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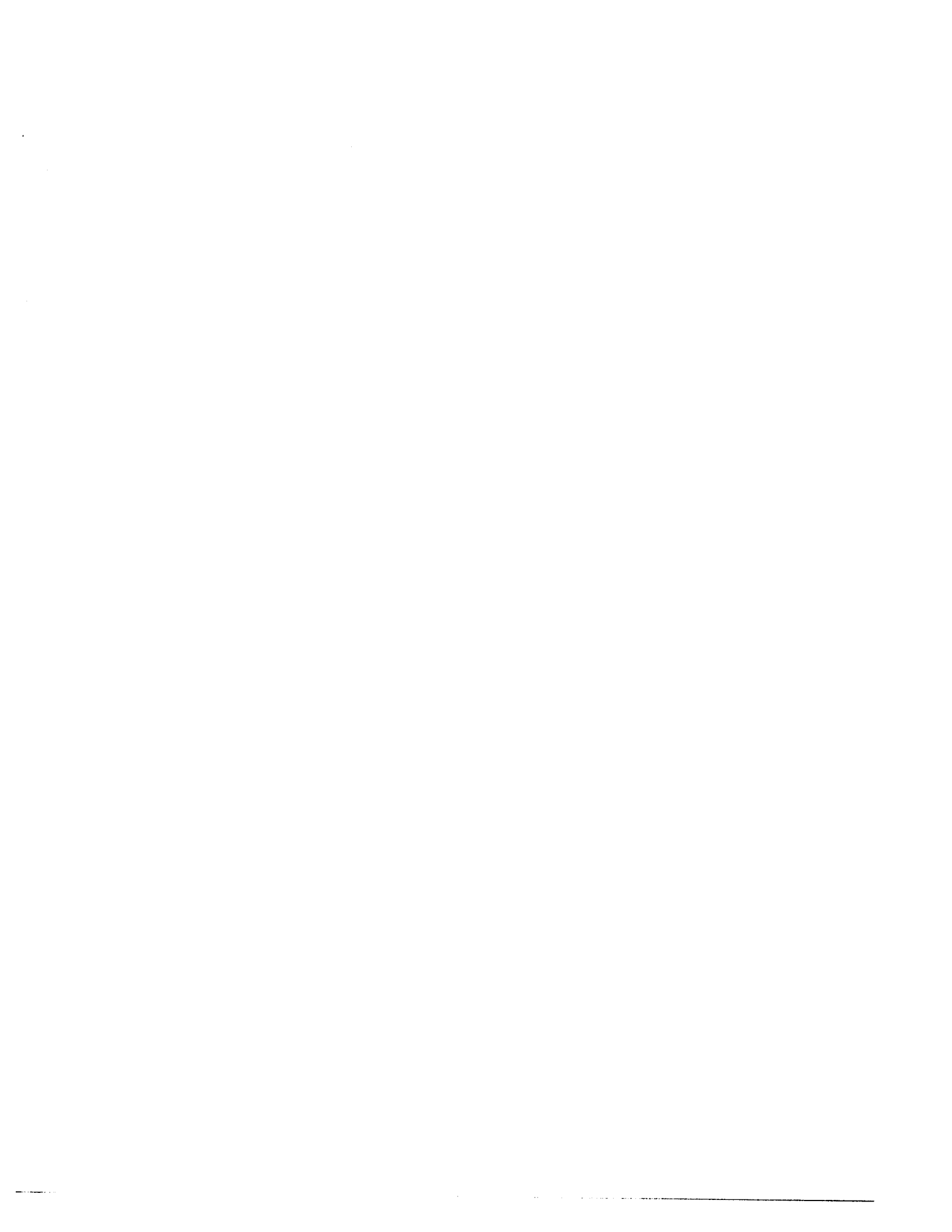
A morphosyntactic analysis of the verb group in Cajun French

Smith, Jane S., Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1994

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A Morphosyntactic Analysis
of the Verb Group in Cajun French

by

Jane S. Smith

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Approved by Jürgen Klauke
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to Offer Degree Romance Languages and Literature

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Jane S. Smith

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Abstract

A Morphosyntactic Analysis
of the Verb Group in Cajun French

by Jane S. Smith

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Languages from differing language families spoken in enclave communities in various parts of the world have been found to exhibit similarities in what is viewed as a 'simplification' of their structures vis-à-vis their corresponding standard dialects (Maher 1985). One of the aspects considered to contribute to a more 'simplified' structure is the replacement of synthetic structures by analytic ones. Analyticity and syntheticity have played a role in language typology, and the cycle is of particular interest in the Romance languages, where Latin is considered the synthetic language *par excellence*, while French is generally regarded as being highly analytic in comparison. Schwegler (1990) redefines analytic and synthetic, predicating these notions on the spoken, as opposed to the written, language.

This dissertation analyzes the verb group, consisting of the subject and object clitics and the verb, of Cajun French, an enclave language spoken in Louisiana, that has been isolated from the influence of Standard French for some

200 years. The analysis is based on Schwegler's (1990) new definitions of analyticity and syntheticity, which are especially appropriate for this dialect because it has no written form. The data reveal that Cajun French shares many common features with Informal Spoken French, and the net result is that Cajun French is far more synthetic than an analysis based on the written standard would yield.

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For Charles, 'cadjin extraordinaire'

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Brief History of the Cajuns

For the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to provide a detailed account of Cajun history.¹ Yet a basic understanding of the origins of the Cajun people and of their cultural background is important, for both have had an effect on the development of their language.

The story of the Cajuns begins nearly four hundred years ago with that of the Acadians, the first French colonists, primarily fur traders, in that part of New France known as Acadia ('l'Acadie'). This region was comprised of the present-day Canadian Maritime Provinces--Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island--and a small part of what is now the state of Maine. Acadia was first established in 1604 under the direction of Pierre Duguay, sieur de Monts, who controlled the fur trade and fisheries in that region.

The early years of the colony saw much conflict between the administrators appointed by the king, and French control of the region was weak. During the first century and a half of its existence, Acadia often changed hands. Originally under French rule from its inception until the early 1620s, the colony was lost to the British until 1632, when it returned to French sovereignty. At that time, a group of

some 300 colonists arrived under the direction of Governor Isaac de Razilly.

Again in 1654, the colony was taken over by the British and remained under British domination until 1670, when French rule was re-established and continued until the early part of the 18th century. In 1713, as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia was again lost to the English. This time, the change in sovereignty was definitive.

Fearful that the Acadians would turn against them in any future conflicts between France and England, the English demanded that the Acadians swear allegiance to the British throne. The Acadians, however, had long been isolated from France and from other French settlements in Quebec, as well. As a result, they had become an endogamous group with strong blood ties to an extended family, and they shared the common experience of adapting to the New World environment, not to mention a common religion and a common language. Hence, they remained steadfast in their commitment to their people, unwilling to change their language, religion, and way of life. They insisted on remaining neutral and refused to sign any documents of allegiance unless they were allowed to remain Catholic and maintain a neutral stance between France and England. The Acadians were thus referred to as the French Neutrals by their English rulers.

Finally, in 1755, feeling that the Acadians posed a threat to English sovereignty in the colony, the English,

under Major Charles Lawrence, began expelling the Acadians from their homes and villages, an expulsion which continued until 1764. A handful of Acadians had already left for Louisiana in 1754. During the expulsion, a small number of them managed to escape to the north, to French-held Ile St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) and Ile Royale (New Brunswick), but the large majority of Acadians was dispersed throughout the British empire, including England and the various American colonies, where some were even sold into slavery. Tragically, a number of them were shipped off in unseaworthy vessels and drowned at sea. This epoch is known as 'le Grand Dérangement' 'the Great Dispersal'.

In the American colonies and in England, the exiles lived in poverty, having lost virtually everything at the hands of the English. They were generally regarded as outcasts by the primarily Protestant English and Americans, as they were still unwilling to relinquish their language, their religion, and their self-sufficient and independent life-style.

Though none of the Acadian exiles was sent directly to Louisiana, by 1757 some 200 refugees had arrived in Louisiana (Brasseaux 1987), having come via other English colonies. Over the next several decades, word spread to the Acadians in France (repatriated from England), the Antilles, and the other colonies, that Louisiana was favorable to receiving them; and many of the exiles, yearning to rejoin

their families, made their way to Louisiana. By 1790 the Acadian population in Louisiana numbered over 4,000 (Rushton 1979).

The significant point to be gleaned from this discussion of Acadian history, is the importance of familial ties and the concomitant group cohesiveness. Historically, the early Acadians and their Cajun descendants have always had large, extended families with strong ties. Brasseaux states that some families of Acadian descent continue to live on land originally granted to their family by the Spanish government nearly two hundred and thirty years ago, and that the 'vast majority of Cajuns currently live within fifty miles of their birthplace' (1987:91). Furthermore, until the 20th century, the areas they have inhabited have been isolated. This is true of the Acadian frontier as well as the bayous and prairies of south Louisiana, parts of which remain accessible only by boat even today (Rushton 1979). Consequently, most of the Cajuns of Louisiana have not only had a strong desire to retain their cultural identity, including the language, but have also been geographically situated in regions that, for a long time, have facilitated their doing so.²

It is also important to understand that the Acadian French dialect differs from Canadian French because of the different regional origins within France of the majority of each of the two groups of speakers. In her search for the

origins of the Acadians, Massignon (1962) examined original documents such as census, marriage, and baptism records, and for periods where these were lacking, particularly the early years, she researched the estate records of various noblemen, such as de Razilly (*vide supra*), who were instrumental in recruiting colonists to Acadia.

At the time of her study (which is now more than 30 years old), Massignon found that among the present-day Acadians,³ 86% of the population is represented by only 76 surnames (1962:42). Her studies revealed that in the very early 18th century (1707), approximately 51.2% of the Acadians had come from the central western region of France ('Centre-Ouest'): Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, and only a much smaller percentage, 9%, had come from areas north of the Loire River valley (1962:74).

On the other hand, as of 1700 only 28.7% of the French speakers in the rest of Canada had come from central western France, while a large group, 39.9%, had origins north of the Loire (Massignon 1962:74).

The figures for Acadia remained essentially unchanged since this census, because in 1713 the region was virtually cut off from intercourse with France when it was ceded to England under the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht. Subsequently, there were no new influxes of French colonists to alter the census.

A study of the origins of the Louisiana Acadians might reveal percentages of the various regional origins which differ somewhat from those of present-day New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island accounted for in Massignon's research.⁴ Any difference would be attributable to the fact that certain family names represented in Louisiana which are known to have been present in Acadia, e.g. Mouton, did not continue in Acadia subsequent to the dispersal of 1755. In addition, according to Massignon's study, nearly one quarter (23.9%) of the Acadians included in the 1707 figures are of unknown French origin. If some of these Acadians settled in Louisiana in greater numbers than those of central-western origin, this too would influence the final percentages.

However, given that more than half of the Acadians at that time are known to have had origins in central-western France, and lacking any evidence to the contrary, I shall assume that the Acadian language as spoken by the majority of settlers in Louisiana had its roots primarily in the dialects of central western France.

1.2 Cajuns

Once Louisiana became part of the United States, the Acadians were not highly regarded by the Americans, nor by many of the well-to-do Creole⁵ plantation owners. This was

primarily due to the fact that the large majority of them were not only poor, but refused to assimilate to Anglo-American culture. They were portrayed by Northerners as lazy, unambitious, ignorant, and lacking in modesty, to a Victorian America (Brasseaux 1992). Out of contempt, the Americans, whom the Acadians saw as 'haughty, meddlesome, and unscrupulous, often dishonest' (Brasseaux 1992:104), dubbed them 'Cajuns'.

Yet the Cajun culture remained a strong and dominating one, absorbing other cultures. This is particularly true in the case of intermarriage between Cajun women and men of different origin, be it Creole (both French and Spanish), Native American, American⁶ or some other European origin. For this reason it is not at all unusual today to find Schexnaiders, Abshires, and Romeros who speak Cajun French (CajFr) as well as the Heberts, the Le Blancs, or the Babineauxs. The term 'Cajun' has since lost its originally derisive meaning and now refers to all those who have grown up in the Cajun culture, whether their family origins are Acadian or not. For many, being Cajun is a source of pride in culture, heritage, language, and in simply being a little different from all the rest.

1.3 French in Louisiana

In 1682, several decades after Acadia had been established, LaSalle took possession of the territories named after Louis XIV--Louisiana. The population of Acadia was nearly 2,500 in 1715 (Massignon 1962:41), while Louisiana had a population of only 279 Europeans and 60 Canadians (Villiers du Terrage 1982:41) in 1707. The Acadians had been settled in the New World and their language distanced from the standardizing influence of the prescriptivist Académie française while Louisiana was just being colonized.

Arriving in the latter half of the 18th century, the Acadians (were) settled well outside New Orleans, first in a few areas west of the Atchafalaya River⁷ and along the banks of the Mississippi. Later, as the Mississippi River settlements became too heavily populated, Acadians moved south into the Bayou Lafourche area, and the Acadians in the Attakapas and Opelousas regions⁸ west of the Atchafalaya River expanded further into the prairies of southwest Louisiana. Due to hostility on the part of Creole and American settlers, the Acadians tended to settle away from these two groups. As a rule, the Creoles and Acadians were socially and economically segregated as well, thus allowing for both Acadian French and Colonial French to coexist.

Of the two dialects, Colonial or Louisiana French most closely resembles what is referred to as Standard French (SF), though it is generally all but lost except to a small group of elite families desirous of showing their Creole origins. Publications of the works of the state legislative bodies were published in French until 1898, as were legislative decrees until 1914 (Breton 1979:23). The last daily newspaper published in French, L'Abeille, was reduced to a weekly publication and was finally discontinued in 1923 (Breton 1979:23). According to Rushton (1979:326), the last French newspaper published in Louisiana was discontinued in 1955. No publications were ever written in Acadian/Cajun French until the publication of Reed's Lâche pas la patate, a description of Cajun Louisiana, in 1976 (Rushton 1979:283).

In addition to Acadian and Louisiana French, a third French-based language known to some as 'français nèg' 'black French' was spoken by many of the slaves, and is now referred to by linguists as Louisiana Creole. Given the close proximity within which Cajuns and blacks have lived and worked, there are today blacks who speak CajFr and whites who speak Louisiana Creole.

Throughout the centuries, the Acadian French of Louisiana has adopted Spanish, Native American, and English lexical items, and through its prolonged isolation from SF⁹, has evolved to become CajFr of the 19th and 20th centuries.

For a clear view of the linguistic picture in Louisiana, it is important to keep in mind that the area settled by the Acadians forms a triangle, whence the French Triangle, in the southern part of the state. Looking at the map in Figure 1-1¹⁰, the reader will see that the coastline from south of New Orleans in the east to Lake Charles in the west forms the base, with Avoyelles Parish forming the triangle's apex. The remainder of the state was settled primarily by Americans. Figure 1-2 illustrates the statistics from the 1990 census pertaining to the number of speakers of French or French Creole.

Secondly, the Cajuns distinguish between Bayou Cajuns, who live in the eastern sector of the French Triangle, and Prairie Cajuns, who live in the more westerly half. The western edge of the Atchafalaya River basin approximates the boundary between the two. They thus differentiate between certain cultural and occupational differences, though the distinction is not in any way divisive.

Thirdly, Louisiana is divided into parishes as opposed to counties, and far and away the majority of studies of French in Louisiana focus on a single parish. Clearly, though, the parish lines do not serve as hard and fast linguistic boundaries, and the study presented in Chapter 3 is not based on such divisions.

