Bi-Graphic Differences: Languages in Con(tact)(flict)

Visible Language is concerned with research and ideas that help define the unique role and properties of written language. It is a basic premise of the Journal that writing/reading form an autonomous system of language expression which must be defined and developed on its own terms. Published quarterly since1967, Visible Language maintains its policy of having no formal editorial affiliation with any professional organization — which requires the continuing, active cooperation of key investigators and practitioners in all of the disciplines which impinge on the Journal's development of the visible language concept.

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A Visible Tribute to Merald Wrolstad

Briem
Venezky
Crouwel
Twyman
Norton
Mountford
Banks
Lenk
Massaro
Baudin
Poggenpohl

It is fitting to honor Merald Wrolstad within the forum he created to enlarge understanding of language as visually presented.

1923-1987

Visible Language XXI 1 (Winter 1987)
Sharon Poggenpohl (editor), pp.3-17

Gunnlaugur SE Briem *London, England*

Merald Wrolstad led a double life.

He was a distinguished designer and scholar and as a husband, a father and a friend, he was as wonderful as they come.

But, for much of his life, he was also in the grip of an obsession. He enjoyed, as few can enjoy, things that make no difference at all, were none of his business, useless and probably wrong, silly and outrageous. ***Visible Language*** *('on being literate') was the most tangible evidence of this weakness.*

His private network spanned the globe. He knew statisticians and visionaries, scientists and typographers, flat-earthers, scholars, alchemists and conspiracy theorists, and was kinder to most of them than they deserved. Everybody who mattered in his field knew him and any lunatic with an idea got a hearing.

Visible Language *has not been like other research journals. It is full of foreseeable uncertainty: what outlandish subject would it tackle next? The dissenting opinion of semiotics and perception theory would be followed by a piece on early Russian type and a thoughtful argument over a new shape for the zero. Where lesser men might have despaired over the reputation of the journal, Merald dared to allow his contributors to be bad: 'It will probably be a disaster; let's do it.' When the January issue was delivered in June, some librarians felt they should know why. One disadvantage of an orderly mind is not knowing what to do with the exceptional, and Merald forgave them.*

The ties that made ***Visible Language*** *possible were not contractual obligations but ties of affection. People with an interest in Mongolian penmanship only have each other.*

Now he's gone. I can't think how we'll manage.

Richard L. Venezky *University of Delaware, United States*

For Merald print was quite special. And while the ultimate judgment of the heavens might not favor the primacy that he wished for ***visible language****, I admired his dedication to this ideal. For marks printed, cut or inscribed, he had great enthusiasm and much knowledge. The journal exemplified both this scholarship and this joie de vivre; he made it fun for all of us to be involved. I will remember Merald for many things but especially for our shared joy with print.*

Wim Crouwel *Rotterdam, The Netherlands*

From Typographic Research to Visible Language

Now that I look on my bookshelves to find issue number one, I discover it is missing. A strange coincidence, now that I would like to look back at the beginning. Way back in 1967, it was called "The Journal of Typographic Research" — very scholarly title and a most promising idea. Before Merald Wrolstad made me aware of his ideas, I did not know of a journal dedicated to typography in this way. 1967, the year that I published my designers-research on a CRT alphabet. To learn about research by others interested in typography was most intriguing.

After some time the title became more poetic: ***Visible Language****, and a wider horizon was covered. Merald kept the quality of that horizon high, on sure eye-level.*

I contributed only a few times; nevertheless Merald became a good friend and we met every now and then somewhere on this globe. It was a memorable day, last year in Amsterdam, when the journal gave inspiration to a special gathering on typography. Again, it was Merald Wrolstad who set the standard.

Michael Twyman *University of Reading, England*

My links with Merald go back to the beginnings in 1967. The journal was launched just as our degree course in Typography & Graphic Communication at Reading was being established. I can't remember when we first met, but I know that I took great comfort from the fact that someone else had defined a similar field and must have thought it was worth studying seriously. This alone puts me very much in Merald's debt. At a later stage I recall the friendly arguments we had over the change in the journal's title. We had common assumptions about the scope of the journal, but whereas I favoured stretching the meaning of the word typography, he felt it was essential to go for a title that conveyed something of the breadth of scholarship he had in mind for the journal. And as things have turned out, he was probably right.

I have a bulging file of correspondence with Merald, but I do not remember him through his writing. His notes to me were usually short and terse, either scribbled in his somewhat frenetic handwriting or hastily typed in true journalistic manner. They have to do with his regular visits to London where he usually stayed — rather oddly it seemed to me — at the East India Sports & Public Schools Club; papers for this journal which he wanted me to referee; papers that I was writing for publications he edited; and his pleas for support in drumming up good contributions for the journal. All this was fairly routine: he didn't waste words, and always got to the heart of the matter in hand.

For me, Merald was essentially an audio-visual person. Above all, I recall his genial face, broad smile, and engaging melodic voice. These were the means he used so successfully to woo the typographic community, and were the outward trappings of a warm and gregarious personality. But beneath this easy-going exterior there lay a firm and determined person, with both a clear sense of mission and prodigious energy. It is doubtful whether this journal would have got off the ground and survived for twenty years without someone with such characteristics at its helm.

***Visible Language** stands — and it is to be hoped will continue to stand for years to come — as Merald's memorial. It was the brainchild of a scholar with broad interests who published little himself; instead, with characteristic generosity of spirit, he chose to devote much of his professional life to promoting the scholarship of others.*

Robert Norton *Oxford, England*

Wrolstad!

What a pleasant task it is to be asked to write about Merald; when the morning's mail brings problems that need sorting, letters that seem terribly important to the sender that must be answered: and all can be swept aside to think about this lovable man.

Where did we first meet?

It must have been Prague, when I thought I had money rolling out of my ears, and I bought a subscription to what was then the Journal of Typographical Research, and had to borrow it back when it turned out that the hotel had miscalculated my credit by a factor of ten - one nought too many. I have a deep suspicion that it was the only subscription I ever paid for. Somehow, after that I got on the free list, which was fair enough in Merald's eyes because for some years our garage was full of the back numbers that he had been paying Anthony Mackay Miller to store, and the children used to make up parcels and take them down to the Post Office.

But the memories come flooding in. There was the time when he, and John Miles and I did one of Bror's seminars in Stockholm, and Merald and I went over by boat in order to drive from Gothenburg to Stockholm in an elderly Jaguar I had acquired. As we were approaching Stockholm, after a lunch in the clear Scandinavian sun and a petrol stop, the bonnet flew open, took off and sailed over the car to land in the road behind. By the grace of God there was nobody behind us. But there was a good half hour of spirited, and possibly inebriated endeavor on the only way to store the bonnet in the boot, like those nail puzzles that you know can be done but defeat you.

And Merald the intrepid airman (he flew Mustangs in Italy during the war).

'Did you know why it was never safe to fly over a railway line during the war?'

'No, Merald. Tell me.'

'Because you were likely to run into a Navy pilot following it, trying to get home.'

Nobody laughed like Merald. Such delight in his voice and his face.

There was in our garden an incinerator built of brick. It seldom served as an incinerator. It often served as a barbecue, on those few days that remind those of us who live in England that the months of May to August are called summer in other countries.

We had been burning a carpet, and Fernand Baudin and Merald arrived, so we made a barbecue of hamburgers and sausages and cooked them over the remains of the carpet.

The next time this happened, after cooking on more conventional fuel, Merald bit into his hamburger and looked at us.

'It tastes better cooked on a rug.'

And driving over to see Nicolette Gray one day, in an elderly Bentley that we used to own. (Fernand and Merald never came to see us. Ours was a house convenient to the Grays, so that they could pin Nicolette to the wall and tell her about their current obsession.) On this occasion there were children in the car, half American as they are, and Merald trying to teach them to speak American. They ought to make an effort to deserve the citizenship that their mother had conferred on them.

'No, not dog. It is dawg. Now try cawfee.'

And we all swam in the river at the bottom of the Grays' garden among the reeds and flotsam, while Fernand, dressed as usual in his customary suit (not solemn black) talked shop with his hostess.

Then there was the ride to Bruges, with John Miles and David Kindersley, for an ATypI, in the same old Bentley, with the top open and Mozart horn concertos booming out over the Kent countryside after a lovingly prepared enormous breakfast at the Charing Cross Hotel. ('We have this foreigner who has never had a proper English breakfast. Can you prepare one for Saturday morning at eight o'clock, please'). Kidneys, kedgeree, scrambled egg, bacon, toast, all awaiting us in their silver dishes. And then later on, in Belgium, green eels and strawberries in the only little inn we found that was still open for lunch.

I had forgotten my passport on that trip, and there was a certain amount of concern about whether the driver would be allowed into France. And Harold Hunter, bless him, brought it over later in the day, crossing with Ward Ritchie and his wife, after we had successfully negotiated our two frontiers, four people masquerading as three.

Merald was a great friend to the Hunters, and Margaret will miss him as much as any of us. I strongly suspect that it was Harold, with his unerring eye for those who should be taken under his wing, who must have handcuffed Merald when he first appeared, enriching all our lives. Certainly it was Merald who did as much as anyone to forge the bonds that now join the European and American graphic worlds. Which of us would ever have gone to Cleveland but for him? The pale faces of the steel workers, and the slight air of despair that hangs over so much of the town, albeit with the lovely Museum that was so much a part of his life for so long. And Merald pointing to a small rock cliff, all of thirty feet tall, and saying 'That is where the West begins."

'The West, Merald?'

'Oh, come on now, Robert."

Merald was a lousy navigator, too. But wouldn't it be lovely to still have the chance to be lost on some by-road, and have that dear man insisting that we were 'in great shape'? We know one thing. He has left us all in better shape than we were before we knew him.

John Mountford *Southampton, England*

TRIOLET

To Merald

Last letter

I can't remember what I said
In my last letter.
Sue says it looked brightly ahead;
I can't remember. What I said
Was what I felt. And so, instead
Of trying now to say it better
(I can't!) — Remember what I said
In my last letter!

J.M.

Colin Banks *London, England*

I am reading through the preface to volume 1 number 1 ***The Journal of Typographic Research****. Its purpose it says is 'to encourage scientific investigation of our alphabetic and related symbols. To attempt further refinement at this time would serve only as an invitation to a host of premature semantic and jurisdictional quibbles. Once underway, the Journal will tend to define its own role... There are no sharp breaks - no boundaries - where the realm of science ends and those of the humanities and arts begin...'*

Wise words, brave words, or whistling in the dark?

*Another preface appeared after the first four years, in 1971: '****Typographic research*** *has become a label that has to be stretched;* ***visible language*** *is a concept that remains to be fulfilled'.*

Well at the time it sounded like drawing water from a bottomless well with a bottomless bucket; but in the next sixteen years Merald Wrolstad did more than anyone in exploring the well and turned ***"the Journal"*** *into a very efficient bucket. In my view this had a lot to do with his generous disposition: he was always willing to give a contributor a platform even though some of their interests and views could on short acquaintance, be called esoteric if not arcane. I often found myself wrong-footed and burdened with a pack of prejudice; for Merald's generous spirit often opened new windows. Few of us on the Board ever gave the Editor the support we all owed him; the struggle for the maintenance of 'the mag' was very much his own, the magazine was one hundred percent Merald Wrolstad.*

Well who was that? I look back now over eccentric and funny conversations : about Ogham Stones in Ireland; Thomas Bewick's mode of addressing people in writing; anything and everything about William Morris; Hungarian linguistics and the Szurke Galamb restaurant ; the Laws of Gortin, the unicorns on the Mohenjadaro seals and whether the spirals on megaliths are writing; and the meaning of Uxorious. It goes on and on: why the Alison engine in WW2 aeroplanes cut out when turned upside down; Red Indian typefaces of 1840; the latest Lake Woebegon story; phonetic Braille... should I have the luck to join him again ('Hi ya baby, how ya doing!') in an heavenly editorial board - what should we pick up first?

His manuscript letters (seemingly the product of a crippled spider extracting itself from ink) were supplemented by torn out articles from the 'Scientific American' - on psychology, digital bit maps, anthropology, optics and percep-

tion. These were balanced by an accurate historical perspective: Merald said to his much loved sister Harriet during the Bicentennial of the American rebellion 'you realize we have lived through more than a quarter of this'.

There were people who knew from the outset that with Wrolstad they were backing solid worth. The Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art seemed for a long time to be a man of saintly indulgence, it looked from his end as though that great institution was just a letter box for ***Visible Language*** *and an everlasting ticket to Europe. But the flow of handsome Museum newsletters and the carefully detailed publications continued: sometimes monitored by Merald sitting in his car by the dirt track telephone kiosk near his island home in Wisconsin, waiting for a call for his approval of proofs of an important catalogue. It would happen again when he would absent himself from dinner and his ridiculously titled 'East India, Sporting and Public Schools Club' in London; where he sat like a Yank at the Court of King Arthur. There would be such ten minute absences from Wynkyn de Worde Society weekends in France and Belgium, Prague and Verona; and evenings with the Double Crown Club. The Cleveland Museum knew they got good value, talent, and cultural enrichment.*

Everyone liked him, everyone has a story about him. I think at the bottom he was an undefeatable happy optimist and my story happened on Independence Day when he pushed a tiny polystyrene sail boat out into Long Lake. The boat looked as though it had come out of a Kellogg's breakfast packet but it soon became clear he hadn't read the instructions on the side of the packet. He persuaded me to go with him and dead center in the lake the mast punched a hole in the bottom of the boat. The wind was rising, the water level settled to just over our knees, we had no way to bail and the shore was a long way away. Merald couldn't stop giggling.

I lay on my stomach in the bilge and held the mast up with brute force and despair: Merald sailed. We got back after an hour of this and then Merald said he thought he could patch up the polystyrene and go out again the next day. His was a real waterproof disposition!

I think of places, The Arts Club, the Gay Hussar restaurant in Soho, the Officini Bodoni of Verona, ATypeI in Beaune, Enschede's parties in Haarlem, with Fernand Baudin in Bruxelles, in my garden in Wiltshire, with the Norwegian brotherhood on Holy Island; his friends my friends, Robert Norton, Willem Ovink, Bror Zachrison, John Miles. Harold Hunter, Janos Kass, Ernst Hoch, Jack Stauffacher - so many places, so many people, so much good talk, laughter and happiness, and he was always at the center - such a big gap.

Krzysztof Lenk *Rhode Island School of Design, United States*

In the fall of 1982, I went to the librarian of the School of Design in Lodz and asked for books and articles about the objectives of typography and publication. "There are none," he answered.

I was teaching at the School of Design and found myself in a very precarious position regarding student expectations. The sixties and early seventies in Europe were a time of Weiner's ***Cybernetics****, Lévi -Strauss'* ***Tristes Tropiques****, Maldonado's* ***Semiotics Glossary****, and Abraham Moles'* ***Structuralism****. Students familiar with current intellectual ideas asked such questions as: is design a matter only of pencil and brush? Are there any criteria beyond intuition and sensitivity? In Poland, design was an extension of fine arts — it was not an independent area with its own intellectual background. Their questions were legitimate.*

While searching for resources, a friend showed me several issues of ***The Journal of Typographic Research****. That was it! I was so excited to discover that although the origin of creation belongs to conscious and subconscious parts of the mind and is of a subjective nature — the physical result can be analyzed and sometimes measured by objective criteria. We began to translate the more important articles to Polish and later we learned English in order to read the papers in the original. From 1972 to 1982, the journal was a prime source of intellectual stimulation for my students and me. Several thesis projects were inspired by* ***Visible Language****.*

In Poland, where having access to information is sometimes more important than having access to food, we will remember Merald E. Wrolstad for a long time.

Dominic W. Massaro *University of California, United States*

Merald had an enthusiasm and energy for ***visible language*** *in all its guises. He was ahead of his time in his objecting to the priority given to spoken language. Merald was receptive to new approaches to visible language and made a tremendous effort to provide a forum for them on the journal. I will miss him, and our scientific community has lost a valuable supporter of visible language.*

Fernand Baudin *Bonlez, Belgium*

Short of bringing Merald back to life, ***Visible Language*** *must continue. This is the case thanks to Sharon Poggenpohl, whom he spotted as a possible editor. He must have been right since here she is. This in itself is the finest possible tribute to Merald and his brain child and is sure to be welcomed as such by the typographic community.*

Thanks to Merald and ***Visible Language****, this community is now international to the extent that it has no real language barriers any more than scientific, academic, artistic, or any other. This was clearly inscribed in the progress of* ***Visible Language*** *from the Journal of Typographic Research (Vol, I., No. 1.) as expressed in its format and Jack Stauffacher design - to the Journal for Research on the Visual Media of Language Expression (Vol. V., No. 1.) and its occasionally expressionistic gimmicks; and finally (Vol. XI., No. 1.) to the Research Journal concerned with all that is involved in our being literate. All this within the self same and scholarly format as distinct from any "arty" configuration.*

The occasionally provocative designs should not obscure the fact that each issue was a new typographic i.e., visual experiment. So much so that in 1985 they added up to an exhibition in Amsterdam as a tribute to "the first concerted effort to organize our investigation of every aspect of this visual medium of language expression."

And this medium is writing. Of course.

Sharon Helmer Poggenpohl

Rhode Island School of Design, United States

My first contact with ***Visible Language*** *was during a heated debate between myself (a designer) and an editor for an educational publisher's first attempt at creating a third grade thesaurus. The confrontation was over how a child would see and use a thesaurus. Would typographic coding conventions work or would a kind of spatial map be more effective with antonyms in a consistent position relative to the word. We were at a stalemate when the editor reached into his desk and threw down the first issue of the* ***Journal of Typographic Research.*** *It was 1967. I subscribed.*

Later, in the early seventies, I was developing a first level typography course for students at the Institute of Design in Chicago. We called it Visible Language — an apt description. It was at this point that I met Merald. I was picking him up at O'Hare Airport - how would I know him? "I look like someone you should know," he laughed. I told him to look for a very pregnant woman. We found each other easily. I spotted him first!

This began an association that lasted fifteen years and ended abruptly and too soon. Merald was a mentor in the best sense of the word - a suggestor, a challenger - he was never heavy handed. There was an early article followed by an experimental design of an issue, and still later two issues on design education to organize and edit. There were meetings in Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, New York and, of course, Cleveland.

It was in Cleveland that he shared with me the magic of wandering the Cleveland Museum of Art on its closed day. A guard accompanied us from gallery to gallery, turning on and off the lights. We could look, talk, or be silent and enjoy the expansive sense of being alone with great achievement.

Following Merald's death, I was scanning the periodical stacks in a major university library and there at eye level was twenty years of ***Visible Language.*** *What tenacity he had to bring the idea forward through two decades! I hope he had the pleasure of seeing his journal in that extended context of human curiosity and learning - the library. That eye level contact with* ***Visible Language*** *caused me to step forward and volunteer to guide the journal (with your assistance and contributions) through the next twenty years.*

REPLY FORM

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VISIBLE LANGUAGE

c/o The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio USA 44106 • 216/421-7340

MESSAGE	REPLY
Sloan —	Continued from 1st column:
TE August 29, 1979	DATE I will enclose a copy of a form letter I use to write authors letting them know of publication and asking for missing items. I could send these out or you could just copy the form. [Xerox it on your letterhead?]
I don't know if I mentioned it or not, but I have put together the enclosed Guide for Designers to make some sense out of the details involved. Your ~~suggestions~~ comments/on how it works and suggestions for improving it will be welcomed!	Also need sometime the names and full addresses of these people---I type up on 5-part labels for use in the continuing correspondence--as yours on envelope..... If you set up class schedule for this project--keep copies and notes so that this might become a guide for other institutions in doing the same thing.
I have made some marks only on the top copy.	
Items that are usually late: 1. Be sure each article has an ABSTRACT. 2. These have to go to translators for French, German, Spanish and this takes time. 3. Biographies of each author--use enclosed sheets when you write to them.	
Warren	SIGNED

Best!

Warren

Foreword

Richard Hodgson and Ralph Sarkonak

Why BI-GRAPHIC? Why another collective devoted to the thorny issue of bilingualism? As we explain in our article, "Graphic Collisions: Languages in Contact," we feel very strongly that a broadly-based, interdisciplinary approach to the question of language contact can shed much needed new light on an old problem. In comparison with the countless studies of *oral* bilingualism (*spoken* languages in contact), surprisingly little has been published on language contact in the specific context of *written* language, whether it be road signs or advertisements, government documents or literary texts. Because the primary focus of our project is *written, visible* language, there could be no more appropriate forum for presenting the results of our research than the journal *Visible Language*.

Since this issue addresses many different aspects of the question of languages in con-tact (flict), we have divided it into three parts:

Bilingualism and Visible Language
Bilingualism in Daily Life
Bilingualism and the Literary Text

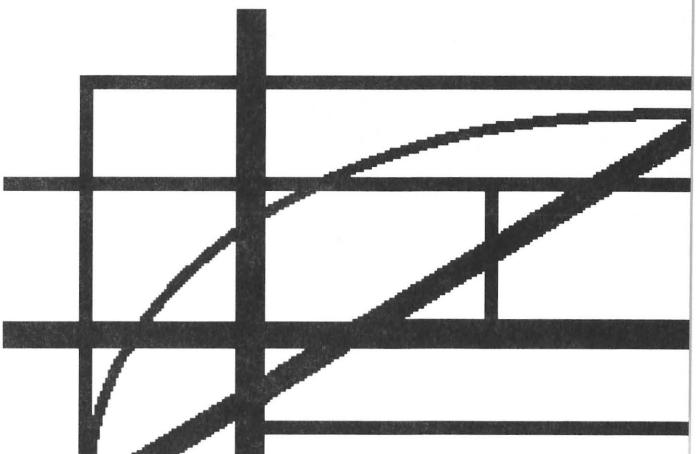
It is our hope that out of the diverse, multifaceted contexts and convergences which these six articles describe will emerge a unified picture of the complex world in which languages, brought together by *la force des choses*, collide. Inevitably, since human beings are involved, such *contact* often leads to *conflict*.

The subject matter of this issue is certainly a topical one, as recent controversies in Belgium and California, not to mention the on-going debate on bilingualism in Canada, have demonstrated all too well. Like François Grosjean in his recent book, we hope to show that "life with two languages" is not easy, or self-evident, a lesson which much of the world's population, at one time or another, has had to learn. Despite the many difficulties involved,

the life of the bilingual person is, more often than not, all the more interesting, rich, and fulfilling because of his two linguistic identities.

In addition to the articles of our five contributors and our own overview and introduction to the problem of "graphic collisions," we have included a checklist of "Suggestions for Further Reading" for those readers who would like to continue to explore the problems and issues relating to the written manifestations of languages in contact.

We would like to thank all those who have helped us in this project: our contributors, first and foremost, and, in addition, Fernand Baudin, Ron Beaumont, Robert Brown, Marian Coope, Brian Fitch, Alistair Mackay, Paul Perron, Marshall Ungar, Michael Twyman, Daniel Wagner, and, last but certainly not least, *Visible Language's* late editor, Merald Wrolstad, whose enthusiasm and help were instrumental in helping us bring this project to completion. We would also like to thank *Visible Language's* present Editor, Sharon Poggenpohl, for seeing this issue through to completion.



Richard Hodgson and
Ralph Sarkonak

Bilingualism and Visible Language

Graphic Collisions: Languages in Contact

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Visible Language XXI 1 (Winter 1987)
Richard Hodgson and Ralph Sarkonak, pp.18-41

The problems of bilingualism and of languages in contact are ones which are best studied in an interdisciplinary context. Languages "collide" in many different ways and for many different reasons. The "collisions" or *contacts* (and the resulting *conflicts*) can take place for historical, political, social, cultural, and economic reasons, or simply because the source language has become fashionable. They can take place within the boundaries of a single country, often a former colony of the "mother" country, or between such geographically distant countries as the United States and Japan. Just as the *contexts* of language contact can vary, so can the types of contact, whether it be interference, integration, or code-switching.

"It is thus in a broad psychological and socio-cultural setting that language contact can best be understood ... On an interdisciplinary basis research into language contact achieves increased depth and validity." Uriel Weinreich[1]

"The subject of bilingualism, then, is a very real concern to a substantial number of people whose lives involve the use of two or more languages. It does not exist merely to satisfy the strange appetites of social scientists." Kenji Hakuta[2]

KIDNAPPÉ, GEBABYSIT, SOLRAININGOTAS: These three words from French, Dutch and a Chicano poem say it all, concretely, graphically, visibly. "Kidnapped," "babysat," and "sun-raining-drops" — Juan Herrera's poetic neologism — such is the reality of life in the world of today, a world in which it has been estimated that half of the globe's population is bilingual.[3] Here the bilingualism[4] is centered on words which underscore the linguistic contact between English and French, English and Dutch, and English and Spanish respectively. Whether they fall into the categories labelled "integration" or "code-switching" (see below), the important point is that in their lexical, morphological, and orthographic configurations, these words remind us that bilingualism is not, nor has it ever been, a mere academic problem, something, in the words of Hakuta quoted above, "to satisfy the strange appetites of social scientists."

In order to come to grips with the problem of bilingualism, it is necessary to cross the boundaries which traditionally have separated the various disciplines devoted to language phenomena. Fields as diverse as sociolinguistics, the comparative study of two or more languages, as well as typography and the analysis of literary texts — all have a contribution to make to the study of "languages in contact and/or conflict." By its very nature, the subject tends to lead to *inter-disciplinary* projects. Hence the word "collisions" in our title is to be read not only as those of the

languages in contact, but also of the approaches taken to study such a problem. Surely it is proof of the complexity of the subject that such diverse disciplines and methodological approaches can and must be utilized if one is to arrive at even a partial understanding of such a widespread human phenomenon.

A Concrete Problem

Unlike much that has been published on bilingualism, the focus in this issue is squarely on written language, both in a societal context, as well as that of the individual. Like others which have appeared in *Visible Language*, this project is "concerned with research and ideas that help define the unique role and properties of written language."[5] The colliding languages are therefore to be taken literally in their *visible* form, both the material and the literary.[6] Of course, spoken language is of central importance to bilingualism. However, here it will be studied primarily as it relates to written language, e.g. the problem of spelling foreign borrowings. What is at issue, then, are the visible, graphic aspects of language contact, and in particular the concrete manifestations of bilingualism in various national settings such as English and French in Canada, Spanish and English in the United States.[7] Thus our focus is mainly on *specific* bilingual contexts, while at the same time the wider theoretical implications of the question will also be raised. To be more precise, our focus is on the sociolinguistic dimensions of bilingualism, rather than on the psychological or psycholinguistic aspects. Finally, it should be stated that the question of bilingual education as such will not be touched upon, although some of the issues raised here do have important implications for that field.

Types of Contact

Language contact takes place in a myriad of forms and situations, all of which involve both linguistic and extralinguistic factors.[8] Historical and political considerations are often the most important. When

two linguistic groups are in contact, the contact is rarely one of equals: there is usually a majority or dominant language and a minority or dominated language. One thinks immediately of the complex and troubling situation of French and English in Canada.

For historical reasons going back to the exploration of the American continent by Frenchmen in the sixteenth century, and the establishment of the first European enclaves along the St. Lawrence River and on the shores of the Bay of Fundy in the seventeenth century, French gained a foothold in Canada which was to long outlast the military defeat of France in 1759.[9] Today, although the province of Quebec is 87% French-speaking, 67% of the population of Canada as a whole is English-speaking and only 13% of the total population is bilingual.[10] Furthermore, as English has grown in prestige and use, even French-speaking Quebeckers have felt their language to be threatened by the onslaught of English across the continent and, indeed, throughout the world:

The darker, aggressive side of global English is the elimination of regional language variety, the attack on deep cultural roots. Perhaps the most dramatic example of the power of English can be found in Canada, which shares a 3000-mile border with the USA. Canadian English has been colonized by American English, especially in the mass media, and the French-speaking third of the community living mainly in Quebec, has felt threatened to breaking point.[11]

As is usual in a language-contact situation, the minority language is affected more than the majority language. The dominated language is the one which borrows the dominating language's words and structures, even to the point where the very future of the minority language may be in jeopardy. In the context of Quebec, not only is French surrounded by English on all sides, so to speak, but English has permeated

the essence of spoken French, especially in a form known as *joual* (from Fr. *cheval*, "horse"). Characterized by extensive creolization and anglicization, *joual* represents the results of centuries of political domination:

> **Joual ... is what happened to a language under oppression, but not oppression from people who speak the same language as the oppressed — from people who speak another [language].**[12]

Although contacts of a social and cultural nature are often rooted in history and politics, the daily existence of the bilingual speaker is eloquent testimony to the continued nature of this linguistic (over) exposure. As Lauro Flores states in his contribution, "the alternation and combination of English and Spanish respond to the *social* situation of the Chicanos, a situation in which several levels of both languages coexist, influence each other and, therefore, come into play in the linguistic evolution of this people" [Our italics].[13] The linguistic configuration of the literary text, in this case Chicano poetry, mirrors the social contacts of the two linguistic groups in a bilingual community where code-switching is a common and indeed necessary occurrence if the bilingual is to communicate his thoughts and ideas. And in another part of North America, Phyllis Wrenn has studied a similar form of language contact in Franco-Acadian. She writes: "the presence of unassimilated and only partially integrated English words and phrases underscores the linguistic reality behind the isolated and sporadic lexical borrowings: [the nineteenth century's writer's] world, like that of her twentieth century compatriots, was a bilingual existence."[14] The textual artifact mirrors the writer's life which in turn mirrors the language and the society of her contemporaries. Here again bilingualism is part and parcel of the cultural fabric of the society in question, whether that society be that of the twentieth century Southwest or nineteenth century New Brunswick.

Other language contacts are grounded in economics and even fashion, as demonstrated in present day Japan by the use of so-called "Japlish," a hybrid of Japanese and English.[15] No doubt it is not by chance that the word used to describe the "marriage" of these languages in contact is an English word. Today's global village is more often than not bilingual, and it is largely bilingual in English due to the cultural prestige and economic clout of the United States:

It is the non-linguistic forces — cultural, social, economic and political — that have made English the first world language in human history and instilled its driving force. Language is neutral, passive: only the uses to which it is put make it active.[16]

The educated Roman's existence was a bilingual one because of the cultural prestige of Greek. Latin was spread throughout not just the Roman Empire but later on much of Christendom. One should also not forget that French remained the language of the cultural elite, throughout both Europe and the world, for over two hundred years, from the Enlightenment to the middle of this century. Finally, it is often economic realities which give rise to the birth of pidgin languages, such as Chinook in the American Northwest where white traders used a lingua franca to communicate with the Indians.

