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The Sociolinguistic Dynamics of Apparent Convergence*

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1. Introduction

The transfer of grammatical structure in a situation of language contact has had a contentious history in linguistic thought, and no consensus has yet been reached regarding its nature, extent, or even its existence. Positions on the matter range from outright denial of the possibility of a mixed grammar to the claim that any linguistic feature can be transferred from one system to another, with a whole continuum of intermediate positions, e.g., that grammatical loans are only possible between very similar systems, or when they already correspond to the recipient language's developmental tendencies (Appel & Muysken 1987; Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

Moreover, as with many other language-contact phenomena, there is as yet no principled means of predicting which contact-induced changes will occur under which circumstances. As Thomason & Kaufman (1988) point out, study of the structural properties of language alone can not lead to a predictive theory of linguistic interference. This is because the direction and extent of interference, as well as the kinds of features transferred, are socially determined. Interestingly, the study of language contact, traditionally the province of historical linguistics, has until recently received very little attention from sociolinguists. As a result, many of the reports on the consequences of language contact have consisted of isolated observations of uncertain provenience or laundry lists of loanwords or other 'deviations'. Now, how-

ever, we have at our disposal a respectable number of empirically accountable studies of a wide variety of linguistic phenomena in different types of bilingual contexts, including those undergoing minority-language restriction (Mougeon & Bényak 1991), shift (Silva-Corvalán 1990, 1991a,b), obsolescence and death (Dorian 1981, 1989). Many of these studies report, in addition to lexical borrowing, the alteration of grammatical mechanisms in the minority language, changes that often involve the loss of distinctions inherent in this language, but which differ or are absent from the majority language.

Among the social factors considered relevant to contact-induced change (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Weinreich 1953) are prestige of the contact languages, speaker attitudes towards them, degree of bilingualism, amount of 'cultural pressure', and intensity and length of contact, among others. But the traditional prerequisite for structural borrowing in historical linguistics is long-term contact, with widespread bilingualism. Grammatical convergence will presumably be even more likely in the presence of a constellation of favorable social factors.

In this context, the situation of French and English in Canada may be said to exemplify the classic scenario promoting structural borrowing. The languages have been in contact for over two centuries, but francophones outside of Quebec have been slowly but inexorably shifting toward English, the traditional language of business, administration and the media. French Canadian attitudes toward French have been characterized, in a large body of research, as demonstrating linguistic insecurity, which is widely considered to increase the susceptibility of the minority language to contact-induced change. Francophones, in contrast with their English-speaking counterparts, are also massively bilingual, typically active bilinguals who use French regularly for at least some aspects of ordinary communication. Their high level of bilingualism reflects in turn the more nebulous factor of 'cultural pressure' exerted on them by the politically and numerically dominant anglophones. Thus they score positively on all factors promoting even the most intimate borrowings.

Although we have documented extensive code switching (Poplack 1987), lexical borrowing and assimilation of integrated loanwords into the lexicon (Poplack et al. 1988) among highly bilingual French speakers in the Ottawa-Hull region, we have not succeeded in verifying the replacement of the grammatical structure of French by more English-like mechanisms. In this context, this paper examines the current use of the subjunctive mood in

Ottawa-Hull French, an excellent feature for this kind of investigation, since it has been reported to be disappearing elsewhere in Canadian French (Laurier 1989) as well as in Spanish-English contact situations (García 1985; Lantolf 1978; Ocampo 1990).

2. French-English Contact along the Quebec-Ontario Border

We focus here on the cities of Ottawa, Ontario, and Hull, Quebec, which together form the national capital region of Canada. The Ottawa/Hull urban complex is divided by the Ottawa River, which is simultaneously a provincial, geographic, and linguistic border, making the area an ideal laboratory for the synchronic study of contact-induced change: on the Quebec side, French is the majority language, while on the Ontario side it has minority status. Several years ago we initiated a large-scale empirical study of five core francophone neighborhoods on both sides of the border, each with a different ratio of anglophones, in order to investigate empirically the relationship between minority status and interlingual influence. Sampling procedures and corpus construction are detailed in Poplack (1989). The 120 randomly selected francophone informants constituting our sample were classified according to standard extralinguistic factors, as well as factors pertaining more directly to contact-related issues. We focus here on 1) bilingual ability on the individual level, as measured by an index of proficiency in English, and 2) intensity of contact on the community level, as measured by the factor of neighborhood of residence.¹ The received wisdom is that control of the minority language grammar is inversely correlated with degree of bilingualism on the individual level and exposure to the majority language in the wider environment. Although the individuals in our sample display degrees of proficiency in English ranging from 'low' to 'high', and reside in neighborhoods alongside varying proportions of anglophones, we note that their French cannot be said to be 'restricted' in the sense, say, of the Franco-Ontarians studied by Mougeon & Beniak (1991). Indeed, native ability in French was a prerequisite for inclusion in the sample. Nor do any of these neighborhoods appear to be undergoing language shift or loss. The 'bilingual' character of these speakers, insofar as they employ *both* languages regularly in the course of ordinary interaction and enjoy membership in stable bilingual communities, is perhaps what most distinguishes them from communities that have been studied in this regard by

other scholars of language contact. Although for some speakers French may be argued to be the ‘minority’ language in terms of numerical or prestige status on the national, or even local, level, it is not necessarily a minority language in terms of usage.

Informal sociolinguistic interviews were carried out with each of the informants by local in-group members, yielding a vast compendium of naturally occurring (and largely vernacular) bilingual discourse (Poplack 1989). As part of our ongoing research program, we have been assessing the existence in these materials of contact-induced change at various levels of linguistic structure.

