Grandmother, GFa = Grandfather, M = Mother, F = Father, C1 = first child, C2 = second child, F = Frisian, LG = Low German, HG = High German

Fig. 10

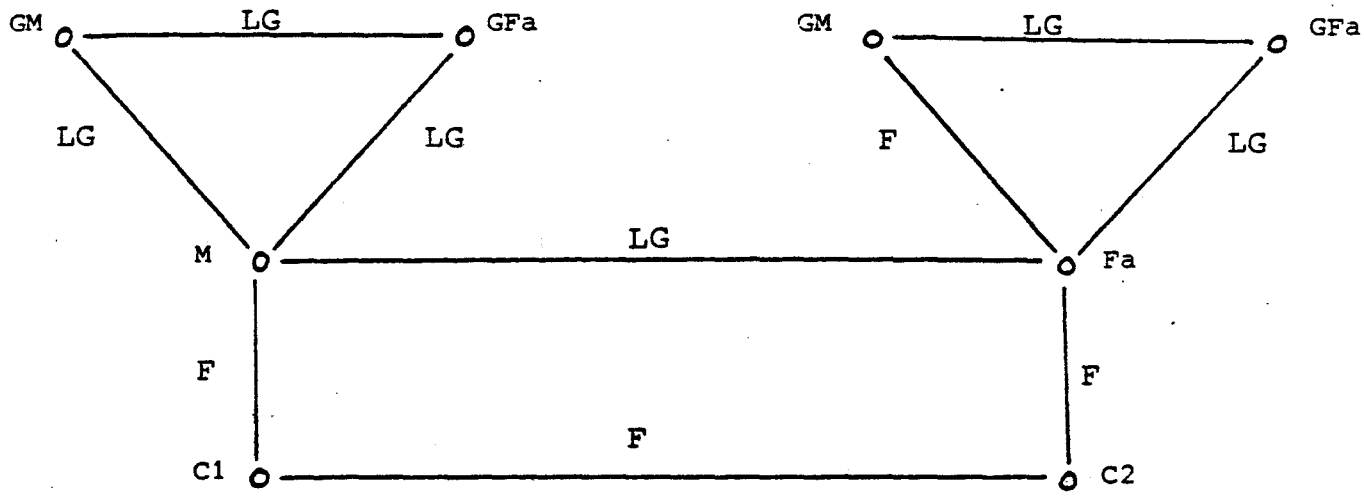


Fig. 11

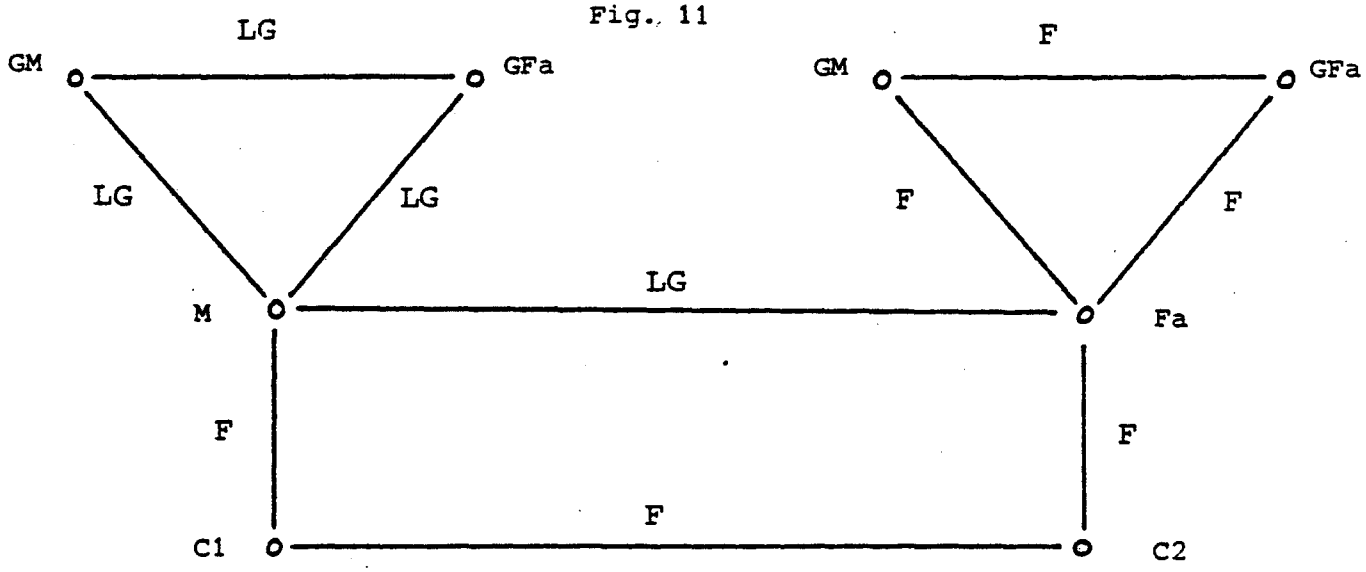
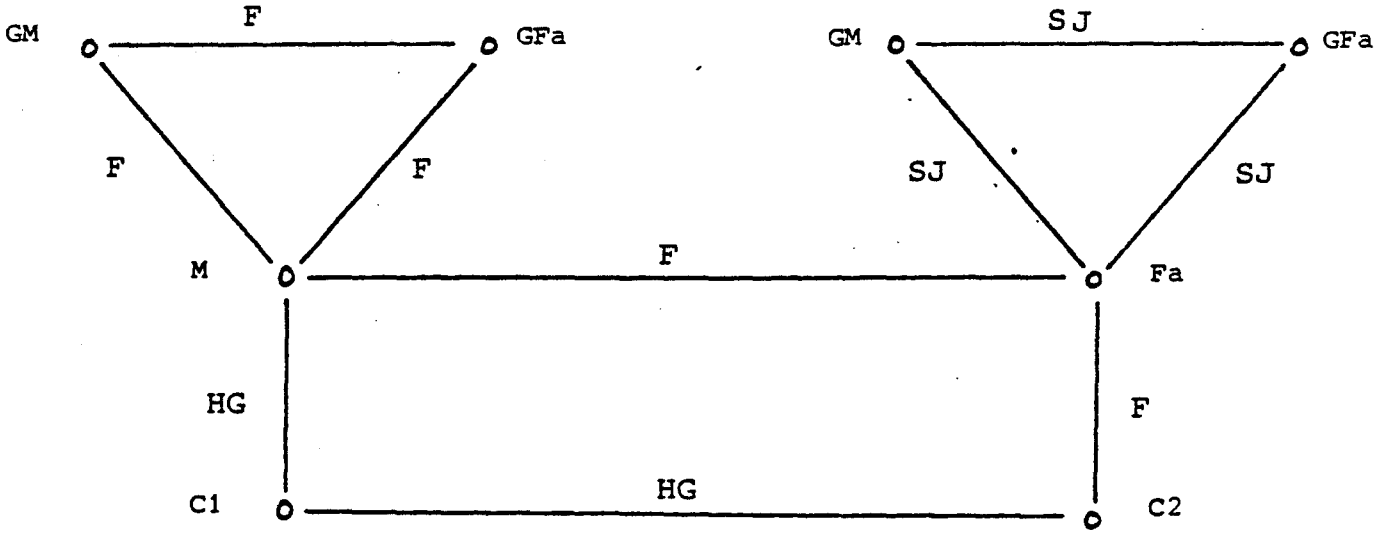


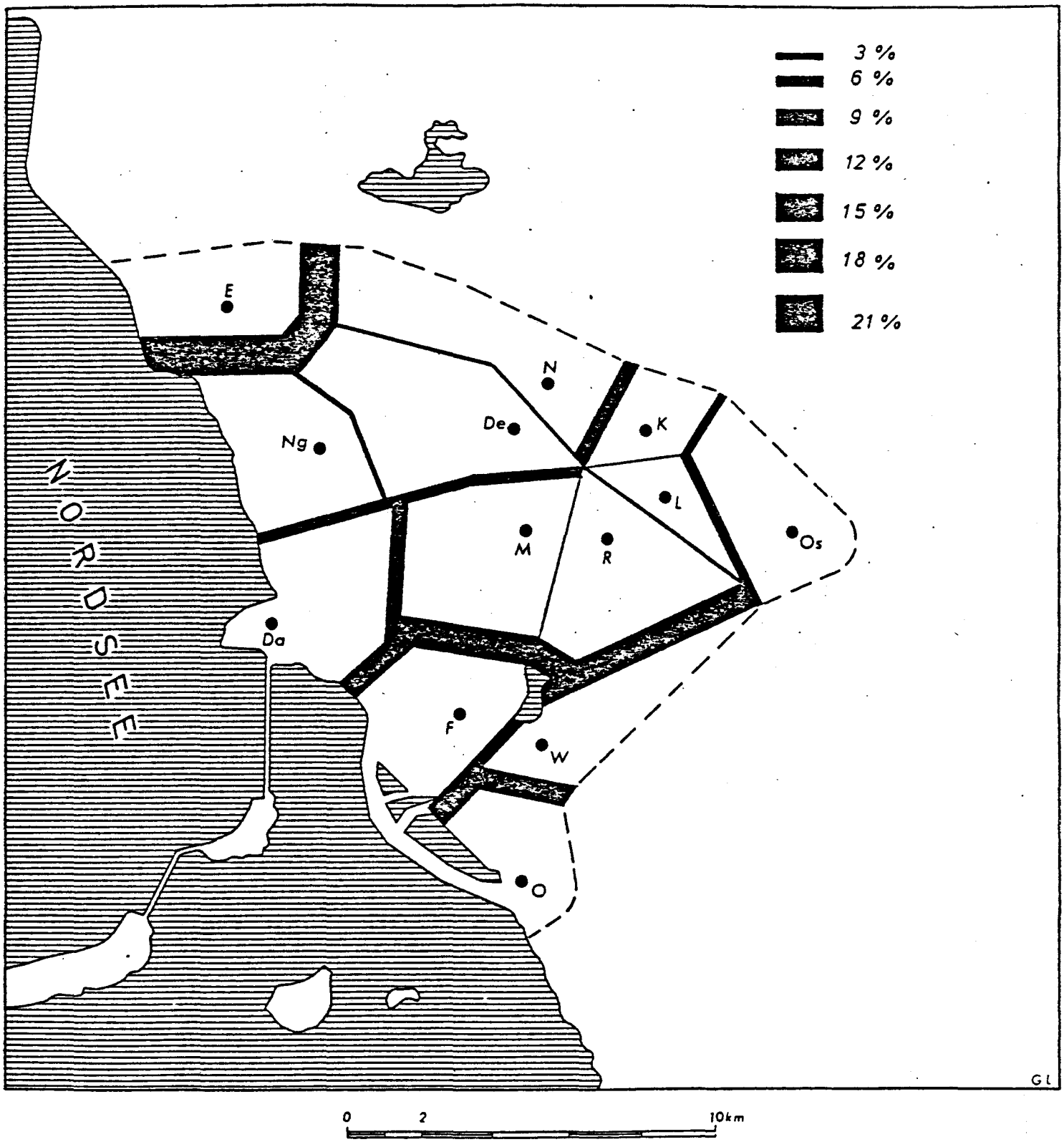
Fig. 12



GM = Grandmother, GFa = Grandfather, M = Mother, Fa = Father, C1 = first child, C2 = second child, F = Frisian, LG = Low German, HG = High German, SJ = Jutish

	Father	First child	Second child	Maternal Grandmother	Maternal Grandfather	Paternal Grandmother	Paternal Grandfather	Mother's brother	Mother's brother's wife	Mother's brother's 1st child	Mother's brother's 2nd child	Father's brother	Father's brother's wife	Father's brother's 1st child	Father's brother's 2nd child
Mother	LG	HG	HG	HG	HG	LG	F	HG	LG	LG	LG	F	LG	F	F
Father		HG	HG	LG	-	F	F	LG	LG	HG	HG	F	F	F	F
First child			HG	HG	-	HG	F	HG	HG	HG	HG	F	HG	F	F
Second child				HG	-	HG	F	HG	HG	HG	HG	F	HG	F	F
Maternal Grandmother					HG	LG	LG	HG	LG	HG	HG	LG	LG	LG	LG
Maternal Grandfather						-	-	HG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paternal Grandmother							F	LG	LG	LG	LG	F	F	F	F
Paternal Grandfather								LG	LG	LG	LG	F	F	F	F
Mother's brother									LG	LG	LG	LG	LG	LG	LG
Mother's brother's wife										LG	LG	LG	LG	LG	LG
Mother's brother's 1st child											LG	LG	LG	LG	LG
Mother's brother's 2nd child												LG	LG	LG	LG
Father's brother													F	F	F
Father's brother's wife														F	F
Father's brother's 1st child															F

Fig. 13. Multilingualism in the family. The language each member speaks to each other member.
F = Frisian, LG = Low German, HG = High German



Da Dagebüll, De Deezbüll, E Emmelsbüll, F Fahretoft, K Klockries, L Lindholm, M Maasbüll, Ng Neugalmsbüll, N Niebüll, O Ockholm, Os Oster-Schnatebüll, R Risum, W Waygaard

Fig. 14 Isoglosses showing the percentage of phonological variation between the individual Frisian village dialects in a selected area (after Walker 1980b)

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THE NON-UNIQUENESS OF STYLISTIC DESCRIPTIONS

Ronald Chan
University of Loughborough

The purpose of this paper is to ask what sort of theoretical status a linguistic description of literary style has. It is not an attempt to question the usefulness of stylistics: presumably many things are useful even when their theoretical status is not clear (Note 1). Nor is this a paper on stylistic theory or poetics. The subject under discussion is not 'style', literature or poetry, but the descriptions linguists make of literary texts. In other words, and put crudely, it asks of teachers and students of stylistics what it is they believe they are doing whenever they carry out a stylistic analysis.