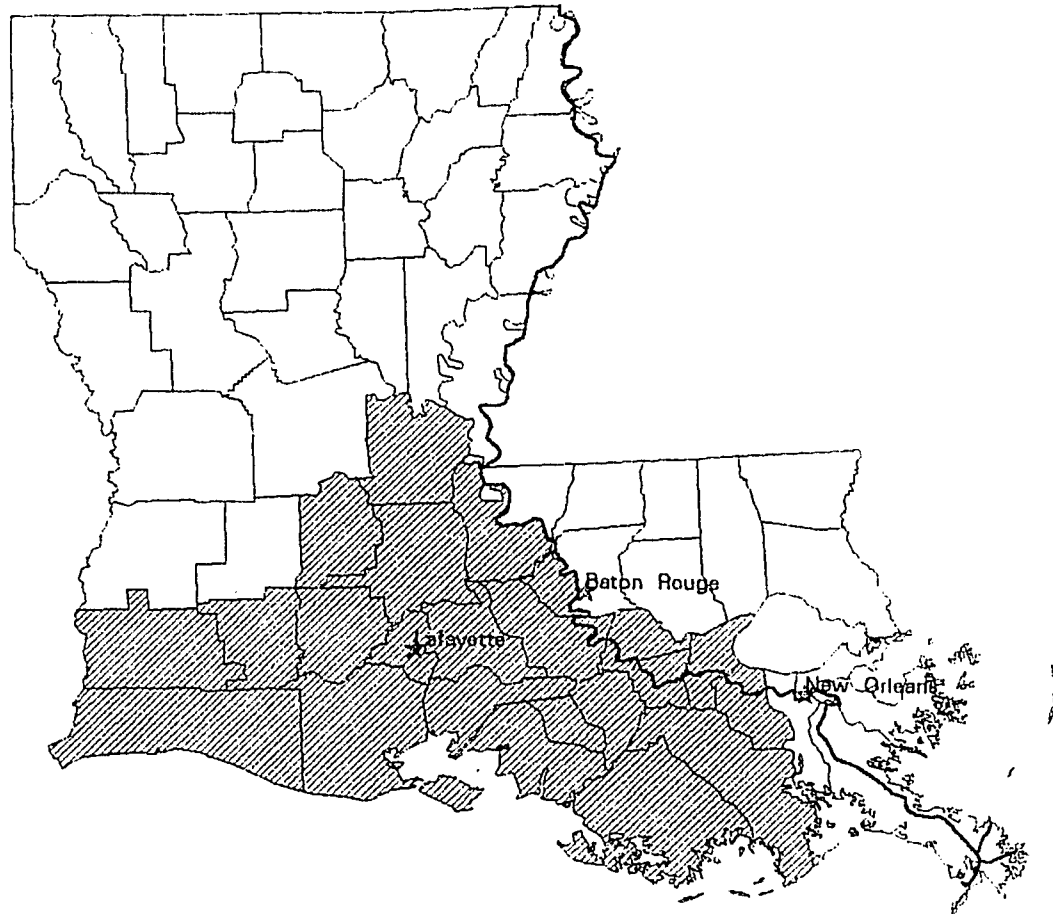


Figure 1-1. Louisiana Parishes Composing Acadiana

Lightest shading: 1 - 10%
 Light shading: 10 - 20%
 Medium shading: 20 - 30%
 Dark shading: 30 - 37%

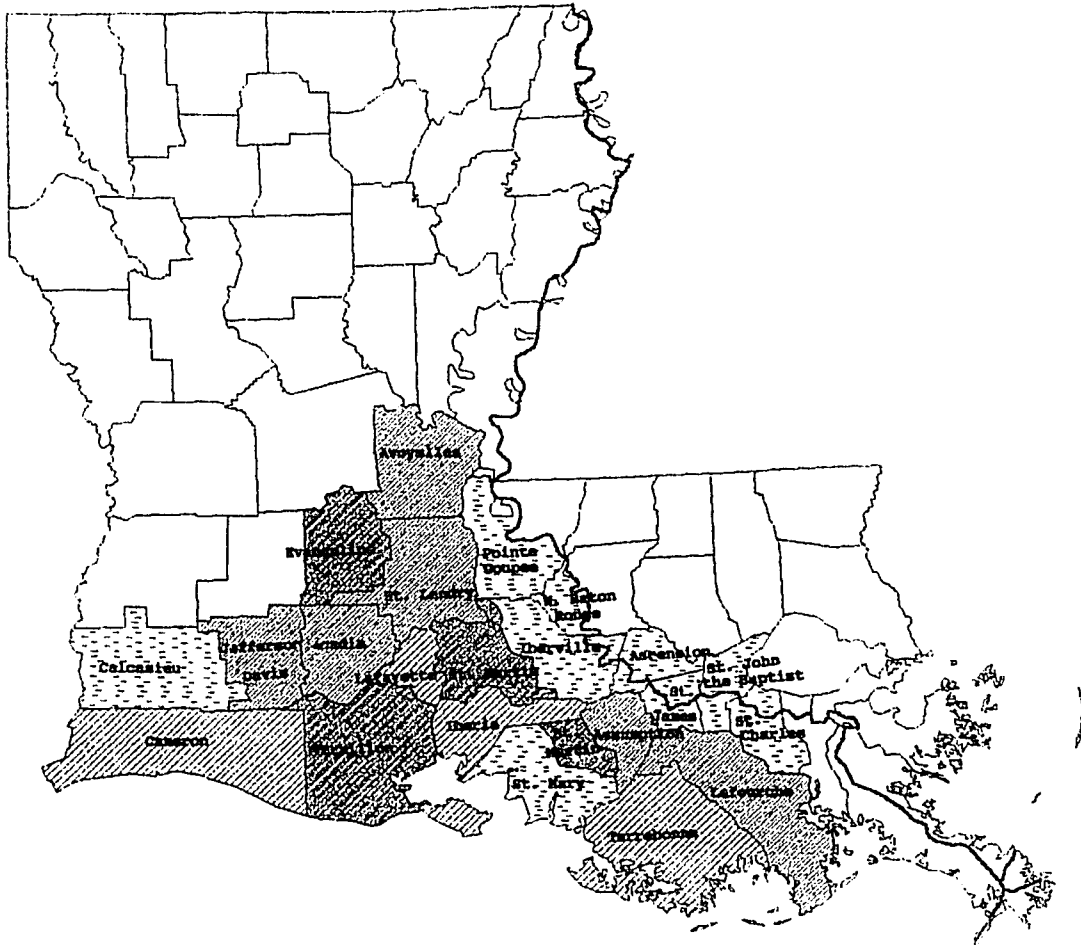


Figure 1-2. Percentage of Individuals Who Speak French or French Creole in the Home in the Parishes of Acadiana, Based on 1990 Census Statistics

1.4 Linguistic Research on Cajun French

The earliest research of CajFr dates back to the late 19th century with Alcée Fortier's article "The Acadians of Louisiana and their dialect" (1891). The information presented therein is anecdotal more than it is descriptive or analytical. Yet the article is interesting, because it presents examples of the dialect by means of the several letters written by a Cajun to philologist Fortier which it includes.

The bulk of the linguistic literature was written during the 1930s through the 1950s. The major works from this time period include Ditchy's (1932) Les Acadiens louisianais et leur parler and Read's (1931) Louisiana French. Ditchy (1932) consists of a lexicon and a brief grammatical description of CajFr which was actually compiled by an anonymous individual during the late 19th century. Read's work (1931) is also lexical.

Phillips's Etude du parler de la paroisse Evangéline (Louisiane) was published in 1936, and many other master's theses, most of which are primarily lexicons, some containing grammatical descriptions, were published during these decades.

In the 1950s came Guilbeau's (1950) doctoral dissertation The French spoken in Lafourche parish, Louisiana, and in 1963, perhaps the most thorough and well-

known work, Conwell & Juilland's Louisiana French Grammar. Conwell & Juilland (1963) present a detailed analysis of the phonology of Lafayette French and discuss the morphology and syntax as well. Although a very good discussion overall, its two drawbacks lie in the fact that the approach is strongly biased by a perspective geared toward Standard French, and the second volume consisting of the transcriptions of the recordings was never published, thus disallowing any real confirmation of the findings by the interested reader.

Published more recently, Oukada's 1977 dissertation entitled Louisiana French: A linguistic study with a descriptive analysis of Lafourche dialect offers a generative analysis of the verbal morphology. Oukada also compiled a comprehensive annotated bibliography of linguistic research in Louisiana French (1979).

There were three doctoral dissertations published during the last decade: Bodin (1987) The dialectal origins of Louisiana Acadian French, Byers (1988) Defining norms for a non-standardized language: A study of verb and pronoun variation in Cajun French, and Brown (1988) Pronominal equivalence in a variable syntax. Bodin (1987) examines the phonology of Louisiana Acadian French and compares it to Nova Scotia Acadian French, finding that the two dialects share many common traits. She also traces the origins of the phonology by comparing the two dialects with the

findings of various linguistic atlases of France and determines that many of the commonalities are of either Poitevin or western French origin. Byers (1988) administered a sociolinguistic survey of language attitudes of speakers of Cajun French. The survey assessed usage of and preference for certain verbal morphological features: 2p *e* suffix vs. \emptyset and 3p \tilde{o} suffix vs. \emptyset ., and interrogative *qui* vs. *quoi* to ask 'what?'.¹¹ He concludes that some changes in Cajun French are the result of 'language death' e.g. loss of 2p *e* suffix and synthetic future forms, while divergences in 3p \tilde{o} ~ \emptyset and *qui* ~ *quoi* usage are correlated with geographical location. Byers (1988) proffers practical suggestions for the teaching of CajFr that would allow the student to learn the dialect of family members while at the same time enabling him/her to eventually make the transition to SF, a dialect that facilitates communication with francophones from outside south Louisiana. Brown (1988) investigates 3s and 3p pronominal equivalence in two Cajun communities, one prairie and one bayou. Her approach is a sociolinguistic one and is based on variation theory. I will refer to the results of Brown's investigation (and to Byers's) in relation to the findings of my own research in Chapter 3. At this point, suffice it to say that Brown found that *ça*, usually referring to 'this, that' in SF, is used as a subject pronoun without any pejorative connotation to refer to animate referents in CajFr, and that age of the

speaker is the dominant sociolinguistic factor affecting its use.

It is also important to call attention to Daigle's A dictionary of the Cajun Language (1984), Faulk's Cajun French I (1977), and Whatley and Janisse's booklet Conversational Cajun French I (1978). These three represent an effort on the part of native speakers to maintain CajFr as a viable dialect distinct and separate from SF.

1.5 Language Obsolescence

In the discussion, I will use the term 'language obsolescence', a term recently adopted by sociolinguists in lieu of 'language death', on the premise that the latter refers only to situations in which all the speakers of a particular language have died.

Although according to the 1970 census statistics, which show that French is the mother tongue of some 572,202 (15.7%) of Louisiana's population (Oukada 1978:19), it is true that CajFr is on the decline. This has been particularly true since the 1920s, when French was banned from the schools (presumably until the inception of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) in 1968 and the resurgence of pride in Louisiana's French heritage). Not wanting their children to suffer the social stigma of being considered an 'ignorant swamp dweller', a

common stereotype of Cajuns made by (Anglo) Americans which persists even today, many parents stopped transmitting French to their children. Indeed the onus of speaking CajFr is still so ingrained in some speakers, in spite of recent efforts to instill renewed pride in their language, that even though they do admit to speaking French, they quickly qualify their admission by saying that they speak only 'broken French', not 'real French'. Although there remain some French monolinguals, who to my knowledge are octo- and nonagenarians, the vast majority of speakers of CajFr are bilingual. The influx of Americans following the discovery of oil in Louisiana and the proliferation of English language religious radio shows, together with the banishment of the use of French from the school grounds (which lasted for several decades), have allowed English to dominate in the schools, in the media, and in most commerce, leaving CajFr for intimate contexts with family members and friends.¹²

These socio-cultural factors have set the stage for language obsolescence. Indeed in her study of various language enclaves both in North America and elsewhere, Maher (1985) reviews some of the facts of CajFr¹³ and classifies it as a dying language. She formulates a Language Learning Strategy and an Acquisition Principle for Language Contact (1980:250-73). Similarities in grammatical changes in the enclave languages in question, which differ from their

standard dialects, have led Maher to posit that these differences result from incomplete grammar formation in the minds of speakers learning the language in the enclave situation. In other words, Maher draws a correlation between the final adult grammar of speakers of enclave languages and the sociolinguistic circumstances in which they acquire them. An analysis of Maher's postulation regarding contact linguistics is beyond the purview of this discussion, yet some of the grammatical changes upon which she bases her theory are of interest.

Maher (1985) includes phonemic and lexical changes among the traits of enclave languages which do not coincide with the standard dialect, though she does not address them in her discussion, and neither shall I (1985:193).

- (1) Phonemics uncharacteristic of A' language [the standard language].
- (2) Lexical differences, including borrowing from B [the dominant language].
- (3) Reduced number of allomorphs vis a vis A'; more invariable forms.
- (4) Replacement of synthetic by analytic forms.
- (5) Loss of inflectional morphology.
- (6) Fewer embedded constructions.
- (7) Less flexible word order.
- (8) Focus on aspect in the verbal system.

Most of these grammatical changes are of course also a part of normal language change. Yet the prevalence of the notion of analyticity and syntheticity among the grammatical traits listed, and the grammatical changes which accompany a shift from one to the other, i.e. four out of the eight changes (3-5 and 7), is indicative of their significance to language obsolescence (cf. Dorian 1978 re loss of inflections). It is precisely these traits, with the addition of (8), that are of interest to this discussion.

1.6 Research Goals

The shift from syntheticity to analyticity and back again has played an important role in the development of the modern Romance languages from Latin. Certainly the question of whether French is synthetic or analytic has been discussed on more than one occasion, a point brought out by Schwegler's (1990) Analyticity and syntheticity: A diachronic perspective with special reference to Romance languages. Schwegler redefines syntheticity and analyticity and re-examines Informal Spoken French (ISF), concluding that it is more synthetic than traditional SF.

In the light of this new perspective, I will examine the verb group of CajFr, basing my analysis primarily on my own data collected in the field but making reference to the work of other linguists, e.g. Conwell & Juilland (1963),

Brown (1988), Byers (1988), Oukada (1977), and attestations provided by Faulk's Cajun French Grammar I (1977). In so doing, I will attempt to determine what the implications, if any, might be for CajFr, a language classified as obsolescent.

Following the analysis and evaluation of the corpus, I will assess the results within the framework of Natural Morphology as set forth by Wurzel (1989). I will briefly compare CajFr to Louisiana French Creole (LaC), Old Mines, Missouri French (OMF), Acadian French (AcF), Canadian French (CF), and informal spoken French (ISF). Finally, I will see whether or not it is possible to offer a more positive prognosis for CajFr.

I shall begin the discussion with a review of Schwegler's (1990) proposal and Natural Morphology (NM) (Wurzel 1987 and 1989) in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 I will present the data from my corpus and evaluate it based upon Schwegler (1990) and Wurzel's (1989) theory of NM. Chapter 4 will present a brief comparison and/or contrast of CajFr with other dialects of French and LaC. In Chapter 5 I will offer my conclusions.

In so doing, it is my hope that this discussion will provide the literature on CajFr with a different perspective from a different theoretical orientation.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹For an excellent discussion of Acadian and early Cajun history, the interested reader is referred particularly to Brasseaux 1987 and 1992, from which much of the information pertaining to their history is taken.

²Brasseaux 1992 states that the Cajuns are not a monolithic group, explaining that there has been some degree of socioeconomic differentiation among Cajuns which began in the 19th century: Some second and third generation Acadians aspired to greater wealth, following the example of the Creoles and later, the Americans, and hence severed their ties with lower class relatives.

³Several decades following the 'Grand Dérangement', some Acadians were able to return to and settle in Acadie.

⁴In my research I did not come across any figures relating to the origins of only those Acadians who settled in Louisiana, though it is quite possible that a compilation of passenger lists of the ships upon which they arrived has been made and their origins thus determined.

⁵Creole, when referring to people, usually applies to those of European ancestry who were born in the colonies, though use of the term has sometimes been extended to those of African ancestry. In this discussion it will be used to refer only to the former.

⁶The term American is used here to refer, as do the Cajuns, to people of Anglo origins. This does not imply that Cajuns do not consider themselves American when it comes to politics. It is simply their way of distinguishing between people of English language and culture and themselves.

⁷The Atchafalaya River flows north-south. One traverses the expanse of the river basin when traveling between Lafayette and Baton Rouge.

⁸The Attakapas region encompasses parts of present-day lower St. Martin, Iberia, and St. Mary Parishes; the Opelousas region is now part of St. Landry Parish.

⁹The term 'Standard French' is used simply to refer to that idiom of French which is taught in schools both in France and elsewhere, and which is perceived by some to be the norm to which one should conform in speaking French. No evaluative connotation implying that other dialects of French are substandard is intended.

¹⁰The maps shown in Figures 1-1 and 1-2 were produced by computer with Environmental Systems Research Institute Inc. Arc/View^R software and statistics from the 1990 census.

¹¹In SF, *qui* is both interrogative and relative 'who', and *quoi* 'what' is used only following a preposition, whether it is interrogative or relative.

¹²This is not to imply that CajFr is used only in the home, though this may be true for some speakers. One does

still hear French spoken in public places such as in stores, waiting rooms, and local bars. My own experiences have shown, though, that some people are still self-conscious about speaking CajFr, for they would often switch to English or stop speaking if they sensed that I was able to hear their conversation.

¹³In reference to the data which Maher (1985) uses to support her theory, it appears that she is unaware not only of the different historical origins of Cajun and Canadian French, which she lumps together into one dialect, but is ignorant, as well, of the variation which exists in subject pronoun usage and verbal morphology in what she refers to as Louisiana French.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Approach

2.1 Written Language and Spoken Language

One must consider the potential differences an analysis will yield, depending upon whether it is the written or the spoken language that serves as the basis of study. The written language often contains prescriptive forms and favors the conservation of an ideal norm, whereas the spoken language manifests its active use and reflects change in progress.

Spoken French has been termed 'Spoken Standard French' (Barnes 1985), 'Non-Standard French' (Lambrecht 1981), 'français parlé' (Valdman 1982), and 'Informal Standard French' (Schwegler 1990), with predictions being made based upon its structures for 'Future French' (Ashby 1977). These studies examine some of the differences that exist between SF, the ideal norm represented by the written language, and Spoken French. On the understanding that Spoken French reflects current usage and in some cases may indicate the direction for changes that will form 'Future French', I will examine some of the similarities and differences between Spoken French and CajFr. The potential for parallels in development seems reasonable since Cajun no longer maintains a written norm, if indeed it ever did.¹

Spoken Language is the foundation on which Schwegler (1990) redefines ANALYTICITY and SYNTHETICITY and then applies them to the Romance languages. This theory is summarized below and will serve as the basis for my analysis of CajFr in Chapter 3.

2.2 Synthenticity and Analyticity

Schwegler (1990) addresses analyticity and synthenticity and provides a comprehensive review of the history of those concepts and their application in language typology. He finds existing theories unsatisfactory because they are based on the notion of the word, a notion for which a satisfactory definition has not yet been specified. Schwegler also objects to the traditional application of these terms which classifies languages as EITHER analytic OR synthetic, suggesting rather that analyticity and synthenticity may and often do coexist within a language: Certain structures may be (more) analytic while others are (more) synthetic. In place of this restrictive view which obliges the linguist to choose between analytic and synthetic when classifying a language, Schwegler offers a new perspective for the definition and application of analyticity and synthenticity. The following pages present a brief summary of Schwegler's discussion. His analysis of Informal Spoken French (ISF) will be presented in Chapter 4,

where CajFr will be compared to it and to other dialects of French.

2.2.1 Definitions: Analyticity and Syntheticity

Schwegler rejects the traditional definitions of analyticity and syntheticity because they are based on the word. Traditionally, an analytic language is one whose structure consists of a one-to-one relation between meaning and form and relies on syntax to convey grammatical relationships between words. A synthetic language is usually considered to be one in which morphemes are combined or accumulated within words, thus using morphological structure to convey grammatical relationships between words.