3. The French Subjunctive: A Candidate for Contact-Induced Change?

At the syntactic level, one widespread phenomenon is the coexistence of indicative and conditional with the subjunctive mood in ‘subjunctive-selecting’ contexts, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. J’espère qu’ils *soient* (S) pas trop ingrats parce que je pense qu’il y en a beaucoup qui sont ingrats aujourd’hui. (015/887)²
 “I hope that they’re not too ungrateful, because I think that there are a lot of ingrates these days.”
- b. Mais j’espère que je *serais* (C) capable de passer à travers. (111/1616)
 “But I hope that I would be able to go through with it.”
- c. Mais j’espère que l’Église *est* (I) pas contre moi pour ça. (053/1525)
 “But I hope that the Church doesn’t hold that against me.”

Consultation of prescriptive grammars reveals, somewhat contradictorily, that 1) the subjunctive mood should be selected when the speaker wishes to convey notions of uncertainty, doubt or irrealis, but 2) a specific class of matrix verbs subcategorizes for subjunctive in the embedded clause. In the Ottawa-Hull French corpus, in contrast, we find each of the subjunctive, indicative and conditional embedded under the same matrix verb, in the same tense, sometimes by the same speaker, even when s/he is repeating the same thing to the same interlocutor (Poplack 1992). This is illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. Mais j'*aimerais* qu'elle *soit* (S) plus ouverte, mais on dirait qu'en vieillissant sont plus gênés. (040/1021) "But I'd like her to be more open, but it seems that as they get older, they get more shy."
- b. Je trouve qu'en vieillissant tu sais, j'*aimerais* qu'elle *serait* (C) plus proche. (040/1032) "I think that as she gets older you know, I'd like her to be closer."
- c. *Fallait* qu'elle *répond* (I) 'oui, tu peux faire trois pas de géant'. *Fallait* qu'elle *réponde* (S) la phrase complète. (025/2186) "She had to say 'yes, you may take three giant steps'. She had to say the whole sentence."

Faced with data like these in a language contact situation, the tendency is to infer that we are in the presence of contact-induced change, more specifically, convergence, which Silva-Corvalán (1991) defines, after Gumperz and Wilson (1971), as the "achievement of structural similarity in a given aspect of the grammar of two or more languages, assumed to be different at the onset of contact". In contrast to lexical borrowing, convergence need not involve any visible other-language material. Indeed, convergence may not involve any transfer at all: it may simply consist, as pointed out by Klein (1980), in the selection and favoring of one of two (or more) already existing native-language forms which coincides with a counterpart in the contact language. In this sense, since English no longer makes productive use of the subjunctive, the observed alternation between subjunctive, indicative and conditional could be interpreted as a gradual replacement by French speakers of a mood with no real counterpart in English by an already existing tense/mood form — the indicative — which mirrors one in the dominant/majority language. This may also be viewed in terms of what Mougeon and Beniak (1991:11) call 'covert interference': a minority-language feature undergoes gradual decline and eventual loss because it lacks an interlingual counterpart in the majority language. This form of interference does not result in the emergence of innovations; it simply impinges on the frequency of use of minority-language features. Parenthetically, if speakers were in fact no longer able to employ the device of mood selection to convey nuances of doubt and assertion, as required by prescriptive grammar, the variation could qualify as simplification. Indeed, Silva-Corvalán (1990) suggests that "simplification and loss ... affect first those forms used in contexts of higher hypotheticality or weaker assertiveness", i.e., conditional and subjunctive forms.

But in order to identify mood variation as convergence, it must first be established 1) that change has in fact occurred, i.e., that pre-contact stages of the language, as well as sister varieties not in close contact, did not feature the alternation in question, at least not to its present quantitative extent, and 2) that such change, if there is one, is due, if not entirely then at least partially, to contact with another language, i.e., is not internally-motivated.

Contemporary variationist sociolinguistic studies tend to accomplish this kind of demonstration by incorporating into the analysis some social factor representing the contact axis, such as informants of varying bilingual abilities or different ages of arrival in the dominant-language speaking region. An apparent-time dimension based on age-groups or 'generations' may also be included. With the aid of quantitative analysis it now becomes possible to test whether the putative converging structure is associated statistically with a certain subgroup of the population: typically the younger and/or more bilingual or majority language-dominant speakers. On this basis, Laurier (1989) concluded, from data much like those in (1), that a contact-induced syntactic change was taking place. His English-dominant Franco-Ontarian informants (members of Mougeon & Beniak's 1991 sample) were 'losing' mood distinctions in French when compared with French-dominant speakers in his sample, and those he qualified as 'bilinguals' were not far behind. Ocampo (1990) studied the distribution of mood usage among Spanish-English bilinguals in Los Angeles (members of Silva-Corvalán's sample) and concluded too that the tendency was toward loss of the subjunctive. He further asserts that higher rates of subjunctive absence among the third generation in optional contexts is evidence that this mood has lost its semantic features, a 'change' he characterizes as "simplification" (p.45). Similarly, Silva-Corvalán (1990, 1991a, 1991b) has noted an increase in grammatical innovations among her English-dominant Chicano informants.

Analysis of the effect of social factors on subjunctive usage among francophones in the Ottawa-Hull region (Table 1) reveals exactly this sort of result as well.