Conflicts and Convergences

Language contacts occur in three general types of political situation: intra-national, inter-national and a third or intermediate category which brings into play (ex)colonial languages, i.e. the linguistic stuff and remains of empire.

On the national scene, the officially bilingual state, such as Belgium, Canada, or Wales, is a rarer phenomenon than the monolingual state, such as the United States.[17] Official and individual or even group bilingualism are not to be confused, since the

Official Languages in Contact

A page of The Constitution Act, 1982 of Canada, an officially bilingual country, which sets out in English and French, the equal authority in law of both versions of the document. Note the two-column format, the English and French glosses, and the use of both the English and French names of Quebec, e.g. the acute accent is used to spell Québec in the French version, whereas the word is written without an accent in English, which is standard practice in Anglophone Canada. The head of state, the Queen (la Reine), receives a capital in both languages, whereas her representative, the Governor General, like the Great Seal, is not capitalized in French following normal French-language practice. The use of bold face, roman and italic type is identical in both versions; the punctuation, however, follows the practice of the language in question. The translations mentioned in article 55 refer to Canada's earlier constitutional documents, many of which, including Canada's original "constitution," The British North America Act (1867), were passed by the imperial British Parliament at Westminster in English only. Article 59 of the document illustrated spells out certain exceptions to another section entitled "Minority Language Educational Rights."

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Repeal of Part IV.1 and this section	**54.1** Part IV.1 and this section are repealed on April 18, 1987. (SI/84-102)	**54.1** La Partie IV.1 et le présent article sont abrogés le 18 avril 1987. (TR/84-102)	Abrogation de la Partie IV.1 et du présent article
French version of Constitution of Canada	**55.** A French version of the portions of the Constitution of Canada referred to in the schedule shall be prepared by the Minister of Justice of Canada as expeditiously as possible and, when any portion thereof sufficient to warrant action being taken has been so prepared, it shall be put forward for enactment by proclamation issued by the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada pursuant to the procedure then applicable to an amendment of the same provisions of the Constitution of Canada.	**55.** Le ministre de la Justice du Canada est chargé de rédiger, dans les meilleurs délais, la version française des parties de la Constitution du Canada qui figurent à l'annexe; toute partie suffisamment importante est, dès qu'elle est prête, déposée pour adoption par proclamation du gouverneur général sous le grand sceau du Canada, conformément à la procédure applicable à l'époque à la modification des dispositions constitutionnelles qu'elle contient.	Version française de certains textes constitutionnels
English and French versions of certain constitutional texts	**56.** Where any portion of the Constitution of Canada has been or is enacted in English and French or where a French version of any portion of the Constitution is enacted pursuant to section 55, the English and French versions of that portion of the Constitution are equally authoritative.	**56.** Les versions française et anglaise des parties de la Constitution du Canada adoptées dans ces deux langues ont également force de loi. En outre, ont également force de loi, dès l'adoption, dans le cadre de l'article 55, d'une partie de la version française de la Constitution, cette partie et la version anglaise correspondante.	Versions française et anglaise de certains textes constitutionnels
English and French versions of this Act	**57.** The English and French versions of this Act are equally authoritative.	**57.** Les versions française et anglaise de la présente loi ont également force de loi.	Versions française et anglaise de la présente loi
Commencement	***58.** Subject to section 59, this Act shall come into force on a day to be fixed by proclamation issued by the Queen or the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada.	***58.** Sous réserve de l'article 59, la présente loi entre en vigueur à la date fixée par proclamation de la Reine ou du gouverneur général sous le grand sceau du Canada.	Entrée en vigueur
Commencement of paragraph 23(1)(*a*) in respect of Quebec	**59.** (1) Paragraph 23(1)(*a*) shall come into force in respect of Quebec on a day to be fixed by proclamation issued by the Queen or the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada.	**59.** (1) L'alinéa 23(1)*a*) entre en vigueur pour le Québec à la date fixée par proclamation de la Reine ou du gouverneur général sous le grand sceau du Canada.	Entrée en vigueur de l'alinéa 23(1)*a*) pour le Québec
Authorization of Quebec	(2) A proclamation under subsection (1) shall be issued only where authorized by the legislative assembly or government of Quebec.	(2) La proclamation visée au paragraphe (1) ne peut être prise qu'après autorisation de l'assemblée législative ou du gouvernement du Québec.	Autorisation du Québec
Repeal of this section	(3) This section may be repealed on the day paragraph 23(1)(*a*) comes into force in respect of Quebec and	(3) Le présent article peut être abrogé à la date d'entrée en vigueur de l'alinéa 23(1)*a*) pour le Québec, et	Abrogation du présent article

* The Act, with the exception of paragraph 23(1)(*a*) in respect of Quebec, came into force on April 17, 1982 by proclamation issued by the Queen. *See* SI/82-97.

* La loi, à l'exception de l'alinéa 23(1)*a*) pour le Québec, est entrée en vigueur le 17 avril 1982 par proclamation de la Reine. *Voir* TR/82-97.

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object of the bilingual state is not usually to create or foster bilingualism, but rather to preserve and protect the monolingualism of its inhabitants, and in particular of the linguistic minority.[18] The situation is further complicated by the fact that in Canada, for example, which is an officially bilingual country, there is only one member province which is also officially bilingual: New Brunswick. And since the passage in 1977 of the "infamous" Bill 101, or "Charte de la langue française," French is the only official language in the province of Quebec, although provision is made for English-language state-run schools for native-born Canadian Anglophones. As for Wales, it is an officially bilingual state within a monolingual state (the United Kingdom). Alistair Crawford's article, "Bilingual Typography," highlights the problems of typography in a country where Welsh/English bilingualism may well be leading to English monolingualism.[19] Language conflicts, however, are not limited to the bilingual state. As Ridge states,

The bilingual/bicultural dilemma is no stranger to other nations in the world. Few countries count on the benefits of having a homogeneous population; fewer still have enjoyed internal calm. Most have faced domestic rivalries, separatist movements, covert discrimination, or militant repression.[20]

The examples of the Breton and Occitan languages in what is surely one of the most centralized monolingual countries that has ever existed, i.e. France, prove the point. On the other hand, in the United States, bilingualism has always been a passing and transitional state, as succeeding waves of immigrants have been progressively anglicized and assimilated into the linguistic and cultural melting pot.

In the intermediate category, one might distinguish between imperial languages (such as Latin in the Roman Empire and Russian in the Soviet Union) and ex-colonial languages, for the geopolitical realities are different. In the case of what we call imperial

languages, one political power took over other existing countries in a more or less contiguous land mass area, while in the case of the colonial languages, the dominant political power exported its language and culture to widely separate and different parts of the world:

> **The great world languages of today are languages of empire, past and present. Only two, Mandarin Chinese and Russian, continue as languages of administration within single, ethnolinguistically diverse states. The others — Arabic, English, French, and Spanish — are imperial legacies, having survived the disintegration of the empires that fostered them.**[21]

Whether it be use of English in India or of French in Senegal, the continued presence of the ex-colonial language in such former British and French colonies, alongside languages indigenous to the populations of many such countries which gained their independence in this century, is definitely a major factor contributing to bilingualism as a worldwide phenomenon. To the complexities of the love/hate relationship which characterize the feelings of the ex-colonials toward the former mother countries are added the ambivalent emotions caused by using a world-class language which is not their native language.

Finally, there is inter-national bilingualism, i.e. the influence of a foreign language on an officially monolingual state, as caused by the sociocultural and economic factors already mentioned. In his article, "Foreign Loanwords in Dutch: Integration and Adaptation," Henry Schogt points out how, in the process of *adopting* an English word, Dutch has *adapted* it visibly and therefore made it unrecognizable to a native English speaker.[22] The word in question is *Tiesjirt*, ("T shirt"), another version of which exists in Japan where it is called *T-shatsu*. The two examples are all the more interesting because of the fact that the word (along with the thing) has been exported to two "old" continents, Europe and Asia. Here the cultural prestige of the source contact

language, English, is of paramount importance. Geographic proximity is not a factor here, since the contact occurs largely via jet planes and the electronic media.

Again we are confronted with the international character of English in the contemporary world atlas of languages. English has become the "Latin" of the modern world, hence the multitude of borrowings from English and the predominant nature of its influence on almost all other languages. According to a study mentioned by Fishman, "English was the only official language or co-official language in 20 countries. In an additional 36 countries it held a privileged status..."[23] Now the borrowings and influence are, in the case of inter-national, as opposed to intermediate, bilingualism at least partially voluntary, since here we are dealing with cultural rather than political imperialism. However, the cultural pressure is no doubt (almost) as great as the political. To come back to the case of the anglicized dialect of French in Quebec known as *joual*, one if its earliest and most eloquent critics wrote:

This brings us to the heart of the problem, which is a problem of civilization. Our schoolchildren speak joual because they think joual, and they think joual because they live joual.... The joual life is rock'n'roll and hot dogs, partying and bombing around, etc. It is our whole civilization that is joual.[24]

While it would be incorrect to equate bilingualism with biculturalism — many bilinguals are monocultural[25] — there can be no doubt that the all-pervasive influence of English on the languages and cultures of the world today is creating something like the beginnings of a world culture. Proof of that is to be found in the fact that even the often ethnocentric French cannot resist the impetus and momentum of English borrowings, which lead to the creation of what one French writer named "Franglais," a kind of mid-

Atlantic pidgin which now includes such terms as *le car ferry*, *l'Hovercraft*, *le Walkman*, not to mention *le break dance* and *le compact disk!*[26]

Contexts and Codes

Bilingualism affects the smallest units of language, sounds of course, but also the characters of type used to print *letters*, for, as Crawford points out in his article on bilingual typography, "the two languages [of a bilingual text can] remain in perpetual confusion and conflict." Furthermore, since the incidence of characters will always be different in different languages, using a type font designed for another language will create obvious problems. In the case of the history of Welsh printing practices, the wrong characters were often used since the setting of texts was materially determined by the contents of the English typesetter's font. Cultural, political or social domination lead directly to typographical domination, the result being that the reading of a unilingual text set according to what are different "rules of the game" becomes difficult if not well nigh impossible. Intra-national bilingualism (within one political entity) thus can lead to the point where the minority or dominated language becomes *visibly* affected, altered and even made illegible, due to the very nature of the two languages which are in perpetual contact and here, conflict. Ideally, of course, things should work out very differently.

> **"In combining any two languages into one typographic harmony, the designer will have to deal with copy of different length (representing the same message) differing in the size of the average word, sentence and paragraph; and differing in the incidence of certain letters of the alphabet, characteristic of each language."**[27]

The risk of typographical conflict will be all the greater if the languages share the same writing system. This is obviously not the case with Japanese

and English: Roman letters can be utilized in Japanese texts and this will not affect the integrity and identity of the base language since the two systems remain visibly and typographically different, however much the two languages come into contact. On the other hand, the risk of real conflict, as in the case of Welsh and English, will be all the greater if the languages share the same alphabet. As Crawford points out in his contribution to the present issue, "The Welsh language had the additional disadvantage in as much as it did not *seem* to have a visual identity of its own precisely because it *appeared* to use the same alphabet system as English."

The question of *words* in conflict poses the problem of interference and integration. Interference carries with it the negative connotation of perceived error or deviation from the linguistic norm of one language due to the influence of another language with which the speaker/writer of the first is in contact. However, as Haugen points out, what may be seen one day as interference (for example the word *data* used as a singular in English) may become accepted usage the next:

The traditional term for such interlingual influence has been *borrowing* (hence the many terms involving "loan," German *Lehn...*). The term *interference* was introduced by Weinreich as "a deviation from the norms of one language under influence from those of another"....This definition is elastic since any such deviation will, if repeated and accepted by the community, become part of the norm, whereupon it ceases to be a case of interference.[28]

Integration can thus be seen as "the assimilation and convergence of the characteristics and rules of the contact languages."[29] As the Commissioner of the Commissariat Général de la Langue Française, Philippe de Saint-Robert, recently pointed out, "Borrowed words can play a part in the life of a language as long as the language has a genius for

integrating them and not submitting to them."[30] In point of fact, the matter is a delicate one and the distinction tends to blur. According to Mackey, "The question of whether or not a given element belongs to both codes or only to one does not take a yes/no answer. It is also a matter of degree."[31] To come back to one of our original examples, in contemporary Dutch, *gebabysit* would appear to be an accepted and assimilated borrowing (morpho-syntactic and lexical integration), whereas "he wants I should go" is still perceived in English as morpho-syntactic interference.

The contact between two languages can also take the form of *code-switching*, that is of switching from one language to another within a single utterance. While one thinks of code-switching at the level of texts, as say in a work of literary criticism where the critic cites the text studied in the original Latin or French within his own commentary or discourse in English, such a shift can also affect smaller units, including words:[32]

> **code-switching involves shifting from one grammatical system to another. It is distinguished from borrowing in that the latter involves taking a term from another language and adapting it to one's own grammatical system, phonologically, morphologically, syntactically or semantically. Where the two systems are maintained as distinct entities but juxtaposed within the same discourse, we have a case of code-switching.[33]**

Thus it can be seen that a tripartite distinction can be made in which partial interference is the middle or transitional stage between complete code-switching and total assimilation or integration. As Grosjean states, "switching...is the alternate use of two languages...; interference, the overlapping of two languages, and integration, the use of words or phrases from one language that have become so much a part of the other that it cannot be called either switching or overlapping except in a historical sense."[34]

Finally, it should be noted that all three processes — from switching to integration via interference — can be found in both nonliterary as well as literary texts, not to mention daily speech. Among our contributors, Schogt's examples are nonliterary, Flores's are literary and Wrenn's are both nonliterary and literary. The question is further complicated by the fact that all linguistic levels may be involved in the processes of interference and/or integration occurring between the source and target languages: phonological and orthographic, morphological and syntactic, not to mention lexical and semantic. And in the case of code-switching, the language shifts may be so frequent that it is difficult if not pointless to attempt to establish the so-called base language of the utterance. The languages in contact may thus produce what could be said to be a truly *bilingual* text.

The Authors' Contributions

Alistair Crawford raises a question which has seldom been studied, although the practice itself is not that uncommon: bilingual typography. Central to Crawford's argument is the crucial question: must typography continue to have a "peripheral and limited" relationship to language? This problem is in turn related to the one that we raised earlier concerning the political dimension of the bilingual problem. In fact, the two problems are closely linked since it is less likely that the typography in a minority language will ever have been studied or refined. Crawford places the emphasis squarely on "the cultural domination of the majority language over the minority," a domination which is of course reflected in typographical practice. "The history of printing and typography is also a history of politics." What is more, "the history of language is also a history of suppression," i.e. suppression of the rights of the linguistic minority. Note that here we are dealing with majority rule in the context of one political jurisdiction (although the status of Wales as a country is somewhat problematic given its partial political autonomy). Many a demo-

crat would no doubt applaud official bilingualism in the context of a bilingual community. As mentioned, such bilingualism is often instituted not to encourage individual bilingualism, although that too may be attained, but rather to protect the rights of the dominated language (in numerical and therefore political and sociocultural terms). What would be less obvious to that democrat is that under the cover of official bilingualism, even the most rigorously bilingual document may not only hide but actually perpetuate the domination of the minority. Not in the actual message or due to an inaccurate or insulting translation — all of which, to our own personal knowledge, have been only all too common in Canada — but rather because of the actual typography of the text. Who is to tell how often a reader in a bilingual country, such as Wales or Canada or Belgium, has stopped reading a text printed in the minority language (but set according to the typographical practices of the majority language), due to eye strain, fatigue, or outright frustration? Of course, the linguistic oppression would be invisible to a monolingual who does not know the language in question and therefore does not concern himself with whether or not the typography is *language-based*. The point is that each language has its own "visual characteristics" which are unique to it and which must be taken into account when typefaces are designed. As Crawford puts it so clearly and succinctly,

> **No two languages could ever manifest themselves in precisely the same visual shape even if they use the same alphabet since the particular frequency of letters associated one with another is distinct and determines the visual presentation of the language: its shape and format.**

The "shape and format" of each language is indeed unique, something which has often been appreciated more by poets, such as Mallarmé and Apollinaire, than designers, one fears. Ideally, then, to prevent typographical interference, the minority language

should have its own typographical system distinct and separate from the majority's language system, especially if the former uses the same alphabet as the latter. If not, the collisions risk being very graphic indeed, all the more so since they will (by definition) remain *invisible* to so many designers and typographers. What is needed, then, is a kind of typographic and bilingual good will: the will to *see* the other's language as a unique and independent system. By reminding us of the importance of each language's shape and format, Crawford's article is a fitting beginning to this, our quest to study languages in contact and conflict.

Henry Schogt's study takes the reader to the realm of lexical and orthographic borrowings from a variety of source languages into modern Dutch. As a case study in loanwords, Schogt's study provides the concrete underpinning to any theoretical formation of the more general problem of interference and integration. One presumes that borrowings are made to fill lexical gaps or *lacunae* in the target language. However, much more is at stake here, since it is also a question of fashion, prestige and broad cultural appeal. The frequency with which the target language borrows from specific source languages is never an arbitrary matter. One could say that the contact is not just a "brief encounter"! As Schogt points out, the frequency of borrowings reflect the cultural and political hegemony of the source language. Hence, the number of Germanisms borrowed during World War II and the occupation of Holland. If French loanwords were common in an earlier time, today's borrowings reflect the prestige and importance of English as an international language and the United States as cultural model: "the preference for English stems from a desire to be dynamic and up-to-date, or at least to give that impression." Schogt's study devotes great attention to the details of spelling loanwords, for this is a kind of measuring stick by which one may tell the extent to which the foreign language is familiar to the general Dutch population.

Paradoxically, knowledge of the source language may well slow down the process of integration. The choice of Dutch as a case study of loanwords is a good one, not just because the language is not as well known as French, thus permitting a fresh look at the linguistic phenomena in question, but also because of the geopolitical situation of Holland. A small country at the crossraods if not the center of Europe, officially monolingual Holland has traditionally been intellectually and culturally receptive to new ideas and welcoming to the foreigners who, throughout history, arrived with their philosophies and languages. Such an attitude is reflected in the openness of the Dutch; and one might say that the language contact here has generally been a happy affair.

Like Schogt, Bernard Saint-Jacques studies foreign borrowings in the context of daily life. As in the case of Holland, Japan is also a monolingual country; furthermore, it has been seen as one of the most monolingual countries on the face of the globe today. However, Japan too has been open to other languages, particularly in her writing system. Today Japanese combines three types of writing: ideographic or morphemic (the kanji of Chinese origin), syllabic and now alphabetic. The relatively recent vogue of Roman letters and, especially, of English words printed in Roman, offers an example of change. Traditionally foreign words were written in the katakana syllabary. Today the "second Chinese invasion" of Japan has nothing Chinese about it, except for the paradigm of assimilation, by which the Japanese incorporate various writing systems originating in languages very different from their own. Saint-Jacques emphasizes the point, as Schogt does, that fashion plays a big part in this adoption of foreign words and letters. In today's Japan, our alphabet, not just the words written in it, has a positive connotation: the Roman alphabet is modern, it is "in," as Saint-Jacques puts it and as his illustrations so aptly demonstrate. Closely linked to commercialism, the alphabet is often used to sell a

product and in fact the product being sold is less the article itself than the concept or notion of foreignness and modernity. The message actually conveyed may turn out, as it often does, to be totally redundant, as in the graphically bilingual titles of newspapers. The fact that some of the borrowings appear strange or amusing to native speakers of the source languages proves that referential meaning has very definitely taken a backseat to connotation. It is the "shape and format" of those so foreign-looking characters and words which attract the Japanese. Reading Saint-Jacques's study is an opportunity for us to see our own language and to appreciate its unique visibility, a visibility which all too often we do not see since there is no other writing system to set it off, to put it in high graphic relief. The French poet and teacher of English, Stéphane Mallarmé, once said that one never sees a word better than from the out-side, from a foreign country.[35] Perhaps we have to journey to Japan (at least in our imagination) in order to visualize and appreciate the essential "foreignness" of our own all too familiar writing system.

Amongst many other excellent qualities, Phyllis Wrenn's article functions as a transition between, on the one hand, Schogt and Saint-Jacques, and, on the other hand, Flores. Like the former two, she treats borrowings and the question of adaptation and integration, and like the latter, she also treats code-switching, especially for aesthetic purposes in the context of the literary text. What is more, the literary language which Wrenn discusses is not in the high-flown or sublime mode; rather it deals with everyday life situations. On the other hand, one should point out that, unlike the previous articles mentioned, Wrenn is dealing with texts of some length, as opposed to the context of language as such or short utterances (in the case of advertising slogans).

Once again we find ourselves in the situation of bilingualism, both official and individual, the majority language being English and the minority Acadian

French as it is used in the maritime provinces of Canada, especially Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A minority within a minority, the Acadians are of course French Canadians but could not, nor would they want to, be considered as Quebeckers. Unlike French-speaking Quebeckers, who account for 87% of the population of Quebec, the Francophone population only constitutes 34% of New Brunswick. Interestingly, Acadians are the most bilingual of Canadians: just over 50% are bilingual.[36] Such is the inheritance of empire from the point of view of descendants of ancestors who were doubly colonial, both of the French and British empires in North America. In 1755, some 16,000 Acadians were expelled by the British from their homeland (cf. Longfellow's poem "Evangeline"). Many ended up settling in Louisiana where they became known as Cajuns (from Fr. *Acadiens*). Later, some were to embark on the long hike back to Acadia, a tale that has been told in a recent bestseller written by one of the authors studied, Antonine Maillet.[37]

Wrenn has accumulated an imposing amount of documentation on code-switching and orthographic (as well as other forms) of integration in written texts. Crucial to her argument is the point that we are not dealing merely with a form of anglicized and therefore impoverished French, a typical accusation that is made against such language mixing. For Wrenn, it is rather a question of the writers' playing with the languages in contact. However, such play is not merely gratuitous; rather it is part and parcel of the aesthetic process of writing a literary text. Now the texts in question have a highly visual impact, due to the unfamiliar spelling adaptation (integration) of words which would no doubt be otherwise familiar in English. Reading thus requires an extra effort and "it is because of this effort that the written text gains its significance as *visible* language" (author's emphasis). Since complete visibility would no doubt lead to total unreadability — here one thinks of the use of Roman characters in Japan —, "the varied treatment

of the orthography of English words, like that of the French text itself, thus represents a compromise between accessibility, readability and novelty." What we are dealing with, then, is an acute situation of languages in contact for a variety of reasons: historical, societal, cultural, political, as well as specifically linguistic and literary. Presenting a strong similarity with the situation of their Welsh counterparts, the Acadians live the bilingual life of a language minority within the confines of their own homeland. Anglicisms reflect a reality of daily life, the situation of two unequal languages in contact within one political entity. The words of the writers, like the world about which they write, overlap all the while underscoring the languages in contact. Bilingualism is "bred in the bone" — in the tissue of human beings and texts alike.

Lauro Flores's lucid account of code-switching in Chicano poetry rounds out the issue, giving it a completeness which would be otherwise lacking. It is fitting to come home, so to speak, to the situation of languages in contact within an officially monolingual country, not just any country, but that which, according to some, has been home to more bilinguals than any other.[38]

As in Wrenn's article, Flores answers the charge that by mixing the languages, the poets in question are just butchering both languages, creating a bastardized hybrid of little interest or creative fertility: "code-switching provides Chicano and other bilingual poets with a broader set of stylistic choices and, therefore, allows them to enhance the aesthetic value of their works." The beautiful poetic image, *solrainingotas*, aside from furnishing an excellent example of language contact within the bounds of one compound word, also aptly answers the charge of language butchery. It is not by chance that the poetry analyzed here was written by poets who think of themselves as *Chicanos*. The word replaced the expression *Mexican-American*, much as *Québécois* came to replace the term *French-Canadian* in the

1960s. As Flores puts it, "many Chicanos felt [the old label] placed them in limbo, in the nothingness of the hyphen connecting the two words."[39] Once again the important link between culture and language, or rather languages, is emphasized, for it is not without irony that "in asserting their autonomy and cultural uniqueness, Chicanos decide to use, or at least partially through the technique of code-switching, the language of the dominant culture," as Flores states. As in Wrenn's analysis of Franco-Acadian texts, the reality of the bilingual text corresponds to the reality of daily life in two languages, complete with all the problems that bilingualism can and no doubt does create, but also with all of life's joys and sorrows, in short, with all the stuff of poetry. The contact is doubly vivid, for it exists in both the thematic content of the works, as well as the verbal structures and patterns of the words upon the page. The colliding of the cultures and the languages is thus eminently graphic, and totally visible for all to see, to read and to enjoy.

Graphic Collisions

The contacts are there for all to behold, in the words, in the texts. And the collisions are GRAPHIC. Why collisions? Perhaps because the word leads to two readings or models. In the first, the contact, or the conflict, is seen as a situation that is costly, unpleasant, and to be avoided. In this case, one thinks of an automobile collision. However, there is another kind of collision that can also stand as the symbol of our enterprise: like colliding subatomic particles, the contact of languages can be seen as a natural process with positive effects, such as the renewal or revitalization of the languages in contact. Here, one might evoke the metaphor of (trans)fusion, for the processes are life giving. As Haugen points out, a "confusion of tongues" need not necessarily lead to a "confusion of communication."[40] Au contraire. Problems there are, but surely the possible, even probable release of linguistic energy that results from languages in contact is well worth the price of these not so predictable COLLISIONS.

Notes

1 Weinreich, Uriel. 1968 *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems.* The Hague: Mouton, 4.

2 Hakuta, Kenji. 1986. *Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism.* New York: Basic Books, 6.

3 Grosjean, François. 1982 *Life with Two Languages. An Introduction to Bilingualism.* Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard UP, vii. Nor is bilingualism a problem which only affects "other" people in foreign countries. As Hakuta points out, "In its short history, the United States has probably been host to more bilingual people than any other country in the world" (*Mirror of Language*, 166).

4 Cf. "In the present study, two or more languages will be said to be **in contact** if they are used alternately by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact.

"The practice of alternately using two languages will be called **bilingualism**, and the persons involved **bilingual**" (Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, 1).

5 Wrolstad, Merald. 1986 "General Information," *Visible Language*, XX, 1 (Winter) 3.

6 Cf. ibid.

7 For this reason, a merely *visual* language such as ASL (American Sign Language) used by the deaf will not be discussed here, although it is certainly part of the question of bilingualism in contemporary American society. Cf. Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages*, 84-88.

8 "Bilingualism, in addition to being a linguistic concept, refers to a constellation of tensions having to do with a multitude of psychological, societal, and political realities" (Hakuta, *Mirror of Language*, 9).

9 For a brief description in English of the historical background to bilingualism in Canada, see Ralph Sarkonak, "Accentuating the Differences" in Sarkonak, R. (Ed.). 1983 *The Language of Difference: Writing in QUEBEC(ois).* New Haven and London: Yale UP, 4-12.

10 Statistics cited by Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages*, 12, 15.

11 McCrum, Robert. Cran, William, and MacNeil, Robert. 1986. *The Story of English.* London: Faber and Faber, 44-45.

12 Reid, Malcolm. 1972. *The Shouting Signpainters: A Literary and Political Account of Quebec Revolutionary Nationalism.* New York: Modern Reader, 238.

13 Quoted from Flores's article, "Converging Languages in a World of Conflicts: Code-switching in Chicano Poetry," 149.

14 Quoted from Phyllis Wrenn's article, "Ortho- and Morpho-graphic Transcoding of Acadian 'Franglais,'" 124.

15 See Bernard Saint-Jacques's article, "The Roman Alphabet in the Japanese Writing System," 88-105.

16 McCrum et al., *The Story of English*, 46.

17 "Of the many situations of language contact, only a certain number have resulted in the creation of bilingual states. The bilingual state as such is a solution which has often followed a demographic regrouping as a result of war, revolution, or federation" (Dunton, A.D., Laurendeau, A. 1967. *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, vol. I, 11.

18 Cf. Mackey, W.F. 1976. *Bilingualism as a World Problem. The Debate on Bilingualism.* Montreal: Harvest House, 11.

19 See Alistair Crawford, "Bilingual Typography," 42-65. According to statistics quoted by Grosjean, only 1% of the population of Wales is monolingual in Welsh, while 20% are bilingual and 79% are monolingual in English (*Life with Two Languages*, 40).

20 Ridge, Martin. 1981. "The New Bilingualism: An American Dilemma" in *The New Bilingualism: An American Dilemma.* M. Ridge (Ed.) Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 265-66.

21 Fishman, Joshua, Cooper, Robert and Rosenbaum, Yehudit. 1977.

"English the World Over: A Factor in the Creation of Bilingualism Today" in *Bilingualism: Psychological, Social, and Education Implications.* Hornby, P. (Ed.) New York: Academic Press, 103.

22 See Henry Schogt, "Foreign Loanwords in Dutch: Integration and Adaptation," 77-82.

23 Fishman et al., "English the World Over," 114.

24 Jean-Paul Desbiens, *The Insolences of Brother Anonymous* quoted by Reid, *The Shouting Signpainters*, 19.

25 Cf. Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages*, 157-66.

26 Examples are from David Mairowitz, "La belle langue kisses its linguistic interlopers au revoir," *Harper's Magazine* reprinted in *The Globe and Mail* (November 8, 1986), D5. Etiemble's book is entitled *Parlez-vous franglais?* 1964 Paris: Gallimard.

27 Oron, Asher. 1973. "A New Hebrew Sans Serif for Bilingual Printing," *London Icographic*, vol. 3 quoted by Crawford, A. 1976. "Bilingual Typography," *Planet*, vol. 33 (August) 26.

28 Haugen, Einar. 1978. "Bilingualism, Language Contact, and Immigrant Languages in the United States: A Research Report 1956-1970" in *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism*, Fishman, J. (Ed.) The Hague: Mouton, 21.

29 Rozencvejg, V. Ju. 1976. *Linguistic Interference and Convergent Change.* The Hague: Mouton, 2. Mario Pei defines *integration* as follows: "The regular use of a borrowed element, and its incorporation into an ideolect, dialect or language" (*Glossary of Linguistic Terminology* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966, 127).

30 Quoted by Mairowitz, "La belle langue...," D5.

31 Mackey, "Interference, integration and the synchronic fallacy" in *Bilingualism and Language Contact*, Alatis, J. (Ed.) 1970. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 201.

32 Code-switching can be used to refer "to the alternate use of two languages, including everything from the introduction of a single, unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more in the context of another language" (Haugen, "Bilingualism, Language Contact, and Immigrant Languages," 21).