The main part of the argument in what follows may be provisionally stated thus: the student of language and/or literature finds an example from a literary text interesting because it is in some sense unique; it is therefore desirable that the terms of the description of such an example itself reflect this uniqueness; but every single descriptive notion in linguistics is, at some level of abstraction or other, about langue - that which is not unique, except in the sense of being unique to homo loquens.

This last circumstance is not, by the way, merely a reflection of the state of the art, nor simply a historical consequence of development of the discipline: it is a necessary and central characteristic of the study of language. Or, put another way, there must be, for both linguist and literary critic, an interest beyond the interest in a particular author's personal corpus of utterances. We cannot, whether we be critic or linguist, possibly be interested in a writer's work merely because it is unique, different or remarkable. Were this the case, we would be guilty, as T.S. Eliot (1917) puts it, of an interest in what is merely 'eccentric' in a writer. Clearly, we are also interested in the way this uniqueness relates to our view of the world - in other words in the way his parole blends with our langue.

One corollary problem should be anticipated at this point. The notion of 'uniqueness' must, at some point in this discussion, be clarified. From the viewpoint of some pragmatists, or of someone like Hymes (1968: 113) every utterance that occurs in a non-reduplicable context is in this sense unique. One of the side issues to be faced therefore is the way in which the uniqueness of an utterance in, say, a poem, is of a different sort from the uniqueness of utterances elsewhere. Or, as McIntosh once put it (1966: 47) we may need to suggest some criteria of 'remarkableness' for those utterances we consider

remarkable. In spite of McIntosh's cautionary remark, the notion of uniqueness can be used in a fairly self-evident way - in the sense of an utterance that occurs once and only once and in so doing, creates a meaning that did not previously exist and could not exist without that utterance in that specific form. This usage will be maintained throughout what follows. The word itself requires little further clarification for the time being. However, the question whether all utterances are in some sense or other unique, and whether the presumed remarkableness of literary constructions has been too much emphasised in a possibly false dichotomy between 'ordinary' and 'literary/poetic' language, is something to be discussed in the course of this paper.

Some preliminary terminological points: (a) when I use the term 'stylistics' I invariably, in what follows, mean the linguistic study of literature (not a study of style in the broader sense of register or variety); (b) I shall be relying heavily on the notion of langue; this is used in its Saussurean sense, with something of a Chomskyan gloss: i.e. it is the social side of language, that which is the property of the community, the language as a whole, that which is defined as being in a state at any given moment and that which encompasses all that we can both know and give expression to via the use of language. Langue, in any given state, is by definition complete - it is all that can be known in that language in that state. It is not however necessarily perfect - it is non-commital with regards to this Chomskyan notion. Nor do my own arguments in this paper rely on this idea of perfection in competence. By and large, I shall use the term langue, and only speak of competence in certain contexts where its use is unavoidable - e.g. in a discussion of a Transformational description.

The Problem of Uniqueness

If stylistics is anything more than just a notational tinkering, then any linguistic description of style (in English) is, a fortiori, a description of English. Consider the following stylistic description:

> In line 699 of Paradise Lost by John Milton ('and hands innumerable scarce perform') the nominal head-word is followed by rather than preceded by an adjective modifier.

Presumably the relevance of this statement to both langue and poetry is something like the following: (a) in NPs, in the language as a whole, it is usual to have A + N; (b) in this case, this has not occurred, and N + A has occurred instead; therefore (c) N + A (where A is in the form of a pre-modifier, and is not a prepositional phrase, relative clause, etc.) is permissible in English, given certain specific circumstances. Obviously, the description NP⟶ N + A is not in itself distinctive enough to be a unique marker of Milton's style, but

let us assume that it can be made more specific if we wished with reference to other linguistic features: e.g. the sequence N + A given certain collocations, or the frequency of such N + A collocations every ten lines of poetry and so on. Given such additional descriptive information, we must be able to insist that at some point in the description, we have specified a construction (both type and token) that is appropriate or fitting in exactly the context in which it was actually found, and would not be appropriate in any other context. For if the construction so described is appropriate anywhere else in English, then the feature singled out in this way cannot be unique. In other words - and this is no more than a logical commonplace - the more contexts to which the description is generalisable, the less successful it is in establishing the uniqueness of the utterance, and the more the uniqueness of the utterance is reflected in the description, the less generalisable to language as a whole it is. This is the first though not necessarily the most important of the dilemmas the stylistician has to face. For what is the point of a description that is not generalisable beyond the utterance it takes as an instance?

This dilemma is highlighted by the insistence that such descriptions must be part of a description of English. Nobody would dispute this, but in spite of this, there has always been, in linguistics, a distinction between the study of non-literary, so-called 'ordinary' language, and the study of literature. Distinctions of this sort (e.g. there is another one between linguistics and socio-linguistics) are inevitable and lead periodically to attempts to restore a proper balance, such as Labov's claim (Labov 1978: 183) that all linguistics is socio-linguistics. But while there might be some argument about these distinctions on the methodological level, there cannot be any argument about the object of study which is, simply, language. Yet the different types of linguistics have led to an implicit belief that each type of linguistics studies a different type of language, for quite different and sometimes incompatible purposes. The study of literary language, because it focuses on such things as the uniqueness of the utterance - whereas other sorts of linguistics focus on the commonality of the structures described - is often kept intellectually separate from the study of the language as a whole. (As Fowler once observed (1971) in some University departments of English, the linguist is not supposed to - sometimes not allowed to - study literature.) This sometimes leads to the mistaken belief that linguists study the 'norm', while stylisticians study that which is not the norm, that which represents in some sense, the 'highest', most rarified use of language, language in special circumstances. So widespread was this sort of belief that Enkvist (1964) for instance could devote almost half of his entire paper on style trying to place 'the norm' in some actual instance of language use, when it should have been perfectly obvious that the norm is simply a linguistic construct, and that utterances studied by linguists who claim to study the norm are no more normal than utterances studied in literature. But because literature is seen as language in

special circumstances, very few linguists (there are exceptions, like Thorne, 1969, Levin, 1962) overtly express concern about the generality of stylistic statements. Since the description is of a presumably idiosyncratic utterance, why should we expect it to be other than idiosyncratic itself?

It will eventually be argued in what follows that a stylistic description is a linguistic description, whatever the object of description is, and as such, it must satisfy the same requirements of generality and referability to the language as a whole as any other linguistic description. Moreover, the point will also be made that calling (say) poetry the 'highest' form of language does not allow us to infer that it therefore differs in kind (or contains linguistic properties which differ in kind) from language that is not poetry. It will however be unnecessary for me to argue the more general point that all language is in some sense poetic, since the most extreme version of this kind of philosophy has been put by Croce (1920) while De Groot (1949) in his 'Law of Two Strata' more moderately and quite convincingly shows that where the literal and expressive/affective sides of an utterance are in conflict, the latter always prevails (otherwise sarcasm would be impossible).

But if the description of literature is as much a description of English as a description of any other variety of English, why should a description of what is genuinely interesting in, say, a line in Paradise Lost be so difficult to refer to the language as a whole, or the langue?

Delicacy and Stylistic Distinctiveness

One reason why there should be this sort of difficulty is that there is a mistaken belief that a study of langue is best served by the study of banal, contextually indifferent sentences. The terms of the description of such utterances tend therefore to require considerable ad hoc adjustment and redefinition before they are suitable for describing literary utterances. Notice how, in the description of line 699 of Paradise Lost, for instance, even such a relatively simple feature as NP $\longrightarrow$ N + A could not be explained without some additional comments on what we meant by A - viz. that it was something that normally had the form and positioning of a premodifier but was now acting as post-modifier, and so on.

Another mistaken idea often held is that if these banal, contextually indifferent utterances are described with sufficient skill and care, and in enough detail, then the descriptive apparatus thus developed, should be sensitive enough to take account of non-banal, highly contextualised utterances. (Hereinafter, to avoid evaluative terms like 'banal', I shall use Lyons's term 'system-sentence' (Lyons, 1977: 622) to refer to those de-contextualised utterances and the term 'system-sentence linguistics' to refer to the linguistics of de-contextualised, idealised utterances - this last in preference to Hockett's (1961) graphic but macabre term 'marble-slab linguistics'.)

Some such assumption is implicit in the way the notion of 'delicacy' is sometimes used in stylistics (e.g. Enkvist, 1964, Leech, 1966: 137, 138). The general idea is that the more 'delicate' a description is - the more particular use it makes of notions from different descriptive categories in a theory - the less general it becomes and therefore the more able to describe the more subtle patterning of highly idiosyncratic unique utterances. Leech for instance (ibid.) says, 'A linguistic feature will be highly deviant if it is unique to a low-generality variety of English'. This is actually untrue. The subject noun phrase in sentences such as:

> The woman who was sat opposite me on the bus grinned all the time.
> The woman sat opposite me on the bus grinned all the time.

is grammatically deviant at a fairly high level, and would not be considered standard English by most English speakers outside Britain and by many within Britain. Curiously, it has wide acceptability by many people throughout Britain - it is not restricted to region or class or educational background (Note 2). Conversely, I once had a tutor in University who systematically transposed sibilant and palatal fricative in the word 'Shakespeare'. I have never met anyone else with this idiosyncracy - it is almost a fingerprint of his idiolect - and yet the transposition is not highly deviant on the phonetic level, since sibilants and palatal fricatives are very close phonetically and such changes are actually systematic in languages which have metathesis. Moreover, the changeover had no structural significance - it took us a term to discover what the mistake was.

The objection to using increasing delicacy to measure increasing individuality or idiosyncracy of style can be put in a more general way: the relationship between delicacy of description and uniqueness of utterance is <u>not symmetrical</u>. There is no reason at all to suppose it might be. A Hallidayan grammar (like any other grammar) is written to account for langue, not to account for unique utterances or individuality. A description of increasing delicacy is no more than a sign that the linguist wishes to, or has to, refer to more subtle or more complex linguistic patterns. These subtler or more complex patterns might be precisely those that uniquely characterise a writer's style, but equally, they might not.

For instance, take the poem <u>The Premonition</u> by Roethke (extract in Appendix A). One very striking feature of the language is the extreme rarity of adjective pre-modifiers (and the high proportion of determiners). This is not a statement of great descriptive delicacy. But it is a revealing insight into a highly characteristic feature of Roethke's style. On the other hand, a description of the phrase

> dapple-dawn-drawn falcon

in Hopkins's The Windhover would entail reference to many subtle shifts, contrasts and similarities - the alliteration, the unexpected use of dapple without the -d suffix in adjective position, and so on. And yet, no one would waste his time suggesting that one feature was any more poetical than the other.

Thus, it is not possible to meet the problems posed earlier in this paper by making one's descriptions of system-sentences more delicate when adapting to descriptions of poetical utterances.

The Saussurean Paradox

The sort of dilemma discussed here - between generality of description and uniqueness of utterance - has certain parallels with the 'Saussurean Paradox' referred to by Labov (1978: 186)

> 'The social aspect of language (langue) is studied by observing any one individual, but the individual aspect only by observing language in its social context.'

A description of an utterance in a literary text relates this to one further paradox. There is one other assumption (usually implicit) that such a description is interesting because, within the terms of 'what we know' (i.e. Chomskyan competence), within such limits as language might have imposed on our knowledge of the world and our experience, we are provided with an insight into a unique expression of one person's experience. (It is immaterial whether the person's experience is, in some non-linguistic sense, also unique. It is unnecessary to maintain a duality between a remarkable experience and a remarkable expression of that experience. In an important sense, the expression is that experience.)