Schwegler proposes that rather than relying on the word to determine the degree of syntheticity or analyticity, one should instead consider the SPEECH UNIT, which he defines as 'any group of morphemes which have a mutual semantic, morphological, syntactic, and/or phonological relation to each other' (1990:218).

With this concept in mind, he redefines analyticity and syntheticity as follows (1990:48).

Analyticity will be defined as the SEMANTIC,
SYNTACTIC, MORPHOLOGICAL, AND PHONOLOGICAL
AUTONOMY OF MORPHEMES WITHIN A SPEECH UNIT.

Syntheticity is characterized as the SEMANTIC, SYNTACTIC, MORPHOLOGICAL, AND PHONOLOGICAL INTERDEPENDENCY (OR RELATEDNESS) OF MORPHEMES WITHIN A SPEECH UNIT.

These definitions apply then not to the written language, but to the spoken language. This is especially important for French, in which the CURSUS or breath group is 'the smallest morphonological unit' (Pulgram 1970:31). As Schwegler indicates, the classification of a language as either analytic or synthetic is often based on its written form rather than its spoken form, resulting in some cases in an inaccurate determination of the degree of analyticity or syntheticity of that language. Modern French is one such case: It has been classified as analytic by some linguists and as synthetic by others.

In addition to redefining analyticity and syntheticity, Schwegler proposes that these terms should be used to apply only to certain structures or speech units, such as the verb group or noun group, rather than to the language as a whole as has traditionally been done. He posits that analyticity and syntheticity are not absolute, but exist on a continuum, and speech units move along this continuum as changes in their structure develop. At any point on the continuum, their movement toward either analyticity or syntheticity may be halted and even reversed.

The criteria which determine analyticity and syntheticity are, as the definitions imply, semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological. A key point to bear in mind, according to Schwegler, is that the degree of analyticity or syntheticity of a speech unit is **RELATIVE**: The determining criteria are relative to each other. For example, the degree of semantic syntheticity is relative to the degree of morphological syntheticity. Furthermore, the resulting overall analyticity or syntheticity of a speech unit is relative to that of other speech units within the same language. Syntheticity and analyticity are not seen '... as a quantifiable absolute but as the **ROUGH MEASURE OF THE OVERALL MORPHEMIC INTERDEPENDENCY OF SPEECH UNITS ...**' (Schwegler 1990:48).

2.2.2 Criteria Determining Analyticity and Syntheticity

2.2.2.1 Semantic Criteria

In order for speech units to become synthetic, Schwegler maintains, they must first become semantically linked. This occurs when one segment loses its lexical specificity and is **GENERALIZED**: That is, its meaning becomes applicable to any member of a given set. For example, the demonstrative adjective of Classical Latin lost its deictic function and was thus generally applicable to all nouns,

eventually becoming the definite article of Romance. In losing its lexical reference, the segment becomes grammatical. A segment that maintains its lexical value outside the speech unit remains more analytic.

In connection with the loss of semantic specificity, or generality, Schwegler (1990) brings in the notion of semantic RELEVANCE as presented by Bybee (1985), who states that a segment is semantically relevant if its meaning affects or modifies the meaning of a second segment. In addition, Bybee (1985) argues that segments with greater semantic relevance to a stem are located closer to it than are those with lesser relevance, as in the case of the person/number marker on a verb. Having less of an impact on the meaning of the stem than aspect, for example, the person/number marker is located farther from it.

Both relevance and generality lead to the increased frequency of a segment, creating an environment propitious to increased semantic interrelatedness and eventual semantic reanalysis.

Semantic linking allows syntactic and morphological changes, which are a prerequisite for synthesis. Phonological changes usually follow the semantic and morphosyntactic reanalysis, but they are not required for synthesis. Schwegler (1990) points out that change in one area will activate change in the others, but that change in

one area does not have to be completed before change in the next one begins.

2.2.2.2 Morphosyntactic criteria

To determine the degree of syntheticity, the following morphosyntactic criteria need to be examined: SEPARABILITY, LINEARITY, DISPLACEABILITY, ISOLATEDNESS, OBLIGATORINESS, and TRANSPARENCY.

Separability is as it sounds: Is it possible for the segments of the speech unit to be separated by other segments? If so, they are less synthetic, or more analytic, than segments which cannot be separated. Furthermore, Schwegler contends, it is not the number of actual items but rather the number of word classes which can be inserted that is important. There may in fact be many potentially insertable items, but if there is only one or two insertable word classes, the speech unit may still be viewed as moving toward syntheticity on the continuum.

Linearity refers to the number of meanings or functions contained in a single morpheme. The more meanings and functions a morpheme contains, the more synthetic it is. A series of morphemes can fuse or be accumulated and are synthetic; however, they are less synthetic than a single morpheme containing several meanings. The fewer the meanings or functions a segment has, the more analytic it

is, with the most analytic proportion of meanings to morphemes being one-form-one-meaning.

Displaceability concerns the potential for movement of segments within a speech unit. If a segment can be moved, the effect is less synthetic than for those segments with fixed word order.

Isolatedness is important, for if a segment can stand alone, it is more analytic than one which cannot. This brings in the idea of bound and free morphemes.

Obligatoriness refers to the opposite condition as isolatedness. A segment which must occur in conjunction with another segment is more synthetic than one which can stand alone.

The last of the morphosyntactic criteria is structural transparency. If a series of allomorphs have different structural forms which are related by a series of grammatical and phonological rules, they are more synthetic than those which are predictable by fewer rules. In other words, greater syntheticity is implicit in greater formal variation.

Morphological fusion occurs according to the following sequence of changes (Schwegler 1990:73).

- (a) [I]ncreased morphosyntactic rigidity of the components of both contiguous and non-contiguous relevant units,
- (b) obligatory cooccurrence of all

relevant constituents of a unit, (c) a decrease in the interruptability of the speech unit, (d) a change in the word class of one (or more) of the components, and (e) a reduction in the morphological variation² of one or more of the constituents ...

2.2.2.3 Phonological Criteria

The phonological criteria effecting synthesis are language dependent, Schwegler asserts (1990:69). Generally speaking, though, if the phonological unit corresponds to the morphosyntactic unit, the net effect is more synthetic than for a unit which does not coincide phonologically and morphosyntactically. For example, Schwegler (1990:70) states that because French subject clitic *je* is phonologically dependent on the verb core, it is more synthetic than a segment which remains phonologically independent.

Following a presentation of the facts of CajFr in Chapter 3, the verb group will be examined with respect to all these criteria in an effort to determine the degree of syntheticity or analyticity exhibited therein.

2.3 Natural Morphology

Subsequent to the discussion of analyticity and syntheticity in the CajFr verb group, I will consider the results of the analysis within the framework of Natural Morphology (NM). Mayerthaler (1987) explains 'system-independent morphological naturalness' which is based on universals and markedness theory, with markedness here referring to a continuum of more or less natural or, in Mayerthaler's own words, 'more or less easy for the human brain' (1987:27). My discussion, though, will focus on 'system-dependent morphological naturalness' as set forth in Wurzel (1987 and 1989), who proposes that certain structures within a given language may be marked and therefore unnatural under the criteria of system-independent morphological naturalness, and yet they conform to what is natural for that particular language. A synopsis of the main points of system-dependent morphological naturalness follows.

2.3.1 System-Dependent Morphological Naturalness

The first of two principal concepts of system-dependent morphological naturalness is system congruity. By way of explanation, the properties of the inflectional system of a particular language are morphologically natural for the

language in question. Morphological change will, as a rule, proceed in such a way as to maintain the properties of this language-particular system, though the changes may be in a direction that violates system-independent naturalness. That is to say, system congruity has primacy over system-independent naturalness. The set of structural properties is referred to as the System Defining Structural Properties (SDSPs).

The SDSPs of a language may be established by determining the following (Wurzel 1989:74-75):

- a) [The] inventory of categorial complexes [e.g. case, number, aspect, tense] and categories assigned to them;
- b) [T]he occurrence of basic-form inflection or stem inflection;
- c) [T]he separate as opposed to combined symbolization of categories of different categorial complexes [i.e. fusional or cumulative encoding];
- d) [T]he number and distribution of formally distinct inflectional forms in a paradigm [i.e., Is there syncretism?];
- e) [T]he types of markers occurring, and their relations to the categorial complexes concerned [e.g. additive or modifying];
- f) [T]he existence or nonexistence of inflectional classes.

The second main concept is inflectional class stability. An inflectional class is STABLE if it is the only inflectional class or if its paradigm structure predominates over its complementary class(es). In the case of complementary classes, neologisms and borrowings are likely to belong to the stable class, and words belonging to the complementary class(es) will gradually transfer to the stable class. Any complementary class which is 'weaker' because it has fewer members, is an UNSTABLE class. In some cases, inflectional classes may be said to be STABILITY INDIFFERENT if they are of equal strength, and both (all) the inflectional classes involved may gain or lose members through transfer.

It is important to note that an inflectional class is exactly that: i.e. a class of words whose inflected forms follow the same paradigm structure, and not simply a paradigm, a term which applies to the pattern of the inflected forms of a given member of the inflectional class.

Secondly, stability must not be confused with PRODUCTIVITY. Stability is a quantitative measure: A stable inflectional class is that class which has the most members. Productivity applies to inflectional classes that 'acquire new words: borrowings and neologisms; gain words from other inflectional classes; and lose no words to other inflectional classes' (Wurzel 1989:149). In most instances,

stable classes are also productive classes, but productivity itself stems from system congruity. If an inflectional class becomes system incongruous as a result of a phonological or morphosyntactic change, it will over time lose its productivity. And as a result of the loss of members through their transfer to other inflectional classes, it becomes unstable.

I call attention to the fact that Wurzel (1989) sees morphological change as conservative, maintaining system congruity. Changes in the SDSPs of a language are the result of phonological or morphosyntactic change. Morphology will then accommodate the new SDSPs and work to maintain them.

I shall turn now to a presentation and analysis of the verb group in Cajun French.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹SF has been the dialect taught in schools and used for the large majority of publications in French in Louisiana. Since the inception of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) and the promotion of Cajun culture, some writers have begun to publish in a gallicized Cajun. The reader is referred to Ancelet (1977) for examples. It is my understanding that there is a group of scholars and other concerned individuals which is in the process of determining what 'norm' to use for CajFr in an effort to revitalize the language.

²Schwegler gives the example of Classical Latin *cantare* + *habeo* in which the auxiliary *habeo* lost some of its 'temporal and modal options' (1990:73).

Chapter 3. Morphosyntax of the Cajun French Verb Group

3.1 Presentation of the Findings

3.1.1 Introduction to the Corpus

The corpus presented herein consists of approximately five hours of recordings made in and around Lafayette, Louisiana, between September 1991 and February 1992. Some recordings were made in private homes while others were made in the course of the informants' daily work routines. Those environments include a private school for girls, a hair dresser's shop, an historical village, a Catholic retreat, and a break room in the offices of a multinational corporation. One recording was made of a meeting of the French Toastmasters club in Lafayette, a member of the larger Toastmasters organization formed for the purpose of developing public speaking skills.

The single most important criterion in selecting informants was to attempt to find speakers who had no formal education in SF, for fear that this training might have influenced their native CajFr. All speakers either considered themselves to be speakers of CajFr or were identified by others as such. However, the data from two informants, one being the priest, indicate possible interference from some schooling in SF, though this remains unconfirmed. A third informant, whose Cajun syntax displays

a very strong influence from English, might better be classified as a SEMI-SPEAKER.¹

Although existing grammars and lexicons confine themselves to the study of a single parish, based on the understanding that Cajun communities are quite stable with limited mobility, and that such communities tend to maintain their own register (Brown 1988), no attempt was made in this study specifically to select informants according to their parish of origin. The main objective was to obtain data from a variety of informants in as natural a setting of daily interaction in French as possible.

In her study of CajFr in Avoyelles and Assumption Parishes, Brown (1988) explains that through a distant familial connection to the Cajun community, she was able to be introduced as a 'friend-of-a-friend', thereby being more easily accepted by the community. With the understanding in mind that Cajun communities tend to be rather closed ones, an attempt was made for the purposes of this study to establish contact with some member of the community and thus be introduced as a 'friend-of-a-friend', much as Brown did for her study. This was possible though only to a certain extent. Whereas all the informants either welcomed or did not mind being recorded, they were aware that the interviewer was not a member of the community, a fact which undoubtedly influenced the topics of conversation and in some cases, the register used. Their openness to being

recorded might be attributable to their proximity to a somewhat more metropolitan area (approximately 90,000 residents in Lafayette, the capital of Acadiana) and to their contact with outsiders through their employment. The communities Brown studied, on the other hand, particularly Pierre Part in the bayous of Assumption Parish, are no doubt more isolated than those surrounding Lafayette, and a closer link to such isolated communities is perhaps requisite for fieldwork in them.

The informants, of whom there are seven women and nine men, range in age from early thirties to early seventies. For reference purposes only, the parishes they represent are the following: Lafayette, Acadia, St. Landry, and Vermilion, all of which are prairie parishes, and St. Martin Parish, which is a bayou parish. For some of the informants i.e. some of the hair dresser's clients and the priest, exact age and parish of origin are unknown. Although some dialectal differences may be attributable to different parishes, no generalizations based upon parish of origin will be made.

Reference will be made to the data presented in Brown (1988), Conwell and Juilland (1963)², Oukada (1977), Byers (1988), and Faulk (1977)³ which confirm the findings or, in some cases, include additional forms not attested in this corpus.

3.1.2 Transcription of the Corpus

Examples provided in the discussion are presented in SF, though some adjustments have been made to reflect Cajun pronunciation better.⁴ For example, all verb forms are spelled with the 3s spelling of SF, since the verb is generally unmarked by the traditional person/number suffixes. Those forms which do have person/number suffixes, such as imperatives and some 3p forms, are transcribed accordingly.

The indefinite article of SF *une* (fem.) has been transcribed as *ein*. Nouns and adjectives are written without gender and number agreement unless the agreement was audibly made by the informant.

Other spelling changes reflect the simplification of some consonant clusters e.g. *jusse* 'just' and *pren* 'take' for SF *juste* and *prendre*. The expression *il y a* 'there are' has generally been transcribed as *i n a* as it is most frequently pronounced in the dialect.

In addition, words which are no longer used in SF or whose meanings differ from SF usage are glossed in English.

A portion of the transcriptions comprising the database are included in Appendix A.

3.1.3 Subject and Object Clitics, and Disjunctive Pronouns

The subject clitics and disjunctive pronouns attested in the corpus are outlined in Tables 3-1 and 3-2, respectively.

Table 3-1: Subject Clitics

1s	je, j'	1p	on
2s	tu/ti, t', vous	2p	vous-aut'
3s	il, i, elle/al, e/a, ça, c'	3p	i, il/iz, eux-aut', ça ⁵ eusse

Table 3-2: Disjunctive Pronouns

1s	moi	1p	nous-aut'
2s	toi	2p	vous-aut'
3s	lui, elle, ça	3p	eux-aut', eux, eusse

The object clitics of CajFr are the same as those of SF, the difference being that their use is reduced somewhat among younger speakers and they are being replaced by postverbal ça. All the object clitics are shown in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3: Object Clitics

<u>Accusative</u>			
1s	me, m'	1p	nous
2s	te, t', vous ⁶	2p	vous
3s	le, la, l'	3p	les
<u>Dative</u>			
1s	me, m'	1p	nous
2s	te, t', vous	2p	vous
3s	lui, la ⁷	3p	leur, leurs, les

3.1.3.1 First Person Singular

The 1s subject clitic of CajFr is the same as that of SF, i.e., *je* [ʒə] occurs in slower speech before a consonantal onset, and *j'* [ʒ] in fast speech before consonantal onsets as well as before vocalic onsets. If the consonant following /ʒ/ is voiceless, the /ʒ/ is also devoiced.⁸

(1) Subject Clitic

- a. *Moi, j'fait* [ʒfe] *mon roux avec pas de graisse du tout, jusse la farine.*

'I make my roux without any oil at all, just flour.'⁹

- b. *Si j'suis pressé, je met* [ʒə me] *le feu haut.*

'If I'm in a hurry, I turn the burner high.'

c. *Oh, j'aimerais [ʒɛmre] assez aller.*

'Oh, I would like so much to go.'

The 1s disjunctive or emphatic pronoun *moi* 'me' occurs in conjunction with the subject clitic in 9.5%¹⁰ of the tokens. The /wa/ is often more rounded than in SF, occurring as [wɔ], and is occasionally nasalized by some speakers, though the nasalized version is not frequently attested in this corpus.¹¹

These same clitic and emphatic forms are attested by Conwell & Juilland (1963), Brown (1988), and Oukada (1977).

Regarding the object clitic *me* [mɛ], it occurs as in SF, occasionally appearing in its full form before a consonant in careful speech. More frequently, however, the schwa is dropped in fast speech before consonants. The schwa is always dropped before a vowel.

(2) Object Clitic

a. ... *ça sem' comme si ça m'aime* ...

'... they seem as if they like me ...

b. *I m'a dit pour faire des bas pour les chaises et tout ça.*

'He told me (how to) make bottoms for chairs and all that.'

3.1.3.2 Second Person Singular

The usual 2s subject clitic of CajFr is also the same as that of SF *tu* [t \ddot{u}], the / \ddot{u} / being more open and lax in CajFr. Some speakers use /ti/, and the /i/ is again more relaxed than the Standard version. In both cases, the vowel is dropped before a vocalic onset.

(3) Subject Clitic

- a. *Pourquoi tu t'a grouillé* [t \ddot{u} tagruje] *de place?*
'Why did you move (change) places?'
- b. *Moi j'sait pas combien c'est tu* [ti] *resse là-bas ...*
'Me, I don't know how long it is you're staying here ...'
- c. *T'aime* [t \ddot{e} m] *la Louisiane?*
'You like Louisiana?'

In CajFr, *tu* sometimes acts as an indefinite, a role filled in SF by *on* 'one'.