33 Sanchez, Rosaura. 1983. *Chicano Discourse: Socio-historic Perspectives.* Rowley, Mass.: Harvest House, 140.

34 Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages*, 289. Grosjean points out that the term "interference" has been used less often in recent research; some researchers prefer to use a more neutral term such as "transference." (ibid.)

35 "on ne voit presque jamais si sûrement un mot que de dehors, où nous sommes; c'ést-à-dire de l'étranger" (Mallarmé, "Les Mots anglais" in *Oeuvres complètes* Paris: Gallimard, 1945, 975.

36 Statistics cited by Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages*, 15-16.

37 Antonine Maillet, *Pélagie-la-Charrette* (Paris: Grasset, 1979).

38 Cf. note 3.

39 Cf. "*Québécois* won out, not only as 'mere' signifier, but as the mark of a unique right of passage in the evolution of an entire nation" (Ralph Sarkonak, Editor's preface to *The Language of Difference: Writing in QUEBEC(ois)*, iv).

40 Haugen, "Bilingualism, Language Contact," 34.

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Bilingualism and Visible Language

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Visible language XXI 1 (Winter 1987)
Alistair Crawford, pp. 42-65

Drawn from the results of recent investigations into both the history of typography of printed Welsh and bilingual typography in English and Welsh, this article discusses both the history and the current state of typography. It argues, on the basis of the questions raised by the typography of Welsh — a minority language with no typographic history — that if we are to regard typography as a subject and a discipline, as distinct from a form of applied decoration or self-expression, we need to begin to consider typography as essentially language-based. The solution to the problem of designing for multilingual texts rests in the need to produce individual language-based typographic systems.

Given the scarcity of research into the typographic structures required for the fluent communication of words in bilingual contexts, we cannot, as yet, seriously use the term 'bilingual typography' in relation to an acquired body of knowledge. Even less can we talk of a multilingual typography. When we consider how many countries and communities around the world have more than one language within their borders, one would assume that the practice of typography would address itself to the specific problem of designing for the bilingual or multilingual page from at least the time of the invention of moveable type. However, such knowledge does not exist to any significant extent, nor does this aspect of typography form part of the essential training of typographers in multilingual countries. This suggests that there is no necessity for such study; that no fundamental problems exist for the typographer when multilingual texts are used, or that typography has failed to recognize many of the problems that are raised when the reader is confronted with more than one language in the same context. Alternatively, it would indicate that typography is not regarded as an essential element in how the meaning of the text is conveyed to, and understood by, the reader. Typography's relationship to language, therefore, is, and will, remain peripheral and limited.

Research into the problems of applying typographic practice to Welsh,[1] a language which has little history of such concerns, combined with investigations into the problems of designing for bilingual texts in English and Welsh[2] have led to speculation on the validity of much current typographic practice. In order to begin to study the problems of bilingual typography we need to come to terms with certain basic propositions concerning the nature of typography and, fundamentally, whether we can regard it as a distinct discipline.

As a simple definition, typography could be decribed as designing for the efficient communication of

words which *A* wishes to transmit to *B*. This would entail the production of new typefaces for, and the use of existing typefaces in, an ordered arrangement whereby efficient communication may take place. It follows from this definition that in order to achieve 'efficient communication', the typographer needs to have, not only a sound knowledge of the practice, but also an understanding of what constitutes *A*, the transmitters, and *B*, the receivers. *A* can obviously be subdivided into various categories, for example, clients, authors etc., while *B* will always represent a *particular* audience or combination of particular audiences. 'Efficient' means that the particular audience(s) will understand the communication in the way that *A* intends, without struggle or ambiguity. It is difficult to know how a realised and intended communication can take place if this were not the case.

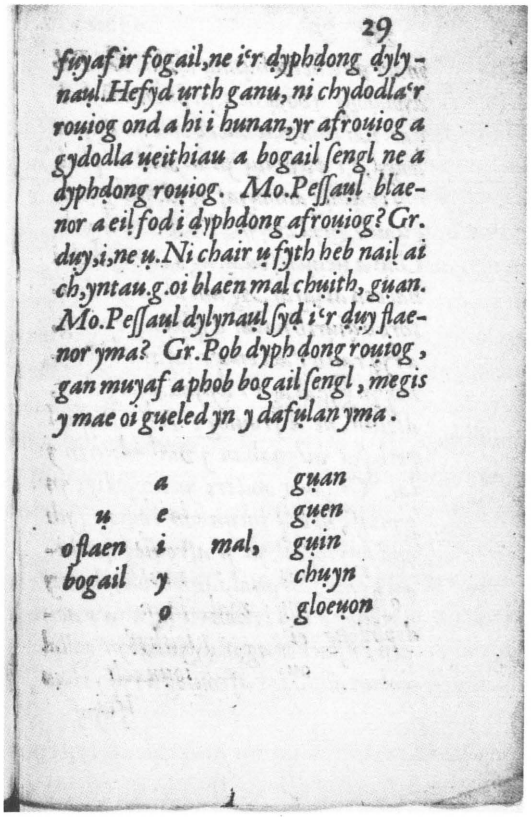
We would assume from the above definition, therefore, that typographers need to have as sound a knowledge and understanding of the complex structures of what constitutes the specifics of particular transmitters and receivers as they need in the practice of design. It further follows, since the whole enterprise is engaged in the communication of words, that is, *language*, that the typographer needs to have an equal understanding of the structure and usage of the language and an equal understanding of how the practice of design, the characteristics and use of language, the act of reading, etc., interrelate. In order to understand language, the typographer needs linguistic skills regarding its structure and the various uses of language which determine meaning as used by *A* and *B*.

Another assumption is that typographers, and before them, printers, developed, and continued to develop, sophisticated systems of typographic practice based on *language* and that, as a consequence, they studied the effects of such systems on readers. These systems, like the alphabets themselves, would be known and recognised and used by common consent and experience. Further, the systems contain fundamental similarities

common to all languages. However, since no two languages are exactly the same in their visual manifestation, we expect each system to be *relative* to the particularities of that language. These individual language-based typographic systems demonstrate, when compared one with another, the individual idiosyncracies of typographic practice (typeface, space, layout, etc.) pertaining to the *particular* language. From such an historical analysis, we expect to be able to define the typographers' intentions which, in any given period, are clear in relation to the language used; in how they design, for what purpose and for whom, just as we expect to find a similar history if we study architecture or engineering.

Presumably, from these language-based systems, the particularities of each language are visible in the use of, and design for their typefaces, accepting the histories of the alphabet system used. We expect to find that where relatively similar alphabet systems are used, for example, languages which use the Roman alphabet, there would nevertheless be differences in the application of typographic practice for the specific language, such as in relation to orthography. Efficient communication involves an understanding of the language if typography is an essential ingredient in the reader's ability to comprehend fully the text in the precise way that the client and/or author intends; the reader comprehends the text in a specific way as a result of the influence of typography upon it. By implication, the converse of this argument indicates that typography is simply a form of applied decoration operating as a form of personal expression applied to literary concepts.

Each language-based system indicates the relationship between the language in use and the typefaces used and their optimum layout in order to achieve maximum readability. In designing for bilingual material, therefore, the problems of ordered



29

fuyaf ir fogail,ne i'r dyphdong dyly-
nauł.Hefyd urth ganu, ni chydodla'r
rouiog ond a hi i hunan,yr afrouiog a
gydodla ueithiau a bogail ſengl ne a
dyphdong rouiog. Mo.Peſſauł blae-
nor a eil fod i dyphdong afrouiog? Gr.
duy,i,ne u.Ni chair u fyth heb nail ai
ch,yntau.g.oi blaen mal chuith, guan.
Mo.Peſſauł dylynauł ſyd i'r duy flae-
nor yma? Gr.Pob dyphdong rouiog,
gan muyaf a phob bogail ſengl, megis
y mae oi gueled yn y dafulan yma.

	a		guan
u	e		guen
oflaen	i	mal,	guin
bogail	y		chuyn
	o		gloeuon

Figure 1
Dosparth Byrr Gruffydd Robert/ attributed to Vincenzo Girardoni 1567 (RSTC21076)Contained *d* for *dd*, *l* for *ll*, *u* for *w* using a form previously adopted in early manuscripts. This is probably the first Welsh book to be printed in a Roman typeface.

arrangement require use of two such systems, one for each language, then structuring a relationship between them so that efficient communication for each language takes place. Like all disciplines, we expect such systems to be subject to experiment and to be in a continual state of modification.

Before too many typographers feel that this portrays an arid landscape of monotony, we also expect to find as much inventiveness, imagination and creativity as in any other subject. We can liken it to boat building in that boats may be beautiful objects but are designed primarily in relation to their performance. We can also compare it to acting, which equally communicates to audiences on behalf of various and multiple transmitters — where meaning is produced not simply by understanding

the words of the text but also by the way in which the words are conveyed.

When placed against such assumptions, however, the history of typography appears, instead, to be a rather wayward, indeterminant and vague enterprise, for none of these language-based systems exists to the extent that our definition of typography implies; on the contrary, there is a marked absence of any language-based typographic practice.[3] From an investigation of the history of printing, there is little evidence to suggest that the problems of the bilingual page have ever been seriously considered. An examination of examples of commonly found contemporary bilingual printed pages from various countries revealed little evidence of systematic thinking, with the exception of Switzerland although, even here, it appears to be the product of astute individual design rather than the result of any programmed research.[4]

The results of an examination into the early typography of printed Welsh indicate that in its entire history there was no attempt to set the text in any typeface, format or layout specifically for Welsh.[5] In carrying out this investigation we also looked for the way in which typographers assess the readability of the printed texts, as distinct from the legibility of the typefaces used; how they used the means at their disposal in relation to the languages they used, in this case, English and Welsh, and how they applied such knowledge to the problems of designing for the bilingual page, for example:

In combining any two languages into one typographic harmony, the designer will have to deal with copy of different length (representing the same message) differing in the size of the average word, sentence and paragraph; and differing in the incidence of certain letters of the alphabet, characteristic of each language.[6]

We looked for the relationship between the alphabet used and the orthography of each language; the relationship between the design of the typeface and the language or languages for which it was set; the particularities of letter, word, and line spacing and optimum line length *relative* to both the typeface and its size *and* to the effect of the language used. We presumed that typographers would agree that:

> **Each identical sound signal, accented letter, word picture and letter group has a different role in each language. The same letter shapes appear differently in different languages.**[7]

This being the case, in the design of any bilingual page, the problems of language must be a primary consideration.

However, the more common belief amongst designers in Britain, including some of the most eminent typographers of the English language is that if you can design successfully for one language, then you can design for any other. Further, the designer need not be able to understand, with any degree of fluency, the language for which he or she is designing. This view must also logically assume that good typography consists of a set of common principles, common to the use of typefaces in *any* language (or that there are none at all; typography, therefore, would be the practice of a special unquantifiable talent in the pursuit of decoration); it assumes that there is no typographic practice which can be recognised as 'belonging' to any one language and therefore, if legibility is achieved, readability follows, given the view that the designer need not understand the meaning of the text.

We concede that typographic design has no *fundamental* importance to understanding the text in the majority of printed matter throughout the history of print but this is not the same as saying it never did nor could have. We can argue, for example, that readability, in itself, is a necessary

requisite for *efficient* communication. If one subscribes, however, to the view of typography as a kind of flavoring, as distinct from a necessity, then typography becomes an interest where 'quality' may be favored while mediocrity can simply be ignored. Any debate between typographers becomes, for those outside the subject, a debate about prevalent *style* in any given age. In this environment, multilingual design merely represents 'another typographic problem' that can be treated in exactly the same way as any other. It is tempting to believe in such an easy solution and the view of many respected designers certainly gives it weight. Such a view would, for example, indicate that where we find 'bad' typography it is always the fault of the individual designer not of the subject. This view is commonly put into practice by typographers and graphic designers in relation to their judgment of any piece of graphic design.

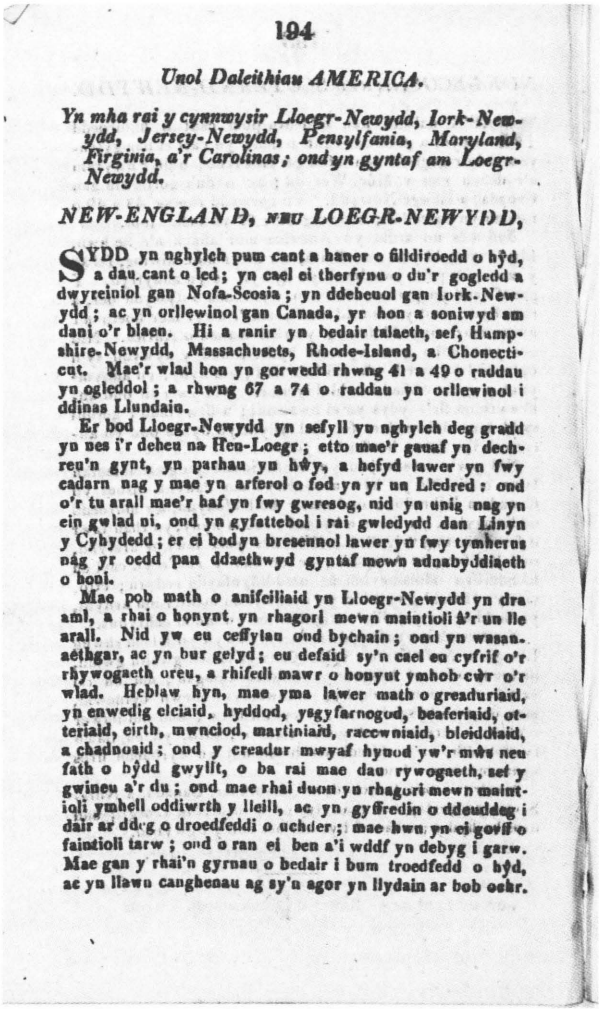
Clearly, the current view amongst typographers dismisses the subject of bilingual typography and maintains that no problem can be contained within current practice which, as we have indicated, would appear to exclude language as a prime consideration. This must reflect the belief that typography is a known quantity common to all languages. Typography changes its form *only* in relation to the particular taste and style which is predominant at any given time or in relation to changing technologies.

Most designers now accept that the days of regarding typography as an individual aesthetic response, as demonstrated, for example, in the history of the private press, are passing or past. The majority of designers now subscribe to a much more functional view of their subject. Typography has indeed allowed certain limited information to percolate from other disciplines; from the psychological and physiological processes of reading and comprehension, the psychology of perception etc., but there is no widespread research and experimentation linking typographic practice and psychology, for example. Existing

research appears at the periphery of the subject rather than at the center. More significantly, perhaps, there is little research emanating from typographers or from the technologies and industries that manufacture for them or use their services. In spite of the growth of functional design, very few typographers would go so far as to call their subject a science or an applied science. It is at this very point that our conflict begins.

This view of typography is corroborated in the training of typographic designers where linguistics, perception or the psychology of reading and comprehension, not to mention the study of grammar and syntax, is absent. Before students begin to study typography, their experience is primarily in Fine Art. Their subsequent training in design also takes place within the context of art as a form of personal expression. While some graduates may have some knowledge of the stylistic history of typefaces, few will have acquired any knowledge, as part of their training, of the histories of the languages involved or of the social, economic, and cultural history of printing in Europe (or even of their own country). Students are primarily trained in the immediate use of current typefaces as visual, rather than textual, material and are programmed to view the problem of communication as one of successful aesthetic control of a *personal idea*.

It is not surprising, therefore, that given such an educational and cultural context, there is little desire to discover what role typography should play, nor much regard for the notion of typography as the means whereby language, that is, words and the method of combining them for the expression of thought, is made visual. Since language has to be organised, structured and systematic to express thought, it follows that typography *per se* must also be organized, structured and systematic on behalf of the language it serves and before it too can play a part in any 'expression of thought'.



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Unol Daleithiau AMERICA.

Yn mha rai y cynnwysir Lloegr-Newydd, Iork-Newydd, Jersey-Newydd, Pensylfania, Maryland, Firginia, a'r Carolinas; ond yn gyntaf am Loegr-Newydd.

NEW-ENGLAND, neu LOEGR-NEWYDD,

SYDD yn nghylch pum cant a haner o filldiroedd o hŷd, a dau cant o led; yn cael ei therfynu o du'r gogledd a dwyreiniol gan Nofa-Scosia; yn ddeheuol gan Iork-Newydd; ac yn orllewinol gan Canada, yr hon a soniwyd am dani o'r blaen. Hi a ranir yn bedair talaeth, sef, Hampshire-Newydd, Massachusets, Rhode-Island, a Chonecticut. Mae'r wlad hon yn gorwedd rhwng 41 a 49 o raddau yn ogleddol; a rhwng 67 a 74 o raddau yn orllewinol i ddinas Llundain.

Er bod Lloegr-Newydd yn sefyll yn nghylch deg gradd yn nes i'r deheu na Heu-Loegr; etto mae'r gauaf yn dechreu'n gynt, yn parhau yn hŷy, a hefyd lawer yn fwy cadarn nag y mae yn arferol o fod yn yr un Lledred: ond o'r tu arall mae'r haf yn fwy gwresog, nid yn unig nag yn ein gwlad ni, ond yn gyfattebol i rai gwledydd dan Linyn y Cyhydedd; er ei bod yn bresennol lawer yn fwy tymherus nâg yr oedd pan ddaethwyd gyntaf mewn adnabyddiaeth o honi.

Mae pob math o anifeiliaid yn Lloegr-Newydd yn dra aml, a rhai o honynt yn rhagori mewn maintioli â'r un lle arall. Nid yw eu ceffylau ond bychain; ond yn wasanaethgar, ac yn bur gelyd; eu defaid sy'n cael eu cyfrif o'r rhywogaeth oreu, a rhifedi mawr o honynt ymhob cŵr o'r wlad. Heblaw hyn, mae yma lawer math o greaduriaid, yn enwedig elciaid, hyddod, ysgyfarnogod, beaferiaid, otteriaid, eirth, mwnciod, martiniaid, raccwniaid, bleiddiaid, a chadnoaid; ond y creadur mwyaf hynod y'w'r mŵs neu fath o hŷdd gwyllt, o ba rai mae dau rywogaeth, sef y gwineu a'r du; ond mae rhai duon yn rhagori mewn maintioli ymhell oddiwrth y lleill, ac yn gyffredin o ddeuddeg i dair ar ddeg o droedfeddi o uchder; mae hwn yn ei gyfiff o faintioli tarw; ond o ran ei ben a'i wddf yn debyg i garw. Mae gan y rhai'n gyrnau o bedair i bum troedfedd o hŷd, ac yn llawn canghenau ag sy'n agor yn llydain ar bob ochr.

Figure 2
Speculum Terrarum & Coelorum neu Ddrych y Ddaer a'r Ffurfafen Mathew Williams/John Evans 1826
Typical of the lowest quality of nineteenth century printing.

An examination of the history of the typography of printed Welsh, with few exceptions, revealed the complete lack of a structured and systematic typography applicable to it. Printed Welsh has always been set as if it were English. In itself, this may sound unremarkable given a country which, until 1718, only received printed matter in Welsh if it were printed in London, or from 1696 onwards in Shrewsbury and which, throughout its history, has never operated a type foundry which might have allowed the possible development of a Welsh-oriented typography, or even a typography developed

primarily by Welsh speakers. The typography of Welsh imitated, and still imitates, that of English.

Throughout the history of printed Welsh we witness the cultural domination of the majority language over the minority, just as we witness, throughout the history of Europe, the continual attempts to suppress minority peoples, their cultures and languages, by subjugation in order to assimilate them and thus consolidate the ruling establishment's power base. The history of printing and typography is also a history of politics.

As early as 1567 when William Salesbury brought out in London a Welsh translation of the New Testament (*Testament Newydd* STC 2960) he had to list the expedients which he had been forced to accept since Henry Denham's type stock lacked certain letters needed for the printing of Welsh, for example, Salesbury used '...*C* for *K* (because the printers had not so many as the Welsh requireth) and in some for *G*...'. It is significant that, even in 1986, the character incidence of Welsh is not quantified. The Welsh language suffered the additional disadvantage of lacking a visual identity of its own precisely because it appeared to use the same alphabet system as English. The London printers often used the redundant letters of English (*j*, *q*, *z* and *x*) in Welsh texts if they were short of *i*, *c*, and *y*. Although this use of redundant characters occurred even in English, as the end-pages of many books bear witness, it was a particular problem for the printers of Welsh working with cases of type calculated to the incidence of English. Furthermore, to a printer (or typographer) who does not understand the language for which he is designing, there was, and still is, no obvious problem in reading distinctive Welsh characters, for example *ll* is simply two 'English' *l*'s. Words could be hyphenated at any point and unsuitable typefaces could be used, some of which effectively broke words into two since the use of certain character combinations in Welsh had not been envisaged in the design of the typeface. Once printing moved from London to

Shrewsbury and then to Wales, it was inevitable that Welsh printers would wish to print Welsh as capably as the average London printers were printing English. Until the advent of William Caslon (1693-1766) in the eighteenth century, this was dependent on using, for the most part, low-priced, second-rate Dutch types. Until the introduction of foundry capacity and paper mills into England and the advent of Caslon, English was, to all intents and purposes, set in relation to continental practice. The orientation away from the influence of the continent and particularly that of Holland, was reflected in the growing competition as to who might produce the most popular indigenous typefaces. It was Caslon who set the standards and he continued to do so until the first decade of the nineteenth century. Caslon's Roman, produced between 1728 and 1732, was the first typeface to be designed specifically with the English language in mind. Produced within a family type-style, it was to generate a standard of harmony, elegance, and balance that permits the subject of an English typography to begin. It is perhaps indicative of our society, and the subject, that while every British schoolboy may have heard of William Caxton few will have heard of William Caslon.

The restrictive economics of type design and foundry practice throughout Europe played a crucial role in the history of printing. This goes a long way to explaining the lack of the emergence of individual language-based typographic systems. The results on the printed page are more the results of the social, cultural and economic history of European foundries than the application of any ideas derived from art.

The setting of a typeface in a language for which it is not primarily designed demonstrates that the slightest modification in the shape and style of the typeface used can either aid or deter the legibility, and thus readability, of the language used. No two languages ever manifest themselves in precisely the same visual shape even if they use the same alphabet since the particular frequency of letters associated one with

another is distinct and determines the visual presentation of the language: its shape and format. Thus the relationship of letter frequency and *sequence* (as distinct from the differing number of individual characters used) produces the visual appearance of a language and determines the suitability of a particular typeface. The shape and style of the typefaces used in the visual presentation of any language must be determined, not by habit or expediency, but by the visual characteristics of that language. This awareness came late to the printers of English and, because of their desire for parity, and their use of English-oriented types, it did not come at all to the printers of Welsh. Yet we argue that it is one of the fundamental maxims on which typography must be based.

In applying the problem of letter frequency and its effect on legibility and readability, recent research[8] demonstrated that out of twenty-five commonly used typefaces for English texts suitable for books, only three could be described as usable for Welsh, with Plantin Light the favorite. Five are possible, but only if certain modifications are carried out, such as variable letter spacing, and seventeen are rejected as entirely unsuitable. The results are as follows:

Suitable
Plantin Light
New Baskerville
Times Roman

ffafriol dros ben â chynnyrch gwŷr llên Ewrob yn ystod y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg a'r bymthegfed ganrif. I ddarllenwyr heddiw mynegiant personol yw cynnyrch bardd ond i fardd yn yr Oesoedd Canol nid hunan-ddatgeliad oedd canu iddo ef ond canmol ei noddwr hyd eithaf ei allu. Yr oedd gan y bardd bryd hynny ei safle arbennig mewn cymdeithas a bu'n rhaid iddo fynd drwy gyfnod naw mlynedd o brentisiaeth cyn cael ei alw'n fardd o gwbl. Ymgeisiai'n barhaus i loywi ei grefft a gelwid arno gan ei noddwr i gyfansoddi gweithiau newydd ar gyfer y gwyliau crefyddol neu achlysuron eraill arbennig, megis marwolaeth cyfaill o uchelwr, cwblhau tŷ newydd, neithior neu wledd. Y ffydd Babyddol oedd cynsail eu bywyd ac yn aml iawn gwelid y beirdd yn moliannu daioni Duw a'i roddion. Canent hefyd i ferched arbennig gan glodfori eu harddwch a weithiau canent yn arbennig i rannau gwahanol o'i chorff megis ei gwallt. Weithiau ceid caneuon ganddynt yn gwatwar hen ddynion am briodi gwragedd ifainc a thro arall ceid disgrifiadau rhywiol o'r corff. Un dull o ganu a oedd yn boblogaidd dros ben ganddynt oedd y dull o ddyfalu — gofynnent am rodd o wrthrych arbennig heb ei enwi gan bentyrru disgrifiadau cain ohono a'u gwau drwy'i gilydd yn gelfydd dros ben. Ambell i waith canent gerddi dychanol ar destunau gwahanol. Dro arall canent gerddi proffwydol eu naws a elwid yn Ganu Brud. Amddiffynnent eu crefft dro arall drwy ganu cerddi protest yn erbyn unrhyw gamddefnydd a wnaed a'u barddoniaeth.

Ni chanent yn arbennig i serch a natur ag eithraid i'r canu yw cywydd Gruffudd ap Adda i'r Fedwen, ond fe fyddai serch a natur yn ffurfio cefndir i'w cerddi yn aml iawn. Yn wahanol felly i'w gydoeswyr rhagorodd Dafydd ap Gwilym mewn canu i'r ddau destun hyn ac mae ei gywyddau serch a'i gywyddau natur ef ymhlith ein gweithiau llenyddol ceinaf fel cenedl. Canu mawl oedd prif thema beirdd yr uchelwyr a defnyddient gymhariaethau o fyd natur i gynnal y moliant hwnnw. Cymharent eu noddwyr i anifail megis llew, ag eto yn addfwyn fel oen. Yn aml iawn defnyddient goed fel delwedd i ddisgrifio cadernid a chryfder eu noddwr.

Figure 3
Plantin Light 10 on 12 pt/
Designed by Rhiain Davies
1982, from MA thesis.
Typeface suitable for Welsh.

Possible with Modification
Baskerville
Helvetica
Melior
Olympian
Optima Medium

Unsuitable
Poliphulus
Bembo Old Face
Bodoni
Goudy Old Style
Perpetua
Zapf Book Light
Rockwell
Gill Sans
Univers
Roman Old Face
Garamond
ITC Century Book
Caledonia
Palatino
Futura Book
Caslon 540
Century Old Style

ffafriol dros ben â chynnyrch gwŷr llên Ewrob yn ystod y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg a'r bymthegfed ganrif. I ddarllenwyr heddiw mynegiant personol yw cynnyrch bardd ond i fardd yn yr Oesoedd Canol nid hunan-ddatgeliad oedd canu iddo ef ond canmol ei noddwr hyd eithaf ei allu. Yr oedd gan y bardd bryd hynny ei safle arbennig mewn cymdeithas a bu'n rhaid iddo fynd drwy gyfnod naw mlynedd o brentisiaeth cyn cael ei alw'n fardd o gwbl. Ymgeisiai'n barhaus i loywi ei grefft a gelwid arno gan ei noddwr i gyfansoddi gweithiau newydd ar gyfer y gwyliau crefyddol neu achlysuron eraill arbennig, megis marwolaeth cyfaill o uchelwr, cwblhau tŷ newydd, neithior neu wledd. Y ffydd Babyddol oedd cynsail eu bywyd ac yn aml iawn gwelid y beirdd yn moliannu daioni Duw a'i roddion. Canent hefyd i ferched arbennig gan glodfori eu harddwch a weithiau canent yn arbennig i rannau gwahanol o'i chorff megis ei gwallt. Weithiau ceid caneuon ganddynt yn gwatwar hen ddynion am briodi gwragedd ifainc a thro arall ceid disgrifiadau rhywiol o'r corff. Un dull o ganu a oedd yn boblogaidd dros ben ganddynt oedd y dull o ddyfalu — gofynnent am rodd o wrthrych arbennig heb ei enwi gan bentyrru disgrifiadau cain ohono a'u gwau drwy'i gilydd yn gelfydd dros ben. Ambell i waith canent gerddi dychanol ar destunau gwahanol. Dro arall canent gerddi proffwydol eu naws a elwid yn Ganu Brud. Amddiffynnent eu crefft dro arall drwy ganu cerddi protest yn erbyn unrhyw gamddefnydd a wnaed a'u barddoniaeth.

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Figure 4
Bodoni Book 12 on 13 pt/ Designed by Rhiain Davies 1982, from MA thesis. Unsuitable typeface for Welsh, for example, the thick strokes of the ascenders and descenders draw attention to the double characters *dd, ff, ll.* The typeface produces a vertical stress rather than a horizontal one.

When set in Welsh, many of the typefaces listed, such as Century Old Style and Caslon 540, produce a contradiction in the activity of reading from left to right by creating a vertical stress to the page due to the frequency of ascenders and descenders. Because of the thick strokes of their long ascenders, Bodoni and Caledonia draw too much attention to the double Welsh characters, *dd*, *ff*, *ll*, etc. Certain letter combinations, such as *gy* which is found in Welsh but not envisaged in the design of the typeface, make others, for example, Garamond, unsuitable. Similarly, the angle of certain letters when set in the frequency needed for Welsh also causes problems, such as the *y* in Gill Sans. It is significant that one of the finest settings in the entire history of Welsh printing is the first Welsh book printed in the United States, *Annerch i'r Cymru* by Ellis Pugh which was published in 1721 and printed by Andrew Bradford. With an increase in the leading and a shorter

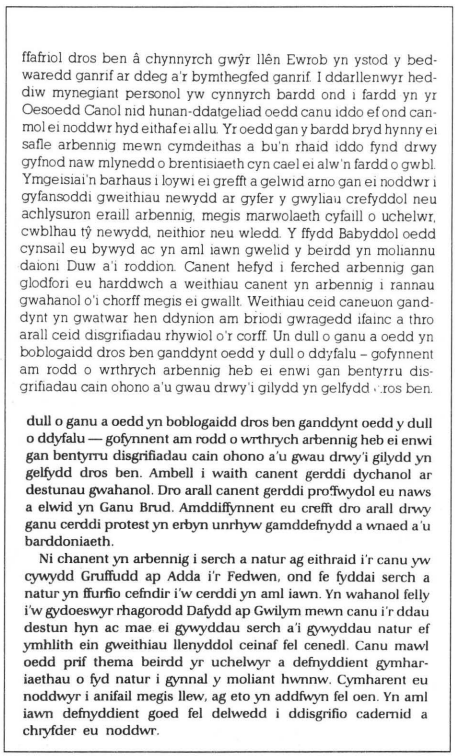


Figure 5
Rockwell 10 on 12 pt and ITC Zapf Book Light 10 on 12 pt/ Designed by Rhiain Davies 1982, from MA thesis. Both unsuitable for Welsh, for example the letter *g* in both typefaces, and the combination of *w* and *y* and *gy* in Zapf.