Table 1 depicts a variable rule analysis of the contribution of extralinguistic factors to the probability that subjunctive will be chosen under subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices. Four factors appear to play a role, albeit often contradictory. First, there is a small, but regular, sex effect, with women favoring subjunctive use, a result that is not surprising given the widely reported tendency of women toward socially normative linguistic behavior. Speaker age also contributes a statistically significant effect, but the distribu-

Table 1. *Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the choice of subjunctive mood under verbal matrices.*³

Corrected Mean: .715							
	SEX	AGE	NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE		ENGLISH PROFICIENCY		
Female	.52	45-54	.55	Vieux Hull (Q)	.57	mid-low	.54
		55-64	.53	West End	.51	low	.53
Male	.46	15-24	.52	Vanier	.50	mid-high	.48
		25-34	.50	Basse-Ville	.50	high	.42
		65+	.48	Mont Bleu (Q)	.43		
		35-44	.44				

Factors not selected: Socioeconomic class, Educational level.

tion of age groups does not point to change in progress toward indicative usage, nor to any other readily interpretable pattern. Neighborhood of residence (which can be construed as an informal measure of intensity of contact on the community level) is also significant, albeit again not in the direction predicted of a contact-induced change. Instead, the working class Quebec neighborhood, Vieux Hull, inexplicably shows the highest probability of subjunctive usage, at .57, while the upper middle-class Quebec neighborhood, Mont Bleu, shows the lowest (.43). This result is not consistent with expectations of this variable either with regard to social class or to status of French in the neighborhood. The factor of English proficiency, interpretable as a measure of individual bilingual ability, shows a much clearer pattern. Speakers with only 'low' and 'mid-low' proficiency in English are precisely those with the greatest probability of subjunctive usage, while those with greater knowledge of that language tend to use it less. This is as would be expected if contact with English were causing the loss of the French subjunctive, and is exactly the kind of result that led the aforementioned authors to infer that grammatical transfer had occurred.

Is it reasonable to conclude that convergence has taken place on the basis of data like those in Table 1? As a first observation, we would like all the factor effects to point in the same direction before pronouncing unambiguously in favor of convergence. The fact that only the English proficiency factor is negatively correlated with subjunctive use, while its partners in contact-induced change, speaker age and neighborhood of residence, show different and even opposing trends, is a warning that the observed patterns may be masking other effects, perhaps of factors not selected as significant. We return to this issue below.

The question of inferring convergence from the results of Table 1 also raises the issue of causation. While Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) contention that social factors are primordial in determining existence and degree of convergence seems uncontroversial, they do not rule out the possibility of multiple causation; it remains to be determined whether they outweigh other, purely internal, causes. So definitive interpretation of the patterns of Table 1 must be reserved until the internal conditioning of mood choice is known. Specifically, is subjunctive in fact used to convey nuances in meaning, as asserted in many prescriptive grammars? Is mood choice regularly conditioned by features of the linguistic context, or do the different tense/mood forms appear randomly under the different matrices, as would be expected if the rule were being lost? Finally, are there any historical or non-contact precursors for the observed synchronic variability in the bilingual setting?

A massive study of the internal conditioning of mood choice under verbal matrices in this same corpus (Poplack 1992) revealed that all subjunctive-selecting matrices of even moderate frequency showed variability in actual mood choice. This variability was found to be constrained, not by differences in semantic nuances, but by factors of a purely morphosyntactic nature. Moreover, the contemporary patterns are most appropriately viewed as a synchronic reflex of long-term stable variation throughout the history of French, making it difficult to characterize them as resulting from *change*. How then can the finding that the most proficient bilinguals used least subjunctive (Table 1) be explained?

4. The Social Conditioning of Mood Choice

An often unremarked problem with quantitative analysis is that apparent quantitative effects of social factors may be artifacts of differences on other levels. An individual coded as female, say, will also simultaneously belong to a certain age group, socioeconomic class, educational level, etc. If, due to poor data distribution in a corpus, most of the women also happen to have completed university, and education is not taken into account in the analysis, then a feature which appears to be promoted by women might really be due to high education. Previous studies have shown, similarly, that quantitative effects on the syntactic, morphological or phonological levels are on occasion artifacts of differences on the lexical level. If speakers from two groups show

Table 2. *Distribution of verbal matrices across categories of text frequency and propensity to select subjunctive mood.*

HIGH FREQUENCY/ HIGH SUBJUNCTIVE		% SUBJUNCTIVE	% DATA
<i>Falloir</i>	“have to”	89	62
<i>Vouloir</i>	“want”	91	11
<i>Aimer</i>	“like”	67	
HIGH FREQUENCY/ LOW SUBJUNCTIVE			
<i>Croire (neg)</i>	“not believe”	13	15
<i>Penser (neg)</i>	“not think”	14	
<i>Admettre</i>	“admit”	9	
<i>Avoir l'air</i>	“seem”	0	
<i>Espérer</i>	“hope”	21	
LOW FREQUENCY/ VARIABLE SUBJUNCTIVE			
All other verbal matrices			12

quantitatively different preferences for two lexical items, and these items behave differently with respect to some linguistic variable, this will show up as a difference between the two groups with respect to that variable, if no provision is made for factoring out the lexical effect.

Poplack (1992) notes an overwhelming association of the subjunctive with *falloir* “must, have to”, representing 62% of all verbal matrices used. In fact, the distribution of subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices is even more skewed than this, as can be observed from Table 2.⁶

An additional 11% of the matrices is made up of the two verbs *vouloir* “want” and *aimer* “like”, also highly associated with subjunctive, at 91% and 67%, respectively. Members of another class of verbs occur quite frequently, but rarely, if ever, with the subjunctive. If the distribution of matrix types differs across the various subgroups of speakers, this could generate apparent social effects like those observed in the aggregate analysis. To verify whether this is a reasonable explanation for the patterns displayed in Table 1, the lexical factor must be taken into account during the statistical analysis.