- (4) *Le lendemain c'est uh, tu peut pu danser, tu peut pu faire rien rien.*

'The next day is, uh, you can no longer dance, you can no longer do ANYTHING.'

This might be the result of English influence. Nonetheless, it does fill a gap left by *on* which now functions in Cajun as *lp*, as it does in spoken SF. The use of *tu* as an indefinite pronoun accounts for its high frequency in this

corpus (334 tokens), but in only three of these is it accompanied by the emphatic pronoun *toi*, less than one percent.

(5) *Mais i dit, "J'savait pas toi tu parlait en ..."*

'But he says, "I didn't know you spoke in ..."'

In all three tokens, the referent is definite.

Vous is used infrequently in CajFr, its use being restricted to address either a stranger or someone the speaker has not seen in a long time, according to Conwell & Juilland (1963:143). Faulk does not list *vous* with the subject pronouns, but devotes a separate section to it, indicating that it is used to show respect for elderly individuals. Brown (1988) does not attest the form at all, while Oukada (1977) lists it as the singular polite pronoun but does not provide any examples of its use. Byers (1988) attributes its infrequency to the lack of opportunities for older speakers to use the formal forms and to the tendency of younger speakers to use *tu* in all situations (1988:97).

In this corpus three informants used the formal *vous* in addressing the interviewer, and two others used it to address a customer. It is never accompanied by an emphatic pronoun in any of its occurrences here.

Like the first person object clitic, second person *te* occurs in full before a consonant in careful speech but drops the schwa before a vowel and before a consonant in fast speech.

(6) Object Clitic

- a. ... *si ça t'attrapait à parler français* ...
'... if they caught you speaking French ...
- b. *J'ai des tit portrait icite dedans mon porte
monnaie j'va t'montrer.*
'I have some small pictures here in my wallet
I'm going to show you.'

For the polite *vous* subject clitic, the object clitic is *vous*. When it precedes a vocalic onset, the liaison is made.

3.1.3.3 Third Person Singular

Two of the 3s subject clitics are marked for gender, with *il* (masc.) and *al* (fem.) being used before verbs that start with a vowel and *i* and *a*, before consonants. These two forms may refer to animate and inanimate referents. *Elle* and *e* do occur as variants of *al* and *a*, respectively, though they are less frequent. In some cases when *elle* does occur, it may actually be the emphatic pronoun used without a clitic, and its asseverative nature must be determined from the context in which it occurs.

(7) Subject clitics

- a. *Il était [ilete] orphelin.*
'He was an orphan.'
- b. ... *si tu dansait avec un boug' étranger, i
faulait [ifole] i met [ime] un mouchoir dans
sa main.*
'... if you danced with a stranger, it was
necessary for him to put a handkerchief in
his hand.'
- c. *La tite fille al aime [alam] du gombo févi.*
'The little girl she likes okra gumbo.'
- d. *Connie parle français quand a vient [avjɛ̃] i
icite.*
'Connie speaks French when she comes here.'
- e. *Elle edvient [ɛ̃lɔdvjɛ̃] du Texas.¹²*
'She/SHE comes from Texas.'

Ça generally acts as a neutral pronoun meaning 'it', though occasionally it is used with definite reference to humans. In this respect, CajFr ça differs from SF ça, which carries a pejorative or some other affective connotation when used with definite reference (Grevisse 1964).

Conwell and Juilland (1963) maintain that CajFr ça and ce, as in SF, are alternate forms for cela and ceci, respectively. As Brown rightly points out, their analysis retains a perspective based on written SF (1988:139), and those rules of grammar do not always apply in the dialect.

Ça never appears in the full form found in SF, *cela* 'this, that', either in this corpus or in Brown's (1988).

(8) Genderless Subject Clitic

- a. *Ça dépend [sadepã] qui c'est ti parle avec vous?*

'It depends on who's talking with you?'

- b. *C'est [se] de la fomille du maïs ...*

'It's from the corn family ...'

- c. *Mon neveu ça veut [savö] s'acheter un tit Truck, un Toyota.*

'My nephew he wants to buy himself a small truck, a Toyota.'

- d. *C'est [se] américain.*

'He's American.'

Brown posits that *ça* and *c'* /s/ are allomorphs, the latter occurring before the present and imperfect of *être* 'be' (1988:143). In this corpus, *c'* (transcribed as *ç'* in keeping with the orthography of SF) can also occur before /a/. Furthermore, *ce*, which in SF is considered to be the full form of *c'*, appears in one token before the future of *être*:

- (9) *Mais j'croit ce sera [səsra] dur à faire.*

'But I think it will be hard to do.'

In addition to its innovative¹³ role as a pronoun with definite reference, *ça* takes over some of the functions of pleonastic *il* in SF.

(10) ... *ça a pris à mouillir ... et ça mouillait assez fort ...*¹⁴

'... it began to rain ... and it was raining so hard ...

Il or its reduced form *i* remains, though, in the expressions *i faut* 'it is necessary' and *i n a/il y a*.

Like the 1s and 2s emphatic pronouns, the 3s emphatic pronouns *lui* (masc.), *elle* (fem.), and *ça* correspond to those of SF. An example of each is found in (11) below.

(11) Emphatic Pronouns

a. *Lui i parle pas français, pas un mot français.*

'HE doesn't speak French, not a word (in) French.'

b. *Moi j'suis jeune encore, elle al est vieille.*

'I'm still young, SHE's old.'

c. *Ça c'est un instrument que ça a commencé à user jusse dernièrement dedans les band de français.*

'That's an instrument that they have just recently started using in the French (Cajun) bands.'

Lui and *elle* occur in conjunction with the subject clitic in approximately 7.6% of the tokens and in virtually every occurrence, their use is emphatic.

Ça, on the other hand, occurs as a disjunctive pronoun in approximately 12.2% of the tokens. It is most often used

in conjunction with *c'est* as an explanation of what some particular item is, and therefore its use is generally not emphatic.

Conwell & Juilland (1963:150) include *ça* and *c'* as demonstrative pronouns and dismiss their use as a personal pronoun in a single sentence:

'The impersonal *ce* is used, as in colloquial SF, before the verb *être* ... [I]t may exceptionally refer to persons, e.g. *Laurence* ... *c'est toujours assise autour du foyer.*'

Oukada includes examples of both singular and plural *ça* in a footnote (1977:197). Faulk (1977), nonetheless, excludes it as a 3s form.

The 3s object clitics correspond to those of SF. That is to say, they are marked for gender, *le* (masc.) and *la* (fem.) and precede the verb. Like *me* and *te*, the vowel is dropped before a following vowel, and in the case of *le*, the schwa is often dropped before a consonant as well. Examples of the object clitics are in (12).

(12) Object Clitics

a. *A me la bourre et a la cuit.*

'She stuffs it (meat) for me and she cooks it.'

b. *... et on a commencé à le sui(vre) ...*

'... and we started to follow him ...'

c. ... *il lui ont donné un tit nom.*

'... they gave him a nickname.'

Concerning the use of the object clitics, it has been previously noted (*vide supra*) that they are gradually being replaced by postverbal *ça*, particularly among younger speakers. It has not been cliticized since it often receives stress. Brown (1988) asserts that the use of *ça* as an object pronoun is restricted to inanimate referents and suggests that this restriction is due to the lingering effect of the historically emotive connotation of *ça*. Our corpus, however, attests three instances of animate referents for *ça* as object pronoun, one of which is included in (13), together with an example of *ça* with an inanimate referent:

(13) Object Pronoun *ça*

a. *Eux-aut' appellait ça les soeurs.*

'They called them sisters'.

b. *Moi, les chars des Japon, j'aime pas ça du tout.*

'Me, Japanese cars, I don't like them at all.'

For a complete discussion of *ça* and its use as both subject and object pronoun, see Brown (1988).

3.1.3.4 First Person Plural

Judging from the data in this corpus, *nous* of SF has been replaced by *on* and is subject to the same phonological rule by which the liaison is made before a vocalic onset.

(14) Subject Clitic

a. *On met [õme] le cochon au lait en dedans.*

'We put the suckling pig inside.'

b. *Mais si eusse voulait le faire ici, on a le, on a [õna] des bonnes idée ici.*

'But if they wanted to make it here, we have the, we have some good ideas here.'

In approximately 7.7% of the 1p tokens, the disjunctive pronoun *nous-aut'* occurs with *on*. This is only slightly less frequent than for 1s *moi*. Again the construction is emphatic in the sense that in most cases, it is contrastive in nature: In this corpus most of the tokens containing a 1p emphatic pronoun contrast Cajun tastes or practices to those of other groups.

(15) *Nous-aut' on appelle ça un capot.*

'WE call it a "capot" (jacket).'

On also refers to the first person singular, albeit rarely, and in this regard it differs from SF.¹⁵ In recounting a conversation between himself and another individual, one informant quotes the other party:

(16) a. *I dit, "Si tu gagne l'élection," i dit "on va danser ein valse avec toi."*

'He says, "If you win the election," he says "I'm going to dance a waltz with you."'

This is one example in which reference to the first person singular is unmistakable, judging from the context of the conversation and from the fact that the promised waltz did take place.

Another possible example from this corpus is given in (16b). The informant has been speaking about his nephew and repairs made on his truck, and it is not entirely clear whether *on* refers to the speaker alone, thus being singular, or to both the speaker and his nephew.

(16) b. *Il a peut-être fait quelque chose avec et puis on a jamais connu, mais j'croit pas'.*

'He perhaps did something with it and then I/we never found out, but I don't think so.'

In addition, *on* is also used in what appears to be a fixed expression, *on dirait* 'I would say', offering yet another case of first person singular reference.

On the other hand, as a fixed expression, it is possible that *on* has maintained its indefinite reference here and means 'one would say', as in the example in (13).

(17) *On dirait vingt ans passé ou vingt-cinq ans passé, trente ans passé, la musique cadjin ça on connaît, avait proche, i n avait pu.*

'I would say/One would say twenty years ago or twenty-five years ago, thirty years ago, the Cajun music that we know, had nearly, there wasn't any more.

Conwell & Juilland also claim that 'Exceptionally, *on* may also replace the subject form of the singular, *je*, e.g., *on [ne] va plus aller à l'école ... je vais travailler dans le clos'* (1963:142). This is the only example of first person singular reference for *on* that they cite. Yet Brown (1988), Oukada (1977), and Faulk (1977) do not include *on* as a possible first person singular referent.

With regard to the clitic and emphatic + clitic combination, Brown finds that *nous-aut'* and *nous-aut' on* covary but that no emphasis is involved when *nous-aut'* appears with *on*. Still, in this corpus there are only seven out of a total 376 tokens in which *nous-aut'* stands alone. Brown provides no details about these constructions in her corpus, so it is impossible to determine how great is the difference in frequency between the two corpora and whether that difference, if indeed there is one, is a question of regional variation or is due to some other factor, such as topic of conversation.

Conwell and Juilland (1963) list *nous* as the subject pronoun but in their discussion they assert that *on* is actually more common than *nous*.

Oukada (1977) cites examples of *on* alone and in conjunction with *nous-aut'*, but none is included which attests the latter being used alone as a subject pronoun. Like Brown, he makes no mention of frequency for either construction.

Faulk's (1977) grammar lists only *on* among the subject pronouns and later introduces *nous-aut'* with the other disjunctive pronouns as being used to signal stress when it accompanies *on*.

Object clitic *nous* [nu] does not differ from *nous* of SF and undergoes liaison before a vocalic onset, yielding [nuz]. Examples from the corpus are given in (18).

(18) Object Clitic

a. *Ça fait a nous tape.*

'So she's taping us.'

b. *... a va nous parler en français.*

'... she will speak to us in French.'

3.1.3.5 Second Person Plural

Vous-aut', the 2p subject clitic occurs in merely 26 of the tokens, half of which are from one speaker. Its use is strictly plural. In none of its occurrences here does it

occur with an emphatic pronoun, nor is there any attestation of its objective counterpart.

(19) *Oui, j'croit vous-aut' se voit pas.*

'Yes, I think you don't (can't) see each other.'

Brown's (1988) corpus contains *vous-aut'* and *vous-aut' tu*, though the latter form is infrequent. Conwell & Juilland (1963) give *vous* as the second person plural subject clitic, with no evidence of *vous-aut'* used alone. They claim that *vous* is sometimes replaced by *vous-aut' ça* (1963:143). Oukada (1977) and Faulk (1977) both give *vous-aut'* as the 2p form.

Faulk (1977:164) states that when addressing elderly people, one should use *vous* to show respect, and that the verb then takes an [e] ending.

This corpus furnishes only two examples of the 2p object clitics, one accusative and one dative, which are found in the speech of the priest. His CajFr, as previously mentioned, might have been influenced by the study of SF, though this would not affect the object clitics. These examples are cited in (20).

(20) Object Clitic

a. *I vous aime si tellement ...*

'He loves you so much ...'

b. *J'vous garantit le Bon Dieu paye au K&B.*

'I assure you (that) God pays at K&B.'

Conwell & Juilland (1963), Oukada (1977) and Faulk (1977) all cite *vous* as both the accusative and dative 2p form. Brown (1988) concentrates on 3s & 3p object pronouns and thus provides no information concerning *vous*.

Not unlike its first person counterpart *nous*, the liaison is made before a vowel and gives [vuz].

3.1.3.6 Third Person Plural

As evidenced by the list in Table 3-1, the 3p subject clitics are numerous. Two of the clitics are the same as those found in ISF. They are *i* and *iz*, the former being preconsonantal and the latter prevocalic. A third alternative, *il*, also surfaces before a vocalic onset. In addition, one finds *ça*, *eux-aut'*, and *eusse*, with *ça* being the most frequently attested in this corpus as it occurs in 62% of all possible tokens. An example of each form is provided in (21).

(21) Third Person Subject Clitics

- a. *Et quand eux i [i] sont p'tit, i faisant ein danse à la maison comme le samedi.*

'And when THEY are little, they would make a dance at the house like on Saturdays.'

- b. *I y avait pas le mot "airplane" quand il [il] ont venu ici.*
 'There was no word "airplane" when they came here.'
- c. *Mais, uh, iz [iz] était là j'croit pour ein semaine.*
 'But, uh, they were there I think for one week.'
- d. *Ça [sa] (great grand-parents) parlait jusse en français ...*
 'They spoke just in French.'
- e. *Eux-aut' [œ zot] appelait ça les soeurs.*
 'They (nuns) called them sisters.'
- f. *Eusse [œ s] peut, mais eusse veut pas tu comprend ... quoi i sont apès dire.*
 'They can, but they don't want you to understand ... what they're saying.'

The clitics presented in (21, a-c), *i*, *il*, and *iz*, appear to be marked for gender, given that these forms in SF are masculine. Yet the feminine clitic (*elles*) of SF has been lost, and since none of the other forms has stepped in to serve as a feminine pronoun, the conclusion to be drawn is that gender has been lost from the 3p subject clitics.¹⁶

The emphatic pronoun used with the 3p subject clitics may be *eux*, *eux-aut'*, *eusse*, or *ça*, and in 3.4% of the

tokens, one emphatic pronoun or another does occur. Examples are presented in (22).

(22) Emphatic Pronouns

a. *Eux iz ont mêlé leur tit peu à eux et le français ...*

'THEY mixed THEIR little bit and French ...'

b. *Eux-aut' ç'a un nom différent.*

'THEY have a different name.'

c. *... eusse ça connaissait pas quoi j'tait apès dire ...*

'... THEY didn't know what I was saying ...'

d. *On achète plus avec les aut' pays que ça ç' achète avec nous-aut'.*

'We buy more with other countries than THEY buy with us.'

The accusative clitic *les* is more common in this corpus than its dative counterpart *leur*, which is attested in the speech of only one informant who pronounces [jœrz]. *Les* is also used as a dative clitic. *Les* [le] occurs before a consonant while [lez] surfaces before a vowel.

(23) Object Clitics

a. *En frottant les graines, ça les fait briller.*

'By rubbing the seeds, it makes them shine.'

b. *J'les ai bien manqué quand iz ont parti.*

'I missed them a lot when they left.'

c. *J'm'ergrette asteur que j'les ai pas montré en français.*¹⁷

'I regret now that I did not teach them in French.'

d. *Mais tu leurs [jœrz] a dit quand même.*

'But you told them just the same.'

These same clitics are found in Brown's corpus (1988), though dative *leur* [jœr] does not appear with a final /z/. Faulk (1977), however, places the final /z/ parenthetically on the form he gives but there is no /r/, which gives [jœ]/[jœz]. Oukada's (1988) study reveals only one objective clitic, *les* [le]/[lez] in Lafourche Parish.

3.1.4 Non-Clitic Subjects

The corpus contains 384 tokens involving a lexical subject or an indefinite pronoun such as *quéqu'un* 'someone'. Eighty-four of these 384 tokens, or 21.8%, also contain a subject clitic. Examples of a lexical and a pronominal subject, each followed by a subject clitic, are found in (24) and (25) below.

(24) Lexical Subject

Tu voit son neveu à elle ça va s'acheter un de ces Toyota ...

'You see her nephew he's going to buy one of these Toyotas ...'

(25) Pronominal Subject

Ça-là c'est mon rinse, Mildred?

'This (it) is my rinse, Mildred?'

3.1.5 Summary of Subject Clitics

To briefly summarize, the subject clitics of the dialect are, for the most part, those of ISF: *je, tu, il/i, al/a, ça, on, vous-aut', i/iz/il/ça/eux-aut'/eusse*. The major differences between the two systems lie in 2p *vous-aut'*, 3p *eux-aut'/eusse*, and the use of 3p, and the less frequent 3s, *ça* with definite reference to animate beings. Table 3-4 summarizes the frequency of co-occurring subject clitics with emphatic pronouns and with non-clitic subjects.