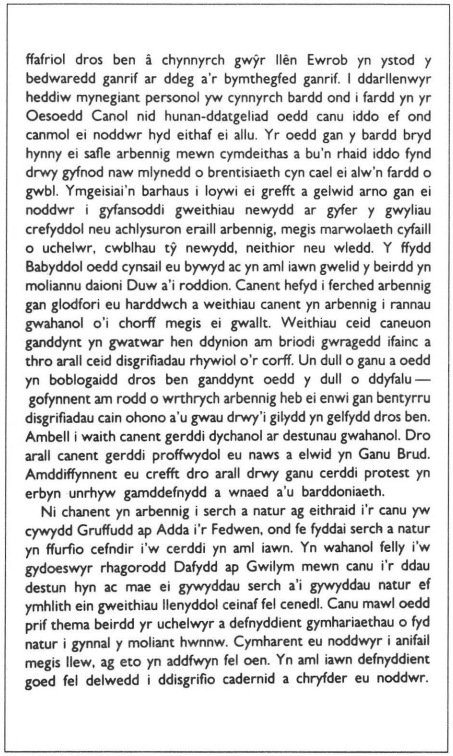
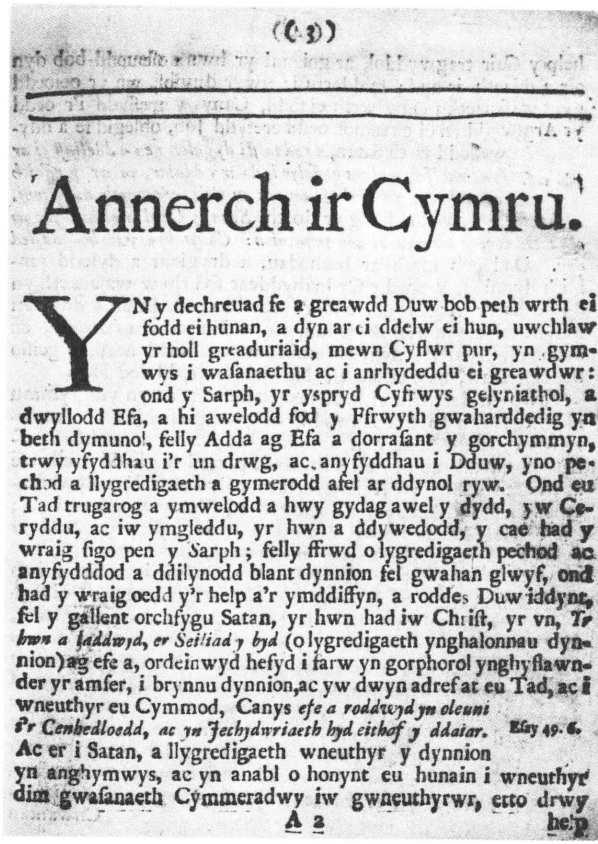


Figure 6
Gill Sans 11 on 13 pt/ Designed by Rhiain Davies 1982, from MA thesis. Unsuitable typeface for Welsh, for example, the angle of the character *y*.

length of line, it provides an indication of an acceptable standard. It suggests that a rounded and wide typeface with short ascenders and descenders is more appropriate for Welsh than the converse. Poorly-set justified text, in any language, causes a vertical scatter of rivers of white throughout the page but this problem is more pronounced when type is set in Welsh due to the frequency of *extra* short words and the frequency of the ascenders. Ideally, therefore, the space between letters and between words should be considered individually and in relation to line and column length; it should also be considered in relation to the *phrase* and this should apply to both justified and unjustified setting.

To date, the history of printed Welsh does not display any such typographic concerns. Instead, we find a disregard for and a lack of sensitivity towards the relationship of language and typography, just as we find a similar



(3)

Annerch ir Cymru.

YN y dechreuad fe a greawdd Duw bob peth wrth ei fodd ei hunan, a dyn ar ei ddelw ei hun, uwchlaw yr holl greaduriaid, mewn Cyflwr pur, yn gymwys i wasanaethu ac i anrhydeddu ei greawdwr: ond y Sarph, yr yspryd Cyfrwys gelyniathol, a dwyllodd Efa, a hi awelodd fod y Ffrwyth gwaharddedig yn beth dymunol, felly Adda ag Efa a dorrasant y gorchymmyn, trwy yfyddhau i'r un drwg, ac anyfyddhau i Dduw, yno pechod a llygredigaeth a gymerodd afel ar ddynol ryw. Ond eu Tad trugarog a ymwelodd a hwy gydag awel y dydd, yw Ceryddu, ac iw ymgleddu, yr hwn a ddywedodd, y cae had y wraig figo pen y Sarph; felly ffrwd o lygredigaeth pechod ac anyfydddod a ddilynodd blant dynnion fel gwahan glwyf, ond had y wraig oedd y'r help a'r ymddiffyn, a roddes Duw iddynt, fel y gallent orchfygu Satan, yr hwn had iw Chrift, yr vn, *Yr hwn a laddwyd, er Seiliad y byd* (o lygredigaeth ynghalonnau dynnion) ag efe a, ordeinwyd hefyd i farw yn gorphorol ynghyflawnder yr amfer, i brynnu dynnion, ac yw dwyn adref at eu Tad, ac i wneuthyr eu Cymmod, Canys *efe a roddwyd yn oleuni Yr Cenhedloedd, ac yn Jechydwriaeth hyd eithaf y ddaiar.* Eſay 49. 6. Ac er i Satan, a llygredigaeth wneuthyr y dynnion yn anghymwys, ac yn anabl o honynt eu hunain i wneuthyr dim gwasanaeth Cymmeradwy iw gwneuthyrwr, etto drwy help

A 2

Figure 7
Annerch i'r Cymru Ellis Pugh/Andrew Bradford 1721. The first Welsh book to be printed in the United States and one of the finest typographic settings in the history of the Welsh.

disregard between the design of type-faces and the languages in which they are used. There is no doubt that if the same exercise were applied to *English*, we would find *equally* unsuitable typefaces in common use. We find this in a subject whose *raison d'etre* would appear to be concerned with the acute visual implications of printed shapes, letters, words, spaces, length of line, letter space, word space, line space, etc. which should be arranged in the service of optimum readability. And we find this at a time when:

There has never been a moment like today when perfect spacing is more possible. Many photocomposing machines offer in their makeup the opportunity of this.[9]

Mawr yw dy ferw, goeg chwerw gân,
Henwr, wrthyd dy hunan,
Gwell yt, myn Mair air aren,
Garllaw tân, y gŵr llwyd hen,
Nog yma 'mhlith gwlith a glaw
Yn yr irlwyn ar oerlaw

Taw â'th sôn, gad fi'n llonydd
Ennyd awr oni fo dydd.
Mawrserch ar ddiweirferch dda
A bair ym y berw yma.

Ofer i ti, gweini gwŷd,
Llwyd anfalch gleirch lled ynfyd,
Ys mul arwydd am swydd serch,
Ymleferydd am loywferch.

Dydi, bi, du yw dy big,
Uffernol edn tra ffyrnig,
Mae i tithau, gau gofwy,
Swydd faith a llafur sydd fwy –
Tau nyth mcgis twyn eithin,
Tew fydd, cryw o frwydwydd crin.

(Rhan o'r gerdd 'Cyngor y Biogen')

Thus Kindersley indicates the search for precision and structure and reinforces the possibilities of contemplating a more language-based typography:

We now have an entirely new set of circumstances with the onset of photoprinting. No hard and fast barrier need exist between letters... Each space can be the direct expression of each character. That is the positioning of a letter in its correct optical space on the optical fulcrum or centre. This is of immense importance to the undisturbed scanning of the printed line of words by the human eye.[10]

Mawr yw dy ferw, goeg chwerw gân,
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Tau nyth mcgis twyn eithin,
Tew fydd, cryw o frwydwydd crin.

(Rhan o'r gerdd 'Cyngor y Biogen')

Comparison using the possibilities of adjustments in spacing with a photosetting computer program.

Figure 8 (Top)
Bembo 12 on 14 pt (Linofilm VIP)/Designed by Rhiain Davies 1982, from MA thesis.
Regular setting

Figure 9 (Bottom)
Bembo 12 on 15 pt/ Designed by Rhiain Davies 1982, from MA thesis.
Reduced width setting (Bell 02) plus one unit reduction of lower case *d, w,* and *y* and a two unit undercut for capital *T* and *Y*.
Regular setting for the character *l* when followed by another *l*. Leading increased.

Similarly Tibor Szanto's research into the suitability of typefaces in his article "Language and Readability" confirms the results of the investigation into the suitability of certain typefaces for Welsh and points directly to a language-based typography:

It happens very rarely that a typeface combines in equal measure the requirements of good legibility, formal beauty and adequate reproduction. If in addition, a typeface suits equally the requirements of polyglot texts, then we would be able to speak of a perfect letter design...Now the fact that every language has its own characteristics gives rise to several questions relating to legibility, aesthetics and techniques... As a result of the different frequency of individual sounds, the graphic term of each national language offers a specific visual and aesthetic pattern which differs from texts printed in other languages. This visual, aesthetic exterior, as we well know, is influenced most decisively by the typeface selected. Each individual sound signal, accented letter, word picture and letter group has a different role in each language. The same letter shapes appear differently in different languages. This can be easily demonstrated if we look at analytical comparative examples. Identical typefaces have totally different effects in an English or French text... we see from the various Monotype roman typefaces that not every typeface brings out properly and characteristically the rhythm of a given language, nor offers the best and most readable visual picture of the text, nor does every typeface serve the orthography of the language... A typeface which has an agreeable effect in the case of an English text would give quite a different visual, aesthetic picture (more frequently a disagreeable effect) in the case of German, Finnish or Polish texts, and even legibility may be affected.[11]

The problem, therefore, of designing for the bilingual page, for obtaining an equal validity for each language and efficient communication, immediately

demonstrates the need for typography to become, above all, language-oriented. The nature of bilingualism also confronts the designer, as it does the reader, with the need for an ordered and meaningful separation of content. The lack of a logical and systematized typography results in an ineptness of bilingual typographic design. The use of unsuitable typefaces, which makes the text difficult to read, combined with unsystematic, incoherent, separation of the two languages on the printed page merely serves to antagonize the readers of both languages. The very fact that most typographers are content with, or are not ever aware of, the visual confusion and the breakdown of communication which results from the lack of even a rational separation of the two languages, implies that the righteousness of individualistic typography prevails over a search for ways of aiding the comprehension of the text through a dialogue with the reader.

An examination of bilingual communities will demonstrate that there is some truth in the allegation of cultural arrogance on the part of the majority language over the minority; the history of language is also a history of suppression. An exception is perhaps to be found in the stability of Switzerland which also displays the most advanced typography using trilingual texts. If we treat typography as some sort of sociological art, then the confusion we find on the bilingual page in Britain, Belgium, and Canada, merely indicates the confusion and conflict in the political situation regarding the problem of accepting the equal validity of languages. Effectively, therefore, until typographers become involved with the nature of language and begin to add their skills in relation to *its* demands, the screen of the predominant culture will remain drawn over the major problems, not only in bilingual typography, but over the opportunity to develop typography as a distinct subject with research demands and social responsibilities.

o gwmpas ardaloedd eraill yn dal yn broblem. Oherwydd darpariaeth ddiogelu annigonol, prinder adnoddau arddangos addas, cyfarpar henflasiwn a diflyg staff cymwys yn y pen arall, bellach fe roddir mwy o bwyslais ar drefnu arddangosfeydd llai eu maint, a mwy hyblyg. Eto i gyd, er cael llai o eitemau arddangos ac er eu cyflwyno'n fwy cynnil, nid yw hyn yn llesteirio diddordeb y cyhoedd: teithiodd Cymru Du a Gwyn, Llechi, Llafur Cariad a Phrintiau o Siapan yn bell ac agos, a chael eu canmol ymhobman. Bob yn dipyn, fe fydd y cyfrandal newydd a neilltuwyd ar gyfer 'gwelliannau orielaidd' yn gymorth i hel ynghyd y cyfarpar sylfaenol sy'n angenrheidiol er mwyn arddangos pob arddangosfa deithiol yn effeithiol, waeth o ble y daw.

Er pan neilltuwyd swm o arian pwrpasol ar gyfer cynorthwyo arddangosfeydd, y mae'n galondid sylwi bod rhif y grantiau i sefydliadau ac orielau ar gyfer eu cynlluniau arddangos eu hunain wedi cynyddu'n sylweddol.

Cymorthdal Arddangosfaol **£**

Oriel Bangor
Rhaglen flynyddol 800

Canolfan Gelfyddydau Coleg Harlech
Arddangosfa 'Ardudwy' 2,250

Conwy, Academi Gelf Frenhinol Cambrian
Arddangosfa fenthyg o Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru 120

Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Frenhinol, Bro Myrddin
Cynlluniо a chodi'r Babell Gelf a Chrefft 2,000

have led to greater emphasis being placed on smaller, more flexible exhibitions. However, fewer exhibits and a more economical presentation do not deter public interest: Wales Black and White, Slate, A Labour of Love, and Japanese Prints all toured extensively and drew a heartening response wherever they were shown. The new allocation set aside for 'gallery improvements' will help gradually to provide the basic equipment that is essential for the adequate display of all touring exhibitions no matter from what source they originate.

It is an encouragement that since the introduction of the 'exhibition aid' allocation there has been a substantial increase in the number of grants to organisations and galleries for their own exhibition projects.

Exhibition Aid **£**

Oriel Bangor
Annual programme 800

Coleg Harlech Arts Centre
'Ardudwy' exhibition 2,250

Conwy, Royal Cambrian Academy of Art
Loan exhibition from the National Museum of Wales 120

Royal National Eisteddfod, Bro Myrddin
Design and installation of the Art and Crafts'Pavilion 2,000

South Wales Group
Competitive exhibition 'What's New' 2,000

South East Wales Association
'Year of the Valleys' exhibition 200

Grŵp De Cymru **£**
Arddangosfa gystadleuol 'What's New' 2,000

Cymdeithas Gelfyddydau'r De Ddwyrain
Arddangosfa 'Blwyddyn y Cymoedd' 200

Coleg y Brifysgol, Aberystwyth
Arddangosfa 'Agweddau ar Bensaerniaeth' 379

Caerdydd, Grŵp Celf Coleg y Brifysgol
Rhaglen flynyddol 1,000

Caerdydd, Athrofa Gwyddoniaeth a Thechnoleg Coleg y Brifysgol
Llogi arddangosfa 'Walter Gropius' 250

Gwelliannau Orielaidd

Oriel Bangor
cyfundrefn ddiogelu 4

Caerdydd, Canolfan Gelf Chapter
ail-drefnu yr hen oriel 5,1

Bala, Canolfan Seren
offer arddangos 3

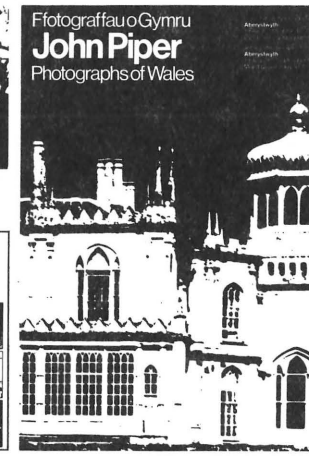
Cumbrán, Canolfan Gelf Llantarnam Gran
ail-drefnu hen oriel *gweler hefyd o d*
Lletya'r Celfyddyd

Yn ychwanegol i hyn, rhoddwyd cymorthdal i bedair canolfan gelf trwy dalu costau arbenigwyr pensaerniol mew

Catalog Arddangosfa 'Merlyn Evans 1910-1973'
Cynlluniwyd gan Peter Gill (Design Systems).
Bwletin Arddangosfeydd 1975/6.
Cynlluniwyd gan David Dyas.

Exhibition catalogue 'Merlyn Evans 1910-1973'
Designed by Peter Gill (Design Systems)
Exhibitions Bulletin 1975/6.
Designed by David Dyas.

Poster Arddangosfa 'John Piper, Ffotograffau o Gymru', sy'n gwneud defnydd o ran o ffotograff o'r Hafod, Ceredigion, 1939 gan John Piper.
Cynlluniwyd gan Brian Shields (Design Systems).



Exhibition Poster 'John Piper Photographs of Wales' using a detail of a photograph of Hafod, Cardiganshire, 1939 by John Piper.
Designed by Brian Shields (Design Systems

	£
Aberystwyth, University College	
'Moods in Architecture exhibition'	379
Cardiff, University College Art Group	
Annual programme	1,000
Cardiff, University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology	
Exhibition booking 'Walter Gropius'	250

Gallery Improvements

Oriel Bangor	
Security system	440
Cardiff, Chapter Arts Centre	
Refitting existing gallery	5,154
Bala, Seren Centre	
Display equipment	350

Cumbran, Llantarnam Grange Arts Centre
Refitting existing gallery *see also und Housing the A*

In addition, aid was provided to four venues by paying architectural consultancy fees in connection with Housing th Arts capital grants.

Welsh Arts Council Touring Exhibitions

Choice of Six (purchases for the Contemporary Art Society for Wales, 1968/72)
Swansea, Llanelli, Newtown, Newport, Aberystwyth, Penarth

In recent years, we see the growth of another view of typography which suggests that the introduction of what we could term 'technological' typefaces implies the elimination of any national (language) considerations:

ysylltiad â phrif grantiau Lletya'r elfyddydau.

rddangosfeydd Teithiol Cyngor elfyddydau Cymru

'ewis Chwech (pwrcasiadau i Gymdeithas elf Gyfoes Cymru 1968/72)
bertawe, Llanelli, Y Drenewydd, asnewydd, Aberystwyth, Penarth
im Dine (arddangosfa Gwasg Petersburg iewn cydweithrediad ariannol â Chyngor elfyddydau'r Alban)
asnewydd, Abertawe
Terlyn Evans 1910-1973
aerdydd
ichard Hamilton (arddangosfa Gwasg etersburg mewn cydweithrediad riannol â Chyngor Celfyddydau'r Alban aerdydd, Harlech

apel Salem, Talysarn. Ffotograff gan ulian Sheppard o'r arddangosfa 'Llechi'. Cyhoeddwyd hefyd fel un o'r yfres o gardiau post.

Eiconograff o'r Mabinogion (trefnwyd ar gyfer Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Frenhinol Cymru, Bro Myrddin)
Caerfyrddin, Aberystwyth, Bangor, Hwlffordd
Golwg yn ôl ar Alfred Janes
Caerdydd, Cwmbrân, Bangor, Abertawe, Aberystwyth
Ray Howard Jones
Caerdydd, Hwlffordd, Aberystwyth, Y Drenewydd, Penarth
John Piper—Ffotograffau i Gymru
Aberystwyth, Llanelli
Dianne Setch
Aberystwyth
Llechi
Bangor, Wrecsam, Caerdydd, Yr Wyddgrug

Teithiau Ymestyn

Printiau Pren-naddiad o Siapan
(o gasgliad Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru)
Llanelli, Hwlffordd

Sgathriadau gan Augustus John
(o gasgliad Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru) Llanelli
Llafur Cariad (arddangosfa o dystysgrifau)
Aberystwyth, Harlech, Caerdydd
Cymru, Du a Gwyn (ffotograffau gan David Hurn)
Cwmbrân, Yr Wyddgrug, Harlech
Aberystwyth
Dylan Cymreig (trefnwyd ar gyfer Adran Llên Cyngor Celfyddydau Cymru)
Yr Wyddgrug, Bangor

Arddangosfeydd Cyngor Celfyddydau Prydain Fawr a ddangoswyd yng Nghymru

Cynlluniau ar gyfer *Twelfth Night* a *Don Giovanni* — Caerdydd
Dr P. H. Emerson, Ffotograffau — Caerdydd
Illusion — Casnewydd
Tàpies — Abertawe

Arddangosfeydd Cyngor Celfyddydau Cymru a ddangoswyd y tu allan i Gymru

Merlyn Evans 1910-1973 Glasgow
Sgathriadau gan Augustus John
Southsea, Stroud, Efrog, Hull
Printiau Pren-naddiad o Siapan
Portsmouth, Sudbury
Llafur Cariad, Leeds.
John Piper—Ffotograffau o Gymru
Beaford, Durham, Hereford.
Cymru Du a Gwyn. Wyneb y Pwll Glo 1900.
Teithiau a drefnwyd yn Lloegr o dan nawdd Cyngor Celfyddydau Prydain Fawr

Salem Chapel, Talysarn. Photograph by Julian Sheppard from the exhibition 'Slate'. Also published as one of a series of postcards.

Jim Dine (A Petersburg Press exhibition jointly financed with the Scottish Arts Council)
Newport, Swansea
Merlyn Evans 1910-1973
Cardiff
Richard Hamilton (A Petersburg Press exhibition jointly financed with the Scottish Arts Council)
Cardiff, Harlech
An Iconograph of the Mabinogion
Organised for the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Bro Myrddin)
Carmarthen, Aberystwyth, Bangor, Haverfordwest
Alfred Janes Retrospective
Cardiff, Cwmbran, Bangor, Swansea, Aberystwyth

Ray Howard Jones
Cardiff, Haverfordwest, Aberystwyth, Newtown, Penarth
John Piper—Photographs of Wales
Aberystwyth, Llanelli
Dianne Setch
Aberystwyth
Slate
Bangor, Wrexham, Cardiff, Mold

Continuation Tours

Japanese Woodcut Prints (from the collection of the National Museum of Wales)
Llanelli, Haverfordwest
Etchings by Augustus John (from the collection of the National Museum of Wales)
Llanelli
A Labour of Love (an exhibition of certificates and testimonials)
Aberystwyth, Harlech, Cardiff

Wales Black and White (Photographs by David Hurn)
Cwmbran, Mold, Harlech, Aberystwyth
Welsh Dylan (organised for the Literature department of the Welsh Arts Council)
Mold, Bangor

Arts Council of Great Britain exhibitions shown in Wales

Designs for *Twelfth Night* and *Don Giovanni*
Cardiff
Dr P H Emerson, Photographs
Cardiff
Illusion
Newport
Tàpies
Swansea

Welsh Arts Council Exhibitions shown outside Wales

Merlyn Evans 1910-1973
Glasgow
Etchings by Augustus John
Southsea, Stroud, York, Hull
Japanese Woodcut Prints
Portsmouth, Sudbury
A Labour of Love
Leeds
John Piper—Photographs of Wales
Beaford, Durham, Hereford
Wales Black and White
Coalface 1900
Tours arranged in England under the auspices of the Arts Council of Great Britain

Figure 10
Welsh Arts Council Anual Report 1975 /John Sorrell 1975. In spite of a novel design which keeps the Welsh language in the upper half of the page and the English below, the two languages remain in perpetual confusion and conflict.

... the many active contacts between people from every country today leave no scope for typefaces with a pronounced national character... The neutral typeface, aloof from all national considerations, has already to some extent become a reality... Direct lines right round the world are used for teleprinters, and alphabets are being evolved which can be read automatically by a machine. Technology compels us to think afresh and calls for new forms as a living expression of the age in which we live.[12]

'Active contacts' between people from every country may well be taking place on an unprecedented scale, but rarely can they be understood without translation for they are still language-based. 'Technological' typefaces only succeed if they communicate in a universal code which has not been invented. Typography cannot be divorced from language. 'Technological' typefaces, in fact, reflect a monopolistic cultural arrogance on a grander scale than previously seen.

The main problem for typography, however, is not politics or cultural subjugation of minority languages or justifications for new technologies, but rather that the subject of typography appears to be continually concerned with primarily aesthetic responses; with the notion of the typographer as an individualistic designer. The problems posed by bilingual typography reveal that our first priority has to be research into the problems of designing for specific languages and, after that, with placing individual systems in an ordered relationship dictated by the needs of the various readers.

This does not necessarily mean radical changes in the practice of typography so much as a change of emphasis and priority. If we compare many examples of twentieth century typography, including technological typefaces and examples of bilingual design, with a page of printing by the fifteenth century Venetian printer Nicolas Jenson, one cannot help thinking that here was a typographer who understood the implications of a language-based typography. How far have we progressed since then?

Notes

1 .Crawford, A. and Jones, A. P. 1981. "The Early Typography of Printed Welsh." *The Library*, sixth series, Vol. III, No. 3, September, 217-231.

2 Crawford, A. 1976. "Bilingual Typography," *Planet*, 33 August, 20-28.

3 There are, of course, many published works which have indicated support for a systematic typography and one related to language.

4 For example, the excellent typography in three languages of *Typografische Monatsblätter.*

5 Crawford and Jones, op. cit.

6 Oron, Asher. 1972. "A New Hebrew Sans Serif for Bilingual Printing," *Icographic*, 3, 16-17.

7 Szanto, Tibor. 1972. "Language and Readability," *Icographic*, 3, 18-19.

8 Davies, Rhiain. 1982. "Some Considerations in the Application of English Typography to Welsh Language Publications," unpublished MA thesis, Manchester Polytechnic.

9 Kindersley, David. 1976. *Optical Letter Spacing for New Printing Systems.* London: Wynkyn de Worde Society/ Lund Humphries, 38.

10 Ibid., 20.

11 Szanto, 18.

12 Ruder, Emil. 1969. *Typographie/Typography.* Basle: Arthur Niggli.

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Bilingualism in Daily Life

Foreign Loanwords in Dutch: Integration and Adaptation

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Henry Schogt, pp.66-87

Foreign elements in Dutch are usually spelled in the same way as in the language of origin, provided that language uses the Roman alphabet. Some adaptation to Dutch pronunciation rules always takes place, the degree mainly depending on the level of instruction of the Dutch speaker and on the gap between Dutch and the source language. The three main source languages—German, French, and English—have their own social and/or political connotations and each creates specific problems when Dutch syntactic rules and Dutch inflections have to be applied. Of the other source languages, classical Latin and Greek stand apart, as no effort is made to pronounce the numerous loanwords they provide in a way that comes close to the original pronunciation. As for other languages, their contribution to Dutch is less significant. For some languages there exist transliteration systems, e.g. Russian, for others oral approximation and adaptation are the rule, e.g. Hebrew and Yiddish.

Although the Dutch, having been exposed for many centuries to the influence of their numerically and politically stronger neighbors, have borrowed extensively from French, English and German, and continue to do so, relatively little has been published on spelling adaptation. The reason for the apparent lack of scholarly literature on the subject no doubt lies in the fact that, contrary to German, where the spelling of loanwords often reflects an effort to adapt the orthography to standard German practice (*milieu* > *Miliö*; *cliché* > *Klischee*; *jungle* > *Dschungel*), Dutch normally maintains the original spelling. This statement is too general and has to be qualified in order to explain what should be understood by "normally" and what kind of exceptions there are. Before discussing the details of spelling procedures, the pronunciation of loanwords deserves comment.

Pronunciation

As a general rule Dutch pronunciation tries to come as close as possible to the pronunciation of the language from which the loanword is taken. From a phonological point of view the approximation consists either of the substitution of the closest Dutch phoneme for the foreign one[1], or of the introduction of the foreign phoneme which then becomes a marginal member of the Dutch phoneme inventory. Although on the whole it is true that the foreign pronunciation tends to become a status symbol serving as proof that one has received a proper education, a subtle balance must be maintained between adaptation to Dutch pronunciation and foreignness, as one runs the risk of being considered a snob if one's pronunciation of the loanword stands out too much.

Thus, even those who follow the foreign pronunciation will rarely distinguish between /ɛ/ and /æ/ in *Ellen* and *Allan* and the Dutch devoicing of final consonants is quite common. As these peculiarities are not reflected in the spelling, it is difficult to know which rules speakers follow in their pronunciation, unless

they make mistakes in orthography that give them away. In some rare cases, however, when the phonological approximation results in phoneme substitution, the "mistake" may become the rule. A recent example is provided by the term *live* when applied to radio or television broadcasts. The fact that the Dutch pronunciation corresponds to *life* has facilitated the substitution. A very respectable Dutch newspaper uses in the same issue of its overseas weekly edition *live* and "*life*".[2] In the latter form the quotation marks are undoubtedly used for the purpose of signalling that the writer of the article is aware of the fact that the generally used spelling/pronunciation is not the correct one. Another curious phenomenon linked with the Dutch preoccupation with the correct "foreign" pronunciation can be found in some literary texts as well as in newspapers: instead of the original spelling, the author uses an adaptation to the Dutch system, thus indicating the difference in pronunciation between the English original (British or North American) on the one hand and the Dutch loanword on the other. When a sophisticated intellectual writer uses *tiesjirt* (= T-shirt)[3], the reader is left with the task of interpreting the connotations and guessing the reasons for the author's choice. It may have been made in order to indicate the current Dutch pronunciation as found in circles where the T-shirt is most popular. There may also be a slightly condescending attitude on the part of the author to those circles or to the object T-shirt itself, or to both.

Spelling

A major problem resulting from the Dutch tendency to maintain the original spelling arises when the loanword is used in a position that normally requires some morphological change in Dutch syntax. As will be seen, this morphological aspect has impact on some spellings and creates a sense of either freedom or insecurity for the Dutch users. Some speakers feel that spelling does not matter, whereas others, for lack of a well established norm, tend to avoid inflected forms of loanwords.

After these general remarks some examples will be discussed which have been taken from the three major source languages: English, French and German. Then the specific problems of integration and adaptation posed by each of those three languages will be examined. Borrowings from other languages have a less prominent position, except for those coming from Latin and Greek. Most of the vocabulary of classical origin is not restricted to Dutch and has an international character. In some instances the borrowings are not straight from Latin or Greek, but have been made from another language which serves as an intermediary, French being the language which has fulfilled that function most frequently. It should be noted that Greek loanwords require transliteration, a feature they share with borrowings from other languages such as Hebrew and Russian that do not use the same alphabet as Dutch. In many cases different systems of transliteration exist side by side and inconsistencies are not uncommon, with one and the same publication using several systems at random. Sometimes a loanword has a double origin, coming via Yiddish or German from Hebrew. As dictionaries do not always agree on the identity of the intermediary language, it does not come as a surprise that fluctuations in spelling are the rule rather than the exception in such cases. An added factor in the orthographical uncertainty is to be found in the fact that many of the loanwords of Hebrew or Yiddish-German origin do not belong to standard Dutch and only occur in texts that use a very popular register or in direct quotations of popular or criminal slang.