4.1 *The lexical effect on social distribution*

Tables 3 and 4 cross-tabulate verb class use by social category. Table 3 shows that *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer*, which we have seen to be high frequency/high

Table 3. *Distribution of classes of subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices according to sex.⁴*

	FEMALE	MALE
	%	%
<i>Falloir</i>	62	58
<i>Vouloir/ Aimer</i>	15	10
High frequency/ Low S	12	19
Low frequency/ Variable S	12	13
TOTAL Ns	1747	1044

Table 4. *Distribution of classes of subjunctive-selecting verbal matrices according to neighborhood of residence.*

	OTTAWA, ONTARIO			HULL, QUEBEC	
	VANIER	BASSE- VILLE	WEST END	VIEUX HULL	MONT BLEU
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Falloir</i>	59	61	67	61	53
<i>Vouloir/ Aimer</i>	11	13	11	16	13
High frequency/ Low S	18	13	14	12	18
Low frequency/ Variable S	12	13	8	10	16
TOTAL Ns	411	661	583	588	548

subjunctive verbs, are clearly used more by women than by men. The opposite is true for the high frequency/low subjunctive verbs, which represent 19% of the data for men. This may explain the apparent sex effect in the aggregate analysis (Table 1).

The distribution of matrices across neighborhoods (Table 4) offers a straightforward explanation of the surprisingly low rate of subjunctive usage in the upper-middle-class francophone neighborhood of Mont Bleu observed in Table 1, especially compared to the adjacent working-class neighborhoods of Vieux Hull in Quebec, and the predominantly English-speaking West End of Ottawa, both of which favored subjunctive in the aggregate analysis. That result was counter-intuitive, but can now be explained by the large amounts of *falloir*, *vouloir* and *aimer* in the latter two neighborhoods, and the disproportionately small amount in Mont Bleu. Mont Bleu in turn has the largest proportion of variable and low subjunctive matrices, perhaps pointing to the

Table 5. Variable rule analyses of the contribution of English proficiency to the choice of subjunctive mood in verbs embedded under four classes of verbal matrix.⁵

VERBS EMBEDDED UNDER:	ENGLISH PROFICIENCY			
	LOW	MID-LOW	MID-HIGH	HIGH
<i>Falloir</i> } High frequency/ High S	.55	.58	.40	.42
<i>Vouloir / aimer</i> }	.46	.58	.42	.60
High frequency/Low S verbs	.68	.47	.49	.31
Low frequency/Variable S verbs	.34	.60	.61	.39

more diverse vocabulary associated with middle-class speakers. The same exercise applied to the age and English proficiency effects suggests that these are not artifacts of frequencies of use of different subjunctive-selecting matrices. Neither education nor social class were selected as significant to mood choice in the aggregate analysis. It seems evident, then, that the variable rule results in Table 1 are due, at least to some extent, to the confounding effects of the uneven distribution across the population of the verbal matrices.

4.2 Factoring out the lexical effect

To confirm these impressions, we reran the variable rule analysis four times, once for each class of matrix verb, so that there could be no effect of distribution on the social factors. As predicted, sex and neighborhood were no longer selected as significant. Also predictably, age was found to be significant, though its effects differed in each analysis. Thus, the effect of this factor cannot be interpreted as indicating change in progress, or age-grading, or any other systematic tendency. It is simply an artifact of the original sampling of the speakers, as confirmed in all four analyses.

Most important are the changes in the new analyses with respect to English proficiency and social class. Table 5 shows that the factor of English proficiency continues to be selected as significant for each class of verbal matrix, but comparison of factor weights for the four proficiency levels reveals no systematic trend: the proficiency level which most favors the subjunctive differs for each class. The pattern represented by these results, if in fact there is one, is not readily interpretable. For present purposes we note only the negative finding that increased proficiency in English shows no evidence of being associated with a loss or even decrease of subjunctive usage.

On the other hand, socioeconomic class, which was not previously retained as significant in the aggregate analysis, is now selected in two of the four analyses in which the lexical effect is factored out (Table 6). Comparison of factor weights for the four occupational groupings reveals that professionals, the highest category distinguished, favor the subjunctive most in three of the four analyses, while unskilled workers contribute the lowest or second-lowest probabilities in three analyses.

Thus a class-based explanation of the propensity towards subjunctive usage emerges as the only one that is systematically supported by the data when the distribution of verbal matrices is taken into account. Neither age nor contact with English, whether on the community level, as represented by the factor of neighborhood, or on the individual level, as represented by the factor of English proficiency, plays a consistent role. This despite the fact that both factors were selected as significant, since no trend emerges from all or even most of the independent verb class analyses.

5. Subjunctive Usage under Non-verbal Matrices

Aside from the embedded noun clauses discussed in preceding sections, a number of other contexts require subjunctive mood according to prescriptive sources, including adverbial and adjectival clauses governed by a variety of conjunctions and temporal, causal, concessive, comparative, circumstantial, final, and other impersonal expressions. Two of these are illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. *Moi-même, je serais craintive de sortir sur la rue à moins que je serais (C) en auto. (019/1768)*
 “Even I would be afraid to go out on the street unless I’d be in a car.”
- b. *On les évite à moins que ça soit (S) de l’urgence. (019/324)*
 “We avoid them unless it’s an emergency.”
- c. *A moins tu es (I) pas une buveuse de lait. (063/2460)*
 “Unless you’re not a milk drinker.”

Table 7 indicates that the distribution of non-verbal matrices as well as the distribution of mood choice across them are again highly skewed. Three matrices highly associated with the subjunctive — *avant que* “before”, *mais que* “as soon as” and *pour que* “so that” — are also very frequent, accounting

Table 6. Variable rule analyses of the contribution of socioeconomic class to the choice of subjunctive mood in verbs embedded under four classes of verbal matrix.