With the use of a descriptive apparatus designed primarily to elucidate something about langue every effort is then made to show in what way the utterance being described could not have occurred elsewhere in langue (or if it has, not with the same import). If we are to speak of the impact of such an utterance in a literary context, the terms of the description must make explicit some element of uniqueness which has to do with the utterance - if not its surface form, then something in its deep structure, or logically presupposed, or in its relationship with its co-text, and so on. Unless something like this is shown, the exercise would not be, for the stylistician, an interesting one. This is the sort of motivation that lies behind, for instance, Halliday's attempt to characterise the special syntactic properties of what he calls 'Language A' in his essay on Golding's Inheritors' (Halliday, 1973: 126). This attempt suffers in the way all stylistic descriptions do from the dilemma being described here. Halliday's page-long 'grammar' of 'Language A' attains a certain generality of

description, but at the cost of not uniquely specifying that which is particular to the text. For instance, sentences such as

> His thoughts wandered up and down. His mind settled on the bush in front of him. The bushes twitched. Lok ignored them. His mind was elsewhere.

satisfy all of Halliday's major syntactic conditions, but they would be highly unlikely to occur in the passage, for reasons obvious to anyone who has read the text. Also, Halliday prohibits occurrences of non-spatial adjuncts (e.g. quickly) but the adjunct suddenly in fact occurs in the text. I believe this dilemma is one of the sources of the subjectivity in the essay which so concerned Stanley Fish (1973).

Put another way, the difficulty all stylistic descriptions face is that while they suffer from the inevitable circularity of the langue-parole duality (to the extent that any other sort of description suffers) they have the added dilemma of retaining some relevance to langue as a whole while demonstrating that the object of description is not just parole but an extraordinary instance of it - sometimes, so extraordinary as to be at the frontiers of langue itself. In other words, a literary utterance (or the larger text - e.g. the whole poem) is one person's way of extending the boundaries of langue. Poets have, as it were, their own language and are continually forcing language to evolve.

There is one other approach in linguistics where the assumption of langue as a static, given entity which encompasses all we know and can know is systematically reviewed. This is in diachronic linguistics, where language is seen as evolving (or drifting) rome one state to another. (This is, of course, another paradox - language is seen as static in order to be seen as changing.) A unique utterance in literature is therefore a kind of synchronic analogue to instances of diachronic change: we have some initial difficulty understanding (but nevertheless are pleased to try and understand) a phrase such as

> as not imagined secrecies comprise

(from e.e. Cummings, see Appendix B for the context)

in much the way a Victorian might have difficulty understanding such twentieth century phrases as

> it's a cop-out, cool it man, let's blow.

They are novel linguistic experiences which are alien to the state of the langue as defined up to the moment before such utterances occurred in it. Now, in diachronic linguistics, certain mechanisms are suggested to account for the new form (or rule required for the new form), all of which are based on the notion of drifting in time. In stylistics, no such analogous mediating device can be used, nor, interestingly, is

felt to be necessary. Critic and linguist alike would want, at some point, to speak of literary texts in terms of our present state of knowledge, in terms of the given langue, not in terms of contrasting states of knowledge (however historically orientated they might otherwise be). The literary text must not be described in terms which emphasise its distance from us, but in terms which ground it firmly within our experience. Not to do so would amount to saying that the text is, at best, obscure, at worse, unintelligible. (There are some who might well feel that the Cummings poem in Appendix B well exemplifies this last description, though it ought to be said that the obscurity of the language itself has semiotic purpose.)

And yet, these literary utterances which we wish to relate to our present langue stand, in the sense alluded to above, outside langue: it is this which makes them stylistically interesting. Therefore to understand the utterance, we do one or both of the following: (1) we re-define our notion of the state of langue to encompass the new utterance; this may involve saying, for instance, that it is now all right in English to have determiners after premodifiers in nominal groups (e.g. amazing the in Appendix B, line 4) given certain special circumstances; (2) we interpret the uniqueness of the utterance in such a way that it is referable to the rules of langue; for instance, we say that when Cummings uses determiners after modifiers, this is to be understood as merely a striking way of saying what is said with determiners in their usual place, since the English speaker at no time carries with him a rule such that NP $\longrightarrow$ A + T, and the only way he can handle such an utterance is to adopt a trivial transformational rule NP (A + T) $\Longrightarrow$ NP (T + A). This then is the further paradox: that we are interested in a literary utterance because it is unique in langue (in some sense or other) or even stands outside langue (to use the diachronic metaphor). But to understand it at all, we either have to re-define what we meant by langue or take away from the utterance that which makes it unique so that it fits into our old idea of langue.

We are faced therefore with two ways of assigning theoretical significance to our descriptions, neither of which can be entirely satisfactory (though I find certain attractions in the first). First, if we say that it is all right to have determiners after premodifiers in English, we have revised our notions about what is possible (acceptable, grammatical, etc.) in langue and are saying in effect that Cummings is privy to some knowledge from which we are excluded. If Cummings understands by this strange expression some strange experience, then so do we. Second, if we say that such a construction is merely strking because it violates some surface structure linear-ordering rule, and that it 'really' is the usual NP in ornamental disguise, then we have reduced the construction to banality, or at least, brought it back to our own pre-Cummings understanding of the rules of langue, in order to understand it. Poetry, says Roland Barthes (Barthes: 1970) is 'enigmatic'. Whichever of the two above alternatives we take, we deny that

this is so every time we try to make explicit a poetic expression in linguistic terms. There is a contradiction in trying to make explicit that which is enigmatic while asserting throughout the act of explication that what makes the utterance worth studying is its uniqueness, its enigmatic quality.

The point of a linguistic description is to account for, or make explicit, that which is implicit, puzzling or obscure in language. Both linguist qua system-sentence linguist and linguist qua stylistician are aware that there is a great deal in the target of the description that might never (say, in our lifetime) be accounted for. The difference is that the former is motivated by the ideal, however distant, of achieving some kind of total accountability or explanatory adequacy. The stylistician however never expects to do this with the target of his description, because the target in his case is not language, in its role as everyday, unremarkable language, but language in its role as artistic expression. It is a very naive stylistician indeed who begins an analysis of a poem with the belief that its finer shades of significance can ever be made wholly explicable in linguistic terms (or should be). If this were ever done, then the greater work of art would be the linguistic analysis, not the poem. The poem would have ceased to be enigmatic and therefore ceased to be a poem. It would have been totally re-defined in terms of the langue that existed before the occasion of the poem.

Competence and Stylistic Descriptions

One way of establishing the theoretical status of our descriptions which appears to avoid some of the problems just discussed is to relate poeticalness to competence, as J.P. Thorne has done. (Thorne, 1969, 1970, also Levin, 1962.) Here, one argues that each poet (or novelist, etc.) might be seen as having his own private grammar or 'counter-grammar', and therefore, his own special competence. One of the immediate dangers of this kind of approach Thorne himself has anticipated - that we might end up having to write a private grammar not only for each poet but possibly for each poem. However, Thorne appears to find such an exercise useful and appears to agree with Katz (to whom he refers, Thorne 1970: 195) in saying that although such 'counter grammars' contain rules which are not rules of standard English, they relate to rules of standard English. (By 'standard English' neither Thorne nor Katz mean what is usually implied by the term (i.e. a social dialect) but rather 'standardised, idealised English' - the English of system-sentence linguistics.)

What gives cause for doubt here is the convenient idea of 'rules (which) relate to rules of standard English'. This kind of flirting with the notion of competence only serves to emphasise the central difficulties which form the subject of this paper. For it is not at all clear if it is possible, in principle, to relate such rules to one another in this way. If we take, for example, the Cummings phrase amazing the this gives us an NP of the form NP $\longrightarrow$ A + T. How are we to

'relate' such a rule to the usual Phrase Structure (or Categorial) rules? Obviously, to establish a link transformationally, to treat it as a trivial matter of linear reordering - as suggested earlier in this discussion - would be to say that Cummings meant nothing extraordinary by the phrase at all, but was merely experimenting with words (which, in this case, he probably was, but presumably we would not be satisfied with such a solution for every piece of poetry). To do it any other way would require suggesting something like the following: there is an NP in English, such that NP $\longrightarrow$ T + N; T $\longrightarrow$ A + T; N $\longrightarrow$ $\emptyset$; or such that NP $\longrightarrow$ T + N; T $\longrightarrow$ $\emptyset$; N $\longrightarrow$ A + T; and so on. Similar curiosities can be invented for other syntactically idiosyncratic poetic structures:

> Me up at does; little by little and was by was (Cummings).
> The mankind making / Bird beast and flower (Dylan Thomas).
> Hast thy dark descending and most art merciful then
> (G.M. Hopkins).

The deep-structure grammars we would have to write for these and other poetic structures - and it is Thorne's belief that poetic response is at the level of deep structure - would resemble the clinical worksheet of a neurolinguist or speech therapist. We know of course that these are the products of a normal mind (to the extent to which we consider poets normal) not the result of aphasic disorder. But this knowledge is no part of our descriptions. Yet, if we are to seriously believe that poetic uniqueness lies in deep structure, we have no choice but to say that, in what Chomsky would call a non-trivial sense, such grammars actually exist. Thus to accept such arguments about deep structure and poetic structures, we would have to reject the following ways of saying how we understand (for instance) a structure such that NP $\longrightarrow$ A + T + N:

a. The NP string is merely the output of a transform on NP (T + N(A + N)). This would mean the string is trivial word play.

b. The string NP (A + T + N) is the result of a unique node in Poet X's grammar - no one else has such a node. This explains why it is unique, but it would also make Poet X into some kind of extraterrestial (intelligent) being or the speaker of some exotic language so far undiscovered. Strictly, we would not be able to understand Poet X where this corner of his competence was concerned.

c. The string NP (A + T + N) is a defective string.

We seem to be caught in much the same dilemma that was discussed in connection with the Saussurean Paradox. If we speak airily of 'relating' non-standard rules to standard ones, without providing some mechanism for establishing the relationship, we are guilty of taking the notion of competence too lightly. If we try to suggest some mechanism we seem to be trivialising poetry.

Conclusion

Any description of a stylistically distinctive and unique utterance in terms which are referable to the langue that existed before that utterance occurred effectively reduces the uniqueness of that utterance, or transforms that uniqueness into mere eccentricity, word-play or grammatical tampering. A linguistic description of style in effect says, 'If I were Common Man, used only to banal system-sentences of the sort generated by a Chomskyan grammar, I would resort to such and such devices either (a) to amend my grammar to understand your poetic structures or (b) to translate your poetic structures to a form acceptable in my grammar.'

I know of no linguistic study of literature that does the former. Invariably, stylistic studies assume the latter. The discussion in the section above in TG terms may appear to be following the former line but it does not. In fact, the reason we failed to relate unusual rules to usual ones above was precisely this - that it is difficult to see how the poet's grammar can be accepted (without describing him as mentally defective, mad or inhuman) without sacrificing the original notion of competence. Similarly, the reason all stylisticians take the latter option is that this line of procedure safeguards certain simplifying assumptions about language - that it is homogeneous, that there is a level at which all speakers understand each other, that there is a common-core understood by Common Man, and that therefore this common-core can be characterised by calling it competence or langue and suggesting a mechanism for it. The interesting thing is that were stylisticians to adopt the first option in their descriptions - amending Common Man's grammar to take account of the poet's - the idea of Common Man disappears. The man who has internalised T.S. Eliot's or G.M. Hopkins's grammar is no longer Common Man.

This seems the only genuinely productive line to pursue. The notion of uniqueness used throughout this discussion needs to be used with one proviso - that the unique occurrence of some poetic line or line of prose need not imply some special insight into life, the world, beauty, etc. granted to poets. Poets do not differ from non-poets in having these special abilities; they differ in having the need and ability to express these insights in effective language. Once these have been expressed, everyone else shares these insights, or can be taught to.

It does not seem useful to impose a dichotomy - at least in terms of understanding (i.e. at the level of competence) - between poets and non-poets. Similarly, it does not seem useful to try to define poetry (or generally, literature) in terms which set it apart dichotomously from so-called 'everyday language'. Literature is 'parasitic upon language' (Barthes, 1970). It is not separate from it. The uniqueness of a line of poetry therefore lies only in this - that it is an utterance that conveys a 'significance' (Barthes, 1970) wholly dependent on the expression of the utterance, and which has no separate

existence apart from the utterance. Also, such an utterance must be felt to be novel - it must not have occurred before. Such an interpretation of poeticalness will of course include a large number of utterances which most of us might not wish to consider poetical at all, but this is not a consequence worth pursuing at this point - it is futile trying to define poetry in some absolute way, and the statement just made is not in any case an attempt to define poetry but to explain uniqueness. What is important then is to speak of uniqueness in this sense and not to confuse it with idiosyncrasy, eccentricity, grammatical deviation, departures from the norm, and so on. Poets and novelists may well be idiosyncratic, eccentric and grammatical deviates, but that is not why we read their work.