Table 3-4: Co-occurrence of Subject Clitics with
Disjunctive Pronouns and Other Non-Clitics

Category	Frequency	Total Tokens ¹⁸	Percentage
1s	78	819	9.5
2s	3	334	0.9
3s	55	707	7.6
1p	29	376	7.7
2p	0	26	0
3p	14	394	3.4
Ça + c' être	65	466	12.2
Non-clitic + Clitic	84	384	21.8

3.1.6 Person and Number Marking

3.1.6.1 First and Second Persons Plural

Although SF is not a highly synthetic language in traditional terms, the 1p and 2p verb forms do possess inflectional endings, each of which marks both person and number simultaneously with the subject clitic. These suffixes, *-ons* [ɔ̃] and *-ez* [e], have all but disappeared from the CajFr verb. The replacement of *nous* by *on* and of *vous* by *vous-aut'* has contributed to their loss, as both of these new subject clitics take a 3s verb form; that is, a

verb with no person/number suffix. Each of these is evidenced in the following examples.

- (26) a. *Nous-aut' on les aime.*
 'WE like them.'
- b. ... *c'est bon vous-aut' parle un tit brin.*
 '... it's good [that] you talk a little bit.'

The speech of two of the informants does include some utterances in which *vous* is used with a verb and the *-ez* suffix. For one speaker, the *vous* is singular and addressed to the interviewer. For the other, the *vous* is plural. When using *vous* to address the interviewer, the first speaker alternates between a zero verb ending and the *-ez* suffix as in the following tokens.

- (27) a. ... *là au Pont Breaux si vous observe là-bas*
 au Pont Breaux ...
 '... there in Breaux Bridge if you observe
 over there in Breaux Bridge ...'
- b. *Vous (v)oulez un Coke?*
 'Do you want a Coke?'

In (27a) the liaison between *vous* and *observe* is exceptionally made: Just a few tokens later, the informant does not make this same liaison. The tokens containing the *-ez* suffix are very few and in fact are hard to distinguish, though the ending seems to surface only in the imperative (formal singular) and the irregular verb *vouloir*.

The second speaker, the priest, uses *vous* and a verb ending in *-ez* to address the congregation, yet in this corpus there are just two tokens in which he addresses the congregation in the nominative. Both of these examples are found in (28).

- (28) a. *Et j'm' imagine que vous croyez des fois ...*
 'And I imagine you believe sometimes ...'
- b. *Et là vous allez venir plus tard pendant la messe ...*
 'And then you're going to come later during the mass ...'

With these few exceptions, and the imperative, which will be considered below, the 2p verb form in the corpus is not marked for person and number by the Standard verbal inflection. It is possible that the occurrences shown in (28) are the result of SF influence, particularly for the priest, who is known to be able to read SF.

On the other hand, some speakers of CajFr do use the traditional 2p [e] inflection. The usage of *vous* and the suffixal inflection, and speakers' attitudes toward them, are discussed in Byers (1988)¹⁹, who asserts that there is some correlation between their use and the age of the speaker, older speakers being more inclined to make use of both.

Furthermore, Faulk (1977) advises the student of CajFr that the formal pronoun *vous* takes a different verb form

i.e. verb + [e]. Oukada's (1977) morphological analysis of the verb²⁰ in Lafourche Parish maintains a 2p [e] inflection for all verb classes, though not all the examples cited bear this out. His examples (6a) and (6d) are provided below (1977:188, glosses--J. S.).

- (6a) [vuzɔt pura mɔ̃te]
vous-autres pourra (ez) monter
 'you will be able to come up'
- (6d) [vuzɔt vu rase]
vous-autres vous rasez
 'you shave'

3.1.6.2 Third Person Plural

Some dialects of CajFr attest a 3p suffix [ɔ̃]²¹ in the present and imperfect which, if it occurs, is used with subject clitics *i/il/iz*, the other clitics taking a zero person/number morpheme. The data do attest this form in the speech of two informants as demonstrated by the following examples.

(29) Third Person Plural [ɔ̃] Suffix

- a. *Comme on appelle, i disont c'est le "aydeco"*
 ...
 'Like we say, they say it's "aydeco" (zydeco music)²² ...'

b. ... *j'connaissait pas des, les machine que il aviont ...*

'... I didn't know some, the machines that they had ...'

This ending is most frequent for *avoir* and *être*, as one might well expect given that their Standard forms are [ɔ̃] and [sɔ̃], respectively.

The variation between *i/iz/il* and *ça*, and between [ɔ̃] and a zero marker are also part of Byers's (1988) survey and discussion. The majority of his informants (24 out of 49) use *ça* with a zero ending, while an equal number use *i/iz/il* plus [ɔ̃] as do *i/iz/il* with a zero ending (9 informants for each group). The remainder use some other pronoun with a zero ending.

Faulk (1977) offers [ɔ̃] as an alternate 3p ending for all verbs for both present and imperfect tenses. Conwell & Juilland (1963) and Oukada (1977) do not attest any 3p verb ending.

3.1.6.3 Imperative

The imperative verb forms consist of three persons: 2s, 1p, and 2p, all of which are marked for person and number. The 2s form takes a zero ending, the 2p and formal form takes [e], and according to the data in our corpus, the 1p is periphrastic, consisting of *allons* + infinitive.

(30) Imperative

- a. *Fouille en bas le linge là.*
'Dig under the clothes there.'
- b. *Gaspillez pas vos souffrances.*
'Do not waste your suffering.'
- c. *Allons voir.*
'Let's see.'

As far as can be ascertained, this is the only instantiation of any distinctly 1p verbal inflection i.e. Standard [3], so *allons* serves to mark not only person and number, but mood, that is imperative as well.

3.1.7 Predicate Negation

The two-part negative (*ne ... pas*) of SF has been reduced to one in CajFr. In other words, *ne* has been completely lost from the dialect, judging from this corpus and from Faulk (1977). Consequently, *pas* 'not', *jamais* 'never', *pu* (plus) 'no longer, no more', and *que* 'only' stand alone, each one following the finite verb. (31) furnishes an example of each.

(31) Negative Adverbs

- a. *Ma femme parle pas en français.*
'My wife doesn't speak (in) French.'
- b. *Mais moi j'avait jamais entendu dire ça.*
'But I had never heard that (said).'

c. ... tu peut pu danser ...

'... you can't dance any more ...'

d. Mais sur mon baptistaire, il a mis qu'un r.

'But on my certificate of baptism, he put only one r.'

According to Conwell & Juilland (1963), the negative pronouns *rien* and *personne* occur most often in combination with *pas*. Our data confirm this for *rien*, which also occurs as *à rien*, yet our corpus does not attest *personne*. An instance of *rien* is given in (32).

(32) *J'ai pas rien dedans.*

'I don't have anything in it.'

3.1.8 Interrogative Sentences

Intonation is far and away the most frequent strategy for question formation in CajFr. The SF *est-ce que* 'is-it-that' occurs rarely in this corpus, perhaps as few as two or three times. There are only two instances of subject-verb inversion in the corpus, and each of these occurs following an interrogative adverb or pronoun.²³ Though each involves a nominal subject, in neither case is the nominal replaced by a subject clitic in the inversion. Witness the example in (33).

(33) *Quoi a la maman à B. E., Mildred?*

'What's wrong with B. E.'s mama, Mildred?'

An example of a question in which the speaker uses intonation, in this case rising intonation for a yes-no question, is given in (34).

- (34) *Tu te rappelle?*
 'Do you remember?'

3.1.9 Intermediate Summary

The data of this corpus have evidenced that the subject and object clitics of CajFr are in large measure those of SF and furthermore, that their function and placement in the sentence are similar. As was pointed out earlier, the exceptions to this are 2p *vous-aut'*, 3p *eux-aut'/eusse*, and *ça* which has definite animate reference as both a nominative and an accusative. In addition, postverbal *ça* is gradually replacing the preverbal object clitics.

The person/number suffixes of SF are losing ground in that 1p [ɔ̃] is completely lost (except in the 1p imperative *allons* + infinitive), and 2p [e] is giving way due to the increased frequency of *tu* which takes a zero ending and is used in place of *vous*. Furthermore, CajFr differs from SF in that some speakers use a 3p suffix [ɔ̃].

Likewise, the Standard negative particle *ne* has dropped from use, the negative now being marked simply by *pas*, *jamais*, and *pu*. And in many cases, *pas* conjoins with the negative pronoun *rien*.

Moreover, inversion as an interrogative form has been replaced by the use of intonation, with rare exception.

3.2 Analyticity and Syntheticity in the Cajun French Verb Group

Having reviewed the facts of CajFr above, I shall now examine the verb group i.e. the group consisting of the subject (and object) clitics and the verb in an effort to determine whether it is more synthetic or analytic according to Schwegler's (1990) criteria presented in Chapter 2. Those criteria are repeated here for convenience: semantic interrelatedness; morphosyntactic separability, linearity, displaceability, isolatedness, obligatoriness, and transparency; and language-particular phonological criteria.

3.2.1 Semantic Interrelatedness

Before morphosyntactic synthesis can be set in motion, the segments of a speech unit must be semantically linked. This entails semantic relevance and generality. According to the definitions of relevance and generality discussed in Chapter 2, person/number is a semantically relevant category for verbs in that it modifies the meaning of the stem by indicating who is performing the action of the verb. It is also a general category in that it applies to all verbs.

The subject clitics of CajFr as person/number markers are certainly relevant and general, so the semantic link can safely be considered as having been made. In the following section I shall examine each of the morphosyntactic criteria to establish whether or not they show the verb group to be more synthetic or analytic.

3.2.2 Morphosyntactic Criteria

3.2.2.1 Separability

Looking first at separability, as is the case in SF, the subject clitic may be separated from the verb by intervening object clitics. In accordance with the rules of SF grammar, it is possible to have a maximum of two clitics in CajFr, one direct and one indirect (or oblique), in the verb group. A study of the data reveals, however, that occurrences of two object clitics are infrequent, occurring in only two tokens in this corpus.

(35) a. *A me la bourre ...*

'She stuffs it (meat) for me ...'

b. *E me dit, "Quand tu va aller amène-moi-z-en".²⁴*

'She says, "When you go, bring me some."'

In addition, as noted in section 3.1.3.3 the use of postverbal pronoun *ça* for inanimate referents seems to be gradually replacing the preverbal object clitics.

Consequently, the separability of the subject clitic from the verb is decreasing with the decreased use of object clitics.

The separability of the subject and verb is further diminished as a result of the complete loss of *ne* from predicate negation. As previously mentioned, negation is expressed by the use of postverbal *pas*, *jamais*, *pu*, and *pas rien*.

There is now a maximum of only two syllables, one for each possible clitic, which can intervene, and both belong to a single word class. Recall that Schwegler (1990) argues that it is the number of interrupting word classes which most significantly affects separability, and now there remains only one such class in Cajun. The loss of negative particle *ne* and the decline of preverbal clitics result in reduced separability. According to Schwegler's (1990) criteria of separability, the CajFr subject clitic and verb lie more toward the synthetic end of the continuum.

3.2.2.2 Linearity

If a segment expresses more than one meaning, it is a linear, particularly if the meanings are fused into a single morpheme rather than accumulated in succession. Each of the CajFr subject clitics marks both person and number. Table 3-1 is repeated below for easy reference.

Table 3-1: Subject Clitics

1s	je, j'	1p	on
2s	tu/ti, t', vous	2p	vous-aut'
3s	il, i, elle/al, e/a, ça, c'	3p	i, il/iz, eux-aut', ça eusse

The 2s forms carry the additional meaning of informal-formal in *tu-vous*. The question of homonymy in the 3s and 3p forms *i*, *il*, and *ça* will be addressed in section 3.5.

3.2.2.3 Displaceability

Subject clitics in CajFr always occur preverbally and are not displaceable. With the loss of inversion as an interrogative form, the clitics no longer occur postverbally. Their fixed word order is therefore more synthetic than analytic.

Object clitics, though, do occur postverbally in both affirmative and negative imperatives. The latter is not attested in this corpus, but Faulk instructs the learner of CajFr that object clitics follow the verb in both types of imperative (1977:173).

3.2.2.4 Isolatedness

Like the subject clitics of SF, those of CajFr cannot stand alone. As clitics they are of course bound to the verb, and the disjunctive pronouns are used for emphasis as in (36)a and as free forms as in (36)b.

(36) a. *Moi, j'parlait jusse français.*

'I spoke just French.

b. *Moi, les chars des Japons, j'aime pas ça du tout.*

'Me, Japanese cars, I don't like them at all.'

As bound elements, the subject clitics are synthetic.

3.2.2.5 Obligatoriness

Subject clitics in CajFr are for the most part a required element of the verb group. There are, however, several contexts in which they do not occur.

Firstly, as indicated earlier, because there is no subject-verb inversion in Cajun, the subject clitic is not required to collocate with the verb when the subject is nominal. Therefore, one context which would reinforce the obligatoriness of subject clitics that exists in SF, is lacking in CajFr. Secondly, they are absent from the imperative, as in SF. Thirdly, in this corpus, they occur in conjunction with nominal subjects in only 21% of the

cases in which they could occur, leaving the majority of nominal subjects unaccompanied by a clitic.

Lastly, the subject clitic is absent from relative clauses in which the relative pronoun is nominative: This is true of SF as well. The sentence in (37) gives an example of a nominative relative pronoun.

(37) *Mais Mason, qu'est l'boss, lui parle pas français.*

'But Mason, who is the boss, HE doesn't speak French.'

Another example of clitic absence can be found in the speech of one speaker who has a tendency to interject (*vous/tu*) *connaît* much as speakers of American English use 'ya know'. The data from other speakers indicates that they use cliticless *connaît* much less, if at all. Instead they use *tu voit*, always with the subject clitic.

Single clauses with multiple verbs provide an additional context in which the clitic may be absent, yet there is only one instance in the corpus, which is given in (38), when more than one finite verb occurs in a single clause.

(38) *J'suis sûr vous a entendu ou li ça.*

'I'm sure you've heard or read this.'

In all other cases clauses are conjoined or juxtaposed, and the clitic is repeated as in the example in (39).

(39) *A me la cuit et a la bourre.*

'She cooks it for me and she stuffs it.'

Nonetheless, given that the subject clitic is generally required and occurs with as many as 21% of nominal subjects, the overall obligatoriness of the subject clitic renders the verb group more synthetic than analytic.²⁵

3.2.2.6 Transparency

The subject and object clitics, and the disjunctive pronouns of CajFr as attested in this corpus are presented in Table 3-5.²⁶

Table 3-5: Subject and Object Clitics, Disjunctive Pronouns

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Object</u>	<u>Disjunctive</u>
<u>1s</u>	je, j'	me, m'	moi
<u>2s</u>	tu, ti, t'	te, t'	toi
Formal	vous	vous	vous
<u>3s</u>	il, i, elle, e, al, a, ça, c'	le, la, l' lui	lui, elle, ça
<u>1p</u>	on	nous	nous-aut'
<u>2p</u>	vous-aut'	vous	vous-aut'
<u>3p</u>	i, il, iz, ça, eux-aut', eusse	les, leur, leurs	eux-aut', eux, eusse

Recall that transparency refers to the formal variation between allomorphs: the greater the formal variation, the

greater the syntheticity. The most transparent and therefore the most analytic of the forms is of course 2s formal *vous*, which is invariable. It is followed closely by 2p *vous-aut'*, which has only two forms, and they are predictable based on grammatical rules: The nominative and disjunctive are identical, while the objective form differs.

Many of the alternations above are phonologically predictable. In the nominative, for example, *je/j'*, *tu/t'* and *ti/t'*, are explained by saying that the vowel is dropped before a vocalic onset in the verb, while *i/il*, *e/elle*, *a/al*, and *i/iz/il*, on the other hand, drop the consonant before a consonantal onset. The alternations *tu/ti* and *a/e~al/elle* involve free variation. Third singular *ça* and *c'* are explained by a phonological rule: *c'* occurs before the verb *être* 'be' or /a/, *ça* before all others.

The alternation between 3s and 3p *ça* and the other 3s and 3p nominative clitics is, for the most part, syntactic. Brown (1988) found that this variation depends primarily on whether or not the referent is animate. Her findings are summarized as follows (1988:167-81). Firstly, a proposition will always be referred to as *ça*. A concrete referent is more likely to take *ça* while an abstract referent has a neutral effect on the choice of subject clitic, yet an animate referent has a low probability of taking *ça*. Another important factor in determining which clitic is used is the type of verb: There is a higher probability of *ça*

occurring with intransitive verbs. In addition, demographical factors influencing the use of *ça* include the locality and age of the informant, though they play a smaller role.

The difference between 3s *i/il* and *a/al* is, of course, one of gender. Marking for gender has been lost in the 3p forms.

None of Brown (1988), Conwell & Juilland (1963), Byers (1988), Oukada (1977) or Faulk (1977) includes *eux-aut'* as a 3p pronoun, and in this corpus its attestation is limited to just five (out of 16) speakers, occurring with greatest frequency, 88% of tokens, in the speech of only two informants. An impressionistic evaluation reveals that this form is a variable of *i/iz/il*, because the referent is always animate, and there is no apparent emphasis intended in its use. In fact, it alternates with *i* in the following example.

(40) ... *même i lui ont donné un tit nom. Eux-aut
l'appelait Yankee à cause i m'nait de New York
...*²⁷

'... they even gave him a nickname. They called
him Yankee because he came from New York ...'

The question then is whether this reflects the early stages of a disjunctive pronoun taking over a subject pronoun function, as has apparently happened in the case of *vous-aut'*, or whether its frequency is so limited that it is

in effect insignificant. A conclusion based on this corpus alone would be premature. Yet given that *eux-aut'* is not attested in the literature as a subject pronoun or clitic, perhaps with the exception of Byers, for whom it might be included in the category labeled as 'other' (1988:132-37),²⁸ its use will be considered equivalent to the use of *i/iz/il* and *ça* for the purposes of this discussion.

The loss of the vowel in the 1s, 2s, and 3s forms of the object clitics is phonologically predictable. As in the nominative forms, the vowel is lost before a vocalic onset.