VERBS EMBEDDED UNDER:		SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS			
		UNSKILLED	SKILLED	SALES/ SERVICE	PROFES- SIONAL
<i>Falloir</i>	} High frequency/ High S	.45	.53	.47	.69
<i>Vouloir / aimer</i>		.36	.62	.64	.52
High frequency/Low S verbs		.56	.47	.42	.58
Low frequency/ Variable S verbs		.50	.51	.42	.68

Table 7. Distribution of non-verbal matrices across categories of text frequency and propensity to select subjunctive mood.

HIGH FREQUENCY/ HIGH SUBJUNCTIVE		% SUBJUNCTIVE	% DATA
<i>Avant (que)</i>	“before”	91	9
<i>Mais que</i>	“as soon as”	89	7
<i>Pour (que)</i>	“so that”	96	12
HIGH FREQUENCY/ LOW SUBJUNCTIVE			
<i>Le premier (que)</i>	“the first”	1	6
<i>Le seul (que)</i>	“the only”	1	13
<i>Malgré (que)</i>	“despite”	1	11
<i>être rare (que)</i>	“it’s rare that”	0	6
LOW FREQUENCY/VARIABLE SUBJUNCTIVE			
All others			36

by themselves for almost a third of the data. Another class of matrices, including the superlatives *le premier (que)* “the first” and *le seul (que)* “the only”, the concessive conjunction *malgré (que)* “despite” and the impersonal expression *être rare (que)* “to be rare” constitute more than another third of the data, and only exceedingly rarely take the subjunctive, if at all. The remaining matrices make up the final third of the data. Each occurs relatively infrequently, with or without the subjunctive.

We now examine the contribution of social factors to the choice of subjunctive mood in verbs embedded under these non-verbal matrices. The variable rule analysis displayed in Table 8 shows that only two factors were selected as significantly affecting the probability that subjunctive will be selected under non-verbal matrices: speaker age and neighborhood of residence. Although the suggestion that older speakers use somewhat more

Table 8. *Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the choice of subjunctive mood under non-verbal matrices.*

Corrected mean: .46		NEIGHBORHOOD	
AGE			
45-54	.55	QUEBEC	{ Vieux Hull .59
55-64	.54		{ Mont Bleu .53
65+	.54		{ West End .51
15-24	.49	ONTARIO	{ Basse-Ville .44
35-44	.45		{ Vanier .43
25-34	.44		

FACTORS NOT SELECTED: Sex, Educational level, Socioeconomic class, English proficiency.

Table 9. *Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the choice of subjunctive mood under high frequency/ high subjunctive non-verbal matrices.*

Corrected Mean: .92		SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS	
AGE			
55-64	.73	PROFESSIONAL	.74
65+	.55	SALES/SERVICE	.55
45-54	.52	UNSKILLED	.49
25-34	.48	SKILLED	.35
15-24	.45		
35-44	.28		

FACTORS NOT SELECTED: Sex, Educational level, English proficiency, Neighborhood.

subjunctive than younger ones is clearer here than in the aggregate analysis of verbal matrices (Table 1), the same curvilinear distribution of age groups is apparent, with middle-aged speakers using less subjunctive than the youngest ones. Similarly, although the neighborhood effect indicates that subjunctive is preferred in Quebec, as would be expected under a theory of convergence, we again note the same counter-intuitive result observed earlier: the working-class Vieux Hull neighborhood favors subjunctive more than its upper-middle-class counterpart, Mont Bleu. The latter in turn shows a rate of subjunctive usage similar to the largely working-class and predominantly anglophone West End neighborhood in Ottawa, where French is a minority language. To ascertain whether the distribution of subjunctive governors was responsible for these results, as suggested by the data in Table 7, and as was found for the matrix verbs studied above, we repeated the calculations of Tables 3 and 4, this time crosstabulating non-verbal matrix class with social category.

Table 10. Variable rule analysis of the contribution of social factors to the choice of subjunctive mood under low frequency/variable subjunctive non-verbal matrices.

Corrected Mean: .49									
		SOCIOECONOMIC		ENGLISH		NEIGHBORHOOD			
AGE		CLASS		PROFICIENCY					
15-24	.70	PROFESSIONAL	.67	HIGH	.76	QUEBEC	Mont Bleu	.72	
45-54	.56	SKILLED	.57	MID-HIGH	.58		Vieux Hull	.63	
35-34	.51	UNSKILLED	.51	LOW	.49		Basse-Ville	.45	
65+	.48	SALES/SERVICE	.33	MID-LOW	.35	ONTARIO	West End	.35	
55-64	.38						Vanier	.25	
35-44	.30								

FACTORS NOT SELECTED: Sex, Educational level.

The three oldest age groups were found to use most high frequency/high subjunctive matrices, and least high frequency/low subjunctive matrices, apparently explaining their contributions in the variable rule analysis in Table 8. Similarly, speakers residing in both Vieux Hull (Quebec) and the West End of Ottawa employ many high frequency/high subjunctive matrices, likely explaining their comparatively elevated probabilities of .59 and .51 respectively. But interestingly, the upper-middle-class Mont Bleu speakers actually use more high frequency/low subjunctive non-verbal matrices, just as they did with the verbs. This suggests that their propensity toward subjunctive usage depicted in Table 8 is due to a real preference for this mood, even with matrices not statistically associated with it, a result which is supported by the class effect observed earlier with the verbal matrices.⁷

As previously, we factor out the lexical effect of the matrix by redoing the variable rule analysis, first including only high frequency/high subjunctive matrices, then low frequency/variable subjunctive matrices.⁸ As predicted, Table 9 shows that the age factor has been retained as significant for high frequency/high subjunctive matrices. But the neighborhood factor, as we had suspected, has now been replaced by the factor of class. Once again, professionals, the highest occupational class distinguished, favor subjunctive mood more than any other group.