The point of bringing Common Man closer to the poet in this way is to allow us to argue that these private and special competences or grammars that poets are supposed to have, have no special theoretical existence. They are, by definition, firmly within langue. They differ from so-called normal rules (the rules the system-sentence linguist calls normal) only in that the utterances they generate have little utilitarian value, little referential purpose, and are context-dependent in a highly restricted way (in effect, not context-dependent at all, since a poem creates its own context). But they are always rules of langue from the moment the utterances they generate have been uttered. Thus, if we feel that some poetic utterance with the description NP (A + T + N) really does mean something which differs in a non-trivial way from what is meant by NP (T + N (A + N)), we have always had in us the ability to generate the former construction, ungrammatical as it might seem to be.

There is, in other words, a poet in each of us, or enough of the poet at the covert level of competence to allow us to understand other poets. Until grammars are written based on a langue that takes into account non-idealised, non-standardised language - and in this I am echoing the plea made by Labov (1978: 199) - we shall carry on describing literary utterances in terms of deviation, departures from the norm, ungrammaticality and other such peripheral notions.

FOOTNOTES

1. A case in point is the non-uniqueness of phonemic solutions first noted by Chao (1934). I have, by the way, borrowed the notion of non-uniqueness from Chao for my title.

2. I have no authority to cite for making this claim for the acceptability of such sentences, except my own personal enquiries. However, similar cases of acceptability are found in Trudgill, ed., (1978), see especially p.13.

APPENDIX A

Extract from The Premonition by Theodore Roethke

Walking this field I remember
Days of another summer.
Oh that was long ago! I kept
Close to the heels of my father,
Matching his stride with half-steps
Until we came to a river.

APPENDIX B

Extract from e.e. cummings

all nearness pauses, while a star can grow

all distance breathes a final dream of bells;
perfectly outlined against afterglow
are all amazing the and peaceful hills

(not where not here but neither's blue most both)

and history immeasurably is
wealthier by a single sweet day's death:
as not imagined secrecies comprise

goldenly huge whole the upfloating moon.

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TEACHING LINGUISTICS: THE PROBLEM OF TERMINOLOGY

Anita Pincas
Department of English as a Foreign Language
University of London Institute of Education

A short piece in a recent issue of the New Scientist (84, 1181, p.546) describes a naturalist's attempts to publish 'An observation on the behaviour of the hippopotamus'. After several rejections by learned journals, he showed the piece to a colleague whose advice finally led to publication:

> 'It's not the importance of it' he explained, pitying my naivete, 'It's the title - just look at it, ridiculous.' I thought it looked fairly simple and honest. 'That's the trouble' was the reply, 'you should call it something like: 'Non-aggressive tactile interactions of Hippopotamus amphibious (Linn.) with Syncerus caffer (Sparrman).' This it became, and through it, became 'science'. It was sent to a well-respected and prestigious international journal, and a letter of acceptance came back by return of post.
>
> It didn't fool the editor of a popular magazine, however, who in abstracting the article for a wider consumption, more accurately referred to it with the headline 'Bottom Biting'.

At first sight, the source of amusement here is the use of special terminology. But, in a more subtle sense, the success of a type of terminology in those circumstances illustrates the force of register choices in everyday affairs. A scientist who wishes to communicate with his fellows in the pages of a learned journal must play the language game properly and use the expected register. No less than a ski-instructor to command the respect of his fellows and pupils, a hot-rod enthusiast discussing his interest, or indeed a housewife expounding her favourite recipe.

Unfortunately, suspicion of unfamiliar terminology runs very deep. The attitude of the New Scientist writer showed that even professional people are sceptical of their own registers. The following is perhaps a reasonable summary of the community's attitude to terminology. It is from a review by John Carey of The State of the Language in The Sunday Times, (27 January 1980, p.42).

> The adoption of a special language is a form of self-defence resorted to at all social levels, from the literary critic who insulates himself behind impenetrable jargon, to the teenage punk who seeks the solidarity of a group, and a group idiom, to atone for his social and physical handicaps. What the

normal observer finds embarrassing is that such people seem not to realise how glaringly their linguistic choice exposes their feelings of personal inadequacy.

No doubt students of linguistics encounter discussions of register often enough during their studies. But they often fail to develop a conscious insight into their own operation of various registers, and, in particular, they do not see that linguistics quite reasonably develops its own register as a medium of communication among its practitioners. The first step, therefore, for students confronting new linguistic studies, is to accept the special register of academic procedures in general and of linguistics in particular. When we teach these students, we must try to ensure that they see the register of linguistics in the context of the general interplay of different varieties of language.

Simple acceptance ought to follow an enlightened understanding of these basic language facts. But why does the special terminology of science, and linguistics, often have the effect of spuriousness? One answer is that its unfamiliarity, coupled with its frequent classical roots, makes it particularly odd. More significant in linguistics is that students often have a smattering of traditional terminology as a relic of their school-days and the new terms seem to duplicate existing ones. Students feel considerable irritation when faced with what they feel is merely a set of replacement terms. At this point the problem changes from one of a new register, involving special terms, to the problem of the role of terminology as such.

Student reaction to the new terminology seems to take one of two forms. Those students whose main course is linguistics and who see the theoretical study of linguistics as central to their work, often acquire a superficial grasp of the new terminology and spatter their talk and writing with linguistic terms in order to show (or, rather, show-off) their new knowledge. To the tutor it is too often quite obvious that they have not really understood the terms. On the other hand, students such as those in my Department whose main aim is to develop methods of teaching English as a foreign language and who regard linguistics as a side-line, however interesting or relevant, are less interested in merely impressing their tutor with terms. They tend to be impatient with terms that are not immediately transparent. Their attitude is that they wish to dispose of linguistics quickly and get back to teaching methods, and they are frustrated by the difficulties of linguistic terminology. These students are on the whole somewhat older than undergraduates in linguistics, and there is the further psychological complication that adults are less inclined to wait for new knowledge to develop gradually - they expect to be able to master a new subject very quickly ... too quickly.

Ideally, the terminology of a subject is acquired along with genuine understanding of the subject, and the better our teaching methods the less our students will flounder among its terms. If they are given opportunities to use the terms in

the activities of linguistics, they will become familiar with them and accept them as naturally as they pick up the register of their other special activities. But even the best teaching methods cannot teach everything at once. Familiarity with linguistics develops as a gradual process, and until a fairly advanced stage, the terminology can still be a source of difficulty.

The students' bafflement and irritation in the face of new terms is frustrating to the lecturer who wishes to concentrate on the content of his subject and regards the terminology as no more than a means to that end. Indeed he may feel that there is no distinction between teaching a subject and teaching its terms. But we must recognize that the naive learner's confrontation with linguistics is mediated to a great extent by the terminology, and if we can lessen the initial shock, we shall not be unnecessarily cushioning him, but performing an essential pedagogic task.

There are at least three reasons for the difficulty. First, the terms themselves may be opaque and need explaining. Second, the terms may be familiar words used in special ways in the technical context. Third, the practice of different scholars may vary in relation to the same terms or in the use of different terms for what appear to be the same concepts.

I would like to suggest that these difficulties are best overcome in two principal ways. One way is to ensure that students become conscious of the role of linguistic terminology in the growth of the discipline, and the other is to offer quite deliberate and systematic guidance for the learning of terminology as a mechanical task alongside its use in genuine linguistic activities.

For the first, it is necessary to make the terminology as object of study in itself. One can develop a component of the linguistics course which is intended to make students aware of how the dialectic history of the subject can be seen in its changing terms. One would ask questions like: How does Chomsky's use of the term 'structure' differ from Fries's?; or Does the use of 'structure' in 'semantic structure' conceal important difficulties in the field? Such questions are somewhat reminiscent of the kind of examination questions we often concoct and they reflect the subtle importance of terminology for an understanding of the subject. But our <u>teaching</u> does not usually deal with the terminology directly: it focusses on the linguistic issues and the terminology is simply present as a component of the discussion.

For the second way of overcoming students' difficulties, it is necessary to admit that the resistance to new terms is worth more than a deprecatory shrug. The better policy, as in the case of register discussed earlier, is to relate the issue directly to one of the students' theoretical concerns in their linguistic studies, namely to the study of semantics. Linguistic terms can exemplify the topics studied there and many birds might be killed with the proverbial stone.

It is important to explain the fundamental requirements of scientific discourse and the need for precision, and then to show how the development of new linguistic terms fulfil some of the criteria of lexical development in language generally. For example, new linguistic terms:

(1) may be required to label a new concept;

(2) may help to refine an already established concept, i.e. to give it greater precision through the use of a more pointed term, either narrowing it or widening it;

(3) may be needed to bring several already known concepts together under a more general heading;

(4) may signal a re-orientation towards a concept and be essential if the confusing associations of established earlier terms are to be avoided;

(5) may make distinctions not previously labelled clearly.

It is not difficult to relate the terminology of, say, the last twenty years to these five criteria. But students who come to the subject for the first time tend to see all terminology as belonging to the first category. They lack the knowledge to make connections between earlier and later developments in linguistics, or between linguistic terms and general usage, or even between linguistic terms and the semi-linguistic terminology of school and folk linguistics. The history of linguistics can be interpreted through the terms used; the major works reflect developments and disputes in the terms they keep and the terms they reject. But students, particularly at first, see linguistics as a finite body of known facts about language. Unless they can distinguish between the process of linguistic enquiry as distinct from the products of that inquiry, they will fall into many traps of misunderstanding. The following quotation (Wilkins, 1972: 85) illustrates the point:

> Language teaching that neglects syntax and semantics is certain to be inadequate. By thinking of language learning as the mastering of structural relations rather than the acquisition of a set of terms we can help ourselves to avoid this inadequacy.

Here the phrase 'structural relations' requires explication for many students: in traditional grammar it could mean such features as noun/verb concord; in structuralist grammar it could mean sentence patterns and pattern practice for language teaching; in TG it could mean deep/surface or transformational relationships. But <u>in this context</u> it means the systems relating all aspects of language: its forms and their relation to actual use.

The following are some examples of terminology fulfilling the five criteria listed above:

	Linguistics	Applied Linguistics
(1) New concept:	cyclic principle deep structure	notional syllabus transitional competence
(2) Refining a concept:	distinctive feature focus	error analysis language acquisition
(3) More general term:	adverbial case relations	cohesion communicative competence
(4) Re-orientation:	class I word	graphology
(5) Clearer labels:	stative/dynamic	illocution/perlocution

Although we have no genuine evidence, it does seem as if these types of coinages are on an increasing scale of difficulty, from (1) to (5). Probably it is most useful to concentrate on (3), (4), and (5), since they are situations where students are least likely to appreciate the need for new terms. Whether the technical use of an already existing general word (e.g. 'focus') creates difficulty or lessens it will of course depend on the degree of correspondence between the general and technical meanings.

As was suggested in the discussion of register, it is necessary to help students connect their problems in linguistics with more general contexts of language. So the problem of new linguistic terminology should be set in the context of lexical innovation generally. A discussion of new words in a familiar area of daily life can be made to illuminate the five criteria for new terms. For instance, these are some terms in the area of social conventions, which exemplify each one in turn: Ms (1); bisexual (2); single-parent family (3); gay (4); women's lib. (5). In each case it can be shown that the new terms arose in conjunction with changes of ideas, and that such neologisms are paralleled in linguistics.

Clearly, terminology cannot be isolated from its place among the procedures and facts of linguistics, so that there cannot be any suggestion for rote-learning of definitions except for those few items which impose little conceptual difficulty and constitute merely a memorisation task (e.g. some terms in phonetics). But it would seem pedagogically sensible to treat new terms in a systematic way and present them as a separate but related aspect of the subject. This would have the merit not only of assisting the learners, but also of giving obvious sympathetic attention to one of their chief problems. Moreover, teaching linguistics under the guise of teaching the terminology might be a psychologically satisfying technique with learners who focus their difficulties on the terms.

Some terminology used to specify language varieties

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
dialect	-	dialect	-	dialect	dialectal varieties	dialect
register	-	-	?style	-	diatypic varieties	-
field	register	register	?register	register/subject matter	field	province
mode	medium	mode	medium	medium	mode	medium/modality
style	style	style	?register	style/attitude	tenor	status

(1): from Halliday et al (1964)
(2): from Strevens (1964)
(3): from Catford (1965)
(4): from Strang (1962)
(5): from Quirk (1972)
(6): from Gregory (1967)
(7): from Crystal and Davy (1969)

Compiled by C.P. Hill, Department of English as a Foreign Language, University of London Institute of Education.

There are several ways of teaching terminology. Glossaries are probably the least successful, since they are not seen as material to be read, and tend to be regarded as little more helpful than dictionaries. Citations from authors and detailed references to the literature are most useful. Comparative tables are extremely important for items which are variously used by different writers. Our students have always been most appreciative of the table shown here. Similarly, Byrne and Walsh (1973: 145) give a table comparing RP vowel symbols from the IPA, Gimson and other sources. But any table or glossary is incomplete without some indication of the relationships between terms, and it would be helpful if some charts specifically illustrated the five criteria for new terms, for example by relating them to the history of the subject, or by listing them under 'schools' and 'movements' in the subject.