Considering all three sets of forms provided in Table 3-5 according to person, it is clear that the 1s *je, j'/me, m'/moi* and 2s *tu, ti, t'/te, t'/toi* are those of SF plus the additional 2s *ti*. Furthermore, the variation in the 3s objective and disjunctive forms is also the same as that of SF. Disjunctive *elle* and *ça* can potentially bear formal resemblance to their clitic subjects. In the case of *elle*, if the subject clitic is *elle*, as opposed to *al*, and precedes a vocalic onset, it would be identical to the disjunctive, producing *elle, elle aime ça* 'SHE likes it'. The same is true of *ça* if the clitic precedes a consonantal onset as in *Tellement que ça ça fait mal* 'It (the speaker's arm) hurts so much'.

Unlike SF, CajFr has an additional 1p variant which is *nous-aut'*. The addition of this form to the 1p paradigm makes it synthetic, with three different forms: *on, nous-*

aut', and *nous*. None of these forms is phonologically predictable, and so they all must be explained by grammatical rules. They are then highly synthetic according to Schwegler's (1990) criterion.

Finally, the formal variation present in the 3p nominative is maintained in the objective and disjunctive forms. The objective clitics can only be explained by grammatical rules, not phonological rules. And though the disjunctive pronouns do resemble the nominative clitics, two identical forms never occur together. In other words, disjunctive *eux-aut'* and *eusse* are used with *i/iz/il* or *ça* but not with *eux-aut'* and *eusse*, respectively. Due to their extensive formal variation, the 3p forms are not at all transparent and are therefore synthetic.

With regard to semantic transparency, the subject clitics of CajFr hold the same status as in SF. They are unable to occur as free morphemes and are bound to the verb, which is precisely what makes them clitics.

3.2.3 Phonological Criteria

According to Schwegler, the phonological criteria which determine syntheticity are language specific. In CajFr, it was noted above that the subject clitics are subject to the same rules of schwa deletion (*je/j'*), elision (*tu/t'*), and liaison (*on*) as in SF. In addition, the 3s clitics *i* and

a/e, and 3p i undergo epenthesis when preceding a vocalic onset, with /l/ surfacing in the singular and occasionally in the plural, though /z/ is more common.

Furthermore, in their discussion of CajFr phonology, Conwell & Juilland (1963) state that stress in CajFr is a question of length as opposed to intensity or pitch. They note too that although stress in the phonological word or CURSUS (Pulgram 1970) is generally phrase final, an emphatic stress causes the final stress to 'move backward toward the first syllable' (1963:31). In addition, the grammatical word in CajFr is more likely to retain its stress within the cursus than in SF, which Conwell & Juilland (1963) explain as a possible result of bilingual interference from English. Retention of grammatical word stress sometimes produces two consecutive stresses. Other syntactic factors such as the repetition of adjectives or adverbs, which intensifies their meaning in the way that *très* 'very' of SF intensifies adjectives or adverbs, increase the number of stresses within the cursus. Although this pattern differs from that of SF, the subject clitics remain unstressed.

The clitics's lack of stress and their elision are indicative of the phonological weakening which favors syntheticity.

3.3 Conclusions Regarding Analyticity and Syntheticity

Drawing upon the preceding analysis made in accordance with Schwegler's (1990) redefinition of analyticity and syntheticity based on what he refers to as 'morphological tightness', does the verb group of CajFr fall more toward the synthetic or the analytic end of the continuum?

To answer this question, I shall begin by summarizing the findings. It was first determined that the requisite semantic link between subject clitic and verb according to generality and relevance exists.

Secondly, an examination of the morphosyntactic criteria revealed that the clitic and verb have reduced separability in comparison with SF, that the clitics express both person and number, as well as gender for the 3s forms and formality for 2s *vous*, and so are alinear. In addition, the subject clitics can no longer be displaced or isolated, always occurring bound to the verb and in preverbal position. Lastly, they are essentially obligatory and non-transparent. These morphosyntactic criteria indicate syntheticity.

Thirdly, the phonology of CajFr, in spite of some differences from SF with regard to stress, is conducive to syntheticity.

The foregoing discussion provides evidence to conclude that the CajFr verb group is indeed synthetic with regard to

person and number marking. This is true from Schwegler's (1990) perspective of morphological tightness. Morphological leveling brought about by the loss of the 1p and 2p endings [ʃ] and [e] (sections 3.1.6.1 and 3.1.6.2) results in the following structure for all but a few irregular verbs.

Table 3-6: Present Indicative Forms

1s	ʒ	+ stem + ∅	1p	ʃ	+ stem + ∅
2s	tü/vu	+ stem + ∅	2p	vuzɔt	+ stem + ∅
3s	i/a/sa	+ stem + ∅	3p	sa/i/æ s/æ zɔt	+ stem + ∅
			i		+ stem + ʃ

The subject clitics are virtually the sole markers of person and number, the only exception to this being the alternative 3p ending [ɜ] which is not used by all speakers. This ending might eventually be lost through analogy with the other present indicative forms. Its use in the imperfect, as [jɜ] rather than [ɜ] is already showing some weakening, since as Faulk (1977:250) points out, if the present tense already ends in [j] as in [travaj], (some) speakers avoid the *i* + stem + [jɜ] in favor of *ça* + stem + [e], [e] being the marker of the imperfect. This regularization on the basis of the 3s form follows what is cross-linguistically attested to be a tendency to derive verb forms from the 3s form (Bybee 1985).

Morphological leveling is also evident in the irregular verbs *avoir* and *être* though to a lesser degree than in regular verbs. Bybee (1985:119) argues that high frequency reinforces irregular forms, which no doubt accounts for the maintenance of three forms in the present, and which, in spite of being a reduction from the SF five forms, is the most forms for any of the CajFr verbs. They are listed in table 3-6.

Table 3-7: Present Tense of *avoir* and *être*

	<i>avoir</i>	<i>être</i>
1s	[e]	[sʏi]
2s, 3s, 1p, 2p	[a]	[ɛ]
3p	[~]	[sɜ]

The forms of SF *aller* have been reduced from five to two: 1s, 2s, 3s, 1p, 2p [va] and 3p [vɜ].

3.4 Periphrastic Tenses

The simple tenses of CajFr consist of the present, imperfect, conditional, and some irregular future forms. The periphrastic tenses include the majority of future forms (in *aller* + infinitive), the present, past, and future perfects, and the past conditional. There are essentially only two moods, the indicative and the imperative. The

subjunctive seems all but lost in this corpus, for it occurs only rarely and even then only for highly irregular forms such as *soit* 'be'. Faulk (1977) does include some subjunctive forms though he states that many Cajuns do not use them.

In addition, the present progressive is expressed by the construction *êt' apès* + infinitive, and it is used much more frequently than its SF counterpart *être en train de* + infinitive, which in CajFr, according to Faulk (1977:150), is used to express an action that is about to happen.

In the following sections I will examine the present perfect (*passé composé*) and the future in *aller* + infinitive (*futur proche*), the most frequently used periphrastic tenses, to determine their degree of analyticity or syntheticity.

3.4.1 The Passé Composé

In SF *avoir* is the auxiliary for the vast majority of verbs, though *être* is used with all reflexives and with approximately 20 intransitive verbs (Grevisse 1964) expressing movement (e.g. *aller*) or change of state (e.g. *mourir* 'die'). In CajFr, however, *avoir* has replaced *être* as the auxiliary used with reflexive verbs, and in many cases with the intransitives as well. Byers (1988:99-100) attributes the loss of *être* as auxiliary to its dialectal

origin in Acadian French, in which *être* is used to express a stative and *avoir* an event. He also considers its loss a symptom of language death.

I would argue, however, that the replacement of *être* by *avoir*, though not yet complete, is indicative of the latter's increased semantic generality, since it can now serve as the tense marker for those verbs which in SF take *être*. In other words, to express a completed action, the *passé composé* of CajFr is moving toward a more synthetic stage in which the tense marker for all verbs is *avoir*. For the few cases when *être* is used, it is often as a stative or even copula plus adjective. Examples from CajFr which bear this out are provided in (41).

(41) a. *Il a commié et jusse quéque jour après ça il était mort.*

'He took communion and just several days after that he was dead.'

b. *C'est dû à lui pour pouvoir vous dire probable plusse parce qu'il était, il a été né ici.*

'It's up to him (to be able) to tell you probably more because he was (imperfect), he was (*passé composé*) born here.'

In (41a), *il était mort* must be stative meaning 'he was dead', for if it were interpreted according to its pluperfect temporal value, 'he had died', it no longer would make sense within the context of the sentence: *He took

communion and a few days after that he had died. In (41b), the verb *naître* 'be born', conjugated with *être* in SF, has been reduced to a past participle used adjectivally. The SF *passé composé* in this case would be *il est né* 'he was born'. The apparent loss of *mourir* 'die' and *naître* from the *être* repertoire strengthen the case for conjugation with *avoir* as a move toward syntheticity.

Sankoff and Thibault (1980) have found this same phenomenon, alternation between *avoir* and *être*, in Montreal French,²⁹ though the verbs which continue to be conjugated more frequently with *être* in Montreal French differ somewhat from those attested in this corpus.³⁰ If *avoir* were to eventually become the sole auxiliary, it would not be an unusual development for Romance. Old Spanish also made use of two auxiliaries, *haber* 'have' for transitive verbs and *ser* 'be' for intransitive, until *haber* finally replaced *ser* with all verbs (Green 1988:102).

This apparent generalization of *avoir* as tense marker reflects the semantic linking required for eventual synthesis, yet in looking at the morphosyntactic criteria, it is clear that separability of *avoir* from the past participle militates against syntheticity. Although inverted subject clitics that might once have separated the two segments in the interrogative no longer pose a problem, there remains the potential for interruption by a negative and/or some other type of adverb.

(42) *Il a peut-être fait quelque chose avec et puis on a jamais connu, mais j'croit pas'.*

'He perhaps did something with it and then I/we never found out, but I don't think so.'

With regard to displaceability, *avoir* must always precede the past participle. In addition, neither *avoir* nor the past participle can be isolated from the other and still retain the meaning of a past perfect action. Of course, *avoir* does exist as a lexical verb, but its meaning indicates possession³¹ with no notion of past tense. The past participle, if used without the auxiliary, becomes adjectival. These segments thus have a fixed order in which they are most often juxtaposed and cannot occur independently of the other, all of which supports syntheticity.

The two segments most frequently form a phonological unit with oxytonic stress. Though the potential exists for a prolonged interruption resulting from the concatenation of several adverbs, in this corpus the maximum distance between the auxiliary and past participle is three syllables as in (43a).

(43) a. ... *si t'a assez bien ergardé* ...

'... if you looked well (i.e. carefully) enough ...

b. *J'ai tout l'temps aimé ça.*

'I've always liked that.'

In both examples the main stress in the verb group remains oxytonic.

In spite of these synthetic tendencies, however, the *passé composé* remains more analytic as a result of the separability of its segments.

3.4.2 The Future

In CajFr the periphrastic future has replaced the simple future with the exception of some occurrences of certain verbs whose stems in the simple form are irregular i.e. *aur-* (*avoir*), *ser-* (*être*), *pourr-* (*pouvoir* 'be able'), *faudra* (*falloir* 'be necessary'), and *fer-* (*faire* 'do'). In some instances, these irregular forms alternate with the periphrastic. To take one example, *être* in the speech of one informant, previously identified as a semi-speaker, occurs only in the periphrastic:

(44) *Et ça va d'êt autour vingt-cinq cent degré Fahrenheit.*

'And it will be around twenty-five hundred degrees Fahrenheit.'

On the other hand, in the speech of one elderly speaker,³² the single occurrence of *fer-* is attested. For the other speakers, the future of *faire* is periphrastic.

(45) a. *I fera pas l'hiver.*

'He won't make (last) the winter.'

b. *A dit ça, "Quand tu va faire du gombo, moi j'veut du gombo févi.*

'She says this, "When you make (future) gombo, I want okra gombo."'

As noted in section 3.3 regarding the present tense, the maintenance of these irregular forms is sustained by their high frequency.

The replacement of the simple future by the periphrastic demonstrates the latter's increased semantic generality and relevance. Traditionally referred to as the *futur proche* 'immediate future', the periphrastic future is no longer restricted to expressing a future in which the present is linked with the future action in the mind of the speaker. It has become generalized to serve as the lone future tense, with the exception of a few highly irregular simple forms. An increase in its relevance to the stem is concomitant with this increased generality, and the semantic stage has been set for morphosyntactic synthesis.

Further strengthening of the semantic link between *aller* and the infinitive lies in the fact that *aller* can be used only in the present or imperfect in combination with the infinitive,³³ thus indicating its transition from a lexical verb capable of inflection in all tenses, to tense marker. Furthermore, lexical *aller* seems to be losing ground as well, since in the *passé composé* it is usually replaced by *être*.

- (46) a. *On a été au Roosevelt home. On a été dans la maison et on a été là où il est enterré ...*
 'We went to the Roosevelt home. We went inside the house and we went there where he's buried ...'
- b. *Vous a été au Liberty Theatre?*
 'Did you go to the Liberty Theatre?'

On the phonological level, *aller* and the infinitive appear to be moving toward synthesis in that the /a/ of *va* is dropped when the onset of the following infinitive is /a/.

- (47) a. *Des fois un bon char seconde main ... est meilleur qu'un char tout neuve tu v'acheter ...*
 'Sometimes a good second-hand car ... is better than a brand new car you'll buy ...'
- b. *... si j'connâit pas quéqu'un j'v'aller voir qui il est.*
 '... if I don't know someone I'll go see who he is.'

In addition, just as *avoir* is bound to the past participle in the *passé composé*, *aller* is bound to the infinitive and occurs preverbally.

Yet in spite of these synthesizing trends, the two segments in *aller* + infinitive, like those of the *passé composé*, still remain separable from each other. And in

this particular case, not only is interruption by negation and other adverbs possible, but the presence of an object clitic also increases the linear distance between the two segments. It is curious to note, however, that in our corpus, there is never more than one intervening element in the periphrastic future though theoretically the possibility for as many as three to occur does exist. In fact, the semi-speaker in one token even postpones the object clitic.

(48) *J'va tremper le dans l'eau ...*

'I'm going to dip it in the water ...'

Recall, too, that the trend seems to be to replace object clitics by postverbal *ça*. Should this continue to the point where preverbal clitics are no longer used, the possibility of synthesis will of course be increased. Nevertheless, given the current potential for intervention by as many as three word classes, I must conclude that the future in *aller* + infinitive remains more analytic.

3.5 The Cajun French Verb Group and Naturalness

3.5.1 Moving Toward Prefixed Inflection

In the light of the revised definitions of syntheticity and analyticity, I have argued that the verb group of CajFr insofar as subject clitic and simple verb forms are concerned, is more synthetic than analytic. As for the *passé composé* and periphrastic future, I concluded that they

remain more analytic. Though the possibility for synthesis exists if the auxiliary verb (*avoir* or *aller*) and the past participle or infinitive should become continually juxtaposed as a result of the movement of negation, adverbs, and object clitics from a preverbal to a postverbal position.

I shall consider for a moment the possibility that object clitics might be removed from the verb group as they are replaced by postverbal *ça*, thereby clearing the path for complete synthesis of the subject clitic and verb.

It is evident that the subject clitics are well on their way to becoming the sole markers of person and number, and for speakers who do not use either the 2p [e] or 3p [ɔ̃] suffixes, this is already the case. Evidence from this corpus as well as from Oukada (1977) and Faulk (1977) indicates that the group of speakers who use the 2p [e] is not contiguous with those who use the 3p [ɔ̃], although there are some speakers who do use both (Byers 1988).³⁴ This is important, because it indicates a weakening trend for both suffixes, and the likelihood of their eventual loss is increased, since for many speakers it is a question of losing just one as opposed to two verbal suffixes.

Data from this corpus suggests further that *ça* is a strong 3p subject clitic variable. Byers's (1988) attitude survey indicates that *ça* + \emptyset is also the preferred form not only for those who use it, but also for speakers who use

i/iz/il + [ʃ], since for them *i/iz/il* + \emptyset is easily confused with the singular. This apparently is not a problem for *ça*, though it too is a singular clitic.

Suppose, therefore, that both the 2p [e] and the 3p [] suffixes will eventually be lost. Is it reasonable then to speak in terms of prefixed verbal inflection in CajFr as has been proposed for Spoken SF by Ashby (1977) and others? I will discuss this question within the framework of system-dependent Natural Morphology as put forth in Wurzel (1989) which is summarized in Chapter 2. The person/number 'prefixes' in question are indicated in Table 3-8, except that the phonologically predictable variants (*vide supra*) have been excluded.

Table 3-8: Present Indicative Forms

1s	ʒ	+ stem + \emptyset	1p	ʒ	+ stem + \emptyset
2s	tü/vu	+ stem + \emptyset	2p	vuzət	+ stem + \emptyset
3s	i/a/sa	+ stem + \emptyset	3p	sa/i/œs/œz t	+ stem + \emptyset

In looking at the CajFr verb group, the SDSPs outlined in Chapter 2 must be established. This will be achieved by determining a) which morphosyntactic categories such as aspect, tense, and person/number are encoded; b) whether the verb has base or stem inflection; c) if the morphological markers encode categories separately or simultaneously; d) whether there is any syncretism in the inflectional markers;

e) what type of inflectional markers are used e.g. suffixes or prefixes; and f) the number of inflectional classes. To assist in determining which are the SDSPs of CajFr, a brief look at the noun group, article + noun, is in order.