For low frequency/variable subjunctive matrices (Table 10), two factors were selected besides age and class: neighborhood and English proficiency. The elevated contribution of upper-middle-class Mont Bleu is exactly as predicted, and confirms that its residents use more subjunctive than warranted, particularly with verbs that may require this mood prescriptively, but are not otherwise statistically associated with subjunctive. Somewhat more

surprising is the effect of English proficiency: the speakers with *most* bilingual ability are those who favor subjunctive the most, precisely the opposite result of what would be required to conclude positively in favor of contact-induced grammatical change. Analyses of the non-verbal matrices again fail to provide consistent evidence for convergence, or for the most bilingual speakers as its agents. What we do find, in contrast, is a consistent class effect, which we may interpret as suggesting that the social meaning of the subjunctive includes the prestige features associated with the upper classes.

6. Summary and Discussion

By way of summary, Figure 1 recapitulates the sometimes contradictory trends of Tables 1-10, and illustrates their relationship to the establishment of convergence. For the verbal and non-verbal matrices, the upper levels of each part of the diagram (abstracted from Tables 1 and 8 respectively) depict the factors selected by the stepwise multiple regression procedure as significant (enclosed in boxes) to the probability that subjunctive mood will be selected in verbs embedded under the respective subjunctive-selecting context. The lower levels display the factors selected as significant after the lexical effect is factored out through separate analysis of each class of matrix.

The calculations may be interpreted in terms of three major hypotheses. The first is that individual level of bilingualism, or degree of proficiency in the dominant language, is inversely correlated with mastery of the minority language grammar, including conditions for use of the subjunctive. Under this hypothesis, bilingualism entails simplification and/or loss, a scenario consistent with the comparatively depressed probabilities of subjunctive usage among the high English proficiency speakers. The second is that insufficient exposure to French resulting from a predominance of anglophones in the (local or wider) environment reduces the input necessary for acquisition and use of the subjunctive, particularly among younger speakers. This might result in 'interference' or 'restructuring' of various types (Mougeon & Béniak 1991). Such an effect would be evidenced by lower probabilities of subjunctive usage among residents of the Ontario communities and/or among the youngest speakers. The third possibility is that the subjunctive is selected because it reflects the prestige (overtly or covertly) associated with the upper classes. The factor of prestige is traditionally inferred when the variant in question is preferred by upper-middle class speakers, but it can also be argued

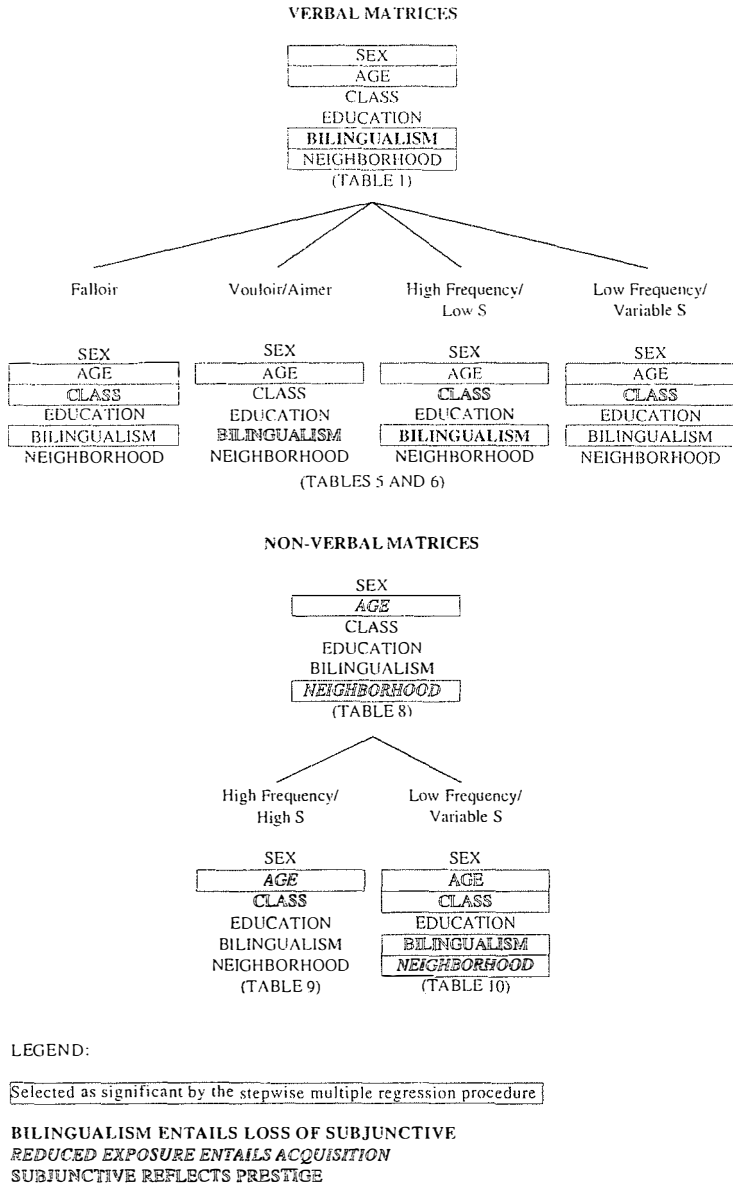


Figure 1. Factors selected as significant to the probability that subjunctive will be selected under verbal and non-verbal matrices before and after the lexical effect is factored out.

to be operating when the abovementioned trends are reversed, e.g., when the youngest or the most highly bilingual speakers use *most* subjunctive. The direction of the effect contributed by each factor, when discernible, is indicated by its font.