As far as the use of linguistic terms during lectures is concerned, one normally has a choice of either of two strategies: (a) of teaching a new term, say phoneme, in the context of its own immediate related terms, i.e. phonemic/phonetic/allophone/sound system, etc.; or (b) of teaching it in the context of related terms in other sub-areas of linguistics, e.g. phoneme/morpheme/grapheme. The temptation is towards (b), but it is probably best resisted in all but a general overview. In a course in which (as in ours) phonology is separated from and precedes morphology, it is only confusing to foreshadow morpheme when discussing phoneme. Referring back is more effective than looking ahead.

I have pointed to some problems related to terminology, but I have not thought it necessary to emphasise that the teaching of terminology ought to be as methodologically sound as the teaching of any other part of the subject. That is to say, the kind of learning procedures for terminology ought not to be limited simply because terminology seems, at first sight, a superficial task. The procedures of discovery, problem-solving, group discussion, and so on, which assist learning, should be brought to bear here as much as in any other area. The purpose of this paper was to highlight the role of terminology from the learner's point of view. But the actual teaching procedures must be left to each individual teacher.

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THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS AND THE TEACHING OF SPANISH

Christopher J. Pountain
Queens' College, Cambridge

When we begin to delineate, even in the most general terms, the aims of theoretical linguists and teachers of language, it is clear from the outset that pedagogical pay-off from the investigations of the former cannot be guaranteed. We do well to set beside the enthusiasm of Halliday et al (1964) the caution of Bolinger (1967), the former charting areas in which theoretical linguistics could make an impact on a British language teaching tradition which was in great need of critical reexamination, the latter counselling against the overstatement of the importance of linguistics to the training of language teachers in a country which had just been swept off its feet by the Chomskyan revolution. For the theoretical linguist is primarily interested in the nature of language in general; he aspires to build a model of language which will describe the structure of language, and hence that of individual languages also. As far as particular phenomena are concerned, he insists on the completeness of descriptions, constantly searching for the counterexamples that will challenge an established generalization. The Chomskyan linguist is renowned for settling himself even loftier tasks. His descriptive model of language, he hypothesizes, will also be a model of the structure of the psychological faculty of language in man: he is therefore concerned with the grosser properties of human language, seeking universals of linguistic structure and crucial examples which will more accurately plot the relation of the various components of his model one to another.

Now the language teacher's goals are sharply in contrast. He is interested in the structure of just one language, or, if he can afford the luxury (and modern language departments teaching English students can), in the contrastive structure of the target language and the native language of the learner. If, as will frequently be the case with European languages, these two happen to share a number of grosser features, he can leave much concerning their individual properties unstated; he will be concentrating on differences, then, rather than on similarities. Also, the language teacher will find it advantageous sometimes to sacrifice the demands of completeness to those of expediency: a general rule given in a clear mnemonic form will be more useful to the learner than a simultaneously presented complete account of all exceptions which may be encountered: the gradual elaboration of exceptions to a general rule after its introduction is a pattern commonly followed by teachers and teaching manuals (Note 1). Another preoccupation of language teachers has been with the relative frequency of words and structures, a consideration which the descriptive linguist often sets aside: introductory courses often make a conscious attempt to use only the most 'common' words and structures (2), while more advanced courses may be directed

towards particular groups of learners and concentrate on a specialized range of vocabulary and idiom (3).

Nevertheless, despite these divergent interests of which I think it is important to be aware, there are bridges which can appropriately be built between theoretical linguistics and language teaching. During my years in the Department of Hispanic Studies at the University of Nottingham I had an interesting opportunity to experiment with the building of such bridges, and this article is a partial report on my work in this area. I hope it will not be taken as a manifesto of what teachers ought to be teaching, but rather as a record of a language teacher who was also a theoretical linguist. I cannot help feeling that there are as many teaching methods as there are teachers, and that the most successful teacher is the one who adopts a method with which he can identify enthusiastically. Many may not be able to identify with my kind of approach, and I would not presume to force it upon them; on the other hand, many modern language graduates now have a not inconsiderable background in theoretical linguistics, and they, I hope, may find food for thought here, and a basis for discussion.

First of all, I would claim that modern theoretical linguistics has achieved great insights into the structures of individual languages (albeit for more distant motives), particularly on the morphological and syntactic levels, and that several areas of linguistic structure hitherto almost neglected by traditional pedagogical manuals, have been opened up by detailed study: generally I might cite work on complementation patterns (4), and for Spanish in particular I might mention treatments of pronoun position (5) and the use of the reflexive (6). One simple example of this in my own teaching is connected with what may be described as the use or non-use of a preposition before an infinitive in Spanish. Many students take up Spanish after they have been learning French for a number of years, and one source of difficulty is therefore the adaptation to Spanish of French words and constructions. For instance, the French pattern il est difficile de faire cela ('it is difficult to do that') may be rendered by the learner in Spanish as *es dificil de hacer eso instead of the correct es dificil hacer eso without intervening preposition. And yet in Spanish there are sentences of the form eso es dificil de hacer with the preposition. The theoretical linguist will recognize that es dificil hacer eso and eso es dificil de hacer are related, as are English it is tough to please John and John is tough to please, by the rule known as TOUGH-MOVEMENT (7): with certain adjectives, the object of the verb in the (subject) complement clause - eso, John - may move to become the overt subject of the main clause - es dificil, is tough. In Spanish this process also involves the introduction of the preposition de before the infinitive. Eso es dificil de hacer is not simply a recalcitrant exception, therefore, but represents a regularity which can easily be pointed out to the learner; the teacher can even devise a drill that will familiarize the student with the two kinds of construction.

Secondly, the insistence on the criterion of simplicity in linguistic description ought to have some corresponding pedagogical advantage in that success in establishing more general descriptive rules for a language should lead to the elaboration of more satisfactory pedagogical precepts. One problem which learners of Spanish have to encounter is that of when to use the subjunctive mood in temporal clauses; at university level it is an area in which mistakes are commonly made, suggesting that something has been going wrong in earlier learning. Admittedly, French interferes once again, with the subjunctive being used invariably with some temporal conjunctions (jusqu'à ce que, avant que, après que) and the indicative invariably with others (quand, lorsque, etc.). The only conjunction of this kind in Spanish is antes (de) que ('before'), which always requires the subjunctive. The situation in Spanish is simply this: where the time-reference of the subordinate temporal clause is future with respect to the moment of utterance, actual or reported, or implied (in indirect style), or where it is future with respect to a verb in whose complement it appears, then the subjunctive is needed. Examples are:

(a) Voy a esperar aquí hasta que venga mi amigo (present subjunctive)
'I'll wait here until my friend comes' (comes is future with respect to the moment of utterance)

(b) Dijo que iba a esperar hasta que viniera su amigo (imperfect subjunctive)
'He said that he was going to wait until his friend came' (came is future with respect to the reported moment of utterance)

(c) Esperaría hasta que viniera su amigo (imperfect subjunctive)
'(He declared that) he would wait until his friend came' (came is future with respect to the implied moment of utterance)

(d) Prometió esperar hasta que viniera su amigo (imperfect subjunctive)
'He promised to wait until his friend came' (came is future with respect to promise)

In other circumstances the indicative is used:

(e) Siempre espero aquí hasta que viene mi amigo (present indicative)
'I always wait here until my friend comes' (comes is a repeated action, not exclusively future)

(f) Esperó hasta que vino su amigo (preterite indicative)
'He waited until his friend came' (came is anterior to the moment of utterance: there is no reported moment of utterance here)

Examples (a) - (d) are clearly aspects of the same phenomenon, and should be presented as such. Appeal to the notion of moment of utterance allows the most general statement of the phenomenon.

Thirdly, the theoretical linguist's eye, trained in the search for similarities between languages, may well light on areas of likeness in the native and target languages that will facilitate teaching. Students may be taught how to handle unfamiliar overt distinctions in the target language by appreciating corresponding covert distinctions in their own. Dwight Bolinger has shown a particular knack for establishing such parallels, and I have gratefully used some of them to advantage. In Bolinger (1972), for example, he connects the phenomenon of adjective position in Spanish with that of adverb position in English. Adjective position in Spanish is fairly free; it is not possible, for instance, to establish lists of adjectives which regularly precede the noun, as it is for French, and the traditional, though essentially correct, claim that adjectives which follow the noun express distinguishing properties is difficult for the student to grasp. Without it being necessary to invent vague semantic indications of this kind, Bolinger points to the similarity between Spanish tenía ricos ornamentos and English it was richly ornamented and between Spanish tenía ornamentos ricos and English it was ornamented richly.

The theoretical linguist might therefore offer a number of services to the language teacher. He might in the first place scrutinize materials which are currently available and comment critically on the kinds of explanation of phenomena which are offered pedagogically. For instance, I have found that more harm than good has been done when students have assimilated, and then applied logically, some of the inadequate rules of thumb that have been purveyed to them. The case of the criteria for the choice between the two Spanish copular verbs ser and estar is an obvious example. The slogan all too often given is that ser indicates permanence and estar temporariness (heavily qualified, of course, by the best manuals, but it seems to have passed unrefined into the tradition of Spanish language teaching). The student therefore produces sentences like

(a) La puerta es siempre abierta (ser)

intended to mean 'the door is always open' (clearly a permanent state of affairs) and

(b) *Mi padre estuvo médico durante la guerra (estar)

for 'my father was a doctor during the war' (he isn't now, so it must have been a temporary thing). In fact, the choice between ser and estar is governed by several factors apart from the over-vague semantic criterion of permanence and temporariness (which might conceivably be used in describing the choice with a following adjective, but would even so be

better labelled as 'inherent characteristic' for ser and 'resultant state' for estar). In particular, ser is always used with a nominal complement and estar is always used with a locative adverbial (except in one or two cases which we need not dwell on here); with past participles ser + past participle forms the regular passive while estar + past participle represents a resultant state (there are some lexical exceptions). It turns out further that general considerations of temporariness and permanence, as expressed, for example, by adverbials or by overall pragmatic conditions, have no effect at all on these principles. So (b) breaks the overriding syntactic consideration that a noun is never the complement of estar, and (a), while acceptable as a passive ('the door is always opened ...') cannot have the resultant state reading which was intended.

But it is surely not enough for the theoretical linguist to offer criticism. He can also develop new teaching materials by way of practical example, and make the specific results of theoretical enquiry available to teachers and learners. The theoretical linguist faces a number of interesting tasks in adapting the insights of descriptive linguistics to pedagogical use. No sophisticated general linguistic knowledge can be assumed on the part of the learners - indeed, even the basic knowledge of traditional categorial and functional labels (noun, verb; subject, object) assumed by most pedagogical grammars cannot nowadays be taken for granted. The theoretical linguist who has been brought up in the Chomskyan tradition will also have to consider how much use in the pedagogical sphere he is going to make of two important devices of his own trade: first, the appeal to an abstract (underlying) level of structure, and, second, the use of unacceptable forms (the asterisked forms of descriptive enquiry). As a basis of discussion for these questions, I will take two slightly revised extracts from Pountain and Whitbourn (1976-8), a programmed audio course for post-A level university undergraduates. Several Units in the course contained a short exposition in English of points of syntax which had been exemplified in the text which gave the Unit its unifying 'theme', and these are two such sections.

The first example deals with the complement patterns of impedir ('prevent') and evitar ('avoid'). The verbs are drawn together by their semantic proximity (indeed, Spanish evitar may in some contexts correspond to English prevent) (8) and so need to be carefully distinguished by the learner; they also contrast syntactically with English prevent and avoid, since while both English verbs always take a gerundive complement, impedir and evitar take either an infinitive or a que + S complement (the latter with subjunctivization of the complement S verb). Evitar takes the infinitive complement where the subject of evitar and that of the complement S are the same; impedir, the complement of which normally has a different subject from that of the main verb, permits both infinitive and que + S apparently indifferently (9). One or two refinements must be added to this descriptive profile for the sake of completeness: my Spanish informant (10) also accepted

de + infinitive as a possible pattern for the complement of evitar, and preferred generally the presence of the optional el before the infinitive. For English we should note that prevent allows optionally from before the gerund. It is these syntactic differences that are going to cause the greatest problems for the learner, and it is unforuntate that pedagogical manuals are often scanty where this sort of information is concerned: Ramsden (1959), for example, one of the best works of this kind, mentions impedir and evitar in his lists of verbs which taken an infinitive without further comment (11); Smith (1971), a dictionary which contains a good deal of syntactic information, especially on complementation, gives an example of the infinitive complement for evitar and examples of both kinds of complement for impedir.

EXAMPLE A (12)

Lectora (quoting from recorded text): ¿Quién impedirá que hablemos y pensemos como quiere el emisor?