As in SF, the article is now the sole marker of number for nouns in CajFr, and in the singular, of gender as well; e.g. masculine singular *le café* [lə kafe] 'the coffee', feminine singular *la maison* [la mezɔ̃] 'the house', and (masculine) plural *les papiers* [le papje] 'the papers' or (feminine) *les saucisses* [le sosis] 'the sausages'. Even those nouns which in SF are marked for number without the article, such as *boeuf ~ boeufs* [bœf]~[bö] 'steer, cattle', *oeuf ~ oeufs* [œf] ~ [ö] 'egg, eggs', and those of the *animal ~ animaux* [animal] ~ [animo] 'animal, animals' type alternate, the trend being to regularize these nouns by using the singular for the plural form as well. With the exception of these few examples which occasionally exhibit stem allomorphy, thereby constituting a case of stem inflection, the article is prefixed to the basic form of the noun. Consequently, in those instances of stem allomorphy, the plural is marked twice, once each by the prefix and the stem allomorph. There is clearly no syncretism, given the three distinct forms: [lə, la, le]. Furthermore, all nouns will take either [lə] or [la], based on the morphosyntactic property of gender, thereby forming two inflectional classes, both of which take [le] in the plural.

A look at the verb indicates that the morphosyntactic categories involved are aspect, in the form of the imperfect and the burgeoning progressive expression *êt' apès + infinitive*; tense--past, present, and future; mood--indicative and imperative; and, finally, person and number. These categories are expressed in large part by means of prefixes, though some forms have dual markers with both prefixes and suffixes, which are added to the base form, i.e. the form viewed currently in SF as the 3s of the present tense. Each category is marked separately, with the exception of person and number. There is syncretism between the 3s and 3p person/number markers *i* and *ça*, and there are two inflectional classes.

In the light of prefixed inflection for nouns and verbs, I find the following SDSPs for CajFr based on (a-f) above.

	<u>Nouns</u>	<u>Verbs</u>
a)	Number, Gender	Aspect, Tense, Mood, Person & Number
b)	Basic Form Inflection	Basic Form Inflection
c)	Combined Symbolization except in Plural	Separate, except Person & Number
d)	No Syncretism	Syncretism of 3s & 3p /i/ and /sa/
e)	Prefixes	Prefixes
f)	Two Inflectional Classes	Two Inflectional Classes

Each parameter shall be considered in turn.

For (a) the order of aspect, tense, mood, and person/number falls out as presented below for *parler*, the traditional first or -er conjugation, which typifies the vast majority of French verbs.

Table 3-9: Affix Order in -er Verbs

	<u>P/N + T + Stem + T/A</u>
Present:	i + \emptyset + parl + \emptyset
Imperfect:	i + \emptyset + parl + e
Conditional:	i + \emptyset + parl + re
Past Perfect:	il + a + parl + e
Future:	i + va + parl + e
Pluperfect:	il + ave + parl + e
Future Perfect:	il + ora + parl + e
Past Conditional:	il + ore + parl + e
Imperative:	\emptyset + \emptyset + parl + \emptyset
	al _r + \emptyset + parl + e
	\emptyset + \emptyset + parl + e

The person/number marker is the first prefix, followed by tense, then the stem, and finally a tense or, in the case of the imperfect and imperative, an aspect suffix. The present tense of course has a zero tense marker, while the imperfect has only the aspect suffix, and the conditional only the tense suffix. In have both a prefix and a suffix, the future, pluperfect, future perfect, and past conditional each have dual markers. The /e/ suffix becomes in essence a marker indicating 'non-present' occurring in all forms other than the present, yet each form has an additional means by which it is distinguishable from the others. For example,

the imperfect is identifiable by its lack of a tense prefix, while the conditional is marked by the /r/, former marker of the future in SF, plus the /e/ suffix. The tenses with dual markers are differentiated from each other by their prefixes: /a/, /va/, /ave/, /ore/.

It was suggested earlier that the construction *et' apès* + *infinitive* expressing a progressive action occurs more frequently in CajFr than does its counterpart, *être en train de* in SF. If over time its frequency should increase, under the conditions laid out above the door would be open for it, too, to become more synthetic. Should this happen, the overall order of the prefixes would be changed only slightly by the insertion of the aspect prefix *apès* between the tense prefix and the stem.

Table 3-10: Affix Order in Progressive Forms

	<u>P/N + T</u>	<u>+ A</u>	<u>+ Stem + T</u>
Present:	il + e	+ ape	+ parl + e
Imperfect:	il + ete	+ ape	+ parl + e
Future:	i + va	et + ape	+ parl + e

Insofar as the ordering of the markers is concerned, it is in keeping with the order hypothesized and confirmed by Bybee (1985) in her survey of 50 languages from different language families. Bybee's study indicates that aspect is marked closest to the stem, then tense, mood, and

person/number. This order obtains in the prefixes of the forms in Tables 3-8 and 3-9, but its significance is neutralized with regard to the dually marked forms with suffix /e/: In these forms, the 'non-present' marker immediately follows the stem just as the aspectual marker immediately precedes it. The existence of this suffix does not militate against positing prefixed inflection, for it is not unusual to find languages which make use of both prefixes and suffixes (Bybee 1985:34).

With regard to (b) above, the determination in favor of basic form over stem inflection is clear. The aspect, tense, and person number prefixes (and suffix) are affixed to the basic form, the form represented in the lexicon. The property of basic form inflection for the verb is confirmed by the inflection of the noun, which is very clearly a case of prefix plus basic form. The number of nouns like [æf] ~ [ö] which undergo stem allomorphy is very low, although there is a larger set of verbs which also experience stem allomorphy, and they will be included in the discussion of (f) below.

Concerning symbolization, SDSP (c), the morphosyntactic categories tense and aspect are expressed separately, while person and number are combined in a single prefix. Nouns also display a mixture of combined and separate symbols, with number and gender being combined in the singular, and number alone being expressed by the plural.

The issue of syncretism arises for the 3s and 3p verbal prefixes /sa/ and /i/. For Wurzel (1989), syncretism simply means homonymy. Carstairs (1987), on the other hand, delves more deeply into homonymy of morphological forms and argues for the existence of two main categories of morphological homonymies: ACCIDENTAL and SYSTEMATIC. The former group consists of those homonymies which are the 'accidental by-products of phonological processes or morphological "spell-out" rules' (1987:95). The latter group, however, aids in the memorability of inflectional paradigms as a result of their systematicity. In addition, Carstairs proposes that systematic homonymies may be further subdivided into SYNCRETISMS and TAKE-OVERS, which he defines as follows (1987:115-17).

- (412) A systematic inflexional homonymy is a syncretism if
- (a) the homonymous forms are simultaneous exponents of more than one morphosyntactic property, and
 - (b) the conditions under which the homonymy occurs (or: the context for the homonymy) can be stated entirely in terms of properties thus realised.
- (416) A systematic inflexional homonymy is a take-over if it involves the realisation of two or more morphosyntactic properties (A and B) in some context by an inflexion which elsewhere realises

only one of these properties (B). In such circumstances we can say that B takes over A, or that there is a take-over of A by B.

Before drawing any conclusions about the homonymy of *ça* and *i*, a discussion of the nature of *ça* in CajFr is necessary.

In section 3.1.3.3 it was noted that according to Brown's (1988) data, postverbal pronoun *ça* could be used only if the referent was inanimate. Although this corpus provided some counter-examples to this, their number is too few to present a strong statistical argument against Brown's findings. Brown's research indicates further that although factors such as locality (i.e. prairie vs. bayou) and age of the informant influence the use of nominative *ça*, the factor having the most significant effect on the use of *ça* over *i/a* (sg.) or *i* (pl.), is the nature of the referent. If the referent is a proposition or is otherwise inanimate, *ça* is more likely to occur. This is not to say that an animate referent precludes the use of *ça*. Indeed, in 20% of its occurrences (Brown 1988:181), *ça* is used with an animate referent, and Brown is careful to point out the possibility of change in progress, implying that *ça* might eventually become more prevalent for animate referents as well.

With regard to the current situation in CajFr, however, I argue in favor of a new morphosyntactic category, based on the distinction between animate and inanimate in the plural

and singular third person forms. The 3s forms *i* and *a* which are currently viewed as gender markers, now mark sex for animate referents. The distinction between animate and inanimate is not new per se; it is a distinction which is inherent in the first and second persons. The innovation resides in the fact that the distinction is now made in the (third person) plural as well as the singular, and in making this distinction, CajFr differs from SF.³⁵

In the discussion of *ça* above, it was also pointed out that CajFr *ça* can be used with definite referents, and in this regard it differs from SF *ça*, which is affective in nature when it refers to a definite referent. Brown (1988:172) suggests that the history of *ça* as a pejorative pronoun might contribute to its being used primarily for inanimate referents, though she does not explain this conclusion in detail. The theory of grammaticalization as presented by Hopper and Traugott (1992) can be called upon to support this hypothesis. They maintain that 'the initial phase of grammaticalization involves a shift in meaning, [...] not loss of meaning' (1992:89). Therefore, as *ça* undergoes grammaticalization and its meaning shifts from deictic to definite reference, its historically pejorative or affective connotation per se is lost, yet it appears to have been transferred to the distinction between animate and inanimate and is thus retained grammatically, if not semantically. At this time it is impossible to predict

whether this distinction will be maintained or even strengthened to the point where *ça* will no longer be used with animate referents, or whether it will eventually be lost.

Operating on the hypothesis that CajFr has created a new morphosyntactic category, that of animacy for the third person, I return now to Carstairs's (1987) discussion of homonymies and his definitions of systematic homonymies presented in (412) and (416).

The homonymy between singular and plural *ça* is clearly not phonological and consequently is not accidental. It is, therefore, a systematic homonymy in which the exponent, to use Carstairs's (1987) term, marks simultaneously the categories person (third), number (sg. and pl.), and inanimate (Carstairs's 412.a above). The context for the homonymy is the third person (Carstairs's 412.b), making singular and plural *ça* a syncretism. The homonymy cannot be a take-over of the plural by the singular, because nowhere else does verbal inflection *ça* mark only the singular, and therefore it does not fulfill the condition of Carstairs's definition of a take-over in (416).

The homonymy between singular and plural *i/il*, on the other hand, is the result of phonological processes in the development from Spoken Latin masc. sg. and pl. *illi* 'they', itself a former demonstrative, to SF *il* and *ils*. This homonymy is, therefore, an accidental one.

With the syncretism of *ça*, the accidental homonymy of *i/il*, and the proposed loss of 3p suffix [ɔ̃], marking for number is also lost. This is not a new question for French. All *-er* (first conjugation) verbs, which are numbered at 4,000 as compared to 700 for *-ir* and irregular verbs (Kilani-Schoch 1988:197), do not distinguish between singular and plural in the third person unless, of course, the verb begins with a vowel. In such cases the liaison of final /s/ in *ils* or *elles*, which is usually silent, is pronounced [z] and thus marks the plural. This liaison also occurs in CajFr, though the feminine form is of course nonexistent. This corpus also attests instances in which the liaison is not made with [z] but with [l] and the plural is once again homonymous with the singular.

Yet this means of marking the plural with liaison notwithstanding, a far greater number of 3p verb forms remains unmarked for plural in the hypothetical CajFr system, a system lacking the [e] and [ɔ̃] suffixes, outlined here. This leads to an unnatural situation, a violation of one of the SDSPs of CajFr presented above. In order to correct this unnatural situation, a means of marking number in the third person will have to be devised.

To this end, it is quite possible that the disjunctive pronouns will be called into service. A similar argument for SF has been set forth by Schwegler (1990), Ashby (1980, 1988), and Barnes (1985), *inter alia*. As was noted earlier,

the disjunctive pronouns already co-occur with subject clitics in CajFr. Table 3-4 showing the frequency of their co-occurrence is repeated here as Table 3-11 for easy reference.

Table 3-11: Co-occurrence of Subject Clitics and Disjunctive Pronouns and Other Non-Clitics

Category	Frequency	Total Tokens	Percentage
1s	78	819	9.5
2s	3	334	0.9
3s	55	707	7.6
1p	29	376	7.7
2p	0	26	0
3p	14	394	3.4
Ça + c'être	65	466	12.2
Non-Clitic + Clitic	84	384	21.8

Clearly the frequency of disjunctive pronouns collocating with subject clitics would have to increase significantly before the disjunctive pronouns themselves could be classified as clitics. Yet subject clitics already occur with lexical and pronominal subjects (e.g. *ça-lâ*) in approximately one fifth of all possible occurrences, a trend which might serve as a catalyst for increased co-occurrence elsewhere. The need to maintain system congruity, namely

the SDSP that number constitutes one of the morphosyntactic categories of CajFr, provides fertile ground and strong motivation for an increase in the use of disjunctive pronouns as subject pronouns.

With regard to the SDSP concerning the type of markers used (e), the facts of CajFr show that the majority of the markers (aspect, tense, person/number) are prefixes. The suffix indicating non-present tense is a remnant from a time when suffixes were prevalent in French.

In discussing the morphosyntactic categories of SDSP (a) above, reference was made to the majority of French verbs represented by *parler*, verbs with an infinitive ending in *-er*. This group of verbs constitutes one inflectional class established for SDSP (f). A second group of verbs which undergo stem allomorphy was alluded to above, and this group includes the *-ir* and *-re* verbs of the traditional second and third conjugations, such as *finir* 'finish' and *vendre* 'sell'. The second conjugation or 'regular' *-ir* verbs all contain an /s/ in the plural forms, a remnant of formerly inchoative verbs, and is represented by the contrast in 3s and 3p forms *il finit* ~ *ils finissent* [ilfini ~ ilfinis]. Third conjugation or 'regular' *-re* verbs also exhibit stem changes in the plural as illustrated by *il vend* ~ *ils vendent* [ilvã ~ ilvãd]. There are additional verbs, often classified as 'irregular', because though the infinitives end in *-ir* or *-re*, they do not follow the

pattern of the regular conjugations. *Partir* 'leave', although an *-ir* verb, contains /t/ in the plural: *il part ~ il partent* [ilpar ~ ilpart]. And *boire* 'drink' undergoes additional stem alternation in the 1p and 2p forms: *je bois ~ nous buvons* [ʒəbwa ~ nubüvɔ̃] but *il boit ~ ils boivent* [ilbwa ~ ilbwaɪ].

In CajFr as it is currently spoken, the 1p form of SF, of course, has disappeared, and the 2p form remains for only some speakers. In the hypothetical CajFr which I have posited here, the traditional 3s form essentially takes over all the others, and consequently, the alternations of the *-ir* and *-re* verbs no longer obtain in the present tense. The question arises, however, for the imperfect, given that the consonant which appears in the plural forms is also present there. In CajFr, this gives, for example, *i finissait* [ifinise] 'he used to finish' for the regular *-ir* verbs and *i vendait* [ivãde] 'he used to sell' for the *-re*. This group of verbs which undergo stem allomorphy in the imperfect comprise the second inflectional class of CajFr.

In view of the SDSPS of CajFr that have been established based on an examination of the verb and noun groups, a move toward prefixed inflection is natural within the framework of system-dependent morphological naturalness.

3.6 Summary

In Chapter 3 I have presented the facts of CajFr as attested by this corpus and by the data presented by Brown (1988), Byers (1988), Conwell & Juilland (1963), and Oukada (1977), as well as by the guidelines provided in the CajFr grammar written by Faulk (1977), a native speaker. I concluded that the verb group comprised of the subject clitic and verb is more synthetic than analytic according to the theory of morphosyntactic tightness presented in Schwegler (1990). This is true only for the present tense. The *passé composé* and *futur proche* remain more analytic due to the degree of separability of their respective elements. Furthermore, based on Wurzel's (1989) theory of system congruity, I concluded that prefixed inflection in CajFr is natural. Prefixed inflection itself is, of course, dependent on the removal of object clitics and adverbs from within the verb group.

In Chapter 4 the facts of Cajun French will be compared to other dialects, including Old Mines, Missouri, French, Acadian French, and Informal Spoken French, and to Louisiana Creole.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹In her study of East Sutherland Scots Gaelic, Dorian refers to those speakers '... who could make themselves understood in imperfect Gaelic but [are] very much more at home in English' (1977:24) as semi-speakers.

²The French of Lafayette Parish forms the basis of Conwell & Juilland's (1963) discussion, though frequent references are made to studies of the dialect as spoken in other parishes.

³Faulk, a native speaker of Cajun, bases his textbook primarily on the French spoken in Vermilion Parish.

⁴The 3s form of *être* 'be' (SF *être*) has been transcribed as *est* though in only two tokens does the [t] surface in liaison. In both cases, these tokens are taken from the speech of those whose CajFr might have been influenced by formal schooling in SF.

⁵According to Brown (1988), *ça* is used with definite reference for both animate and inanimate referents in subject position, and contrary to SF, without any emotive effect.

⁶The formal 2s accusative form is not attested in this corpus.

⁷This form is attested once as a dative clitic.

... *j'voulait la montrer l'école.*

'... I wanted to show her the school.'

⁸In presenting *je* in his textbook aimed at native English speakers, Faulk states that 'The unvoiced *sh* is used when the following word begins with the phonetic sound *ch*, *f*, *k*, *p*, *s*, *sh*, or *t*' (1977:13).

⁹A small capital is used here to indicate stress.

¹⁰Tokens were counted and calculations were made without the aid of a computer. Although every effort was made to be as accurate as possible, some allowance must be made for a margin of error.

¹¹One informant appears to nasalize *moi* though it is not clear whether the pattern is consistent. In other words, if the pronoun were nasalized in all contexts other than nominative, it would show a move toward the distinction made in Louisiana Creole between subject [mo] and 'complement' [mwa/m^õ] (Neumann 1974:166).

¹²Verbs that begin with *re* and *de* in SF metathesize the initial consonant and schwa in CajFr.

¹³Innovative here only with respect to SF. According to Brown (1988), Thibault (1986) discusses a similar phenomenon in Montreal French.

¹⁴Brown (1988) also found this to be true and cites a similar example.

The take-over is not yet complete since the corpus attests one instance in which *i* and not *ça* is used with *mouiller* 'rain'.

¹⁵Lagane (1963:40) explains that *on* is sometimes used in place of *je* in SF.

¹⁶Conwell & Juilland make the same observation (1963:145).