At least one factor relevant to the establishment of contact-induced grammatical change was selected in each of the original analyses: degree of individual bilingualism in the case of the verbal matrices, and exposure to English on the community level in the case of the non-verbal matrices, both in the expected directions. But though the results for the verbal matrices suggest that proficiency in English is negatively correlated with subjunctive usage, the factors of neighborhood of residence and age lend no support to the hypothesis of 'loss'. In the case of the non-verbal matrices, the Quebec neighborhoods were found to contribute greater probabilities to subjunctive usage than the Ontario neighborhoods, a result which may be attributed to reduced opportunity to acquire and use the subjunctive. However, this same analysis also yielded the counter-intuitive result that the working-class Quebec neighborhood displayed a greater propensity to use the subjunctive than its upper-middle-class counterpart, which in turn used the subjunctive at a rate almost identical with that of the predominantly anglophone and working-class West End of Ottawa. Though the factor of age was also retained in both data sets, only in the non-verbal matrices do we find a trend toward decreased subjunctive usage among the younger speakers, albeit minimal.

As detailed in §4.1 and §5, the uneven associations of matrices with mood, in terms of both frequency of occurrence and propensity to co-occur with the subjunctive, mean that preference for use of a given class of matrix on the part of a subgroup of the population must inevitably result in an overall tendency to favor or disfavor subjunctive. We thus factored out the lexical effect by reanalyzing the data on each matrix class separately, as depicted in the lower half of Figure 1. Interestingly enough, exposure to English on the community level, as represented by the factor of neighborhood, is now only significant to subjunctive use in one analysis: with low frequency/variable subjunctive non-verbal matrices, residents of the two Quebec neighborhoods use more subjunctive than their Ontario counterparts (Table 8), a result suggestive of contact-induced change. The behavior of the factor of individual bilingualism, as represented by proficiency in English, though selected as significant in four of the six analyses, only displays results interpretable in terms of convergence in one: speakers with the least proficiency in English favor subjunctive most in high frequency/low subjunctive verbal matrices

(cf. Table 5). With low frequency/variable subjunctive non-verbal matrices, however, the trend is reversed: speakers with the most proficiency in English display the greatest propensity by far to *use* the subjunctive (cf. Table 10). Similarly, the factor of age, though selected as significant in each of the analyses, points in the direction of loss in only one: older speakers favor subjunctive usage with high frequency/high subjunctive non-verbal matrices somewhat more than younger ones (Table 9). In contrast, the youngest speakers lead in subjunctive usage with low frequency/variable subjunctive matrices (Table 10).

The only factor to contribute a significant *and* consistent effect to the choice of subjunctive mood is one whose effects had been entirely obscured by the lexical effect in the original analyses: social class. In five out of six analyses we find the confirmation of earlier indications (Tables 6 and 10) that professionals favor subjunctive usage, *regardless* of the lexical nature of the matrix. This result makes sense in light of the opaque nature of the subjunctive/indicative alternation detailed in Poplack (1992) and also corresponds well to speaker attitudes toward use of this mood. Moreover, other results in Figure 1, such as its increased use by the youngest and most bilingual speakers (Tables 5 and 10) also confirm the prestige nature of the subjunctive.

6.1 *Interpreting the effects of uneven distribution*

The results of Tables 2, 4, and 7, in which the uneven distribution of the matrices is detailed, raise the inevitable question of how to interpret this effect. *Why* do women use more volitive matrices than men, or older speakers more temporal and purpose matrices than younger ones? There is no consistent age effect on distribution, so it is not due to the phasing in or out of lexical items. There is a neighborhood effect, but it is not likely to be a dialectological phenomenon, since the geographically closest neighborhoods differ the most. Indeed, the neighborhood effect coincides with the effect of class (though they are not coterminous) insofar as professionals and residents of the bourgeois neighborhood use fewer high frequency matrices than unskilled workers and residents of working-class neighborhoods. In view of the known differences in communicative behavior with respect to speech acts associated with many, though clearly not all, of the matrices in this study, a pragmatic explanation seems most likely. Such an analysis, requiring detailed examination of the content of the interviews, the nature of the interaction between the participants in the conversation, etc., is beyond the scope of this paper. On the

basis of the available data, we limit ourselves to the observation that whatever the ultimate explanation, it is not relevant to the contact situation, nor to the establishment of contact-induced change.

6.2 *The orthogonality of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors*

Experience shows that the social and linguistic factors influencing a linguistic variable can usually be analyzed separately. In other words, results for linguistic factors in a variable rule run that also includes social factors will usually differ little from one where no account is taken of which speaker produced which token. Similarly, results for social factors will not depend strongly on whether linguistic factors are included in the run or not. This orthogonality of the linguistic and the social stems from the fact that whereas different speakers may treat a variable very differently, the different contexts in which this variable shows up will themselves be fairly uniformly distributed from speaker to speaker. One speaker may delete many *-t, d*'s and another very few, but the proportion of monomorphemic versus past tense environments, or prevocalic versus postvocalic environments will not differ substantially.

In the data presented here, in contrast, matrix class does *not* behave like a typical linguistic factor. Its distribution does differ from speaker to speaker, so that in interpreting the original variable rule run, the analyst is misled by the assumption of orthogonality between linguistic and social factors. When a number of apparently significant social factors were reanalyzed, their effects were found to be epiphenomenal: they were due in large part to the hidden factor of lexical distribution. Once the type of subjunctive governor was factored out, it became possible to distinguish the true from the apparent effects. The obvious danger for the analyst in this sort of data configuration lies in inferring extralinguistic conditioning (here, external motivation for mood variability) where it may not in fact be warranted. This is the case for the putative contact-induced grammatical change we have investigated here.

6.3 *Implications for a theory of convergence*

The results of this study also raise some more general questions about convergence. In theory, the view that anything can be borrowed under the right circumstances seems uncontroversial. But in practice, when an apparent case of convergence is pursued scientifically, it often disappears.