Evitemos que se convierta en realidad lo esbozado por los investigadores.

CJP: Impedir and evitar are followed either by que plus a whole sentence with the verb in the subjunctive, or by an infinitive. This is in contrast to English prevent and avoid, which are followed by a participle (I'll prevent him going; I'll avoid going). Impedir takes an indirect object and can always be followed by que plus subjunctive, but when the subject of the subordinate sentence is a personal pronoun, the infinitive construction can be used: thus

Le impediré que salga
or Le impediré salir

Evitar, on the other hand, cannot take an indirect object. It can only be followed by an infinitive, often with a preceding el, when the subject of evitar is the same as the subject of the subordinate sentence, so

Evitaré decir la verdad
or Evitaré el decir la verdad

Yo evitaré. Yo diré la verdad.

but Evitaré que sepa la verdad

Yo evitaré. Él sabrá la verdad.

Let's have another look at this last sentence, evitaré que sepa la verdad. There's not really a straight equivalent of this sentence in English,

and the usual translation is I'll prevent his knowing the truth. It's very close in meaning, in fact, to impediré que sepa la verdad, although impedir implies a more positive action than evitar. Returning now to impedir, notice the difference between

Impediré a mi hermano que salga

('I'll prevent my brother from going out', in which my action will directly affect my brother)

and Impediré que mi hermano salga

('I'll prevent my brother from going out', where my action will not directly affect my brother, but only the general situation). Here again Spanish has a contrast which is not possible in English.

Look through all these sentences on your handout (13) now and then translate the following sentences.

CJP: 1. The guard prevented the prisoner from drowning
PAUSE
Lectora: El guardia impidió que el prisionero se ahogara
o El guardia impidió al prisionero que se ahogara
o El guardia evitó que el prisionero se ahogara

CJP: 2. Don't prevent those children from playing in the garden!
PAUSE
Lectora: ¡No impida a los niños que jueguen en el jardín!

CJP: 3. Aren't they ever going to invent anything to prevent cars from skidding?
PAUSE
Lectora: ¿No van nunca a inventar algo que impida que los coches patinen?

CJP: 4. I'll avoid reading Juan Ramón Jiménez if possible.
PAUSE
Lectora: Voy a evitar el leer a Juan Ramón Jiménez si es posible.

CJP: 5. You should avoid making remarks like that.
PAUSE
Lectora: Debe evitar el hacer tales observaciones.

CJP: 6. Avoid getting into trouble with the police!
PAUSE
Lectora: ¡Evite el meterse en líos con la policía!

The following features of Example A may be noted: (1) Terminology does not go beyond traditional labels, but these are used quite freely, for the sake of conciseness and explicitness. I do not think that there is any easy way around this limited

use of terminology, provided that it is used accurately and with care, and it is not too much to teach these terms to modern language students. But I have avoided the potentially useful term complement because it is not part of the stock-in-trade of English traditional grammatical terminology and might be confused with the traditional term (applied to the 'object' of the verb to be) by students who are familiar with such labels. (2) Some notion of abstract (underlying) structure is introduced in the explanation of the relation of identity between the subject of the main clause and subordinate clause verbs, identity, or lack of it, being shown by the use of subject pronouns (used only for emphasis or clarity in Spanish) in the full form of the constituent clauses. My justification for this is a gain in expositional clarity rather than the making of any theoretical point, and similar techniques are observable in many pedagogical and reference grammars (14). (3) As complete a set of examples as possible is given, although I omit (a) information about the behaviour of impedir with an identical subject for main clause verb and subordinate clause verb (because of the artificial nature of examples like me impedí salir); (b) the construction evitar de + infinitive (this is mentioned on the handout distributed after the class); (c) the possibility of impedir taking an infinitive complement even when there is a full noun indirect object (a possibility attested by Spaulding, 1933, but rejected to such an extent by my informant that I concluded that it was not a 'safe' construction to teach, being probably restricted idiolectally or stylistically). The point I wish to make is that, so far as I am aware, omissions have been deliberately motivated and are not the result of too casual an observation of the data. (4) At this relatively advanced stage of a student's course, I do not hesitate to use translation exercises where these are appropriate or convenient. Here translation is appropriate since I wish to make the student aware of differences in structure and meaning between Spanish and English: it is not simply a question of learning something more about Spanish; I want to combat the possible interference of the native language in the target language. Furthermore, the development of drills for the practice of complex structures is not always easy, particularly in an audio course, where restrictions of memory hamper conversion operations on long sequences. Lastly, use of translation here gave an opportunity for the introduction of vocabulary from earlier Units and - dare I add - might have brightened up a rather turgid section with its in-joke about Juan Ramón, on whom one of my ex-colleagues was an authority.

The second example deals with Spanish sentences which have an unspecified or indefinite subject. These are commonly rendered in English by a passive with the agent unexpressed (rotten eggs were thrown at the Prime Minister) or by the use of an indefinite subject like people, one, you, they. Spanish, in addition to parallel possibilities, has also the extremely common device of making an active verb reflexive, a turn of phrase which may not readily occur to the English learner (thus escucha la radio, 'he listens to the radio'; se escucha la radio, 'people listen to the radio'). So pedagogical

grammars of Spanish exhort the student to 'avoid' the ser + past participle passive, which they claim is relatively less frequent in Spanish than is the be + past participle passive in English (15) - Ramsden, for example, devotes a whole section (§145) to this topic. The snag is, however, that many students eventually come to use the reflexive too overzealously; there are in fact important restrictions on its availability, some of a semantic kind (16), but some too of a more syntactic kind: it is one of these latter that my second example expounds and drills.

EXAMPLE B

Lectora (quoting from recorded text): Uno - o una - puede confeccionarse el vestuario completo para todo el verano.

CJP: In English we express an indefinite subject by using you, one or the passive, so

You can make up your entire winter wardrobe
One can make up one's entire winter wardrobe
An entire winter wardrobe can be made up

These devices also exist in Spanish:

Lectora: Tú puedes confeccionarte el vestuario completo para todo el verano
o Uno - o una - puede confeccionarse el vestuario completo para todo el verano
o El vestuario completo para todo el verano puede ser confeccionado

CJP: An additional possibility in Spanish which is not available in English is the use of se with any third person singular verb:

Lectora: Se puede alquilar apartamentos
Se está bien aquí
En la gran ciudad de Jauja, se come, se bebe y no se trabaja

CJP: Or se can be used with a third person plural verb, when the object appears to be the subject of a reflexive expression:

Lectora: En el Corte Inglés se venden bufandas y guantes

CJP: But be careful here. In your zeal to use an authentic Spanish construction - which is greatly to be encouraged - don't forget that you can't use the se construction when the verb is reflexive already, for whatever reason, so

You get dressed in the morning
is not Se se viste por la mañana

nor Se viste por la mañana (which would mean 'He gets dressed in the morning')

but

Lectora: Uno se viste por la mañana
o Tú te vistes por la mañana
o bien Nos vestimos por la mañana

CJP: That's easy to deal with; but the rule applies too when the impersonal se expression is linked in some other way to a genuinely reflexive verb; so

not Se puede confeccionarse un vestuario completo

but

Lectora: Uno - o una - puede confeccionarse un vestuario completo

CJP: Not Se comenzó a aburrirse

but

Lectora: Uno comenzó a aburrirse
o Comenzamos a aburrirnos

CJP: Not Generalmente cuando se es joven no se da cuenta de lo peligrosa que es la vida

but something like this

Lectora: Generalmente cuando uno es joven, no se da cuenta de lo peligrosa que es la vida
o Generalmente los jóvenes no se dan cuenta de lo peligrosa que es la vida

CJP: Now listen to the following sentences. If the sentence is correct, say so and repeat it. If it is not, say so, and revise it. Two examples are given.

Lectora: Primer ejemplo. Se es feliz o no se es feliz.

CJP: Está bien. Se es feliz o no se es feliz.

Lectora: Está bien. Se es feliz o no se es feliz.

CJP: Está bien. Se es feliz o no se es feliz.

Lectora: Segundo ejemplo. Cuando se bebe demasiado, se arrepiente el día siguiente.

CJP: No está bien. Cuando uno bebe demasiado, se arrepiente el dia siguiente.

Lectora: No está bien. Cuando uno bebe demasiado, se arrepiente el día siguiente.

CJP: No está bien. Cuando uno bebe demasiado, se arrepiente el día siguiente.

Lectora: O Cuando se bebe demasiado, uno se arrepiente el día siguiente.

CJP: O Cuando se bebe demasiado, uno se arrepiente el día siguiente.

CJP: Now press your SPEAK buttons.

Lectora: Se debe saber al dedillo los verbos irregulares.
PAUSE
Lectora: Está bien. Se debe saber al dedillo los verbos irregulares.
PAUSE
Lectora: Se suele quejarse del frío en Groenlandia.
PAUSE
Lectora: No está bien. Se suelen quejar del frío o suelen quejarse del frío en Groenlandia.
PAUSE
Lectora: Cuando se va a la Universidad se aprende mucho.
PAUSE
Lectora: Está bien. Cuando se va a la Universidad se aprende mucho.
PAUSE
Lectora: Cuando se sale de noche, se divierte como Dios manda.
PAUSE
Lectora: No está bien. Cuando la gente sale de noche, se divierte como Dios manda, o cuando se sale de noche, uno se divierte como Dios manda.
PAUSE
Lectora: Si se supiera lo ocurrido se enfadaría.
PAUSE
Lectora: No está bien. Si supieran lo ocurrido se enfadarían.
PAUSE
Lectora: En caso de hallarse en dificultades, se debe apretar el botón rojo.
PAUSE
Lectora: No está bien. En caso de que uno se halle en dificultades, se debe apretar el botón rojo, o caso de hallarse en dificultades, apretar el botón rojo, etc.

Example B is rather different in nature from Example A in that it is not attempting to teach new material so much as restricting material that is already familiar to the student. It was with this end in view that I took what may be seen as a controversial decision to use unacceptable sentences in my exposition and to elaborate a drill which required the student to recognize acceptable and unacceptable sentences. One practical problem in an audio course is actually signalling which examples are acceptable and which unacceptable, since we do not have the

asterisk device which is available to the theoretical linguist in his written descriptions. I have tried to keep the examples distinct here by having the lectora quote only the acceptable forms (except of course in the drill) while unacceptable forms are given by me, clearly prefaced with not or nor. Some people will no doubt feel that it is pedagogically unsatisfactory for learners to hear unacceptable forms at all. I think this charge can be answered in two ways: first, if by the appreciation of what is unacceptable as well as of what is acceptable in the target language the learner can gain accuracy in his use of the language, then I take the pragmatic view that the end justifies the means; second, there seems to me to be substantial theoretical justification for such an approach, and it is on this that I would like to focus for a moment.

It is a commonplace of Chomskyan linguistics that native speakers of a language are able, for the most part very quickly and easily, to say whether forms are acceptable or unacceptable; in other words, it is an essential part of their competence. Hence I feel it is plausible to argue that such discrimination is a skill that a learner ought to acquire explicitly as well as implicitly. It is a fairly advanced skill, of course; or at least it is a skill which present teaching methods encourage us to regard as advanced: most non-native teachers will be aware of the vast different that exists between their own productive command of the target language and their ability to correct students' production (typically in the correction of exercises, the case where we know what would be an acceptable form but are hard pressed to say whether the form the student has produced could be considered acceptable). I am not aware, however, of teaching manuals which make extensive use of the technique of explicitly warning against the unacceptable. For assessment purposes, use is sometimes made of the kind of cloze test in which words are unacceptably introduced into a passage of the target language, the students' task being to delete them. For some years now this kind of test has been used in the Part I Spanish Language examination at Nottingham, and has been found (if set and marked in a rigorous way) to be as reliable a means as any of assessing a student's command of the language. I have also used in written language classes an exercise in which students 'correct' a piece of Spanish prose in which unacceptable forms have been deliberately inserted - an exercise which also makes the student aware of teachers' problems.

In conclusion, then, I would hope that theoretical linguistics might make some contributions towards language teaching, both on the basis of general theory and of specific descriptive insights. The time has not yet come - nor may it ever - when theoretical linguistics has material to offer on every aspect of language with which the language teacher has to deal. For the moment what is needed is a steady intercourse through which language teachers are made aware of what is relevant to them in theoretical linguistics, and through which theoretical linguists who see openings for the pedagogical application of some of their results can test them out.

NOTES

1. Ramsden (1959), for instance, introduces 'radical-changing' verbs in Lesson XIII, although the regular tense comes in Lesson I.

2. See Ramsden (1959: 5) and Locke et al (1967: xiii).

3. See, for example, Thomas (1978).

4. Pioneered by Rosenbaum (1967); see also Stockwell et al (1973) Ch. 8.

5. For example, Perlmutter (1971), who used the data of clitic pronoun sequences in Spanish as evidence for the operation of purely surface structure constraints in syntax, and Roldan (1975), who has been the chief Spanish protagonist in a wide-ranging debate on Romance pronoun position.