German Loanwords

Of the three major source languages German is undoubtedly the closest relative. This may explain the fact that direct borrowings that keep their original German form are scarce. Without belonging to a specific sociolect, those few terms that are listed in Dutch monolingual dictionaries seem

more likely to occur in the speech of Dutch people who know German, than in the mouths of those who do not. Expressions such as *so-wie-so* ("in any case") that, although used in conversations, have not found their way into dictionaries and terms like *überhaupt* ("in general", "altogether") that are listed, do not differ in that respect. As for spelling deviations from the German, *überhaupt*, being listed, does not change and even keeps the Umlaut although the Dutch *u* is pronounced like the German *ü*. For *so-wie-so* there may be a substitution of *z* for *s* according to the Dutch spelling for the [z] sound, but the term is not discussed in studies about neologisms, does not belong to the category of Germanisms that take a pseudo-Dutch form, and, as was said before, it cannot be found in Dutch dictionaries. So the question as to whether *z* is actually found instead of *s* must remain unanswered.

For *schmink* ("make-up"), *kitsch* ("sentimental trash") and *schlager* ("popular song") there is no difference in spelling except that the capital which begins a German noun is replaced by the equivalent lower case letter in Dutch. For *uhlaan* or *ulaan* the double *aa* renders the long *a* of the original German *Uhlan* or *Ulan* ("lancer"), according to Dutch spelling rules. Whereas the first three words are well known, the same is not true for *uhlaan*, which is both bookish and obsolete. World War II and the German occupation left only a few loanwords such as *blitzkrieg* ("very fast war attack"); other loans, current in the period 1940-1945, e.g. *ausweis* ("identity card") have almost disappeared and are rarely used in texts other than those dealing with events of that period. The same is true for *sper* (German *Sperre*), a term used for the special - temporary - exemption from deportation granted to some Jews. The word is only used in Holocaust literature[4], since it no longer has any relevance in contemporary Dutch society. Although the - *re* element of the German original was dropped here, normally the form of the Dutch loan remained very close to its source.

One might argue that *sper* is a Germanism rather than a loanword, a Germanism being defined as a lexical or syntactical - morphological element not indigenous to Dutch but copied from German. Germanisms often have a deceptively Dutch appearance, and language authorities offer widely varying views on specific items, some proscribing them categorically, others accepting them as genuinely Dutch[5].

Germanisms can be semantic (a German meaning is added to the already existing meanings), morphological (a Dutch root receives a German ending) or structural (Dutch elements are combined following a German pattern that clashes with Dutch morphology and syntax). Spelling does not constitute a problem, as Germanisms follow Dutch orthography and pronunciation rules.

A marginal loanword that is not even widely used in the register of vulgar and criminal language to which it belongs offers an interesting example of spelling adaptation. A recently published dictionary of Dutch "argot"[6], slang used by criminals, prostitutes and traffickers, gives *fikken* ("to have intercourse with a woman") as a loan from German *ficken* that came into the language during the German occupation 1940-1945. This may be correct, but one should know that there is also a much older word *fieken* with the same meaning as well as with the meaning "to chop". In this acceptation it is used regionally in familiar, though not necessarily vulgar speech. The wavering between the spelling *-ieken* that represents a closed long *i* and *-ikken* with a short open *i* can be explained by the fact that the German pronunciation of *-icken* is more open than Dutch *-ieken*, but more closed than *-ikken*, being somewhere in between the two Dutch pronunciations.

In conclusion one can say that German loanwords that overtly keep their German identity are not very numerous and do not seem to belong to a specific register. Some are rather academic, some of more

general use, and finally there are some terms with strong negative connotations linked to the period 1940-1945. The opponents of a recent plan of the Dutch government to introduce compulsory identity cards call these cards *ausweisen*[7], thus connecting the project with the wartime situation when all Dutch citizens over 15 years of age had to carry identity cards. Loanwords that have taken Dutch features and loanformations in which Dutch elements are combined in the same way as the elements of the German model cannot always be distinguished from one another. There is no clear distinction either between what is accepted as standard Dutch and what is rejected as a Germanism. Speakers who use Germanisms are often unaware of their origin and some knowledge of German is certainly not a "prerequisite".

French Loanwords

The situation is quite different for loanwords taken from French. The bulk of the French elements in Dutch clearly belong to well-educated speech and came into the language in the period when French was widely used in European high society and served as the *lingua franca* for diplomats and scholars. When the importance of French as an international means of communication declined, borrowing decreased and loanwords of British and American origin began to outnumber their French counterparts in the Dutch language. As the role and the position of the members of the upper class became less prominent, the use of those French loanwords that were typical of the upper registers of speech became less frequent, and some words and expressions became altogether obsolete.

In spite of this double decline, the French connection is still very strong in Dutch. The integration is sometimes complete, sometimes partial, pronunciation and/or spelling showing nonindigenous features. As for morphological problems, some inflected forms

of loanwords are avoided, but on the whole these words that have survived are by now morphologically integrated.

The following table shows a sample pattern of integration.

Noun Endings

-ité *becomes* -iteit:	**nationalité- nationaliteit**
-ance *becomes* -antie:	**distance - distantie**
-ation *becomes* -atie:	**nation - natie**
-otion *becomes* -otie:	**dévotion - devotie**

Verb Ending

-er *becomes* -eren:	**bombarder - bombarderen**
	marchander - marchanderen
	offrir* - offreren

Adjective Final Vowels

double final vowel:	**confus - confuus**
	idiot - idioot
	idéal - ideaal

***The French verb is not necessarily of the -er category.**

Adjectives may double the final vowel in order to preserve the closed pronunciation of the French original. Where some final consonants are not pronounced in the masculine (*confus*, *idiot*) the Dutch restores them. This facilitates the use of inflected forms, e.g., *de idiote man*. The same holds for other adjectives such as *charmant* and *elegant*. A rarely used adjective *stupéfait* — it does not occur in van Dale's standard Dutch dictionary[8] — is pronounced without the final consonant and I have never come across an inflected occurrence of the word. Another indication that it is considered to be a nonintegrated loan can be seen in the use of *é* with the French acute accent "accent aigu".

This brings us back to the relation between spelling and pronunciation. When accents are used, the French pronunciation prevails; when such overt markers are absent, there are many fluctuations that are partly conditioned by social class. The following enumeration does not claim to be exhaustive. Only the most striking deviations from and adaptation to Dutch spelling and pronunciation are listed, with the help of some examples.

French words containing *ch* (š) or *j* or *g* before *e*, *i*, *y* (ž) taken over by Dutch maintain the spelling and the pronunciation: *charmant*, *jus* (in Dutch used to indicate *gravy*: *aardappelen met jus* "potatoes with gravy"). In those sociolects where voiced *z*, *ž* and *v* are absent, the pronunciation of *jus* becomes /*šü*/ or /*sjü*/. This substandard variant sometimes is reflected in the spelling *sju*. It is noteworthy that many words are pronounced /*jü* /, according to the model of Latin pronounced in the Dutch fashion: *jurist*, *justitie*.

The French /*g* / before *a*, *o*, *u* is either maintained or replaced by Dutch /*X*/. Thus *garage* may sound almost identical to French or have the indigenous /*X*/. In the already mentioned words *elegant* and *elegantie* the absence of accents seems to exclude the French /*g* /. The equally used direct loan *élégance* (not listed in *van Dale*) on the other hand only has /*g* /.

A typical switch from French to Dutch pronunciation patterns consists in reducing unstressed vowels in open syllables to /ə/: thus [eləx∞nt][9].

French not only contributed /*g* / to the Dutch phonological system, it also is responsible for an opposition between short and long vowels that does not occur elsewhere. We are again dealing with a marginal phenomenon. It is curious to note that some of the Dutch "French" pronunciations do not correspond to the real French. Quantitative oppositions are found in the following pairs: /bɛt/ ~ /bɛ:t/ (*bed*, "bed" ~

bête "stupid")/kɔr/~/kɔ:r/ (*Cor*, a proper name ~ *corps*, "student fraternity" or "corps diplomatique"), and with /ɔ:/ corresponding to /o/ in French /zɔnɔ/~/zɔ:nɔ/ (*zonne*, poetic for *zon* "sun" ~ *zone*, "zone"). Also /ɔ:/ instead of French /o/ in *rose* "pink" and in the geographical names *Rhône* and *Saône*.

The graphic combination *au* corresponds in Dutch to a diphthong /ɔu/ of which the second element is reduced to a semi-vowel, whereas the French standard pronunciation is /o/. The Dutch pronunciation of words containing an *au* of classical Latin or Greek origin wavers between /ɔu/ and /o/. For some words only /ɔu/ is customary: *aula*, *authentiek*, for others, both pronunciations can be found in standard Dutch: *auto* (/oto/ or /ɔuto/), for others again there seems to be a preference for /o/: *auditie*. If French is the direct source as in the case of *aubergine* ("eggplant"), the French pronunciation prevails and /ɔu/ is considered substandard. On the whole, however, fixed rules are lacking and the classical and the French versions coexist side by side, or even in the pronunciation of a single individual who uses both variants of one and the same word.[10]

A few miscellaneous facts will be given in order to show the heterogeneity of the integration routes followed by French loanwords. A term used in my childhood to indicate what the French called *des lits-jumeaux* was, in spite of the fact that *van Dale* indicated that it is a plural, taken by many Dutch speakers to be a singular: *een lits-jumeaux* (literally "a twin-beds"). The accentuation remained unchanged with the stress on the last syllable. For the word *metro*, which, contrary to the French, does not have an acute accent, there is a shift of the stress to the first syllable. This shift can be explained by the fact that *metro* has become a frequently used term after the construction of the Rotterdam and Amsterdam subways. Another word that has recently become quite common is *boetiek* (from *boutique*).

The term is supposed to give an aura of elegance and prestige to all sorts of commercial outlets from small designer fashion shops to bakeries that call themselves *brood-boetiek*. The spelling goes from *boutique* via *boutiek* to *boetiek*.

An equally frequent French term is the neologism *elitair* composed of the French root *élite* and the French adjectival suffix *-air*. The only problem is that the French use *élitiste* and this brings *elitair* into the same category as *zone* (pronounced with /ɔ:/) and an expression such as *flux-de-bouche* which well educated Dutch speakers use sometimes to describe rapid uninhibited talk, although the expression is unknown in France. The pseudo-French is not different from the majority of the real French loan elements in that it belongs to the register of the upper strata of Dutch society. French is considered to be classy and elegant. It has connotations of refined taste that may at times be negatively interpreted as snobbishness. In the period following World War II very little was borrowed from French; English nearly eliminated both French and German as source languages of direct loans.

English Loanwords

Spelling and pronunciation of English and American loanwords generally do not fit into genuinely Dutch patterns. As the spelling of the original is maintained and the pronunciation is an approximation of the English or American model, the foreignness of the borrowings cannot be eliminated. The most striking features of the clash between the loanwords and their Dutch environment are: the differences of the various vowel grapheme/pronunciation correspondences, due to the great vowel shift in English; the absence of voiced consonants in final position in Dutch, the opposition of voiced ~ unvoiced being neutralized as only the unvoiced pronunciation occurs; consonant deviations from the Dutch grapheme/pronunciation patterns are numerous also,

ch /tš/ and *j* or *g* /dž/ resulting in consonant clusters that are not indigenous to Dutch. On the other hand silent *p* in *ps* of Greek loanwords in initial position *(psychology)* and silent *k* in *kn* (*knee*) are not silent in Dutch where the *p* is sounded in Greek loanwords and where *kn* (*knie* = "knee") is a current combination.

As English is widely known in the Netherlands, radio, television, movies and records expose the Dutch to correct pronunciation models. There is a surprisingly high degree of faithfulness to the original, in spite of the fact that this involves keeping apart two sets of pronunciation rules.

As we mentioned before, the faithfulness has its limits; voiced final consonants tend to get unvoiced, and vowels usually are less diphthongized and more clipped than their English counterparts. One could say that even when the original pronunciation is imitated, a Dutch accent is noticeable. In a study on English in the Netherlands[11], Reinier Zandvoort makes the following remarks about the linguistic aspects of the question:

Turning now to the more strictly linguistic aspects of English infiltration, we may first note that in actual speech, as was to be expected, English sounds are in varying degrees assimilated to Dutch. In the mouth of those with a good command of English this assimilation may amount to very little, though it increases considerably as one goes down in the educational scale. The commonest deviation from standard Southern English is the habit of pronouncing every written *r*, while many substitute the uvular r which is natural to them when speaking Dutch. Voiceless *th* often slips in the direction of *s*, while the voiced variety often sounds as *d* (less often as *z*). Final [tš] as in *switch* is often simplified to [ts], though those taking part in *bridge-drives* usually manage the [dž] rather well. Long vowels, as in *beauty*, *scooter*, *weekend* [wikent] (with the English bilabial

replaced by a Dutch labio-dental) are apt to be shortened; half-diphthongs, as in *home*, *plane* usually become pure vowels (p. XI).

Zandvoort goes on to mention that *back* and *beck* often merge and are both pronounced [bek], that sometimes stress patterns are adapted to Dutch habits, and that the relation between pronunciation and spelling is unpredictable, some words following the English habits (e.g. *tram* [trɛm], *handicap* and the morphologically adapted verb *plannen* "to plan"), whereas other words are pronounced as if they were Dutch (e.g. *folklore*) [fol'klɔrə] and the adapted verb *overlappen* pronounced with ɔ not ɛ.

As *plannen* and *overlappen* show, English loanwords undergo morphological change in order to be manageable within the Dutch grammatical and syntactic system. In many instances this adaptation is only partial and the adapted form is not fully integrated. To illustrate this phenomenon consider the following examples:

Baby sitten ("to baby sit") and the noun *baby sitter* or *sitter*. As an infinitive the verb is used without causing any problems *ik moet, ga baby sitten* ("I have to, am going to baby sit"). However, as soon as finite forms and the past participle are involved a number of difficulties arise. First of all, the speaker has to decide whether to use *sitten, sat, geseten* (or even *zitten, zat, gezeten*, the standard Dutch for *to sit, sat, sat*) or *sitten, sitte, gesit*, according to the normal weak verb conjugation to which all new verbs almost automatically belong. Secondly, the place of *baby* before the finite verbal form is contrary to Dutch syntax. Thus [*ik*] *baby sitte* seems odd, but one feels equally uncomfortable with [*ik*] *sitte baby* or *sat*, (*zat*) *baby*. Asked which of these they use, Dutch informants confessed that they avoid all of them. The past participle [*ik heb*] *gebabysit, baby gesit*, or *baby gezeten* seems to be used somewhat less reluctantly, with a preference for

gebabysit and, sometimes with a playful connotation, *baby gezeten*, while *baby gesit* seems unacceptable.

The noun is mostly *sitter*, but *zitter* does occur. As added complication in the rivalry between *s* and *z* lies in the fact that *s* in the Dutch verb *zitten* is considered substandard.

Racen ("to race"), a weak verb both in English and in Dutch. Again the past tense is the most problematic one, but even the present tense and the past participle are not without some peculiar forms. In the past tense Zandvoort (p. XIII) attests *racede* [re:stə], a form that is far removed from its pronunciation. The third person singular gets in the present tense a *t*:: e.g. *ik maak*, *hij maakt* of the verb *maken* ("to make"). So *racen* becomes *hij racet*. As for the past participle *geraced*, an added problem can be encountered when the participle is used as an adjective that is inflected: *geracede* to be pronounced [xəre:stə], e.g. in the hybrid form *de weggeracede bode kwan terug* "the messenger who raced away came back". One wonders how this spelling versus pronunciation conflict will end, unless a straightforward Dutch graphic rendering *resen*, *reeste*, *gereest*, is accepted. For *plannen* ("to plan") the integration is gradually taking place. Zandvoort (p. XII) gives two forms for the past participle, *geplanned and gepland*, but now, some twenty years later, only the second form is used. Helped by the existence of the Dutch word *plan* ("plan", "project"), the substitution of ɔ for ɛ is gaining ground and eventually *plannen* may become a completely naturalized Dutch citizen. As the distance between English and Dutch is much greater in the case of *racen*, such a fairly smooth integration process is not to be expected here.

Stoned (other attested spellings *stoond*, *stoont*) "stoned". As was seen already for the inflected adjectival form of the past participle *weggeracede*, such inflected forms may pose awkward problems. The preferred form seems to be *stoned* and that

would result in the inflected form *stonede*. However, the Dutch generally avoid the use of inflected forms either by using a noninflected form (which is contrary to Dutch usage), or by resorting to constructions where no inflection takes place. The direct quotations given by *Signalement van nieuwe woorden* under the entry *stoned* have either *stonede* or *stoonde*. The noninflected *stoont* also occurs, but the corresponding *stoonte* does not, *stoned* apparently being integrated into the category of adjectives ending in *-d*, that devoice the *d* in final position: *rond* [rɔnt] "round", *ronde* [rɔndə], and not into that of adjectives ending in *-t*: *rot* [rɔt] "*rotten*", *rotte* [rɔtə].

In spite of integration problems, English is making strong progress in its invasion of the Netherlands. While Zandvoort still could maintain in 1964 that French was a more important source of foreign elements than English in a novel that could be considered to be representative of intellectual circles in Amsterdam, the relative position of the two languages has been interchanged since then. The position of French in the Dutch school system has weakened while that of English has been strengthened. Moreover the influence of the mass media works entirely in favor of English, and business as well as technology often use English-American terminology. Sometimes this can be explained by the lack of a Dutch equivalent, but in other instances the preference for English stems from a desire to be dynamic and up-to-date, or a least to give that impression.

There are some forms comparable to what we called pseudo-French, as for instance *dancing* "dance-hall", *smoking*, "dinner jacket", "tuxedo": there are hybrid forms as was seen in *wegracen* "to race away", in which one or more Dutch elements link with an English component (see Zandvoort p. XIII and p. XV), and there are loan translations, but those fall outside the topic of the relation between spelling and pronunciation. Compared to the French influence in

its heyday, the English influence is less restricted to a special social group. From drug subculture to diplomacy, English loanwords are used, and most of the users of these terms, if not all, have had some degree of instruction in the source language. The widespread knowledge of English tends to preserve the original spelling, it seems, and slows down the process of integration.

Other Loanwords

For the other languages that have contributed to the Dutch vocabulary such widespread knowledge cannot be invoked as a significant factor. The learned words coming from Latin and Greek stand apart in that respect from other loanwords, because of the fact that until fairly recently a thorough instruction in the classical languages was associated with belonging to the intellectual elite. As Greek and Latin were taught, however, without any attempt to come close to a reconstructed original pronunciation, the pronunciation of loanwords used in Dutch sentences did not differ from the classroom pronunciation. The adaptation to Dutch pronunciation habits had taken place already when the learning process started, and so spelling problems and fluctuations are minor. The main trouble spot is *c* pronounced as *k* and sometimes written *k*. Spelling committees have been struggling with this question for decades. Official lists of preferred spellings seem to suggest that the nonpreferred orthography still is acceptable. The general tendency seems to be in favor of *k*. The desire to give the Dutch term its proper identity by distinguishing its spelling from that of its Latin-French counterpart is stronger in Belgium than in the Netherlands, but *k* is making progress everywhere[12]. Thus *critiek* "critique", "review" has become *kritiek*, but *criticus* "critic" generally keeps *c*; *vakantie*, "holidays", "vacation", and *oktober* "October" have *k*; *collaboratie* "collaboration" keeps *c* in most instances I have come across.

Other orthographical inconsistencies are found in words having *qu* or *x* in the Latin form. Although *kw* and *ks* can easily be substituted, it is difficult to give steadfast rules in these areas. *Kwart* ("quarter") and *kwart je* ("quarter" [coin]) always show *kw*, while *quadraat* ("quadrate", "square") shares the attention with *kwadraat*, *kwaliteit* is preferred to *qualiteit* ("quality") but *qualitatief* ("qualitative") is favored rather than *kwalitatief*. Personal taste and habits prevail, and whichever orthography is chosen, the pronunciation does not change.

The spelling *ks* for *x*, e.g. *ekspres* ("deliberately") for traditional *expres* is more recent, and *x* still represents the norm, but *ks* is occasionally encountered. Again, both spellings have exactly the same pronunciation.

This is not the case for the spelling *expresso* that corresponds to a hypercorrect pronunciation of the Italian loanword *espresso*. For most Italian loanwords, however, both orthography and pronunciation remain intact. The majority of those loans took place a long time ago in the specialized language used in music not only in the Netherlands but also in many other countries. The *zz* of *pizza* is not a Dutch combination but the *dz* pronunciation that is linked to it, is the generally observed norm with a tendency to devoiced *ts*. The same holds for *razzia* ("raid") that came from Arabic via French into the Dutch language.

The number of words which the Dutch language has borrowed from Russian is very limited. The need for a transliteration system mainly arises for proper names and geographical names[13]. The Dutch transliteration system is slightly different from the international system *c*, *č*, *š*, *šč* and *ž* being rendered by *ts*, *tsj*, *sj*, *sjtsj*, and *zj*, and *v* corresponding to either *v* or *w* that both have a labiodental pronunciation in Dutch. The most striking deviation in the

vowel representation is that *u* is replaced by the diagraph *œ* that is used in Dutch for the closed tense labio-velar rounded phoneme /u/. Neither system pays attention to Russian pronunciation rules that require prestress and poststress vowels to be reduced and only partially differentiated from one another as *o* and *a* merge as well as *e* and *i*. Dutch pronunciation therefore follows Russian spelling rather than Russian pronunciation: *knoet* "knut" ("whip"); *samovar* or *samowar* "samovar"; *pogrom* "pogrom"; *oekase*, or *oekaze* "ukaz" ("decree"). Some uncertainties remain however; *pógrom* has, in Dutch, the stress on the first syllable contrary to the Russian original, pronounced [pagróm], moreover the [g] of the Russian is pronounced [X]. The Russian /a/ is in between Dutch /a/ and Dutch / ∞ /. The stressed *-ar* is sometimes written *-aar* as in *Tsaar* [car´]. More interesting is the fate of *pirovat* "to have a party", "to party", that became in Dutch *pierewaaien* "to paint the town red". The prestressed *o* pronounced a becomes a poststressed (ə) as the stress shifts from the last to the first syllable. The reduction is in line with the Dutch tendency to reduce unstressed vowels to the neutral *schwa*. This tendency is held in check by transliteration, but fully manifests itself in oral borrowings.

This is particularly true for borrowings from languages that are not well known, as knowledge of the source language cannot protect the original forms. The Hebrew-Yiddish elements in Dutch fall into this category. Their relatively strong position in substandard and underworld speech can be explained by the fact that a large Jewish proletariat lived in the inner city area of Amsterdam before the war. To what extent some of the terms have penetrated into standard Dutch is not easy to decide. The speech of an educated inhabitant of Amsterdam is likely to contain more traces of Jewish origin than that of his provincial counterpart. Jewish writers describing

the Jewish milieu always used a number of terms specifically belonging to that milieu. After the war nostalgic memoirs written by survivors of the Holocaust have made some of the Jewish vocabulary better known at large. Finally some postwar publications deal exclusively with Jewish vocabulary of the Dutch Jews[14]. The following examples will give an idea of the character of the Jewish element in Dutch:

Bajes **slang for "prison", from** ***bajes*** **"house".**

Goochem**, "clever", "cunning", from** ***gochom*** **"wise".**

Jajem **slang term for "gin", from** ***jajim*****, "wine".**

Mokum**, "Amsterdam", affectionate term sometimes preceded by groot:** ***Groot Mokum*** **literally "big city" from** ***makom*****, "city".**

Majem **slang for "water", "canal" from** ***majim*****, "water".**

The toast used while drinking to somebody's health *lechajim* has become in Dutch *daar ga je* (literally "there you go"), a toast that always puzzled me, before I knew its origin. As in the case of Russian loanwords no distinction is made between [X] and [g], the latter always being replaced by the former.

From the different examples taken from a variety of languages, it has become clear that Dutch is an open language, and easily admits loanwords. Depending on political and social factors, special areas are favored for specific languages. The adaptation to Dutch spelling and pronunciation habits depends: on the distance between the source language and Dutch; on the knowledge which the Dutch have of the source language; and on the prestige which the source language has in their eyes.

Foreign elements have contributed a great deal to the Dutch language and will undoubtedly go on doing so. However, they do not form a serious menace to the intrinsic qualities of Dutch. On the contrary the openness of the Dutch language constitutes one of its major assets.

arabic

dutch

english

french

german

greek

hebrew

italian

latin

russian

yiddish

1 See for a simple description of this kind of substitution Catford, J. C. 1965. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation.* London: Oxford University Press. Chapter 8: Phonological Translation.

2 *N.R.C. Handelsblad, weekeditie*, March 4, 1986; see also *Signalement van nieuwe woorden W.P. Woordenboek van 200 neologismen,* onder redactie van Riemer Reinsma. Amsterdam - Brussel, Elsevier 1975.

3 Rubenstein, Renate. 1986. *Nee heb je* Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, (1st edition 1985), 14.

4 See for instance the introduction written by Karel van het Reve to Koker, David. 1977. *Dagboek geschreven in Vught.* Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, 6.

5 See Theissen, S. *De Germanismen in de moderne Nederlandse woordenschat* Series: Bouwstoffen en studien voor de geschiedenis en de lexicografie van het Nederlands XIII.

Uitgegeven door het Belgisch universitair centrum van Neerlandistiek met de steun van het Belgisch ministerie van openbaar onderwijs, 1975.

6 *Bargoens woordenboek.* Kleine woordenschat van de volkstaal Samengesteld door Drs. Enno Endt in samenwerking met Lieneke Frerichs. Amsterdam: Erven Thomas Rap, Spuistraat 283, Tweede verbeterde en aanzienlijk ver meerderde druk, 1974. (1st edition 1972).

7 *N.R.C. Handelsblad, weekeditie,* July 15, 1986.

8. *Van Dale's Nieuw Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse taal* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950.

9 For phonetic and phonological notations, the system of *Fonologie van het Nederlands en het Fries* by A. Cohen, C. L. Ebeling, P. Eringa, K. Fokkema and A.G.F. van Holk is used. The phoneme / ɣ / occurring only in southern varieties of standard Dutch is not used in this paper that is based on the Northwestern variety in which / x / replaces / ɣ / and the opposition / x / ~ / ɣ / is not found. The opposition / ɔ̀ / ~ / ɔ / observed in the east of the country is not used either, / ɔ / being the only symbol used for short open *o*.

10 See *Au en O*, article published by Camiel Hamans in *N.R.C. Handelsblad*, March 23, 1985.

11 Zandvoort, R.W. 1964. *English in the Netherlands (a study in linguistic infiltration)* Groningen studies in English VIII. (Groningen: J.B.Wolters.)

12 One of the rules given in a supplement published in 1955 to *van Dale's Woordenboek* (1950), runs as follows:

The *c* that is pronounced as *k* may in very many cases also be written as *k*: in a few cases only *k* is admitted, as in *karton, kritiek.* Where both spellings are recognized, one is completely free to continue to write *c*; the spelling with *k* is often given especially because it is preferred in the Southern Netherlands. [i.e. mainly the Flemish part of Belgium].

13 Scharpé, J.L. 1981. *Uitspraak en accent van Russische namen in transcriptie.* Leuven: Uitgeverij ACCO.

14 Beem, H. 1967. *Sje—eriet. Resten van een taal. Woordenboekje van het Nederlandse Jiddisch.* Assen: Van Goreum.
—.1974. *Uit Mokum en de mediene. Joodse woorden in Nederlandse omgeving,* Assen: van Goreum.

Bernard Saint-Jacques

Bilingualism in Daily Life

The Roman Alphabet in the Japanese Writing System

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In the seventh century, the Japanese language adopted the Chinese script. It represents one of the most striking cases of languages in contact. In the last five years, Japanese has entered a new phase of languages in contact, this time not through the borrowing of Chinese characters, but through the increasing use of the Roman alphabet in the Japanese writing system. Some have called this new phase the beginning of a "second Chinese invasion." This novel use of Roman letters is particularly evident in the field of advertising. Japanese is now unique because it uses the three existing types of writing systems in the world: alphabetical, syllabic, and ideographic. This paper examines the use of the Roman alphabet in advertising and various areas of Japanese life. It also considers the possible consequences of this new addition to the Japanese script for the Japanese language and culture. A Japanese scholar has even stated that in present-day Japan, a Japanese totally ignorant of the Roman alphabet would be seriously inconvenienced.

Acknowledgement

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Many Japanese like to say that their country is monolingual, monocultural and monoethnic.[1] It is true that Japan enjoys a remarkable linguistic and cultural homogeneity, but this fact does not shield it from contacts with other languages. Even the most monolingual countries in the world have been and are influenced by other languages. In fact, the borrowing of the Chinese writing system in the seventh century by the Japanese represents one of the most striking cases of languages in contact. The Japanese transformed their language by the massive borrowing and creating of new lexical items through the medium of Chinese characters. The adoption of the Chinese writing system was not an easy task. Chinese is about as different from Japanese as any language can be, in terms of phonological system, grammatical categories, and syntactic structure. However, it is one of the characteristics of Japanese culture to be able to borrow, transform, recreate, and give its own identity to the final product. To complement the Chinese writing system the Japanese invented two kana syllabaries which are used as supplementary writing systems alongside the Chinese characters.

In the last five years, however, Japanese has entered a new phase of languages in contact. It seems that history is being repeated. Some have called this new phase the beginning of "a second Chinese invasion",[2] this time not through the borrowing of Chinese characters, but through the increasing use of the Roman alphabet[3] in the Japanese writing system. This novel use of Roman letters is particularly evident in the field of advertising. Toshiaki Nozue, in an article entitled "Kookoku to yokomojigo" [Advertising and the Roman Alphabet],[4] describes the use of the Roman alphabet in advertising as the vanguard of the assimilation of the Roman alphabet into the Japanese writing system, similar to the assimilation of Chinese characters.

The Japanese writing system has the distinction of being the most complicated in the modern world.

Figure 1

The incorporation of the Roman script makes this system even more complex. Japanese is the only language in the world using the three types of existing writing systems in the world:

1) the alphabetical system where *ideally* one sound is represented by one symbol of the system,
2) the syllabary system where each symbol represents one syllable of the language, and
3) the morphemic system (so-called ideographic) where *ideally* every written symbol represents one morpheme of the language.