Why are these results so different from those reported by other scholars of language contact? It has been suggested that internal explanations for minority-language change originate in the politically laudable (though intellectually suspect) desire to champion the 'integrity' of the minority language, usually the domain of the underprivileged. Mougeon and Beniak observe that:

in contrast and perhaps even in reaction to contrastivism, other linguists, for whom it is important that minority languages be presented in a favorable light so as to counter exaggerated claims that they are hybrid and that their speakers are inferior, have overemphasized internal explanations of minority-language change... (1991:9).

This observation is of course reminiscent of Lavandera's (1978) critique of Laberge's (1980) recognition of functional equivalence of the French pronominal forms *tu/vous* "you" with *on* "one" in indefinite contexts. Lavandera dismissed the 'social conviction' she detected behind Laberge's caveat against equating loss of *on* with loss of a referential distinction, and called for more empirical proof that loss had not occurred and that it had no cognitive consequences.⁹ Perhaps there is a more objective explanation. Because the studies of Dorian, Mougeon and Beniak, Silva-Corvalán and our own are all quantitative, the tendency is to consider them directly comparable. But we may be comparing apples and oranges. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) distinguish two basic mechanisms for contact-induced language change: borrowing and substratum interference, which they consider fundamental in that some of the constraints proposed on them are in fact relevant only to one. Borrowing refers to the "incorporation of foreign features into a group's *native* language by speakers of that language. The native language is maintained, but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features". In substratum interference, the changes result from imperfect L₂ acquisition and are initiated by the *shifting* speakers. Moreover, the greatest amount of interference through shift will occur in the absence of full bilingualism. In the contexts of language restriction, shift and obsolescence studied by these scholars, structural change may in fact be inevitable, given that many of the informants in the samples analyzed are already majority-language-dominant or 'semi'-speakers. Though ethnically minority-group members, such speakers may in effect be L₂ speakers of the minority language. Another important difference between borrowing and interference through shift, according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988:41), concerns the time required for far-reaching structural modifications to come about. All cases of borrowing involving extensive structural change in the borrowing language have a history of

several hundred years of contact. In contrast, shift may take as little as a generation. As mentioned earlier, the French-English contact situation studied here qualifies as eligible for structural interference on all of Thomason and Kaufman's criteria (with the possible exception of length of contact). Nonetheless, as they also point out (p. 35), the sociolinguistic history of the speakers is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcomes of language contact.

The results of this study suggest that findings about restricted minority-language usage, interesting and valuable though they may be in their own right, are not necessarily applicable to bilinguals who make *regular* use of a minority *and* a dominant language, and who neither individually nor as a group are undergoing language shift or loss. This is the case of the franco-phone communities of Ottawa and Hull we have studied here.

What then is the source of the variation? We submit that claims regarding loss or simplification of the French subjunctive derive from notions of the 'standard' and/or of an earlier stage of the language that are highly idealized. Thus Laurier (1989) and Ocampo (1990) divided the subjunctive-selecting contexts in their studies into 'obligatory' and 'optional' on the basis of prescription only, and then set out to ascertain how many times subjunctive mood was absent from each. The accumulating body of evidence has shown beyond a doubt (Auger 1988; Davies 1979; Laurier 1989; Poplack 1992; Sand 1981) that the 'obligatory' contexts for subjunctive usage in French are currently obligatory in name only. According to Torres (1989) this may be the case in Spanish as well.

Moreover, the elusive 'earlier stage' may well have been considerably more similar to the synchronic situation than it is given credit for, at least with regard to the mood phenomena studied here. Certainly close inspection of the historical record on mood variation in French suggests that there was at least as much variability at earlier periods as is observed today. This has been reflected in the superhuman efforts of French-language prescriptivists to compress all the variability into a few categorical classes and rules. Their efforts have been reflected over the duration in literary and intellectual and upper-class discourse, but not necessarily in speaker vernaculars, either in Canada or in other French-speaking areas, then or now.

Notes

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- 1 Proficiency in English was calculated on the basis of the cumulative scores of each speaker on the following measures: 1) Reported language used most frequently overall; 2) Reported language used most frequently to specific interlocutors (parents, children, spouse, boss, coworkers, neighbors and friends); 3) Reported skills in reading, writing, speaking and understanding English; and 4) Proportion of schooling in which *both* French and English were the medium of instruction. Speakers were divided into four rough levels of proficiency in English according to their scores on a Cumulative English Index, ranging from 0 to .829, which we have arbitrarily labelled 'low', 'mid-low', 'mid-high' and 'high'. Intensity of contact in a neighborhood was measured by the official status of English at the provincial level and number of English-mother-tongue claimants at the local level, according to Census reports.
 - 2 Codes identify speaker and line number of her utterance in the Ottawa-Hull French Corpus (Poplack 1989). Bold-face capital letters refer to Subjunctive, Conditional and (present) Indicative respectively.
 - 3 The calculations in this and ensuing variable rule analyses were carried out using Goldvarb, a logistic regression application for the Macintosh (Rand and Sankoff 1988). Neighborhoods identified with 'Q' are located in Quebec, where French is the official and majority language.
 - 4 The percentages given in tables 3 and 4 are *not* percentages of subjunctive use, but simply percentages of use of a given class of verb. When the class is highly correlated with subjunctive, as indicated in Table 2, we can assume that a fair percentage of subjunctive was also used.
 - 5 Tables 5 and 6 each display part of the results of four separate variable rule analyses.
 - 6 This skewing is not a result of sampling bias, but reflects actual speaker behavior.
 - 7 The distribution of matrix classes in the other two neighborhoods corresponds to their associated probabilities.
 - 8 There were not enough applications in the class of high frequency/low subjunctive matrices to permit statistical analysis.
 - 9 See Sankoff 1988 for discussion.

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