6. Some 50 articles on this theme were published in the seventies; two early influential books were Babcock (1970) and Schroten (1972). Of interest to our present theme is Otero and Strozer (1973).

7. Discussed by Rosenbaum (1967: 107); labelled by Postal (1971: 27).

8. See Smith (1971: 362), where the distribution proposed is (glossing English prevent): 'person impedir, estorbar; event etc. impedir, evitar; estorbar; illness etc. evitar'.

9. Spaulding (1933) establishes on the basis of written usage a preference for the infinitive complement with this class of verb.

10. I am grateful to Luisa Anderson and Susi Serarols for acting as my long-suffering but ever-willing informants.

11. Ramsden (1959) § 100 (ii) and (iv).

12. I must apologize to non-Spanish speakers for not supplying translations for every part of these examples, but I have thought both of demands on space and of achievement of maximum clarity. I think that the crucial points of presentation should emerge satisfactorily. Both examples are hence to be taken as verbatim transcriptions of the recorded extract, and the translations or equivalents which are given were actually used in the text of the Unit.

13. Two handouts are distributed: the first, given out before the class, gives a series of examples which follow the exposition; the second, given out afterwards, sets out the drill and its solution.

14. A simple example may be cited from Escribano and Winterflood (1978: 175), where subject pronouns are quoted in order to make clear the person of the reflexive paradigm.

15. Green (1975) made a timely challenge to this kind of assertion, although still viewed the matter as a question of statistics; Ramsey and Spaulding (1956), §21.34, though offering a reason for their claim, do the same: 'In modern Spanish the formal passive is relatively less used, because of the number of equivalent constructions' (my italics). In fact it is probably appropriate to seek a more principled account of the lack of correspondence between English and Spanish passives: Spanish, for instance, does not passivize on an indirect object as does English (I was given a book, but *Fui dado un libro); there also appear to be specific verbs in Spanish which do not allow passivization (e.g. llamar, cansar, aburrir, etc.).

16. See Ramsden (1959), § 145 (b)(i) note, and Ramsey and Spaulding (1956), § 21.37.

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DOES ANYTHING UNDERLIE KOREAN?

Richard Coates
University of Sussex

A recent paper on sound symbolism in Korean (Kim, 1977) attempts, inter alia, to show that regular affective phonological processes in the lexicon of that language are best understood as acting on relatively abstract underlying forms. Thus apparent irregularities surrounding the lexical rule generating diminutives can be regularised by the assumption of synchronic validity for a consonant/vowel harmonic rule (1):

(1)

Diminutives	/phalan/	'light blue'
	/calkis/	'tough'
One expected baseform	*/phɯlɯn/	
	*/cɯlkis/	
Actually occuring baseform	/phulɯn/	'dark blue'
	/cilkis/	

Conclusion: There exists a graveness assimilation rule converting /ɯ/ to /i/ after palatals and /ɯ/ to /u/ after labials.

Further: Abstract baseforms are real ('the alternation relation is defined in terms of underlying phonemes' (69), i.e. /ɯ/ - /a/, RC).

We find exemplified here a methodological position like that set out by Kenstowicz and Kisseberth (1977: 2), namely that the goal of phonology is to uncover which possible analysis 'best represents the internalized knowledge of native speakers of the language', which contains a nice and presumably systematic ambiguity in the plural form speakers between a hypothetical collective and real individuals. I will accept this position only on the second interpretation. Now Kim's own data suggest that things are not as he suggests, when we taken into account what real people are capable of doing with phonological facts. Consider this: on p.70, Kim presents two four-way alternations, both essentially like the one recited here as (2):

(2)

/mɐlkhəŋ/	'soft and pliable'
/mulkhəŋ/	'soft and pliable'
/malkhaŋ/	'ditto, diminutive'
/molkhaŋ/	'ditto, diminutive'

The way in which generative phonology is classically done, requires us to contemplate postulating a single underlier for all these related forms, and at any rate a single axis of relatedness from [-low] to [+low], signifying the relation

normal grade vs. diminutive grade. The most natural solution meeting both these requirements, and perhaps the only natural one, would be to take the central-vowelled form /məlkhəŋ/ as basic and make it subject to a slightly generalised form of the labial graveness assimilation rule which operates in the case of /phulun/ in (1) above, yielding /mulkhəŋ/. This is quite plausible; recall that /ə/ and /u/ are of the same harmonic height in Middle Korean, to follow Huh's (1972) analysis, which is accepted by Kim himself (71, (11)) with alterations that do not affect the issue being discussed here; cf. also Kim's correspondence rule (3b). But such a rule would not represent a true generalisation about Korean; given the existence of the surface form /məlkhəŋ/ without rounding after a labial. I conclude, then, that the column including /məlkhəŋ/ is, synchronically, lexically independent of the one including /mulkhəŋ/, even though the latter is presumably historically derived from the former.

Wherever the back rounded series in this lexeme and in /pəlkkɯn/ etc. '(getting angry) suddenly and quickly' comes from historically, even if from an historical analogue of the suggested labial graveness assimilation rule, we have a consequent double analogy: the analogical creation of the diminutive /molkhaŋ/ on the basis of surface /mulkhəŋ/, and the analogical renewal of the normal-grade /məlkhəŋ/ on the basis of surface /malkhaŋ/. Both originate on the basis of surface alternants as a result of the apparently true generalisation (3) which Kim accepts:

> (3) An opposition exists between nonlow vowels (signifying normal grade, semantically, in the adjective) and low vowels (signifying diminutive grade).

The emergence of the new forms is the direct result of analogical processes on surface phonetic material. The relation of alternation between 'old' and 'new' forms is not therefore guaranteed, as Kim's position would imply, to be defined in terms of abstract underlying phonemes. Rather it admits an interpretation in terms of new surface vowels emerging by phonetic change. We see a case of an established lexical correspondence low vs. nonlow vowel proving itself stronger than 'natural' phonotactics resulting from assimilative change; the new forms /molkhaŋ/ and /məlkhəŋ/ arise from an analogy on the basis of surface /u/ and /a/, not underlying */ɯ/ and /a/.

Clearly one may express an exceptionless relationship in terms of unique shared underlying forms. Clearly one need not do this where the relation between two forms has no systematic backing. Where a neat relationship (consonant/vowel rounding assimilation, or colour assimilation, to follow Donegan's (1978) terminology) may be upset by surface analogical factors (the different reintegration of a changed form into the lexical system), it seems to me that there are no grounds for asserting the reality of an abstract form underlying the unchanged form. The most that is clearly real is the lexico-semantic system expounded by the vowel-height relation.

I suggest, then, that Kim's 'very limited number of words... involv(ing) alternation between four vowels' are not, as he implies (70), exceptional cases whose exceptionality is brought back into a semblance of order by the fact that the forms fit pairwise into the system of connotationally-paired vowels, and as such do not assault the thesis that the vowels which are paired are the underlying ones; rather, they are the guarantee that the analogical creative power of the relations among surface vowels is sufficient to upset any relations existing solely on the basis of historically-paired ('underlying') vowels.

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REVIEW of Casey Miller and Kate Swift — Words and Women, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979, pp. 205, £1.25.

This book belongs to a collection of pioneering attempts looking into an area which has been fairly well neglected by linguists and sociolinguists alike: the relationship between language and sexism. The book is written by two laypersons for the layperson. It attempts to uncover evidence from language structure and use which points to the nature of the oppression of women, raising questions as to what can be done from the linguistic end of the problem.

Reviewing a book in this field may seem at the outset a refreshing and satisfying task for a reviewer who is not only a woman and a linguist - but also a feminist. Unfortunately my initial enthusiasm soon disappeared, as I gradually became immersed in the potential debate between academic linguists interested in the study of language for its own sake, and feminists interested in the study of language for what it can say about how the mechanisms of oppression work. The writers attempt to diffuse the force of this debate when they write in the preface that 'linguists are said to be amused at partisan efforts to influence language'; and just as the reported quote serves to trivialise the linguists' reaction, linguists will feel the urge to trivialise what Miller and Swift say.

The book is weakly organised, and even for the sake of summary it is impossible to divide it into principal sections. Areas of interest only can be pinpointed. The dominant theoretical framework of the book is stated in the epigram: 'Let the meaning choose the word'. It is that theory of the relationship between language, thought and society which is currently and conveniently being glossed as 'Orwellian linguistics'. As such, it sees language as programming our view of the world and influencing how we define ourselves. In terms of this framework three issues are stressed. First: the chief features of linguistic sexism. Limitations of space prevent an adequate summary of the features described, though an overall view would mention their discussions of (a) the status of women in terms of the system of address; (b) the notion of male-as-norm in terms such as mankind; (c) the relationship between grammatical and natural gender; (d) the semantic polarisation of words associated with manly (positive) and womanly (negative); (e) the definition and qualification of women in terms of their sexuality; and (f) references to the work of Lakoff (1975) and Key (1974) on the notion of the female register. Second: explanations for the features of linguistic sexism which are uncovered. These revolve around distinctions made between the namer and the named, the subject and the object, and the theory that:

> 'naming conventions, like the rest of language, have been shaped to meet the interests of society and in patriarchal society the shapers have been men' (p.34).

Third: suggestions and guidelines for the conscious change of the discriminatory elements of language. Women, they claim, have been 'excluded from language', and so an essential task lies in finding names for hitherto unnamed experiences. There is a lack of vocabulary to formulate alternative views of women. Language can and must be used to liberate our thoughts and expand our experiences:

> 'the transformation of English in response to the movement for human liberation has hardly begun' (p.168).

The feminist vs linguist debate which will surround this book is all too predictable. What the linguist will want to say can hardly be summarised in a short review article. Excluding the issue about the possibility of consciously influencing language, linguists' complaints can be organised into several interrelated categories. First: methodology. The writers' method of analysis is, to say the least, unsystematic, dipping into various areas of language structure and use in a random and anecdotal fashion to find evidence for their claims. Their assumption is that 'from all the evidence it seems safe to draw a few conclusions' (p.67). Moreover this lack of methodology is replaced by a mythology of the origins of language in explication of their claims (cf. pp. 35-36). Second: despite their disregard for a rigorous linguistic framework, the writers make eclectic use of linguistic theories when it suits. Thus they give academic force to their discussion of the relationship between language, thought and reality by grounding it (not surprisingly) in the Sapir/Whorf hypothesis. However their subordinated reference to the fact that 'aspects of this hypothesis have been challenged' (p.153) serves only to add to the third issue for debate: the gross misrepresentation of linguistics to the layperson. A blatant example of this is the lack of respect given to the linguists distinction between description and prescription. Thus linguists are seen as hailing themselves as 'language authorities', and are projected into the semi-ironic indulgence of 'the Great Male Plot':

> 'a conspiracy of male linguists burning the midnight oil to come up with new ways of subverting the language to their own ends' (pp. 99-100).

In the end, the linguist will dismiss the book as being full of freewheeling generalisations, and lacking in scientific objectivity; not helpful in developing testable hypotheses which will contribute to a theory of the relationship between language and sexism.

The feminists' response will be short and to the point. We feel oppressed by language and we are talking about it, and that's what is important. We had no intention of producing a testable hypothesis or a respectable linguistic thesis: our aim was to raise the consciousness of women (and men) to the fact that sexism occurs at the linguistic level. The random, anecdotal 'unscholarly' nature of the book was intentional; as we say in the preface 'the random nature of our

sources demonstrates the prevasiveness of the problem'. Our aim was to say what we had to say in the most accessible way possible. As for the formulation of rigorous hypotheses, we don't find rigour totally conducive to an understanding of our oppression, and this is ultimately our concern.

How then is a feminist linguist to view this book? First, it must be viewed as a folk linguistic attempt to find ways of talking about how language can function as a means of oppression and to suggest a way of consciously changing language to a political end. As such it has much in common with the Quaker George Fox's A Battle-Doore For Teachers and Professors to Learn Singular and Plural (1660). It could be argued that there was an excuse for Dox's 'unscholarly' approach: Brown and Gilman had not yet written their article on the pronouns of power and solidarity (1960). But to some extent this criticism is hardly the point. It is not the aim of a folk linguistic statement to develop a rigorous framework for analysis: it would cease to be folk linguistics if it were. As such, this book should be viewed by the linguist in the same way that Brown and Gilman viewed Fox's notions, and in the same way that folk notions of word, grammar and sentence were viewed by Chomsky. However, in another direction the above criticism does make sense: for a feminist analysis will gain more power and meaning if consideration is given to a framework which will point towards a valid description and explanation of 'linguistic sexism'.