The recent introduction of the Roman alphabet into the Japanese system should not be confused with the restricted use of Arabic numerals (used in horizontal writing in place of kanji numerals) and the related use of Roman capitals in certain acronyms, for instance "3DK" [having three rooms plus a dining room with kitchen]. This usage is well known and started several years ago. The novel use of the Roman alphabet described in this paper is far more extensive. Words which until four or five years ago used to appear in magazines and newspapers, on

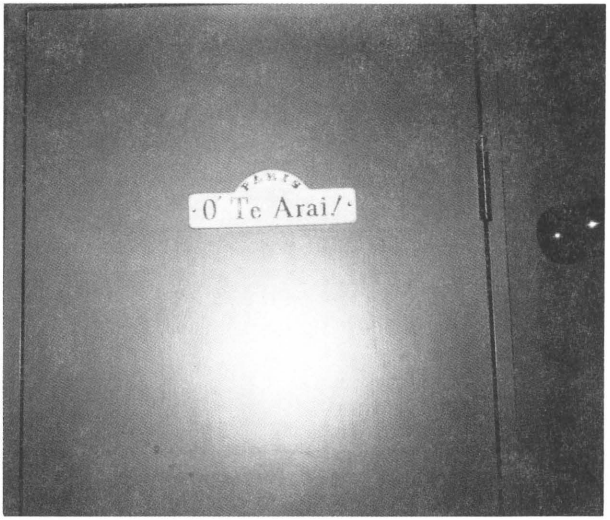

Figure 2

television, on billboards and advertisements of all kinds, in the katakana syllabary, particularly loan-words from English, French, and other languages, suddenly started to be written in Roman letters. This use was extended to Japanese names and even to Japanese words, in some cases in the middle of a Japanese sentence written in the Japanese script, presenting therefore the simultaneous use of kanji, kana, and Roman letters. Figure 1 taken from the newspaper *Asahi* (11 May 1986) is a typical example of sentences containing the three writing systems. In figure 2 *O Te Arai* (washroom), found in a bar in Tokyo, one can see Japanese words written totally in Roman alphabet. In a fascinating article, "Yokomoji ga minna no mono ni natta" [The Roman Alphabet Belongs to Everybody], Hiroshi Ishino[5] affirms that, in present day Japan, a Japanese totally ignorant of the Roman alphabet is at a serious disadvantage.

This paper examines the use of the Roman alphabet in advertising and various areas of Japanese life. It also examines the possible consequences, linguistic and cultural, of this new addition to the Japanese writing system.

Figure 3

We find a variety of functions for Roman letters in advertising. A word printed in the Roman alphabet, whether Japanese or from another language, will stand out simply because it is different from the rest. In figure 3 *Asahi* (15 May 1986), the words "Asahi Journal" are already present in the Japanese script (in kanji and katakana), but the repetition of these words in Roman letters emphasizes them. The same is true of figure 4 *Asahi* (14 May 1986), where the caption "Art Gallery Japan" appears in both scripts. From the point of view of advertising, Japanese is an extremely rich language, providing the advertiser with four means of attracting attention: kanji, katakana, hiragana, and recently the Roman alphabet. The Roman letters are sometimes only used for 'decoration' purposes. They do not add anything to the meaning already expressed in Japanese. The words "La Seine" (name of a magazine) already written in katakana in figure 5 are a good example, *Asahi* (6 May 1986).

The use of Roman letters is often related to the novelty of the product being advertised. The names of goods imported from other countries are often difficult to express in Japanese.

Figure 4

The simplest method is to use the Roman alphabet. Many Japanese have admitted that it is a lot easier to perceive foreign names in the Roman alphabet than in the katakana syllabary. Foreigners who have studied Japanese will agree.

The Roman alphabet is also used to express a feeling, an identity for a new product, or a new identity for a product which previously existed. Toshiaki Nozue[6] writes that to convince the Japanese, who recently have been eating less fish, to go back to this traditional food, an advertisement encourages them to eat *sakana* 'fish' written in Roman letters, creating a new image, different from the 'old fish' expressed by the Chinese character (魚). This function cannot be neglected in the highly competitive world of advertising where it is more and more difficult to attract attention to a given product.[7] Publishers understand this; a great number of magazines now have foreign names in Roman letters, as can be seen by figures 6 and 7. The use of the Roman alphabet appeals not only to young people but also to people of all ages as exemplified by figure 8. "Walk" is a magazine for retired people, *Asahi* (10 May 1986).

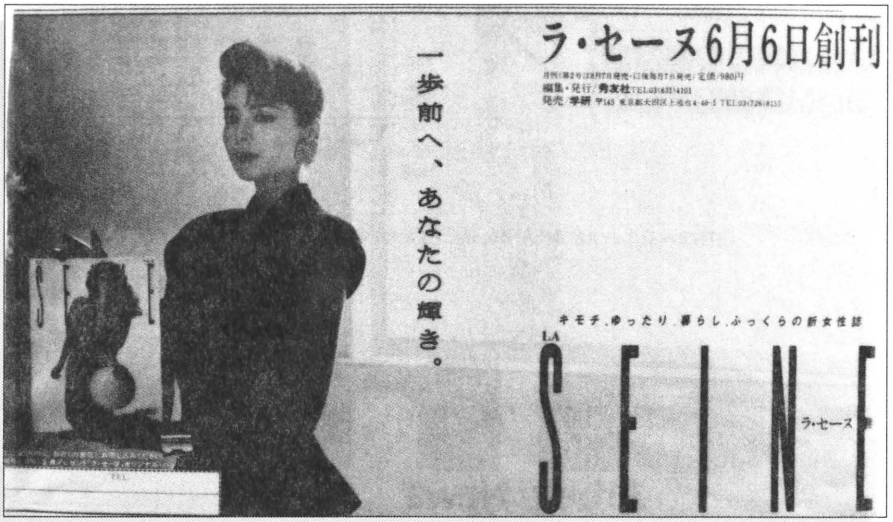

Figure 5

In some cases, the use of the Roman alphabet is simply an effort to create the moods, the customs or the atmosphere of the foreign language and culture where the products originate, or to confer on a Japanese product a 'foreign' quality. Figure 9 shows the name of a beauty product by Shiseido, 'Clé de peau' also written in katakana. In most cases, the average Japanese will not understand the meaning, either because he does not know the foreign language or because the words in the Roman alphabet are meaningless or mistaken. 'Clé de peau' [Key of Skin] of figure 9 is difficult to interpret even for a French speaker; 'Cafe de Pub' of figure 10 is meaningless; 'Là Bonheur' in figure 11 should be 'Le Bonheur'; and 'Home-ing' of figure 12 would be meaningless for the person who cannot read the Japanese caption ('Home-ing' refers to house renovation). However, the sight of the foreign name - or the Japanese name - in the Roman alphabet makes up for lost meaning. It acts as a kind of charm, a magical incantation.

Nobuyuki Komai, Head of the Product Development Section at Sony, emphasized another advantage of foreign words written in the Roman alphabet: "From our point of view, foreign words are very easy to use

Figure 6

because the alphabet is something that people take at face value. With the word *love* in Roman letters, we can work that into a graphic design and it carries a kind of cuteness and charm. But the Chinese ideogram for 'love' (愛), we couldn't put that on a kid's school bag. It would carry a feeling of intrinsic difficulty, create resistance instead of sales appeal."[8]

Jared Lubarsky, in an article entitled "Names that Sell", [9] has noted that loanwords which have been adapted to the Japanese language and are written in katakana still have their uses in consumer marketing, but it's the unadulterated foreign words written in the Roman alphabet that really move merchandise. They are attached to automobiles, chocolate bars, and shaving lotions with an exuberance unmatched anywhere in the world. For the native speakers of languages from which these loanwords originate, the results are sometimes hilarious. In the same article, Lubarsky gives the following examples: "The Japanese consumer eats *Germ Bread* and quenches his thirst with a soft drink called *Pocari sweat*. He wears *Trim Pecker* trousers and uses *Blow Up* deodorant. His wife dries the baby with a talcum powder called *My Pee*. He dines at French restau-

Figure 7

Figure 8

rants with names like *Le Maquereau* [which could be taken as *The Pimp*], and spreads his lawn with *Green Piles* fertilizer."[10]

Companies, small or big, feel that their names printed in Roman letters provide them with a new corporate identity. For instance, *KEN* in figure 13 is the name of an important real estate company. This advertisement appears in many places in Tokyo. It is certainly not designed for foreigners since only the name of the company is written in Roman letters, the rest is all in Japanese. Figures 14 and 15 are examples of small businesses with their names advertised in both Japanese and Roman letters. In figure 16 the name appears only in Roman letters.

The alphabet has become such an important part of the language of advertising that in some sections of the clothing industry, Roman letters are the only way used to describe sizes, L, M, S, or the kind of shirts, T shatsu [T-shirt], V nekku [V neck], etc. Merchants claim that the same information written on the merchandise in Japanese would create difficulties and reduce sales. The alphabet is in. For younger Japanese who have learned the Roman

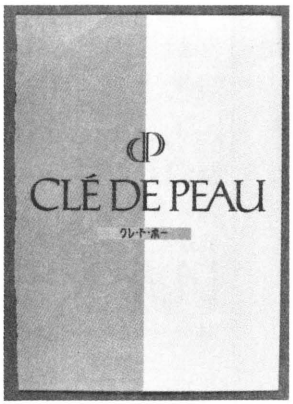

Figure 9

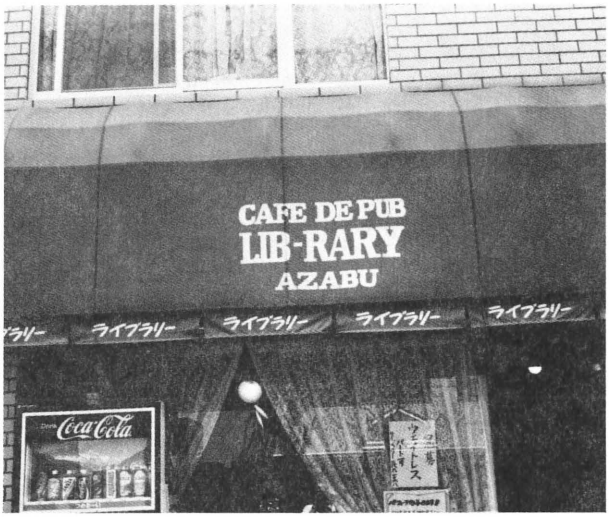

Figure 10

letters at school and have sung them, these symbols are not alien to their language. They are perceived as visual symbols that are part of their writing system, similar in shape to the kana syllabaries. In some cases, these Roman letters are so well assimilated to the Japanese script that they play the role of Chinese characters. They no longer have a direct relation to the original sound, but their primary function is to indicate meaning. The *F* used in elevators to indicate the floor is usually read with the sound of the Japanese equivalent word *kai.* Another frequent example is *versus* abbreviated *VS* and usually read in Japanese *tai.*

The use of acronyms or abbreviations of foreign or Japanese words written in capital Roman letters, quite restricted in the past, is now extensive and increasing all the time. Their simplicity and efficiency compared to the Japanese equivalent expressions amply justify their creation. For instance, *SDI* [Strategic Defense Initiative] stands for the Japanese "Staaoozu Amerika no Senryaku Booei Koosoo", *KDD* stands for *Kokusai Denshin Denwa* [International Telegraph and Telephone]. There are two ways of reading these acronyms. One is letter by

Figure 11

letter, *S-D-I* , the other is more or less like the pronunciation of the English word, for instance *BASIC* [Basic All-purpose Symbolic Instruction Code].

In Japanese, the English word for 'computer' is used, since computers and everything related to computers are from America. Along with the technology, the vocabulary has been imported. This vocabulary is naturally conveyed in the written style in a more efficient manner through the medium of Roman letters. For instance, in his paper, "Joohooka shakai no tosshutsubu" [The Importance of the Information Society], Toshio Ishiwata,[11] remarks that only four simple strokes of the pen are needed to write *VLSI* [Very Large Scale Integration], but the Japanese equivalent, *Daikiban shuuseki kairo* (大規模集積回路), requires a far greater number of strokes.

Professional baseball is another area where the Roman alphabet has been adopted. Names of teams and players on uniforms appear only in the Roman alphabet and it does not seem to cause any difficulty for the Japanese to read Japanese names from Roman letters.

Figure 12

This influence from the West is not a new phenomenon. Makoto Hibino, Executive Vice President of Dai-Ichi Kikaku, an advertising company, remarked[12] that Japan has been looking at the West for the last 200 years. Along with the technology and products, the names and expressions were also imported. This novel use of Roman letters is simply a further development of this same trend. There were times when this influence was opposed and felt to be dangerous to the purity of the Japanese culture. The Japanese of today offer no resistance to influences from the Western world. They avidly yearn for foreign customs, music, ideas, forms of leisure, clothing – all aspects of life. For them, the Roman alphabet is perceived as a standard form of writing, not something alien to the Japanese writing system. A comparison can be made with Japanese products which have unified and put together the best of two civilizations. The Japanese have combined in one system the three types of writing systems in the world.

It is tempting to speculate about the consequences of this novel use of the Roman alphabet on the Japanese writing systems and Japanese language and culture. The Japanese writing system, based on the use of

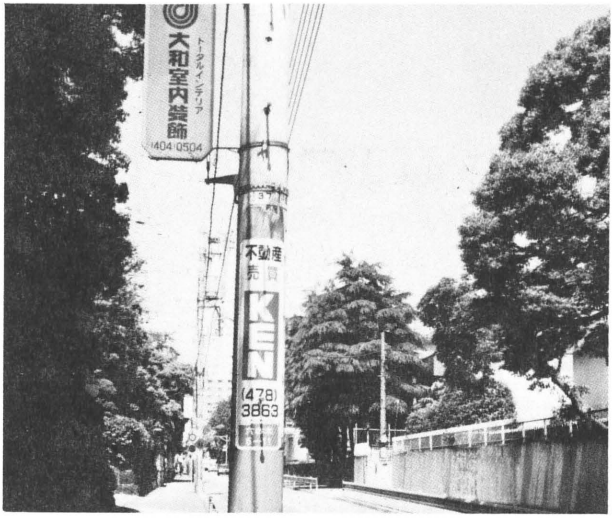

Figure 13

Chinese characters, is certainly one of the most complex ways of putting a language into a visual form. Takao Suzuki,[13] professor at Keio University, has endeavored to show the merits of Chinese characters for the Japanese language. They allow, he says, the ordinary Japanese person to understand such sophisticated terms as (短頭) *tantoo* 'brachycephalic' even if that person has had no earlier instruction in anthropology, because the Japanese readings of the characters *mijikai* 'short' and *atama* 'head' are known to everybody. Robert Brown[14] has shown convincingly that what Suzuki is describing is not meaning but etymology. Indeed, to know that the expression is composed of two characters meaning 'short' and 'head' does not give any insight in the real meaning of the expression, unless the person in question has previously learned the meaning of *tantoo*. The same could be said of the English speaker who knows some Greek and has some general idea of the etymology of the word 'brachycephalic'. Such words occur rather infrequently in the language, and do not in any way compensate for the burden of learning thousands of symbols, which often have more than one reading and sometimes more than one form.

Figure 14

Suzuki also brings forward the argument that Chinese characters are necessary to distinguish the many homophonous words of Japanese. However, it is very rare that the context where these words are used is not sufficient to yield the right interpretation. Japanese, engaged in conversation, with no visual support of any kind, use homophones without any difficulty.

For these reasons, Suzuki contends that at least in the case of Japanese, orthography is an integral part of what we should properly call *language*. When Suzuki writes: "Different graphemes, different meanings, and different associations attached to different characters sharing the same sound are exactly equivalent to those differences carried by a group of persons equally called Mary",[15] he is confusing semantics and graphemics, two independent systems. If one follows Suzuki's argument, one must also contend that illiterate speakers of Japanese would not be able to distinguish homophones. The French speaker who is able to distinguish through context, and without any visual support, the homophones *cou* [neck], *coup* [blow], and *coût* [cost] is not different from the Japanese speaker.

Figure 15

Is this recent use of the Roman alphabet leading to the romanization of the Japanese writing system? First, it must be emphasized that the Japanese have done extremely well with their writing system. Japan has one of the highest rates of literacy in the world. This writing system has been used for literature, the arts, and the functioning of a powerful industrial country. Secondly, those who have blamed Japan for not adopting a simpler writing system seem to forget that reforms of writing systems are very difficult to realize. They have not succeeded in English where we still write six graphemes for three sounds in *knight* and where most of the letters used to represent vowels have several possible pronunciations. The recent innovative use of Roman letters in the Japanese script is certainly a very modest step in the direction of romanization, but, for the moment, one must agree with Unger that

> **unless and until there is a perception that the leaders of the Japanese society are prepared to foster a transition to the nonuse of kanji, it is doubtful that many Japanese will be willing to take the risks involved in beginning that transition individually.**[16]

Figure 16

For Katsuaki Horiuchi,[17] the use of Roman letters is a welcome addition to the Japanese language and culture; it is simply the result of the realization that Western culture is becoming part of Japanese culture, or, as he puts it, Western culture is becoming a world culture. In Japan, both the West and the East have merged into one. Japan, writes Horiuchi, is like a crucible in which both culture and goods are harmonized, and one cannot see the end of this process.[18] Living in an insular country and enjoying a high degree of cultural and social homogeneity, the Japanese do not attach much importance to changes in the language as a danger to the purity of their culture, and therefore, according to Horiuchi, far from being cautious, they welcome the Roman alphabet and influences from other languages.[19]

However, not all Japanese agree with Horiuchi. Takao Suzuki, in a recent interview,[20] voices an opposite opinion. He perceives the proliferation of the Roman alphabet in the Japanese writing system as a sign of the degeneration of the Japanese culture and warns that the capacity of the Japanese to assimilate foreign cultures without losing their own identity is not infinite.

Notes

1 For instance, Shibata, Takeshi. 1985. "Sociolinguistic Surveys in Japan: Approaches and Problems", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 55, 79-88.

2 Shibata, Takeshi. 1986. Personal communication, Tokyo, May.

3 Also called the "Latin Alphabet".

4 Nozue, Toshiaki. 1985. "Kookoku to yokomojigo", *Gengo*, Vol. 14, No. 9, 59.

5 Ishino, Hiroshi. 1985. "Yokomoji ga minna no mono ni natta", *Gengo*, Vol. 14, No. 9, 44.

6 Nozue, Toshiaki. 1985. "Kookoku to yokomojigo", *Gengo*, Vol. 14, No. 9, 56.

7 Misspelling of English words and unusual syntax in English advertising could indicate a similar function.

8 Quoted in Lubarsky, Jared. 1984. "Names that Sell", *PHP*, Vol. 15, No.12, Dec. 41.

9 Ibid., 39.

10 Ibid., 39.

11 Ishiwata, Toshio. 1985. "Joohooka shakai no tosshutsubu", *Gengo*, Vol. 14, No. 9, 69.

12 Personal Communication, Tokyo, May, 1986.

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Phyllis Wrenn

Bilingualism and the Literary Text

Ortho and Morpho-graphic Transcoding of Acadian "Franglais"

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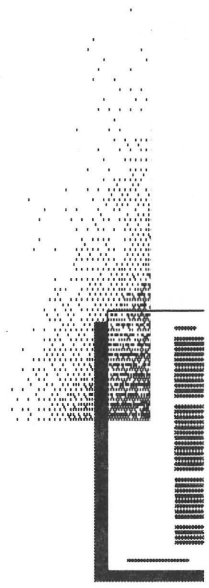
Phyllis Wrenn, pp. 106-129

The occurrence of English forms in Franco-Acadian discourse acts is a fact of life. Insofar as such occurrences are a matter of *choice*, they reflect, not linguistic poverty, but the performative bilingualism of the speaker. The visual effect of the insertion of English forms into written Franco-Acadian discourse is determined by the way in which they are *formally* incorporated into the discourse — syntactic, morphological and orthographic adaptation. The aesthetic effect of this visual bilingualism is determined additionally by the way in which the English forms are used. A descriptive analysis of data from a published collection of letters-to-the-editor (1895-98) is the basis for a classification of spelling tricks used to make an English word look or "sound" French, the combinatory tricks used to make a word *seem* French, and the adaptation of English forms to delimit the "speaker" roles. Further evidence from modern written monologues and dialogues is provided. When the discourse act in question has an *aesthetic* function, the writer's treatment of Anglicisms becomes a tool in his creative bag of tricks, and a factor in the coherence of the text.



Introduction

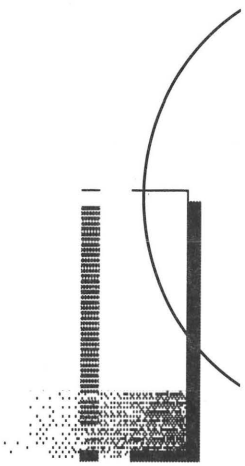
When an author attempts to reproduce, or to write in a geographically-determined speaking style, his texts are almost always assigned to the category loosely defined as regional literature (i.e. for local consumption only). And, even if such texts are accepted as literary works *à part entière*, they still carry with them at best the impression of folklore, at worst the stigma of linguistic stereotyping. Such is the fate, for example, of *La Sagouine*, the series of monologues composed in the Franco-Acadian dialect of Bouctouche that catapulted their author, Antonine Maillet, to international literary recognition.

In spite of the critical acclaim which the work has received, there linger traces of apologism in essays published in a later (postsuccess) edition of the monologues. André Belleau's reaction to the Anglicisms found in Maillet's text is inspired by such an attitude. Not only does he underestimate their number, but he derives from it a reason for the social value of the protagonist's language (A. Belleau, 1973:34). The vibrant language of *La Sagouine* is assessed, not as that of a literary work, but as a sociological record, which confirms a nostalgic desire for acceptance, colored by the traditional view of a norm and the value of linguistic "purity".

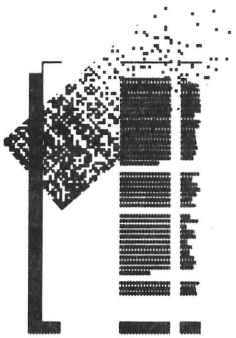
I have undertaken to examine the treatment of Anglicisms in written Franco-Acadian, and further, in response to the critical stance referred to above, I propose to illustrate how, when the discourse act (the text) has an *aesthetic* function, even the writer's treatment of Anglicisms (not only his manipulation of French) becomes a tool in his creative bag of tricks, and a factor in the coherence of the text.

The written Franco-Acadian I have analyzed is that used in three published collections of brief texts by three different writers: *La Sagouine* by Antonine Maillet (1973), *Dans note temps: avec Marc et Philippe*,

by Félix Thibodeau (1973), and *Marichette. Lettres acadiennes. 1895-1898. La Sagouine* is a collection of monologues initially composed for radio and theatrical performances by an established Acadian writer who gained international attention for this work. *Dans note temps* is a collection of fictional dialogues originally published as a regular feature in a regional newspaper, *Le Petit Courrier* of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia; its author is a teacher of long standing, a pillar, culturally-speaking, of the Acadian community of Southern Nova Scotia, and a devotee of "La Petite Histoire". And Marichette is the pseudonym of a prolific writer of letters to the editor of *L'Evangéline*, the newspaper in which the letters were published. P. and P.M. Gérin, in their recently-published (1982) critical edition of the letters, identify Marichette as the probable pseudonym of Emilie Leblanc, a schoolteacher, from St. Joseph (Moncton), New Brunswick, but most likely living in Weymouth, Nova Scotia, during the period the letters were appearing in *L'Evangéline*. Marichette was, as the Gérins conclude from their careful analysis of the clues which her letters contain, educated and well-read, in addition to being politically aware. All three collections of texts have in common the audience for whom they were originally intended: the general public (though regionally defined); and, relevant to the object of my study, a rather wide lexical scope, afforded by the treatment of a diversity of topics. All three writers, though widely separated in time, are conscious of, and attached to, their roots; all give evidence of the creative potential of "writing the dialect". All three writers attempt to evoke the essence of the Acadian language, which is its orality, and to portray in written form the linguistic character of that orality.



Almost a century and a half of cultural and geographic isolation (see N. Griffith, 1973, and M. Maillet, 1983) had, even by the time of Marichette's epistolary career in the late nineteenth century, created an enormous linguistic gulf between the



Franco-Acadian dialect and standard written French. The language was representative of an essentially unlettered, rural population; it had evolved freely, in the absence of the conservative influence of a stable literacy. It preserved features removed from the French of France, or altered in their development by the interference of grammarians and other linguistic role models. Free evolution has resulted in the stabilizing of other features, such as contractions, for example, which have remained accidental manifestations of context-bound features in common French (relevant to level-of-style, in this case "popular" in the traditional scheme of classification). Above all, the dialect had become, and still is, a vehicle of *oral* communication. The written French of the literate Acadian was, and is, that of other Francophones: common or standard French.

Writing the dialect, then, is an attempt to respect the lexical features, the syntactic structures, and the morphological systems of the oral code. It is also an attempt to translate into graphic form the aural effect of an archaic, and, at the same time, popular phoneticism. Thus, it will not respect the reading and writing habits of the public for which it is destined.

The result will be a written text with high visual impact, since, inevitably, the essentially ideographic nature of conventional writing is contravened (see P. Léon, 1971, for a general discussion of this question; P. Wrenn, 1985, for its application in *La Sagouine*). Any interpretation procedure will require a certain amount of conscious effort that "ordinary" reading normally does not, and it is because of this effort that the written text gains its significance as *visible* language. However, acceptability will depend ultimately on a balance between interest and readability.

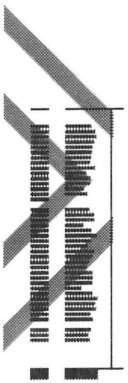
Along with unorthodox spellings, word formation and word sequences, the incorporation of English forms into a French text influences the visual processing of

the text; the degree to which they are assimilated influences its readability; the ways in which they are assimilated, its interest. Their "shape" (orthographic/phonetic and morphological), and their "behavior" (morphological and syntactic), as well as their identity, and their frequency, are factors to be controlled in the integration process.

The occurrence of English forms in Franco-Acadian discourse is a fact of life. For more than a century now, ever since the Acadians of Atlantic Canada "came out of the woods" and ended their exile in their own land, the French language, which they had preserved and protected in their isolation, has rubbed shoulders with English. While the relative insularity, until recently, of their environment and lifestyle has held in check the pressure to replace French with English, the temptation to borrow has known no such restraint. The Acadian's vocabulary is a mixture of common French, of items relevant to the Acadian's milieu but long since fallen into disuse in common French, and of the surrounding English. The status of the use of any English item in Franco-Acadian, that is, as evidence of a conventionalized borrowing (inclusion of the item in the code) or of spur-of-the-moment code-switching (performative bilingualism) is, of course, difficult, if not impossible, to prove, given the almost exclusively oral status of the language.

In fact, the occurrence of Anglicisms in *La Sagouine* is relatively infrequent (although certainly not to the extent Belleau claimed; I counted 130 occurrences of 65 different lexical items in approximately 90 pages of text). When they *do* occur, however, they undergo spelling adaptation consistent with the author's handling of the French used by the Acadian (see P. Wrenn, 1985: 19). Thibodeau's use of English forms in *Dans note temps* is similar: 151 occurrences of 114 lexical items in about 80 pages of text (the average length of the 54 dialogues is about one and one-half pages).

A far richer source of evidence for the aesthetics of performative bilingualism turned out to be the letters of Marichette, written almost a century earlier, only a decade or so after the Acadian National Conventions of the 1880s. While letters to the editor constitute a genre of dubious literary merit, those of Marichette reveal a linguistic creativity worthy of her fictional spiritual successor, the Sagouine. Like the monologues of the latter, Marichette's letters are a pointed and often witty commentary on the political and social mores of the time, and the socioeconomic lot of the Acadians. They are positively bristling with Anglicisms. (There are 503 occurrences of 273 different lexical items in 68 pages of text, and, in addition,many borrowed phrases.)



Marichette's repertoire at first sight suggested the standard type of infiltration, due either to ignorance of the French equivalent or to laziness, as in the use, in a bilingual milieu, of a frequently recurring vocabulary item. But, as my reading progressed, I became increasingly certain that hers was no ordinary anglicized, and therefore "impoverished", French. Apart from the simple fact that, had her purpose been solely to express her ideas in writing, she would have made every effort to respect the constraints of correct usage, the originality and imaginativeness of some examples, as well as the ironic relevance of others to their discourse function, are convincing evidence to the contrary. Any lingering doubts that I had concerning Marichette's ability to manipulate her bilingualism at will were dispelled when I encountered, in a single paragraph, "le bed-room", "la chambre de lit" and "la chambre à coucher"[1]. She had much earlier used "dé bagues" immediately after "dé rings". It gradually becomes clear that the writer was enjoying herself, and by manipulating the language-mixing process she turned it into an art form.

The three collections of texts thus reflect divergent approaches to the presence of a second language. Two authors acknowledge it and exploit it without

giving it undue weight; the third, the earliest and ostensibly the least sophisticated, embraces it as an integral element in her style.

Lexical Borrowings

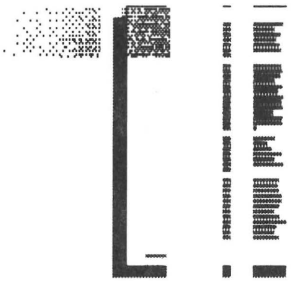
The English borrowings of *La Sagouine* and *Dans note temps* are almost without exception limited to lexical items. The exceptions are in both cases citations: the song fragment <<Tse [it's a] long way to Tipperary>>, used twice in the same monologue, and the phrase <<no trespassing>>, used once, in *La Sagouine*; and the formula <<An apple a day keeps the doctor away>> in *Dans note temps*.

Marichette's use of English items, on the other hand, ranges from single words (in the sense of a dictionary entry): lexical items or interjections, through word phrases: complete syntagms as well as syntagmatically incomplete sequences of lexical items, to complete sentences. Lexical borrowings, however, dominate.

The lexical borrowings are most likely to be nouns, although the preference is less striking in the letters of Marichette than in Maillet's *La Sagouine* or Thibodeau's dialogues. Both verbs and adjectives are almost as frequently borrowed in Marichette's letters as are nouns in the latter. The *relative* importance of nouns is, of course, inevitable, since French (like English) syntax dictates that one clause necessarily contain only one verb syntagm, but optionally any stylistically acceptable number of noun syntagms. In fact, the prevalence of nouns as borrowed items is well documented (see E. Haugen, 1950; U. Weinreich, 1953; G. Forgue, 1980; C. Thogmartin, 1984).

More than half the items occur only once. Only a handful (22) are used by more than one author; the majority are shared by Marichette and Thibodeau, perhaps because of the larger number of English

items used by these two writers compared to Maillet. The items used by both Thibodeau and Maillet, but not by the nineteenth century writer, designate twentieth century concepts (*stamps*, referring to unemployment insurance; *truck*), or concepts perhaps only recently assimilated into Acadian culture (*peanut*, *Santa Claus*).

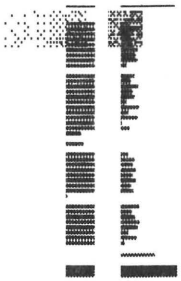


The handful of English nouns that occur more than three times in Maillet's collection of monologues owe their prominence to their recurrence, in every case but one, in a single text, where the concept they represent has a thematic prominence. For example, in "L'enterrement" the *dory* of Jos, whose goal in working his dory was to earn money to buy himself a decent funeral, is ultimately used as his coffin. The number of such thematically-relevant borrowings is, however, so small, and represents such a small proportion, both of the *mots-clé* of *La Sagouine* and of the English borrowings, that overall their relative prominence is most likely accidental.

In Thibodeau's dialogues, only seven of the 114 items occur more than twice; here also, the recurrences are clustered. The occurrence of English forms in both twentieth century texts, thus, is essentially restricted to isolated and sporadic borrowings - occasional occurrences of a single word used in a French context.

More than half the borrowed lexical items used by Marichette occur only once; the proportion of repeated borrowings is higher than in the case of *La Sagouine* and *Dans note temps*, although not markedly, and the recurring items are often thematically relevant: e.g. *whisky*, *tory*, *grit*, *State* (i.e. United States). However, this time, some, at least, are undisputedly institutionalized or conventionalized borrowings, rather than an idiosyncracy of the writer; "à la State" is perhaps a calque on the Canadian English designation of the United States as "the States". A small number of other borrowings are,

at least in her case, conventionalized; they occur consistently with a specific connotation. For example, the word *boy* occurring with a possessive, or in an analogous context, has added to the basic concept of "young male person" the notion of "belonging" to a group or to someone else (she doesn't use the word for any other purpose). These are not simple cases of arbitrary code-switching; the choice of the term appears to be motivated by the meaning to be conveyed.



The borrowing tends, thus, with all three writers, to be a very casual procedure, reflecting what I have called, above, a type of individual, *performance* bilingualism, rather than a systematic infiltration of the code. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of Forgue (1980), in his quantitative analysis of "franglais" in *Le Monde*: the newness of the borrowing (which he established by comparing dates of the first attestation according to "historical dictionaries") appeared to be the determining factor in low frequency of occurrence, rather than the subject matter in question.

Spelling adaptation

The conjunction of written and oral language is graphically mirrored in the orthographic code. Not surprisingly, therefore, a tendency toward spelling innovation is an important characteristic of the style of writers of dialect, and therefore a highly visible identifying feature of their writing. Spelling innovation is also the means used to integrate an English borrowing into a French context, *when integration is the goal.*

The modification of the spelling of the English word to conform with the orthographic patterns of French serves as a sort of camouflage; in effect, the word so adapted represents a lesser obstacle to French reading habits, reading habits which already have to adapt to the unaccustomed *French* spelling features. On the other hand, the word's origin may be less readily evident, and interpretation thus less assured.

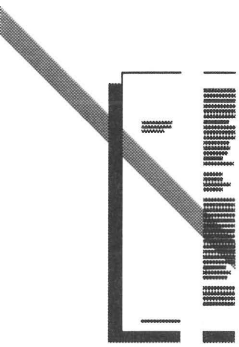
Spelling adaptation may consist of replacing a letter or sequence of letters used in English but not in French, or rarely, with the letter or sequence of letters used in French with the same orthoepic value; for example *-k-* or *-ck-* is replaced by *-qu-* or *-q-*, *-sh-* by *-ch-*, or *-ee-* is replaced by *-i-*, *-oo-* by *-ou-*.

AM = Antonine Maillet
FT = Félix Thibodeau
MA = Marichette

ex. AM crack > craque
AM buckwheat > boqouite
FT packpoles > pacquespoles
MA Blackader > Blaque-à-deurre
MA shaky > shéqué
MA whisky > wisqui
MA push > pouche
MA feed > fider
FT raccoon > racoune

cf. also

ex. MA suit > soute
MA beat > biter
MA factory > factrie
FT boat > botte



Or spelling adaptation may consist of replacing a letter or sequence of letters used also in French but with a different orthoepic value, with the letter or sequence of letters appropriate in French to the representation of the English pronunciation. For example, *-a-* with the value /e/ in English is replaced by *-é-* (cf. *shéqué* for *shaky*), or *-j-* with the value / dʒ/ in English is replaced by *-dj-*. A final consonant such as *-p* or *-t*, which in French has no orthoepic value (it is "silent"), is replaced by the doubling of the consonant with added final *-e*: that is, *-p* > *-ppe*, *-t* > *-tte*. In either case, the word is simply dressed in French clothing; it is an English word that *looks* French.

ex. FT shop > shoppe
AM peanut > pinotte
FT jigger > djigger

Other spelling innovations may reflect a phonological or a morphological adaptation, in which the graphic substitution suggests a phonetic or phonological substitution, for example, the substitution of [i] for [ɪ]

ex. MA bit [bɪt] > bite [bit]
MA bother [bɔðə] > bodrer [bɔdre]
MA young [jʌŋ] > yonng [jɔŋ]
FT Santa Claus [sæntəklɒz] > Sandi-Clâ [sãdiklɑ]
MA push [pʊʃ] > pouche [puʃ]

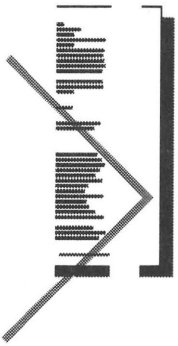
to suggest a word that doesn't *sound* English anymore. In the case of *shéqué* for *shaky*, the phonic adaptation is also morphological: the final *-é* is at once the graphic representation of the sound [e] and the written suffix of the past participle form - a morphological adaptation.

In some cases a word that is in fact a cognate, with the same spelling in French and in English, is spelled so as to suggest the English pronunciation:

ex. FT raisin > rézonne
FT rail > rélle
FT rheumatism (e) > roumatizes
FT station > stécheune
FT train > traine

Other cognates that are spelled differently in English and in French appear with their English spelling.

ex. MA rum (rhum)
MA porch (porche)
FT savage (sauvage)



Some changes are pure whimsy, as in the treatment Marichette often gives English names, especially those of politicians, a favorite target of her dry wit: "Koppe", "Kop", for "Copp", "Bowel" for "Bowell", "Maclac-claine" for "McLaughlan", "Powill" for "Powell", "Sneek" for "Sneak". Others, finally, are attempts at punning, or at least formal word associations:

ex. FT overseer > overcire (cf. French *cire*)
FT packpoles > pacquespoles (cf. French *Pacques*)
MA Killham > Killhim (English *kill him?*)
MA suffrage > souffrage (French *souffrir*)[2]
AM Rolls Royce > Rouleroyce (French *rouler*)
AM Rockefeller > Roulefeller (French slang *rouler*)

Spelling adaptation of English borrowings is thus consistent with the global function of spelling innovation in the texts analysed: the evocation of the language's

orality. When English borrowings are assimilated in this way, not only are the words themselves integrated into the French texts, and perhaps into the writer's linguistic code, in addition their treatment is an integral part of the writer's technique.

This is particularly striking in the case of *La Sagouine*, in which the adapted spellings of English words not only conform to French spelling patterns, but also in many cases are identical to those used to represent the so-called archaic features of Franco-Acadian pronunciation.

ex. balloon > bal(l)oune (cf. bonne > boune)
spittoon > spitoune
loose > lousse (cf. chose > chouse)
hatchet > hatchette (cf. nerfs > narffes)

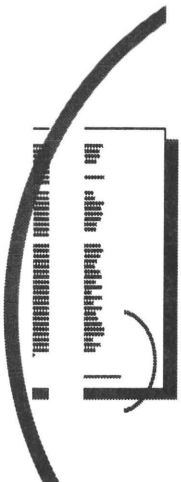
This coincidence is doubly significant: it is the archaic features that Maillet stresses in her spelling modification of French, while playing down the features of popular, oral standard French; these are thus the important spelling substitutions. At the same time, paradoxically, they represent the antithesis of conservatism. They are perhaps tolerated *because* they are adaptable and do not visibly contradict the archaic allure of the graphic system. The writer avoids the contractions that are the mark of the style of a Queneau or a Tremblay, for example.

In fact, although English borrowings are far less frequent in *La Sagouine* than in Marichette's letters, they are far more likely to undergo orthographic integration (more than twice as likely). This is perhaps why Belleau only noticed two or three, an indication of their visibility (or invisibility). Thibodeau is also more likely than Marichette to adapt the orthography of the English borrowing in one way or another. In the letters of Marichette, barely one-quarter of the occurrences of English lexical items show any attempt at spelling adaptation, if the spelling changes associated with morphological adaptations of verbs are excluded and only the stem is treated as constituting the "lexical item". I have

considered even the omission of a hyphen, or the use of a hyphen in a compound where the English uses simple juxtaposition, with or without word separation, as representing "spelling adaptation", as in
ex. bed-room for bedroom
hog reeve for hog-reeve
These are adaptations that in fact have little effect on the visual identity of the item.

Given the numerical importance of borrowings in Marichette's letters, the relatively infrequent camouflaging by spelling change is perhaps a blessing in disguise for the reader. Since the word's origin is readily recognizable, interpretation is facilitated, no doubt even for the reader who does not understand English. In the case of verbs, the combination of English stem and French affixes is exotic enough without further manipulation.[3]

Paradoxically, therefore, spelling change may have the effect of both facilitating the reading process and complicating it. At the same time, the preservation of an English spelling in the French text also may facilitate and/or hinder the reading/interpreting process. However, the various ways of treating the borrowed words are complementary in effect rather than contradictory. On the one hand, if spelling adaptation impedes interpretation, or semantic processing, it integrates the English word into the Acadian text, facilitating the visual processing of the print sequences. And "odd" spellings do not in themselves seem aberrant, since much of the French spelling is itself unusual. On the other hand, the absence of spelling adaptation no doubt facilitates interpretation (accessibility), although it slows down the visual processing (readability). Unadapted words are in effect another kind of "oddness". In short, the varied treatment of the orthography of English words, like that of the French text itself, represents a compromise between accessibility, readability, and novelty.

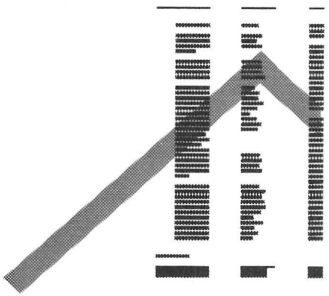


Morphological and morpho-graphic adaptation

The bulk of the evidence for morphological adaptation is derived from Marichette's letters; Maillet and Thibodeau use virtually no English items other than nouns.

Rules governing integration of English lexical items into a French syntagm are complex, but the process is systematic. Similarly, morphological assimilation follows predictable if sometimes unexpected patterns.

English verbs are almost invariably assimilated morphologically. That is, an English stem is combined with the French affix appropriate for tense marking and agreement with the subject – appropriate, that is, in Marichette's own rendering of the Acadian version of French verb morphology (which may be the absence of marker - I exclude here cases in which the absence of marker does not appear inconsistent with French spelling habits):



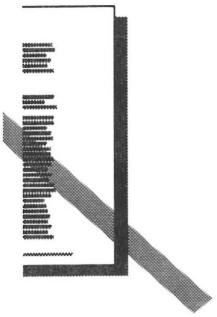
la tête arrived
carry on une petite flirting
I taut qu'il[4]
come Marichette

Note that *arrive*, had it been adapted morphologically to French, would no longer be identified as an English verb, but rather as the French *arriver*; in this case the English suffix is essential to the word's identity.

The composition of the verb syntagm having as its nucleus an English verb stem follows in other respects the (Acadian) French model: type and placement of negation forms, form and placement of complements, including reflexives. The transitivity class of the verb is consistent with its English origins. However, the vast majority are concrete action verbs, whose French cognates or equivalents are also transitive or intransitive respectively. Only two are English phrasal verbs and therefore structurally nonconforming in a French context: the already cited

carry on, and *kick out* in
carry on une petite flirting
allions être kické out

In short, the borrowed verbs behave in almost every case and respect as if they were French verbs. This is not to say that the reader will not sit up and take notice, for the morphology of the borrowed verbs is not that of the standard written French code, but rather that of the nonstandard *oral* Franco-Acadian.
ex. j'le soakrons
(ils) shakions like fun
s'avait busté en
nos garçons se groguons pas
Even for the Acadian reader, used as he is to *hearing* such forms but *seeing* those of common French, ideographic reading habits will no doubt be perturbed.



Morphological assimilation of nouns is less clear - the commonest written form of plural marker is the same in English and in French: the addition of *-s*. The absence of this affix on a plural English noun *might* indicate interference from the French pronunciation rules, according to which singular and plural are usually phonetically undifferentiated: the affixed *-s* has an oral correlate in English, but not in French. In fact, while Maillet and Thibodeau treat nouns like conventional French items, in Marichette's letters a small number of English nouns used in the plural (12 out of 85) do not themselves carry a mark of the plural (which is indicated elsewhere in the French sentence by a verb form or a determiner). Thus they are morphologically assimilated to Marichette's wildly erratic spelling system for *French* nouns, according to which she marks or does not mark the plural indifferently, whether or not it is marked orally. (In this respect, the treatment of English nouns is more consistent than that of French nouns.) A few isolated examples do have the plural marked, but incorrectly according to English rules and correctly according to French spelling rules. Notably, *tory* occurs in the plural as "tory", "tories", and "torys".

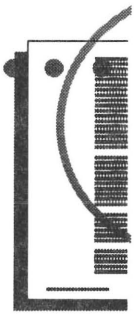
Derived nouns undergo another form of assimilation: the English suffix is replaced by a French one:

scolding > scoldure
smuggling > smugglure
canvasser > canvasseur

Paradoxically, *flirtation* becomes *flirting*, consistent with the well known procedure of assigning this *-ing* form to borrowed English words in French (cf. *smoking*, etc.) - this, perhaps, should not be interpreted as an original creation, since it occurs also in standard French. Similarly, the English agent suffix *-er*, replaced by *-eur* in *canvasseur*, is added to *speech* to form *speecher* (intended to have the same derogatory effect as *speechifier* in twentieth century English?), a pseudoborrowing (see Thogmartin, 1984, for a definition of this term). These few examples echo the creativity elsewhere evident in orthographic/phonetic adaptation.

English adjectives are assimilated to French adjective morphology if they are participial forms: they acquire a suffix marking the gender and number of the noun they accompany (like that of French adjectives, the agreement is not necessarily "correct"!). Nonparticipial forms remain invariable as in English.

ex. pas une seule personne grogée
une chaise pas stuffé
toute lé yonng boys
et young [sic] lectrices



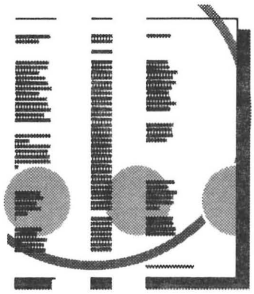
For the most part, adverbials accompanying an English adjective are French. English adverbials do occur, however, including one that is used to qualify a morphologically assimilated English adjective accompanying a French noun:

les jambes PRETTY shakées

In general, then, the spelling of borrowed lexical items is adapted to suggest this morphological adaptation, to conform to the morphological system of Acadian French. In this respect, the treatment that they receive, and any inconsistency it reflects,

is analogous to the morpho-graphic transcoding of native French words.

Phrasal Borrowings

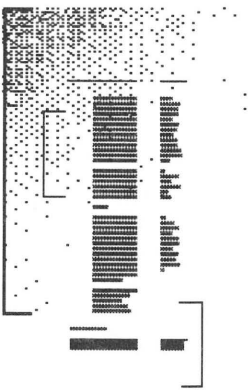


Borrowed syntagms, which are found only in the letters of Marichette, occur as manifestations of a common form of code-switching, starting a sentence in one language and finishing it in the other. With the exception of a small number of verb phrases: *I bet...*, *I guess...*, they tend to be sporadic borrowings, the occasional occurrences of a set phrase. Although varied in identity, the majority fall into two broad categories. The first is composed of sentence-opening verb phrases expressing the position of the writer:
ex. I bet que...
I guess que...
These borrowings are syntagmatically integrated, in that they take a complement in French, introduced by a French connective (in this case the conjunctive *que*). The second type includes sentence-ending parentheticals or tags:
ex. and don't you forget it
yessirree bob...
et God knows what else!
or sentence adverbials
ex. all the time
on the road.
Both types, however, are examples of code-switching rather than true borrowings. They appear to be functionally motivated - the writer is commenting on a situation or on the utterance itself. In a sense, their use is conventionalized, since when the performance has perlocutionary force, English is chosen.

Another type of multiple-word sequence is less common, and the motivation of the examples less apparent - borrowed lexical items occurring in combination - such as an English noun accompanied by an English adjective (or a string of adjectives
ex. une first class house
en tip top good health

- note the use of the French determiner and the French preposition). The only discernable common denominator is the nature of the adjectives used in these combinations - they are qualifying modifiers, expressing a judgment - "first class", "tip top", "good", a trait shared, however, by the majority of English adjectives used in isolation by Marichette. Once again, is it a characteristic of Marichette's expression, independently of the use of English, to use adjectives of quality rather than of determination or identity? Is the multiple-word sequence accidental, composed of two or more borrowed words, or is the sequence itself borrowed *as a sequence*?

Whatever their motivation, the presence of unassimilated and only partially integrated English word phrases underscores the linguistic reality behind the isolated and sporadic lexical borrowings: Marichette's world, like that of her twentieth century compatriots, was a bilingual existence.



Swearing

Another type of borrowing is clearly that of word sequences, and of a type that has a clearly-defined function: Marichette swears in English. In part at least because of their social function, no doubt, these borrowings would appear to be a more pervasive element of her style, if the reaction of her contemporaries is any indication (see Gérin and Gérin, 1982: 173, 232), than their frequency would actually warrant. She used no French vulgarisms or blasphemies. (In *La Sagouine* one finds only one "swear word", *batèche*, a form that recalls Marichette's *bidèche*, and none at all in *Dans note temps*.)

The majority of such oaths are used as parentheticals or tags:

comme le hell
cross as the devil
in a hell of a hurry

However, a few are syntagmatically incorporated into the text of the utterance, as in the case of "J'attrape s'te gâchette d'amanchure là" (Gérin and Gérin, 1982: 116; *gâchette* is a feminine diminuitive of *gâche [gosh]*: 264).

With few exceptions these borrowings, even the milder oaths, undergo orthographic modification of some sort, and it is often a modification that is more camouflage than integration, because the results do not always look very French; "Ghe hosse pônet" (*Jehosophat*, no doubt), and "gee hoss" (also occurring as "ghé hose", and representing also *Jehosophat*, or possibly *Jesus*?). One nicely gallicized oath is *for God's sake*, realized as "pour gâdesèque"; another is "gaudolle" (*God all*). *Damn* and *dashed* become "dème" or "dême" and "dèche" or "daiche", following the spelling rules applied in the assimilation of socially acceptable lexical items. *By jove* is borrowed as is, *by gosh* becomes a hybrid "by gâche", half-English, half-"French", as do *(I'll) be damned, I'll be dashed*, which become "I be dème", "I be dèche".

The use of the circumflex accent on some examples is presumably purely decorative, and not related to any phonetic rules (*by jove* does not receive one); in addition to the examples already cited, it is found on "hell-mâllé", "hèche mâlle", alongside "hell mallé", without it.

In short, although relatively few in number, swearings are highly susceptible to spelling change, and relatively highly varied spelling change at that. One unadapted item is camouflaged in another way (in an allusion to the reported speech of an Anglophone): it appears as d....d.

Marichette seems to be playing with these items, and perhaps poking fun at the procedure of deforming taboo items to overcome the stigma attached to their use. In one case the process results in a pun incorporated into the text of the utterance itself:

"Il counnaissait pas un dème de bite en politique"; ["He didn't know a damn bit about politics."] This is the only instance in which the suffixed *-ed* of certain English swear words is preserved, here taking the form of a French preposition, and thereby increasing the Frenchness of the syntagm.

Sentence Borrowings

Finally, Marichette uses English for complete sentences. Although such "borrowings" are scattered throughout the series of letters and, naturally, are prominent by virtue of their length, they are not, in fact, a characteristic of the writer's expression. Rather, their use is clearly constrained, and identifies them as being external, or foreign, to Marichette's own repertoire. These English sentences occur in passages relating encounters with monolingual Anglophones - for example, politicians campaigning for (re)election and soliciting (or attempting to buy) the votes of the rural Francophone - and, although they are not direct quotes, are used to represent the speech of such individuals. Their use is therefore contextually, rather than linguistically, determined. The message conveyed is the fact that these utterances are (or were) made in English, a type of linguistic commentary. It is also a type of social commentary in that the language of communication is made explicit in this way only in the case of unsympathetic individuals. They do offer, incidentally, indirect evidence of Marichette's bilingualism: her control of English, at least in written form, may be inferred from her faultless rendering of the English politicians' speech.

She uses the same technique to similar ends in a portrait of her daughters who speak English when home for a visit from their adopted life in urban America. This time, by representing their faulty pronunciation and grammar, she provides a wry commentary on the success, or lack of success,

of "ces jeunes ladies là" in accomplishing their goal of cultural assimilation and social advancement. In both cases, the use of English (either its presence, or the form it takes) suggest a role reversal - the homebound rural, Francophone Marichette, whose command of English surpasses that of her daughters, is in fact the superior figure.

Conclusion

There is thus in Marichette's letters a double portrait of the languages-in-contact situation of the Acadian, the one less central to the writer's own language use serving to illustrate the context of her own personal bilingualism or "sesquilingualism." Marichette defends her use of language without apology: "note belle langue que j'parlons dampi que j'sont sortis du bois y ousque les Anglais nous avions *chasé*." [our beautiful language which I/we speak since I/we came out of the woods where the English had *chased* us.] (Gérin and Gérin, 1982: 117) At times Marichette appears to revel in the languages-in-contact situation which history has forced on her people. The following paragraphs, which conclude the next to last letter, are a notable example:

> **Paul à Plaise à Philippe à Joe, marchand sur la dûne à busté. Son butin sera *auctioné* samedi par le shérif pour payer de la *smugglure*. On dit que sa femme sera à la *sale* pour *bidder* sur le *stuff*.**
>
> **Vous ferez mes compliments à tous ceuses que vous voirez.**
>
> **[Joe's Philippe's Plaise's Paul, the dealer on the dunes, went *bust*. His loot will be *auctioned* on Saturday by the Sheriff to pay for the *smuggling*. They say his wife will be at the *sale* to *bid* on the *stuff*. Give my best to all those you see.]**
> **(Gérin and Gérin, 1982: 114)**

The juxtaposition of the two codes, with the substitution of an English vocabulary for the French she knew, serves, here as often elsewhere, to draw attention to the content, and consequently to the situation described, as well as to the social and linguistic realities implied.

The integrative devices exploited by all three writers, at times with ingenuity and wit, repay the processing effort required of the reader with a text whose visual effect balances the unexpected and the organisation of the unexpected into a "system" that the reader can quickly master. Orthography is reinvented, but according to familiar (if hitherto unconscious) rules. Oral (aural) language becomes written (visible), but, in the process, adaptation - orthoepic and morphographic - is neither exhaustive nor systematic. English borrowings undergo the same judicious transcoding process as the French context into which they are incorporated. The inevitable and often maligned result of the bilingual reality of the Acadian writer's text-world, such borrowings thus contribute to the aesthetics of the text.

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Notes

1 Verbatim illustrations from the texts or letters are identified in quotes, while vocabulary items cited out of context are identified in italics.

2 In a discussion of discrimination against women.

3 I shall refer later to another category of borrowing in the letters, in which the author camouflages items the reader might object to.

4 "Thought" - actually in the reported speech of one of Marichette's daughters.

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Bilingualism and the Literary Text

Converging Languages in a World of Conflicts: Code-switching in Chicano Poetry

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The contact and interaction of English and Spanish, of Mexican and Anglo-American cultures, lies at the heart of the Chicano experience in the United States. Accordingly, code-switching has been a salient feature of many Chicano literary works. The simultaneous incorporation of both languages into poetry and other artistic forms is sometimes interpreted as an expression of the ambiguity permeating the historical evolution of this people. However, it can also be explained as part of the Chicanos' attempt to achieve cultural definition and autonomy in a conflicting reality.

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The historical context.

Any brief reference to Chicano poetry is bound to refer the uninformed reader almost exclusively to the literary production loosely associated with the Chicano movement — poetry written during the last two decades. Until recently, the general contention, or at least the assumption on the part of many critics and literary historians, was that before the 1960s there was no literature written by people of Mexican descent in the United States. Nothing could be farther from the truth. While it is clear that the Chicano movement came to foment and revitalize the artistic endeavors of Chicanos during the last twenty years, subsequent research has demonstrated that the production of literature is hardly a new activity for this group. On the contrary, cultural and literary continuity has prevailed among the "Spanish-speaking" people of the Southwest for generations.[1]

Indeed, by the time the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848,[2] poetry had been flourishing in the land for nearly two and a half centuries.[3] Other artistic forms such as religious plays, folk-drama and the folktale had also been cultivated, first by Spanish explorers and settlers and later by local Mexicans. However, the works from the early epoch, the Hispanic period of the Southwest, written in Spanish for the most part, should be regarded strictly as antecedents or pre-Chicano literature, as Ray Padilla, Luis Leal, and others have suggested.[4]

Properly understood, the Chicano experience implies by definition contact and interaction, between Anglo-Americans and Chicanos —variously labeled "Mexicans," "Mexican-Americans," "Pochos," etc., at different times and in different contexts.[5] To be sure, this contact did not begin suddenly in 1848 when Mexico officially ceded her northern lands to the United States. One need only remember that the Texan affair had occurred more than a decade earlier (1836). Nonetheless, the year 1848 is generally taken as the conventional point of departure,

to mark the beginning of the irretrievable social and political course of events that would eventually result in the modern phenomena known as the Chicano people and the Chicano movement.

This history, as it is well known, has been characterized by a sharp social inequality which has traditionally relegated most Chicanos to the status of second-class citizens in the United States. Referring to the Mexicans who inhabited the South-west in 1848, folklorist Americo Paredes has said:

> **These were the first Mexican-Americans — the majority of them very much against their will. They were at once involved in a long drawn-out struggle with the North Americans and their culture. Cultural differences were aggravated by the opportunism of many North American adventurers, who in their desire for riches treated the new citizens from the start as a conquered people.[6]**

This confrontation, according to Paredes and others, imprinted on the emerging Chicano culture a distinctive character of conflict and resistance from the very outset. Not surprisingly then, the cultural and artistic manifestations springing from this context have often incorporated in their themes, structure, and motifs a sense of ideological friction and at times attitudes of open antagonism between Chicanos and the dominant groups. Thus, for example, the fight sustained by men like Joaquín Murrieta, Gregorio Cortez, Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, Jacinto Treviño, and others, against the Anglo-American aggressors during the mid and late 1800s has been recorded for posterity in numerous *corridos* [7] recounting the exploits of these Robin Hood-like figures —otherwise branded as *bandidos* by American authorities and official histories.

Along with ambiguous nationalistic sentiments and split allegiances to Mexico and/or the United States on the part of many Chicanos, language, as an integral part of any culture, has been one of the

fundamental issues involved in this conflict from the start. Accordingly, beyond determining the themes and formal aspects of many texts, confrontational attitudes have often become visible in Chicano literature through linguistic preferences and through the utilization of language-shifting and language combinations. The latter phenomenon, the alternate use of both languages, as it is manifested in Chicano poetry, will constitute the focus of the present discussion.

Conflict and the language question.

The antagonistic aspects of the interaction between Mexicans and Anglo-Americans are only one facet of this complex relationship. Despite prejudice and biases, regardless of social and economic inequality, Anglo-Americans and Chicanos have always maintained a symbiotic relationship. For generations they have influenced and interpenetrated each other, culturally and otherwise. This is most obvious, for example, in the adoption and permanent incorporation of Spanish terms into American English, a phenomenon known as *integration* in the terminology employed by some linguists.[8]

Aside from the numerous geographical names that came along with the conquered territories (Los Angeles, Las Vegas, El Paso, etc.), the repertoire of Spanish words and expressions acquired through integration is quite extensive: *corral*, *adobe*, *El Dorado*, *chile con carne*, *pronto*, *patio*, *rodeo*, etc. The same is true, of course, about the influence that English has exerted on the language spoken by Chicanos, and even by Mexicans presently living along the Mexican-American border, where *garage*, *parking*, *O.K.*, *bye-bye*, *bar*, *pool*, *baby*, *hamburguesa*, and many other terms form an integral part of the lexicon utilized by people who are either bilingual or monolingual speakers of Spanish.[9]

Curiously, this interpenetration can be detected even in works that otherwise are typical examples of cultural resistance and whose main thematic function

is to illustrate the friction between the two groups. Thus, some of the early *corridos* cited above already manifest the linguistic influence of Anglo-Americans on Chicanos. For example, "El corrido de Joaquín Murrieta," "El corrido de Gregorio Cortez," and "Jacinto Treviño" — all in Spanish — include the words *cherifes* (an obvious adaptation of the English term "sheriff") and *rinches* (a direct reference to the infamous Texas *Rangers*) in several lines of their respective texts.

The first stanza of "Joaquín Murrieta," quite interestingly, addresses the question of language and national identity:

Yo no soy americano
pero comprendo el inglés.
Yo lo aprendí con mi hermano
al derecho y al revés.

I am not an American
but I understand English.
I learned it along with my brother
forward and backward.

In a similar fashion, "Jacinto Treviño" also associates nationality with the nature of the armed confrontation referred to in the song while making use of an "English" word:

Decia el *cherife* mayor,
como era un americano,
Ay, que Jacinto Treviño,
no niega ser mexicano.

The head Sheriff,
as he was an American, said:
Alas! Jacinto Treviño
does not betray his Mexicanness.

Having depicted the *rinches* as cowardly and inept in the two stanzas preceding the one quoted here, this counterpoising game is intended to underscore the "superiority" of Mexican over Anglo-American culture.[10] Other texts, like "El corrido de *Kiansis*" ("The Kansas Ballad"), intended to echo the plight of the migrant laborer in the United States, also contain examples of integration.

This "borrowing" mechanism[11] and other phenomena concerning the specific features of Chicano language — *interference*, *code-switching*, and the development of *caló* or *pachuco* (a patois utilized among

some groups of Chicanos, youths for the most part) — have been subjected to close examination and much discussion by scholars throughout the last forty years. And while researchers disagree on certain issues,[12] the number of sociolinguistic studies focusing on this matter is already substantial and keeps increasing continuously.[13]

The general aspects of Chicano language are not, however, what constitute the central focus of this paper. Neither is the linguistic research done on this subject. Instead, code-switching, the alteration of languages, in Chicano poetry is the focus.