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Reviewed by

Gill Alexander
English Language Research
University of Birmingham

REVIEW of A.J. Aitken and Tom McArthur, eds. Languages of Scotland, Edinburgh W & R Chambers, 1979, pp. viii + 160.

V.K. Edwards The West Indian Language Issue in British Schools, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, pp. vii + 168.

Here are two very welcome contributions to the description of neglected aspects of the linguistic scene in Britain. Aitken and McArthur's collection is sponsored by the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, whose Language Committee in particular has been largely responsible for the extension of academic and public interest over the last ten years in varieties of Scottish English. The papers in the book under review derive from the Glasgow University conferences held in 1975 and 1976 on English as we Speak it in Scotland and Scotland's Languages: the Contemporary Situation respectively. The conferences were organised by the Extra-Mural and Adult Education Department, and there is some uncertainty apparent about the level of writing appropriate for that original audience and for the wider readership implied by the book's publication.

Only two of the eight papers are on Gaelic. Thomson gives an account of the situation revealed by the 1971 Census: an apparent increase of about 10 per cent to give a total of about 89,000 speakers of Gaelic in Scotland; and then surveys the current level of language use in different facets of national life. Only within education and local government in the Western Isles Region does there seem much sign of determination to resist the advance of English, although Thomson rightly points to the role which individual initiatives by, for example, journalists and educationists could have in affecting future developments. MacAulay's review of recent and current research activity on the Gaelic language also reveals a very vital field of enquiry.

The other six contributors to the collection are concerned largely with one variety or another of Scottish English. Murison's opening historical sketch begins with the supplanting of the Welsh originally spoken in the Northern as well as the Western part of the British Isles by the Irish Gaelic spoken by the settlers from Ireland, but most of his account deals with the rise to full national status under the early Stuart kings of the kind of Northern English known eventually as 'Scottis', and its later decline under the effects of the religious, dynastic and political developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, culminating in the Act of Union of 1707. This very useful account of a little-known process is marred only by the brief intrusion of a rather sentimental prescriptivism at the end of the paper, where Murison claims (p.13) that:

> 'because of its kinship and similarity to English, Scots is becoming more and more confused with it and corrupted by it, and so fewer people speak it correctly, perhaps fewer than Gaelic.'

McClure's title, 'Scots: its range of uses', suggests a parallel with Thomson's survey of the role of Gaelic in contemporary Scottish society. In fact, however, it is almost entirely concerned with literary uses of Scots. Having presented a two-dimensional 'varieties framework' (thin-dense, literary-colloquial), which makes no reference to the considerable literature on this subject by writers on register or on stylistics, McClure offers some rather unilluminating analysis of fairly obvious linguistic features of samples of Scots verse of various kinds. He ignores the use of Scots in street, playground, home, pub, music hall stage, presumably in extension of his unapologetically elitist position (p.38) that:

> '... it is impossible to express the highest and most sublime thoughts in the everyday tongue of a group of people.'

The editors' own papers offer a welcome contrast. McArthur in particular brings a saner perspective to the discussion of the Scottish situation with his clear pointing up of the political nature of the language-dialect distinction, and his application of Ferguson's concept of diglossia, and DeCamp's insights into the position of speakers on Creole-Standard continuums. And Aitken presents some of his illuminating and entertaining illustration and analysis of the shift in language attitudes and behaviour in the crucial period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries when the massive anglicisation of the country and the language was taking place. Aitken also rounds off the book with a very comprehensive rundown on current research in Scotts: it is good to see someone from the traditional literary-historical school giving such generous recognition to the contributions of linguists.

Edwards' book too is the first book-length treatment of its field. The opening chapter outlines the social and educational characteristics of the postwar Caribbean immigrants to Britain, and gives an account of the current interest among the younger generation in, for example, reggae and Rastafarianism, respectively musical and religious expressions of black consciousness and pride. Towards the end of the chapter, the author makes explicit the central theme of the book, when she correctly points out (p.14) that:

> 'It is rare for Creole to be looked upon as a perfectly logical and adequate linguistic system which is the vehicle of a very lively culture.'

We are offered a description of the phonology, lexicon and grammar of a range of Caribbean Creoles, followed by a brief section on the language of young West Indians in Britain, including an account of the social and contextual correlates of Creole use. She points out here (pp. 38-9) that:

> 'Because accent and dialect mark us as belonging to a particular group ... the only way we can be persuaded to change the way we speak is because we want to identify with members of another group. The motivation of West Indian children to identify with speakers of

> standard English and ... with speakers of regional British dialects, is low ... The development of a separate and sometimes militant Black identity and the retention of Creole features in speech are thus the inevitable response to rejection, alienation and frustration.'

The chapter on 'Verbal skills in West Indians' includes a nicely illustrated account of verbal skills such as teacing and taunting, riddles and proverbs, reggae lyrics and the literary use of dialect; and in the section on 'Creole interference' there is particularly valuable data on hypercorrection and overgeneralisation as reflected in written English of West Indian children.

The most interesting material in the chapter on 'Language attitudes and educational success' is from the author's own study in Reading schools, and in 'Practical approaches to language' a very useful roundup of good practice is offered, and a careful attempt is made to suggest appropriate language policies and practices for teachers. All of this amounts to a compilation of considerable value to the non-specialist, which is clearly what was intended, with reliable accounts of relevant work by other scholars, no obvious omissions, and some new contributions deriving from the author's own research. Some reservations are necessary, however, about terminology and about some of the detail of the argument. Edwards in Chapter 2 is critical of the notion that 'bidialectalism' is widespread among West Indians in Britain, but she makes it clear that she interprets this to mean 'total control of two different dialect systems' (p.36), which is surely not what is usually implied. And on a related question, there is a curious use of the concept of 'interference': for example (p.59), 'The situation is ... that there is constant interference between one part of the Creole-standard continuum and another' and (p.68) 'almost as frequent as examples of actual Creole usage are blends of the standard and the Creole'. None of these seems to be compatible with the basic notion of a Creole-standard continuum, the usefulness of which is that it permits escape from the problems of thinking in terms of self-contained varieties, which then have to be set against each other in one way or another. Another area that is open to criticism is in the account given of the author's own attitude studies in Chapter 5 where, as has happened before (Seligman, Tucker, & Lambert, 1972), student teachers are transformed into 'teachers' in general (pp. 91-92), without adequate discussion of the differences in attitude between these two groups. Neither are the limitations of the 'matched guise' approach in eliciting hearers' responses properly taken account of: the key question here has to do with the extent to which a speaker actually builds in to one or other of his or her guises a particular set of attitudes which may be conveyed to the judging hearer. (Failure to consider this objection also seriously undermines perhaps the most celebrated of the studies of attitudes to different varieties of English by British speakers, that of Giles (1970). A final point of criticism is over the ambivalence shown in Chapter 6 towards the

alternative approaches of 'dialect appreciation' and 'bi-dialectalism'. At the top of p.105 the latter is described as 'certainly more attainable' than the former, yet at the foot of the same page, Edwards states: 'It is true that in many ways it is easier to achieve attitude change in teachers than to change the speech of dialect speakers, but this will be such a lengthy process that some more practical course must be followed in the meantime.'

The many virtues of this book outweigh the criticisms made. On most points a convincing and well-documented case is presented, the illustrations are often original and lively, and the orientation is sympathetic and positive. The Appendices on Publications and their sources, Teaching Materials for the Multiracial Classroom, and Useful Bibliographies all add to the undoubted usefulness of the publication for the classroom practitioner for whom it was designed.

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Reviewed by

Euan Reid
Linguistic Minorities Project
University of London Institute of Education

REVIEW of J.D. McClure, A.J. Aitken & J.T. Low — The Scots Language: Planning for Modern Usage, Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1980, pp.95, £3.95 hardback, £2.50 paperback.

This polemical little book contains three papers and three different views of how linguists, educators, authors and others can best develop the language known by various terms, including Lowland Scots, Broad (or Braid) Scots, Lallans, the Doric or Scottis. The authors agree that Scots should have a more prominent role in Scotland, but differ over what to aim for and how to attain it.

Scots has, of course, a long and distinguished literature, and a long history of scholarly study. But it suffers also from a long history of prejudice and ignorance; widespread misunderstanding of its relation to standard English; and condemnation by the Scottish education system. It is used for humour, folklore and lyrical poetry, but rarely for narrative prose, and almost never for expository prose. Nevertheless, it is still widely spoken, and McClure claims that no-one in Scotland is entirely ignorant of it: 'not even in Bearsden' (12). As a native of Bearsden (a middle-class borough to the north of Glasgow), I can confirm this. One journal, Lallans, is published entirely in Scots, and this journal carries reviews as well as imaginative literature.

The papers originate from addresses to a conference at the University of Glasgow. They are often deliberately provocative, rather than systematically academic, although they are, of course, based on the distinguished and shcolarly work of the present authors and others. Some of its parochial references (e.g. to Bearsden) may well be opaque to English readers. And the several pages printed in Scots (mainly in Low's article) may be only partly comprehensible to monolingual Anglo-English speakers. This is unfortunate, since Scots is now attracting more than parochial interest. But if you are not annoyed by such details, there is much in the book of interest to linguists and sociolinguists.

McClure's paper (11-41) is entitled 'Developing Scots as a national language': his goal is 'nothing less than a complete regeneration of the Scots language' (16), 'the revival of Scots as a living and all-purpose language' (37). This is clearly ambitious and optimistic, but McClure makes a better case than one might think possible for arguing that the aim is 'by no means unrealistic' (16). He cites cases of other languages which have been revived under apparently overwhelming odds: Danish, Czech, Guarani, Quechua, Hebrew and others. Although he admits (40) that these languages were not in direct competition with standard English.

Aitken's paper is entitled 'New Scots: the problems', and he takes a rather different line from McClure. He distinguishes, in an over-simple way, as he admits, between what he calls

Good Scots (or genuine Scots, the true Doric, etc.) and Demotic Scots (or urban/working-class/modern Scots, the 'Glasgow Irish', etc.). He argues that we should try to introduce this Good Scots only into the written medium, at least initially: on the grounds that there is no way of policing the way in which people speak. This 'new written, utilitarian, prose-established Scots' (47) would become a new standard language, to be called New Scots.

Aitken's less ambitious (more reasonable?) approach is reflected in his view of how to standardize the orthography. He sees little difficulty in producing an acceptable spelling system, arguing (54) that we can capitalize on existing conventions in mainstream Scots literature. He argues also that the dominance of English imposes requirements of compatibility between the systems for Scots and English. This proposal is in line with much of the experience of setting up orthographies for minority languages in many countries, where there is a dominant world language also used in the area. McClure, on the other hand, argues that English spelling is 'notoriously erratic and inconsistent' (25), and that it should not be difficult to set up a better system. He suggests going back to mediaeval Scots and using this as a starting point, to relate 'sound to symbol' (26). But the spelling system of English does not simply relate 'sound to symbol' (I assume he means phoneme to letter): it is a morphophonemic system, and if seen in this way is much less erratic than a superficial view might suggest.

Low's paper (67-95) is entitled 'A Scots language policy for education'. In his preface, McClure describes it as 'a detailed plan for increasing the importance of Scots in the classroom' (7). But this is a generous, not to say inaccurate, description. Low does little more than provide a few rather obvious ideas for activities which might make Scots fun, as well as instructive, in the classroom: using audio-tapes and playlets, hearing dialect poetry, hearing and imitating accents from Kelvinside and Fife, comparing Scots with English, German and French, and so on. I did all these activities, admittedly unsystematically, during English lessons in the school I attended in Glasgow: but I do not speak or write Scots.

Low's linguistic descriptions sometimes seem confused. He admits he has 'never been greatly moved by the phoneme', yet is 'fascinated by monophthongs and diphthongs' (73). Other linguistic descriptions are vague and sentimental, unhelpful to his case: compared to Scots, English is said to be 'a caulder, shairper kin o tongue' (68). Several pages of his article are in Scots: often I suspect, as an attempt to create atmosphere, rather than to make a serious academic point which would advance his argument.

Despite the mixed standard of the papers, and possibly some confusion over who they are aimed at, it is good to see this increasing sociolinguistic interest in Scotland. This interest is also demonstrated by the recent collection of Aitken and McArthur (reviewed in this issue of NLC by Reid), Macaulay's

study of speech in Glasgow (reviewed in NLC 7, 2 by Coates) and MacKinnon's study of Harris (reviewed in NLC 7, 2 by Stubbs).

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Reviewed by

Michael W. Stubbs
Department of Linguistics
University of Nottingham

EDITORIAL STATEMENT AND NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

NOTTINGHAM LINGUISTIC CIRCULAR publishes, twice yearly, articles, research reports, and reviews in linguistics. The Editors interpret the term 'linguistics' in the broadest sense, and welcome contributions on all branches of the subject. From time to time, special issues are devoted to particular topics, such as Child Language or Phonetics and Phonology. But, in general, there is no restriction on content.

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