Bilingualism and literary code-switching.

The critical attention that code-switching in Chicano poetry, or more broadly yet, in Chicano literature, has received in past years is amazingly scant. This is especially noticeable when compared with the abundant research that other (unrelated) literary topics have received.[14] The same is true, as pointed out above, regarding the proportionally large number of linguistic studies devoted to this problem. And, similarly, it is also interesting to note that neither of the only two books on Chicano poetry published to date addresses the question of code-switching in a systematic manner.[15] Therefore, the truly important and more relevant background for the present discussion is to be found in the seminal works of Guadalupe Valdés Fallis and Gary D. Keller.[16]

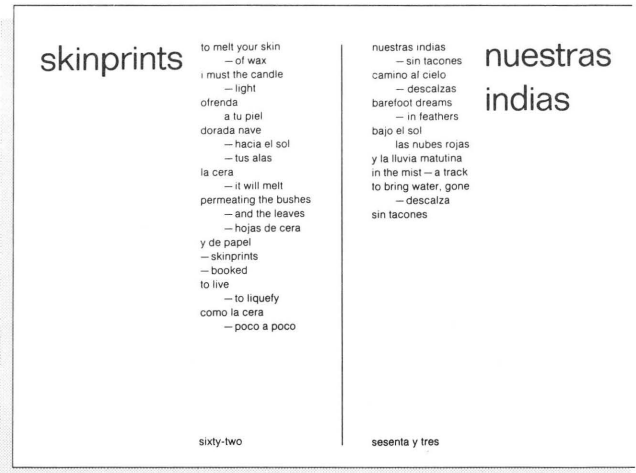
Several points need to be clarified from the outset when discussing code-switching in the context of Chicano literature. First, it must be recognized that, while code-switching is a distinctive characteristic of the works of many Chicano authors, it is neither an essential nor an exclusive trait of Chicano writings. Some Chicano authors, Miguel Méndez and Lucha Corpi for example, usually write in Spanish while others, like Gary Soto, write predominantly in

English and only occasionally use Spanish "cultural identifiers." Code-switching and bilingualism, on the other hand, are also found in the literatures of other groups whose sociohistorical circumstances have brought about the interaction of two or more languages. This is true in the case of various nationalities in the Soviet Union and of the peoples in many other parts of the world.[17]

Second, code-switching in Chicano literature is not necessarily synonymous with "bilingual" Chicano poetry, at least not in the strict sense of this term. In other words, the works of an author like Lucha Corpi, who neither writes in English nor employs code-switching, can be truthfully classified as *bilingual* insofar as they are published in editions containing both the original poems, written in Spanish, and their appropriate English translations.[18] Moreover, some poets who employ code-switching in their texts (José Montoya, Raúl Salinas, Alurista, Juan Felipe Herrera, Ricardo Sánchez and others) often intertwine English, Spanish and *caló*, not only the first two, as seems to be the general impression.[19]

An extreme position regarding the combination of languages would go even farther and suggest, as Keller does indeed, that Nahuatl words are also introduced by some writers thereby amplifying the linguistic spectrum which comes into play in Chicano poetry: "Of course, not only registers within English or Spanish need be involved [in code-switching]. Particularly, in Chicano literature we see an incorporation of lexicon (no syntax that I have been able to detect) from pre-Columbian, Amerindian languages",[20] says Keller and then proceeds to cite such words as *huaraches*, *molcajete*, *esquintle*, and the names of pre-Columbian deities and historical personalities like *Huitzilopochtli*, *Quetzalcóatl*, *Netzahualcoyotl*, *Malinche*, etc., which appear in the poetry of Adaljiza Sosa Riddell, Alurista, Jesús Maldonado and others, as evidence supporting his claim.

Page from Alurista's *Floricanto en Aztlán*. Departing from the usual conventions, the numbering at the bottom of the compositions pertains to each poem, not to the pages in the book. Instead of using digits, the numbers are spelled out and appear randomly in English or Spanish. Also, as part of the poet's effort for a totalizing aesthetic and cultural statement, the titles of the poems appear in brown ink. By permission of the author and the publisher.



skinprints

to melt your skin
— of wax
i must the candle
— light
ofrenda
a tu piel
dorada nave
— hacia el sol
— tus alas
la cera
— it will melt
permeating the bushes
— and the leaves
— hojas de cera
y de papel
— skinprints
— booked
to live
— to liquefy
como la cera
— poco a poco

sixty-two

nuestras indias

nuestras indias
— sin tacones
camino al cielo
— descalzas
barefoot dreams
— in feathers
bajo el sol
las nubes rojas
y la lluvia matutina
in the mist — a track
to bring water, gone
— descalza
sin tacones

sesenta y tres

The problem here is that all of these words — and many others from various Amerindian languages — have undergone a process of "integration" throughout the last four and a half centuries and are now part of the regular, popular lexicon in Mexican and Chicano Spanish. Therefore, any attempts to claim that Nahuatl or any other Amerindian language comes directly into play in the code-switching techniques of Chicano poets — claims based exclusively on such "empirical" observations — are weak arguments. The equivalent of this would be to say that introducing the term *repertoire*, as we have done earlier in this discussion, into an otherwise English discourse constitutes code-switching between French and English or, perhaps what is a more extreme example, that in using the word *almohada* (pillow) in a Spanish sentence, one is code-switching with Arabic. Nor is it possible to claim, in my opinion, that a code-switching incident occurs when the name of a "foreign" personality — be it Mohammed, Kennedy, or Netzahualcoyotl — is introduced into one's predominant or "native" discourse, whether English or Spanish.

It is true, however, that given the cultural-nationalist orientation which prevailed among Chicano activists in the 1960s, there was a deliberate attempt on the

Page from Alurista's *Floricanto en Aztlán*. Designed in the spirit of pre-Columbian and other popular Mexican forms, Judith Hernández's stylized art attempts to capture the main topic of some compositions. This plate, for example, faces the page containing "Nuestras indias" ["Our Indian Women"]. As with the titles of the poems, the art pieces are also printed in brown ink. By permission of Alurista and the publisher.

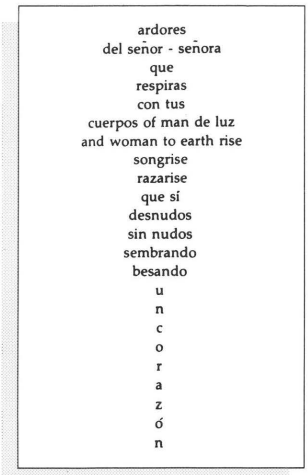
part of many poets and other artists who "pioneered" the Chicano movement to search for their cultural roots by focusing on and attempting to revive symbols of a glorious, and at times highly idealized, pre-Columbian past. In this sense, the introduction of Aztec, Mayan, and other indigenous terms pertaining to mythical, religious, and historical motifs was very marked at that stage. In fact, not only isolated words were used to this effect. The combination or linking of two words or concepts in order to produce a third one, fundamental in the language of the Aztecs, has also been exploited as an aesthetic and highly symbolic resource by poets like Alurista and Juan Felipe Herrera.[21] For example, *in xochital in cuicatl*, which meant "poetry" among the Aztec people, is the combination of two different Nahuatl words with obvious independent referents: *xochitl (flor)*, which means "flower"; and *cuicatl (canto)*, meaning "song". This combination resulted in the highly symbolic expression of "flower-and-song" or "poetry."[22] Adopted and adapted by the Chicano poet Alurista, this becomes in turn the title of his first book, *Floricanto en Aztlán* (1971), and also the name of the many cultural festivals (Alurista, among others, was instrumental in the organizing of the first one) in which Chicano artists and cultural workers gathered to share their expressions.[23]

This technique of fusing together two or more words in order to create a single new concept has not been limited to Spanish expressions in Chicano poetry. In some instances, authors have stretched the boundaries of their experimentation in order to attempt to incorporate code-switching within the technique itself, as illustrated by the following example from Juan Felipe Herrera's *Rebozos of Love* (1974):

besa esa zanahoria
ellipse de llama roja
slow feather of sun
&
ponte trucha que su
verdad de sabor
y
su olor de tierra waterfalls
was sculpted en el volcán de amor
cosmos womb dulzura de
madre materia
padre energía
that speaks y
late * en los ríos de vivir
espirales de agua llamas on
the pyramids
en el templo de tu cuerpo ardiente
concha de luz matutina agua divina
en el f l o w
of time
arroyos que tú nadas
en el día de tu todo
***solrainingotas* anaranjadas**
zanahorias
lágrimas of joy

kiss that carrot
***ellipse* of red flame**
slow feather of sun
&
be alert that its
truth of flavor
and
its fragrance of earth *waterfalls*
***was sculpted* in the volcano of love**
***cosmos womb* sweetness of**
mother matter
energy father
***that speaks* and**
pounds * in the rivers of life
spirals of water you summon *on*
the pyramids
in the temple of your flaming body
morning-light shell divine water
in the *f l o w*
of time
streams you swim
in the day of your whole
orange sun*raining*drops
carrots
tears of *joy*[24]

A third observation is necessary regarding the mistaken belief that code-switching, as it is found in Chicano literature, corresponds directly to the everyday speech of Chicanos. Extrapolated into the realm of literary criticism, this false contention has led some scholars to try to compare literary and quotidian lexicon and syntax in order to pass judgment regarding the quality of a given work. This they do by attempting to determine the fidelity (or the lack of it) with which an author reproduces the speech of the community in his or her work.


ardores
del señor - señora
que
respiras
con tus
cuerpos of man de luz
and woman to earth rise
songrise
razarise
que sí
desnudos
sin nudos
sembrando
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Page from Juan Felipe Herrera's *Rebozos of Love*. By permission of the author.

Criticizing some of the erroneous axiological assumptions that he identifies in Valdés Fallis and other students of bilingual (although not exclusively Chicano) texts, Keller correctly warns us against any attempt to measure the aesthetic value of a literary work on the basis of how "accurately" that text reflects the linguistic norms prevalent among a particular bilingual community: "I judge not only that there may be but that there *must be* significant differences between literary code-switching and real-life code-switching."[25]

Even if one does not entirely agree with Keller's ultimately immanentist position on this issue, it is difficult to imagine that anybody would question at this point in time the fact that literary language, while definitely rooted in real life, is nonetheless different. That no author speaks in the same fashion as he or she writes and vice versa, that nobody writes exactly the same way they speak is, I believe, axiomatic. Therefore, I will not pursue such a line of discussion much further. However, code-switching in Alurista's "Nuestro barrio" ("Our Neighborhood"), for example, does indeed reflect the bilingual context prevailing in the specific *barrio* which the poet is depicting in his composition, and in most Chicano communities by extension:

nuestro barrio
en las tardes de paredes grabadas
los amores de pedro con virginia
en las tardes
barriendo

dust about
swept away in the wind of our breath
el suspiro de dios por nuestras calles
gravel side streets of solitude
the mobs from the tracks are coming
en la tarde
mientras don josé barre su acera
mientras dios respira vientos secos
en el barrio sopla la vejez de chon
y la juventud de juan madura
en la tarde de polvo
el recuerdo de mi abuelo
— de las flores en su tumba
dust
polvosas flores
blowing free to powdered cruces

our neighborhood
in the afternoons of engraved walls
the love between pedro and virginia
in the afternoons
sweeping

dust about
awept away in the wind of our breath
the sigh of god upon our streets
gravel side streets of solitude
the mobs from the tracks are coming
in the afternoon
while don jose sweeps his sidewalk
while god respires dry winds
in the neighborhood chon's old age blows
and juan's youth ripens
in the afternoon of dust
the memory of my grandfather
— of the flowers on his tomb
dust
dusty flowers
***blowing free to powdered* crosses**[26]

That the syntax of this concrete poem may or may not correspond exactly to the speech used by Chicanos in San Diego's Logan Heights is of no major consequence. In other words, such consideration becomes relatively superfluous for literary analysis as it affects neither the aesthetic merit nor the social dimension of the text. These aspects do not necessarily have to be in contradiction with each other; the fact is that "Nuestro barrio" stands as a well constructed poem that graphically conveys and invokes, at the same time, the poet's personal view of a bilingual social reality.

A fourth and final observation must address the judgmental contention which claims that code-switching merely reflects the manner in which Chicanos "butcher" language by randomly "mixing" English and Spanish due to their deficient command of either of the two. To this, one can respond with the following observation made by Felipe de Ortego y Gasca in his article "An Introduction to Chicano Poetry": "...to comprehend Chicano poetry, one must be open to language, free of preconceived notions of what is correct or standard in language usage in Spanish or English."[27] And while it is indeed possible that some poems may include a "willy-nilly mixture" of languages,[28] I would argue, along with other critics, that for the most part code-switching provides Chicano and other bilingual poets with a broader set of stylistic choices and, therefore, allows them to enhance the aesthetic value of their works.

The "purposes" of code-switching in Chicano poetry are multiple and change from text to text. In general, and at the risk of oversimplifying this matter, it may be said that its functions can be classified into three different categories:

1) situational,
2) metaphorical,
3) phonetic.

The first one, *situational* switching — perhaps the easiest to identify and to explain — is intimately associated with the manner in which the poet manipulates his or her relationship with the public. Specifically, it is often used by writers in order to exclude monolingual (usually Anglo-American) readers and/or listeners, and, therefore, to create an atmosphere of familiarity and closeness with the bilingual Chicano audience. This point is well illustrated in Raúl Salinas's "Overcoming a Childhood Trauma,"[29] written, according to the dedication included by the poet, "for a couple of teachers along life's way":

I must not speak Spanish
in the classroom
I must not speak Spanish on
the schoolgrouns.
I must not speak Spanish.
I must not speak.
I must not
O' yesss i willllll,
CHINGUEN A TODA SU MADRE! ! !
Love,
Roy

Addressing directly the long practice of institutional discrimination against Spanish, the formal arrangement of this poem mimics the euphemistic punishment used by many educators in order to "correct" students' "bad habits." Except for the title, the dedication, and the eighth and ninth lines, all of which are printed, the poem appears in the book's page in "long hand" graphically seeking to resemble the handwriting style of a child. This technique, intended to capture the innocence of Salinas's poetic persona as a young child (this poem, as the rest of the book, is evidently autobiographical) is emphasized by one simple trick introduced in the fourth line: the misspelling of the word "schoolgrouns." This also conveys in the form of an understatement the difficulties which Chicano children experience in accurately recognizing English sounds. It is indeed a fact that the succession of phonemes "ounds," as contained in the word "grounds," is nonexistent in Spanish and, therefore, difficult for Spanish-speakers to hear and reproduce.

In the final analysis, then, it is not the repression of the poet himself as an individual, but his symbolic representation of the Chicanos as a group, that becomes relevant in the social context in which the poem was written. This fact is reemphasized by the small letter "i" used by the poet to refer to himself,

as different from the capital "I" norm established by the institution and used by the child in the performance of his assigned punishment. The utilization of the "i" is also common in other Chicano poets of the 60s as an attempt not only to challenge the established social norms which tell us even how to refer to ourselves,[30] but also as a graphic illustration of the minimization which the individual suffers in a rigidly structured society. Thereby the poet assumes his concrete location in society, and invites other Chicanos to do the same, as a new point of departure in a continuous struggle. In the same vein, the code-switching which takes place in line nine of this poem constitutes a rebellious stance challenging the official status quo of one language over another, of Anglo-American over Chicano culture. The switching we encounter here is *situational*, of course, because it excludes readers who are unable to understand Spanish.

Metaphorical switching occurs when a poet feels compelled to change languages because a given concept is better expressed in one language than in the other; as a matter of fact, in some instances the situation will be such that the concept at hand can only be fully expressed in the particular language into which the poem changes. This type of switching is also introduced in order to reinforce or emphasize a particular image while avoiding the straight redundancy or repetition that would result if only one language were used (see for example Alurista's manipulation of *soplar* and *blowing*, *dust* and *polvo*, etc., in "Nuestro barrio"), or to create a natural association or congruence between the subject matter that is being referred to and the language in which it is expressed. Salinas's poem, introduced above to illustrate the previous function of code-switching, can also be useful in this case insofar as the subject matter, the revolt against the repression of Spanish, must necessarily take place in such language.

Since code-switching opens a wider range of possibilities for the poet to comply with the rhyme and rhythmic demands of the poetic pattern, *phonetic* switching is usually intended to enhance the musical quality of the text, as illustrated by the following excerpt from Alurista's "tuning flower tones," one of the poems in his *Nationchild Plumarroja* (1972):

tuning flower tones
guitarra sings in serenata
the twanging, twanging, tone
to tablas tuned
the thumping of a rhythm shoe
tapping, tapping, taconeo
y latido de la sangre
en el corazon explota...[31]

In this example, the musical effect produced by the repetition of the "tu," "to," "ta," "twa," and "ti" sounds of the words "tuning," "tones," *guitarra*, *serenata*, "twanging," *tablas*, "tuned," "tapping," *taconeo*, *latido*, and *explota* is crucial for the rhythmic format of the poem. Obviously, the English equivalents of the words *serenata* ("serenade"), *tablas* ("boards"), *latido* ("beat"), and *explota* ("explodes") in lines 2, 4, 7 and 8 respectively, would fail to comply with the desired pattern. On the other hand, it could be argued that both "guitar" and *guitarra*, "tone" and *tono*, contain the same *ta*, *to* sounds and that, therefore, it would not matter which language they are employed in. It is clear, however, that in these cases the choice is determined by the number of syllables making up each word in the different languages: *gui-ta-rra* / gui-tar; *to-no* / tone. In similar fashion, the word "shoe," at the end of line five, is introduced in English because of metric reasons despite the fact that its Spanish equivalent, *zapato*, would fit better into the sound scheme outlined above.

But, while it is true that the need to change languages may have arisen out of metric and rhythmic considerations, it must also be recognized that some of the code-switching taking place in this poem can be described as *metaphorical*. *Serenata*, *guitarra*, *tablas*, and *taconeo*, for example, immediately evoke a specific Spanish/Mexican cultural ambience that their English counterparts "serenade," "guitar" and "tapping" would be unable to provide. In similar fashion, some of these examples can be referred to as *situational* insofar as the monolingual reader — whether Mexican or Anglo-American — cannot fully comprehend and enjoy the poem, and, consequently, is automatically excluded.

Conclusion

The roots and background of Chicano poetry can be traced all the way back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the arrival of the first Spanish explorers and settlers to the territories presently known as the Southwest of the United States. In a strict sense, however, the Chicano experience and its literary manifestations constitute a more recent phenomenon and imply, by definition, a dialectical relationship between Chicanos, as a conquered people, and the dominant Anglo-American group.

Never fully accepted as legitimate sons by Anglo-America and also mistrusted by many Mexican nationals who look upon them as *pochos*,[32] traitors who have renounced their mother culture, Chicanos are eventually compelled to come to terms with their circumstances and to assume in full the realities of their new and unique cultural make-up. This new cultural substance has evolved in the course of over one hundred years and, while it still includes traits from the Mexican culture, it has also acquired new characteristics, as a byproduct of the constant interaction between Chicanos and Anglo-Americans.

Thus, while themes and motifs of friction and confrontation with Anglo-Americans are constantly present in the development of Chicano poetry, and in other Chicano literary manifestations, the cultural influence that these two groups have historically exerted on each other must also be recognized. Only in this manner can we understand what otherwise might seem to be a paradox that in asserting their autonomy and cultural uniqueness, Chicanos decide to use, at least partially through the technique of code-switching, the language of the dominant culture.

Discarded by many purists as a "bastardization" of language, the alternation and combination of English and Spanish respond to the social situation of the Chicanos, a situation in which several levels of both languages coexist, influence each other and, therefore, come into play in the linguistic evolution of this people.

The preceding pages present both an overview of the conflictive sociohistorical background of Chicanos and a commentary on the role that language has played within such a context. More specifically, however, this work has endeavored to provide an insight into the literary manipulation of code-switching as it appears in contemporary Chicano poetry. While it is impossible to claim that all Chicano poetry using code-switching is equally successful, the close examination of key texts permits us to conclude that the skillful utilization of this technique allows bilingual poets to enhance the social, communicative, and aesthetic dimensions of their works.

Notes

1 For some historical background see, for example, Anselmo Arellano, *Los pobladores nuevo mexicanos y su poesía, 1899-1950* (Albuquerque: Pajarito Publications, 1976); Luis Leal, "Cuatro siglos de prosa aztlanense," *La Palabra,* 2, No. 1 (Spring, 1980), 2-15; and Felipe de Ortego, "Life and Literature of the Mexican American Southwest: The Beginnings and the Nineteenth Century," *The Borderlands Journal,* 5, No. 1 (1981), 45-94.

2 This treaty settled the war between Mexico and the United States (1846-48), officially recognizing the transfer of about half of Mexico's national territory into the hands of her northern neighbor. Mexicans who chose to remain in that land became *de facto* U.S. citizens one year after ratification of the agreement. Some guarantees were made for the protection of the new citizens' rights (land tenure titles, etc.). The wholesale violation of these guarantees has been extensively documented by historians and other social scientists.

3 The first record of poetry written in Spanish and connected with the territories under discussion here is Gaspar Perez de Villagra's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico,* published in 1610. For further documentation and discussion of the early works and literary forms, see Aurora Lucero-White Lea, *Literary Folklore of the Hispanic Southwest* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1953); Ray Padilla, "Apuntes para la documentacion de la cultura chicana," in *El Grito,* 5:2 (Winter, 1971-72), 3-36; and the works cited in note 1 above, particularly Leal's and Ortego's.

4 See notes 1 and 3 above.

5 For an excellent discussion of this terminology, see Arturo Madrid-Barela, "Pochos: The Different Mexicans. An Interpretative Essay, Part I," in *Aztlán,* 7, No. 1 (Spring, 1976), 51-64.

6 "The Folk Base of Chicano Literature," in *Modern Chicano Writers,* edited by Joseph Sommers and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1979), 9.

7 Related to the medieval Spanish *romance,* the *corrido* is a popular genre, similar to the folk ballad, which flourished in the Southwest during the second half of the nineteenth century and is still practiced today.

8 This term describes the regular transfer of words and expressions from one language to another. See for example Einar Haugen, *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide,* American Dialect Society, No. 37 (University of Alabama Press, 1968), 40, and the reference to this work in Guadalupe Valdés Fallis, "Code-Switching in Bilingual Chicano Poetry," *Hispania,* 59, No. 4 (December, 1976), 878.

9 For a discussion of the different levels of Chicano "bilingualism" and the different factors contributing to the complexity of this phenomenon, see Rosaura Sánchez, "Spanish Codes in the Southwest," in *Modern Chicano Writers,* edited by Joseph Sommers and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1979), 41-53.

10 Translations are mine.

11 For an extended discussion of this subject, see Howard Fraser, "Languages in contact: A Bibliographical Guide to Linguistic Borrowings Between English and Spanish," *The Bilingual Review / La Revista Bilingüe,* II,1-2 (1975), 138-172.

12 See for example Valdés Fallis' article, cited in note 8 above, for a brief reference to the diverging positions adopted by linguists in regards to the classification of code-switching and interference (particularly pages 878 and 879).

13 Among others, see George C. Barker, "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican American Community,"*Acta Americana,* 5 (1943); Fernando Peñalosa, *Chicano Sociolinguistics, A Brief Introduction* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1980); Rosaura Sánchez, *Chicano Discourse: A Sociohistorical Perspective* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1983); Eduardo Hernández Chávez, Andrew D. Cohen and Anthony Beltramo, eds., *El lenguaje de los chicanos*

(Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975); Adolfo Ortega, *Caló Tapestry* (Berkeley, CA: Justa Publications, 1979).

14 Ernestina Eger, for example, in her excellent and exhaustive work, *A Bibliography of Criticism of Contemporary Chicano Literature* (Berkeley: Chicano Studies Library Publications, University of California, Berkeley, 1980), composed of over 2,100 entries, lists only six published items fully or partially devoted to this topic: Carlota Cárdenas de Dwyer, "The Poetics of Code Switching," *College English and the Mexican-American Student,* Pise V, San Antonio: Trinity University, 1977, 4-14; Gary D. Keller, "The Literary Stratagems Available to the Bilingual Chicano Writer," in *The Identification and Analysis of Chicano Literature,* Ed. Francisco Jiménez (Jamaica, N.Y.: Bilingual Press, 1979), 263-316; Gary D. Keller, "Toward a Stylistic Analysis of Bilingual Texts: From Ernest Hemingway to Contemporary Boricua and Chicano Literature," in *The Analysis of Hispanic Texts: Current Trends in Methodology,* Ed. Mary Ann Beck et. al. (Jamaica, N.Y.: Bilingual Press, 1976) 130-149; Ignacio Orlando Trujillo, "Linguistic Structures in José Montoya's 'El Louie'," *Atisbos,* 3, (Summer-Fall, 1978), 20-34; Guadelupe Valdés Fallis, "Code-switching in Bilingual Chicano Poetry," *Hispania,* 59, 4 (Dec., 1976), 877-86; Guadalupe Valdés Fallis, "The Sociolinguistics of Chicano Literature: Toward an Analysis of the Role and Function of Language Alternation in Contemporary Bilingual Poetry," *Point of Contact / Punto de Contacto,* 1, 4 (1977), 30-39. A succinct article, "Bilingual Poetry: A Chicano Phenomenon," by Susan Bassnett, just appeared in *International Studies in Honor of Tomás Rivera,* edited by Julián Olivares (Houston: Arte Público, 1986), 137-147.

15 I am referring here to the very informative works of Juan Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Poetry: A Response to Chaos,* (Austin: University of Texas, 1980), and Marta E. Sánchez, *Contemporary Chicana Poetry. A Critical Approach to an Emerging Literature* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985).

16 The pertinent publications by these authors are cited in note 14 above. Tomás Ybarra-Frausto also deals partially with this topic in his article "Alurista's Poetics: The Oral, The Bilingual, The Pre-Columbian," included in *Modern Chicano Writers* edited by J. Sommers and Ybarra-Frausto, 117-132.

17 For more examples see the section on the "Philology of Code-Switching" in Gary Keller's article "The Literary Stratagems," cited above, 264-65. See also Hugo Baetens Beardsmore, "Polyglot Literature and Linguistic Fiction,"*International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* No. 15 (1978), and L.W. Forster, *The Poet's Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1970), both cited by Keller, p. 312.

18 Speaking of Lucha Corpi, Marta Sánchez says in her book: "As a Chicana poet, Lucha Corpi reveals an awareness of the need to communicate with both Spanish- and English-speaking audiences. She writes her poems in Spanish, but she makes a gesture to her English-reading audience by offering translations of all the poems. The original Spanish and the translation are placed on facing pages, suggesting a juxtaposition rather than a resolution of tensions between two cultures." (212) Sánchez also suggests that Corpi "works hand in hand with her translator," indicating very significantly that, as much as she may participate in this endeavor, Corpi does not in fact translate her own works.

19 As previously indicated, *caló* has been categorized as a sub-dialect of Chicano Spanish and has equivalent formations in Spain's *jerga de germanía,* Argentina's *lunfardo,* etc. For an informative insight into this subject see Adolfo Ortega's *Caló Tapestry,* cited in note 13 above.

20 "The Literary Stratagems," 293.

21 As it involves more than one word at a time, this technique borders on the syntactical *imitation* of Nahuatl. This, however, is not code-switching.

22 See Birgitta Leander's excellent study on this subject, *In xochitl in cuicatl, Flor y Canto: La poesía de los aztecas* (Mexico: SEP-INI, 1972).

23 For a brief discussion of Alurista's utilization of technical devices prevalent in Nahuatl poetry, see Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Alurista's Poetics: The Oral, The Bilingual, The Pre-Columbian," 120-121.

24 The emphasis and translation is mine. The pages of this book are not numbered, however, this poem can be found in what would be page 61. Words in italics are originally in English.

25 "The Literary Stratagems Available to the Bilingual Chicano Writer," 269. Author's emphasis.

26 Alurista [Alberto Urista Heredia], *Floricanto en Aztlán* (Los Angeles: UCLA: Chicano Studies Center Publications, 1971), 87. Emphasis and translation are mine. Words in italic are originally in English.

27 In *Modern Chicano Writers*, 114.

28 Valdés Fallis, "Code-switching in Bilingual Chicano Poetry," 879, 882.

29 *Un Trip Through The Mind Jail Y Otras Excursions* (San Francisco: Editorial Pocho-Ché, 1980), 74.

30 This question is connected to the adoption of the term *Chicano* as a symbol of autonomous expression and self-definition. The embracing of this expression responded to the label "Mexican-American," officially utilized until then to designate people of Mexican descent in the United States, and which many Chicanos felt placed them in limbo, in the nothingness of the hyphen connecting the two words.

31 *Nationchild Plumarroja* (San Diego, California: Toltecas en Aztlán Publications, 1972). This excerpt is quoted in Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Alurista's Poetics: The Oral, The Bilingual, The Pre-Columbian," 127.

32 The term *pocho* or *pochi*, seems to come from the Yaqui language and describes "something incomplete." In Sonora and other parts of northern Mexico, it is used to refer to a dog missing part of its tail. More generally, however, *pocho / pocha* (used both as a noun and as an adjective) has become the pejorative equivalent of "Chicano" or "Mexican-American" ("Americanized" Mexican). Applied to language, it is used to refer to the "dialect" used by Chicanos (*Hablar en pocho* = "to speak Pocho language"). *Pochismo*, derived from the noun, alludes to a word or a phrase which reflects the influence of English; for example *marketa*, as used to refer to a "market" instead of the standard Spanish *mercado.*

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Design Considerations
The title of this issue *Bi-Graphic differences: Languages in Con(tact)(flict)* inspired the use of contrast as a theme throughout this edition.

Geometric shapes relevent to the articles' content were used for the purpose of distinction, over all consistency and to enhance an illusion of movement.

Exploring the possibilities and limitations of desktop publishing became a practical consideration in the design process. The design of this publication in its present form would not be possible through the standard mechanical means because of the amount of material, time, and budget.

Design and mechanical preparation were combined into one step. The software used was Microsoft Word®, Pagemaker®, Cricket Draw®and Super Paint®. Proof pages were printed out on the Apple Laser Writer®. Final pages were produced on the Linotron 300 printer.

Text type is ten point Mergenthaler Bodoni® (a downloaded font by Adobe Systems) on thirteen points of leading. Caption, notes, and credits are eight point Allied Corporation Helvetica® on ten points of leading.

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