¹⁷Brown (1988) also attests the 3p accusative clitic used as a dative. In our corpus, it is again with the verb *montrer* 'teach, show' that this form appears as a dative. The speaker is referring to his children.

*J'm'ergrette asteur que j'les ai pas montré
en français.*

'I regret now that I didn't teach them in
French.'

¹⁸Fixed expressions such as *i n a* 'there is/are', *i faut* 'it is necessary', and *ça fait* 'so' are not included in the token count.

¹⁹Byers (1988) recorded and interviewed 49 informants from different parishes and of differing ages, incomes, and backgrounds for their usage of and normative judgment toward certain constructions: *vous* and suffix [e], the future tense, and 3p verbal inflection *-ont* [ɔ̃], among others. The future tense and 3p number marking will be considered later in the discussion.

²⁰Oukada takes a generative approach, proposing an 'economical description' of the traditional verb classes in which the stem of the verb is taken from the future tense and the future ending [ra] is dropped (1977:165). From

there he posits a series of some 31 phonological and morphological rules by means of which all the verb forms of CajFr (Lafourche Parish) are derived. With this analysis, he is able to reduce the number of verb classes of SF from four to two in Cajun.

²¹This is of historical origin, as it is also attested in some dialects of Acadian French of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (Ryan 1985).

²²The name for zydeco music comes from French *les haricots* 'beans'.

²³The interrogative pronoun and adverb are beyond the purview of this discussion. Simply for reference purposes, those interrogatives attested in the corpus are the following: *quoi* and *quoi c'est* 'what', *qui c'est qui* 'who' (the final /i/ drops before a vowel), *comment* 'how', *combien* 'how much', *eiou* 'where', and *que(l/le)* 'what, which'. For further discussion, the reader is referred to Conwell & Juilland (1963) and Byers (1988).

²⁴The /z/ in (35b) is epenthetical and serves no grammatical function.

²⁵Conwell & Juilland (1963) state that in rapid speech subject and object pronouns are 'frequently subject to ellipsis' (1963:189) and auxiliaries less so. Their corpus also indicates that when a disjunctive pronoun is placed in apposition to the subject pronoun, the subject pronoun is sometimes dropped. Out of a total of 196 occurrences of

disjunctive pronouns in this corpus, 17 (8.7%) of them attest the use of the disjunctive pronoun alone.

²⁶As mentioned previously, the accusative singular *vous* and dative plural *vous* are not attested in this corpus but are attested in Conwell & Juilland (1963) and others.

²⁷For this informant, the /v/ in *venir* 'come' has assimilated to the /n/, producing [m] *menir*.

²⁸Byers's (1988) study addresses the use of *il* and *ça* in connection with the 3p verbal ending *-ont*.

²⁹Sankoff and Thibault (1980) study the alternation between *avoir* and *être* for the 16 verbs traditionally listed in teaching grammars as taking *être*. No mention is made of reflexive verbs or whether or not they colligate with *avoir*.

³⁰The only verbs taking *être* as an auxiliary in this corpus are *venir* 'come', *revenir* 'come back', and *partir* 'leave'. *Aller* occurs in the passé composé only once and is conjugated with *avoir*. Sankoff and Thibault (1980), on the other hand, found *aller* to be the verb least likely to be conjugated with *avoir*, followed closely by *revenir* and *venir*, *entrer*, and *arriver*, and then *partir*.

³¹*Avoir* also forms a verbal expression in *avoir pour* + infinitive and shows obligation in the same sense as *devoir* 'must, have to' of SF.

³²This elderly lady, a client in the hairdresser's shop, is not included in the analysis due to the difficulty incurred in transcribing her speech. She spoke softly and

was seated farther from the microphone, and the background noise of hair dryers, running water and the like made it extremely difficult to hear her.

³³This is also true of SF (Schwegler 1990).

³⁴Recall that the 2p [e] suffix is not attested in this corpus at all except in the imperative. Oukada (1977) however does attest [e]. Byers's (1988) attitude survey includes some speakers who use both suffixes and others who use one but not the other.

³⁵Given that English does not distinguish between animate and inanimate in the 3p, this innovation cannot be attributed to the effects of English interference.

Chapter 4. Cajun French Compared with Other French Dialects

4.1 Introduction

The morphosyntactic structure of CajFr was presented in Chapter 3, and it was determined that, insofar as the present tense is concerned, the verb group is more synthetic than analytic. Throughout the discussion, frequent reference was made to verbal and pronominal forms of Standard French. In this chapter I will compare the verb group of CajFr with that of Informal Spoken French as presented in Schwegler (1990), Ashby (1976, 1980, 1988), and Lambrecht (1981) *inter alia*. A comparison between the two is natural not only because they are dialects of French, but, as was pointed out in Chapter 2, particularly because they are both spoken dialects.

Following this portion of the discussion, I will briefly discuss Louisiana Creole and other, North American dialects of French to see how they compare or contrast to CajFr as concerns the verb group. I include Louisiana Creole (Neumann 1985), based on its proximity to CajFr and their mutual interaction for some 200 years. Also included among the dialects will be the French of Old Mines, Missouri (OMF) (Thogmartin 1970), because some of those who settled there came from Louisiana and because it, too, has long been isolated from the standard dialect; the Acadian French (AcF) of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the Gaspé Peninsula (in

particular the Baie des Chaleurs), and other areas of the Maritime Provinces (Gesner 1985, Flikeid & Péronnet 1989, Péronnet 1986 and 1990, Ryan 1985, Geddes 1908) for its shared historical and regional origins; and Quebec French (QF) (Thibault 1986, Deshaies 1991, Laberge & Sankoff 1980, Sankoff & Vincent 1980, and Sankoff & Thibault 1980), because its speakers are also faced with strong influences from English, yet they represent a much larger community, a fact which quite reasonably one might expect to attenuate the affect of such influences.

4.2 Cajun French and Informal Spoken French

In his discussion, Schwegler (1990) concentrates particularly on French in his examples, providing a diachronic survey of analyticity and syntheticity in person and number marking, the verbal core, and predicate negation from Classical Latin to modern Formal Spoken French (FSF). His examination includes a synchronic analysis of ISF, a dialect which shares certain analytic and synthetic traits with CajFr. I begin by presenting the clitics and disjunctive pronouns. A brief review of Schwegler's exposé of ISF follows, together with a discussion of some of the differences arising between the two dialects.

4.2.1 ISF Clitics and Disjunctive Pronouns

The subject and object clitics and disjunctive pronouns of ISF are largely the same as those of CajFr, but with less variation in the 3s and 3p forms, and the 2p is, of course, different. Table 4-1 furnishes a listing of these clitics and pronouns for ease of reference.

Table 4-1: Clitic and Disjunctive Pronouns of ISF

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Dir/Ind. Object</u>	<u>Disjunctive</u>
<u>1s</u>	je	me/me	moi
<u>2s</u>	tu	te/te	toi
Formal	vous	vous/vous	vous
<u>3s</u>	(m.) il	le/lui	lui
	(f.) elle alle ce, ça	la/lui	elle
<u>1p</u>	nous on	nous/nous	nous
<u>2p</u>	vous	vous/vous	vous
<u>3p</u>	ils	les/leur	eux
	elles	les/leur	elles

The same phonological rules apply to these forms, whereby *je/me*, *tu/te* and *le/la* are elided in prevocalic position, becoming *j'/m'*, *t'*, and *l'*, respectively. The /l/ of *il* and *elle/alle* and the /n/ of *on* are pronounced only before a vowel. The liaison is made between each of the

plural forms prevocally, with the 3p forms dropping the /l/.

The 1s and 2s forms are essentially the same as those of CajFr, less the 2s /ti/ variant.

In her corpus of spoken French data gathered around Paris, François (1974) attests the feminine variants *alle/a* of the 3s subject clitics. This set of clitics differs from CajFr only in that *ce* and *ça*, for the most part, are restricted to inanimate referents (François 1974:445) (cf. CajFr 3.1.3.3), unless a pejorative connotation is intended. One exception to this restriction, however, allows *ça* or *ce* to be used in a generic sense as in this example taken from Lambrecht (1981:61, gloss--J. S.):

(1) *Un garçon, ça attend pas devant la porte, ça entre tout de suite*

A boy (he) doesn't wait in front of the door, he enters right away.

Generally, *ce* occurs before *être* and *ça* before other verbs.

The extent to which *on* has replaced *nous* as a 1p clitic is uncertain. François's (1974) corpus furnishes only two occurrences of the latter as compared to 210 occurrences of the former. Ashby, on the other hand, shows an occurrence rate of 96% for pronoun *nous* in his examination of Parisian French (1980:201). In both CajFr and ISF, *on* takes a 3s verb form.

The 2p forms, which also serve as the 2s formal forms, are identical. Unlike CajFr, ISF always retains the /e/ verbal suffix with *vous*. Bauche (1928) says that both *nous* and *vous* are sometimes followed by *autres*, but *nous-autres* and *vous-autres* are not given as pronouns *per se*, neither in his work nor in that of François (1974).

The 3p forms of ISF comprise a subset of those attested in the CajFr corpus, with the exception of the feminine subject clitic. This form was not attested at all in the CajFr corpus, and according to Schwegler (1990), it is also on the decline in ISF. For example, a masculine subject clitic is sometimes used co-referentially with a feminine antecedent.

4.2.2 The Syntheticity of ISF and CajFr Verb Groups

Schwegler (1990) concludes that, contrary to traditional analyses, the ISF verb group is more synthetic than analytic. I believe it will prove interesting to compare the two dialects according to the morphosyntactic criteria he proposes in order to see where each falls out on the analytic-synthetic continuum, beginning with separability. It is in relation to this criterion that some significant differences between CajFr and ISF emerge.

Recall that in CajFr, the negator *ne* has disappeared completely from SF *ne ... pas*, *ne ... plus*, *ne ... jamais*,

ne ... rien, and *ne ... que* 'only'. Ashby's study of the Paris corpus of ISF, however, revealed that *ne* is retained with *pas* in 52.5% of occurrences, with *plus* 81.2%, with *rien* 61.4%, with *jamais* 63.4%, and with 92% of the occurrences of *que* (1976:122).

Furthermore, where CajFr has experienced an apparent decline in the use of preverbal object clitics and an increase in the use of postverbal *ça*, ISF does not demonstrate any such 'tendency to avoid proclitic object pronouns' (Ashby 1980:198). Moreover, as Schwegler points out, new clitic combinations have developed in ISF (1990:99-100). To clarify, in SF *lui* and *leur* function only as indirect objects for human referents, and oblique relations are represented by postverbal *à* + disjunctive pronoun. In ISF, the preverbal adverbial pronoun *y*, traditionally for non-human referents, is taking over some of the oblique functions of the post-verbal construction. The following example is taken from Schwegler (1990:100, glosses--J. S.).

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (2) | <i>Il pense à son frère</i> | <i>Il pense à ses frères</i> |
| | 'He thinks about his brother' | 'He thinks about his brothers' |
| (a) | FSF <i>Il pense à lui</i> | <i>Il pense à eux</i> |
| | 'He thinks about him' | 'He thinks about them' |
| | * <i>Il y pense</i> | * <i>Il y pense</i> |
| (b) | ISF <i>Il y pense</i> | <i>Il y pense</i> |

Y should, therefore, be added to the inventory of clitics in Table 4-1.

Moreover, combinations of clitics, which in SF are not combinable, create yet another context for increasing linear distance between the subject clitic and the verb. Usually clitics contained in columns (1) and (2), or in (2) and (3) can occur together, yet ISF has increased the possible combinations by allowing clitics from columns (1) and (3) to be combined.

Table 4-2: Object Clitic Combinations

(1)	(2)	(3)
me		
te	le	
se	la	lui
nous	les	leur
vous		

Schwegler (1990:100) cites the following example from Lambrecht (1981:37), which in SF is ungrammatical but has become acceptable in ISF.

(3) *Il me lui présentera.*

'He will introduce me to him.'

In FSF, 'to him' would be expressed by the preposition *à* + the disjunctive pronoun *lui*: *Il me présentera à lui.*

As a result of these developments, the potential for having more than one object clitic separating subject clitic

and verb in ISF is increased, thus reinforcing the distance between the two. ISF is then left with a capacity for three syllables (e.g. *ne + d.o. + i.o./oblique*) separating the clitic and verb, more frequently than is the case in SF, which does not allow the oblique clitic *y*. Consequently, whereas ISF has a maximum distance of three syllables, CajFr has a maximum of only two. In fact, the probability of clitic separation in CajFr is further reduced as a result of the use of post-verbal *ça*. It follows, then, that the verb group of CajFr is more synthetic than that of ISF with regard to separability.

Related to this discussion of subject and object clitics is the phenomenon known as LEFT and RIGHT DISLOCATION (Ashby 1988), 'left and right detachment' (Barnes 1985) or 'topic and antitopic' (Lambrecht 1981). These terms refer to a noun phrase (NP), prepositional phrase (PP), or pronoun that occurs 'to the immediate left [or right] of an already syntactically complete sentence' (Barnes 1985:1). The sentence in (1) above and repeated as (4a) is an example of left dislocation; right dislocation occurs in the following sentence taken from the CajFr corpus. The co-referential clitic and pronoun are co-indexed.

(4) Left and Right Dislocation

a. *Un garçon_i, ça_i attend pas devant la porte, ça
entre tout de suite '*

A boy_i he_i doesn't wait in front of the door,
he enters right away.

b. *Il_i gagne vingt-cinq mille pias' lui_i.*

'He_i earns twenty-five thousand dollars
him_i.'

Lambrecht (1981) argues that in topic and antitopic sentences such as these, the preverbal clitics serve as agreement markers for the detached NPs. He suggests further that topics (left dislocations) co-referential with indirect or oblique objects are not overtly marked for case, but that when they occur as antitopics (right dislocations), they are marked by a preposition. Lambrecht also maintains that topic and antitopic sentences are not in the process of replacing subject sentences, but that the two types co-exist and are equally viable in ISF, with the former serving pragmatic discourse functions.

Barnes conducted an in-depth analysis of the pragmatic functions of left dislocation and found that 'the overwhelming majority of [them] are clearly pragmatically motivated' (1985:112), and too that the strongest motivation for a syntactic explanation is manifested only in the NP *c'est* dislocation.

Barnes's argument notwithstanding, Schwegler (1990) suggests that should the left and right dislocations become more prevalent, the co-referential subject and object clitics would become inflectional markers, thereby making the ISF verb more synthetic.

A thorough study of dislocation alone in CajFr could well serve as the basis for another discussion; however, I would like to offer some preliminary findings at this time. Because dislocation is a phenomenon of spontaneous discourse, a subset of the corpus was selected and certain speakers, such as the priest and the two craftspeople from the historical village, were eliminated due to the planned nature of their speech. For the remaining ten speakers, the total number of left and right dislocations, both pronominal & lexical, came to 252; of these, 225 or 89.3% were left dislocations and 10.7% were right dislocations. Subjects accounted for 93.7% of the dislocations, objects 3.2% (including one occurrence of post-verbal *ça*), and dislocations with no clitic anaphor for 2.8%. Of the 236 subject dislocations, 28% were lexical while 72% were pronominal. To further break down the lexical subject dislocations, 33 of the 66 consisted of NP + *c'est* and 16 of NP *ça* + Verb, making a total of 74.2% involving *ce/ça*. This figure is well above the 41% (185 of 448) attested in Ashby's study of Tourangeau French (1988:212-13), yet it is comparable to the 73.7% (227 out of 308) of the total

lexical subject dislocations recorded by Barnes (1985:14). The difference between Barnes's figure and that attested in CajFr, is that Barnes, understandably, classifies *ce/ça* as [- Personal] in ISF, while in CajFr, 12 of the 16 occurrences of NP *ça* + Verb are most definitely personal, as the example in (5) illustrates.

(5) *C'est comme ça ça_i se joindait, les femme et les homme_i.*

'That's how they_i would meet, the women and (the) men_i.

As Barnes indicated for ISF, the high frequency of *ce/ça* as clitic anaphor for the lexical NPs is an indication of their grammaticalization (1985:15), and this is supported by the facts of CajFr. Indeed, further evidence comes from occurrences of NP *ça c'est*, in which the *c'* has been BLEACHED of semantic definite reference.

(6) *Pont Breaux_i ça_i c_i'est un bon village et uh, St. Martin.*

'Breux Bridge_i that_i it_i's a good village and, uh, St. Martin[ville].

Barnes (1985:14) points out that the low frequency of object dislocations, only 9% in her corpus, militates against Lambrecht's (1981:52) suggestion that most dislocated NPs are objects. The occurrence of object dislocations in Ashby's (1988:212-13) corpus, however, is somewhat higher at 13.5%. Included in the total of 8 object

dislocations of CajFr was one involving post-verbal *ça*, presented in (7).

(7) *Al aime ça_i jouer tennis_i.*

'She likes that_i playing tennis_i.'

In all likelihood, this right dislocation is pragmatically motivated, most probably as a TURN CLOSING (Ashby 1988) device. In an expanded study of dislocation in CajFr, though, it might prove interesting to determine what different factors are involved in motivating dislocations with object clitic anaphors and those with post-verbal pronoun *ça*.

At any rate, the low frequency of 3.2% for object dislocations in CajFr indicates that the probability of this dialect's becoming an object conjugation language is very low. This is especially true given the decline of object clitics in general as a result of the use of post-verbal *ça*, and what might be seen as a weakening of case marking in the proclitics. I refer, here, to the use of direct object clitics in lieu of dative ones and *vice versa*.¹ In the sentence in (7), the direct object clitic *la* refers to the speaker's wife.

(8) ... *j'voulait la montrer l'école.*

'... I wanted to show her the school.'

In regard to the second criterion, linearity, ISF and CajFr are roughly equally synthetic. The subject clitics and disjunctive pronouns all convey the same information,

person and number; the object clitics convey person, number, and case, except for ISF *y*, which lacks number marking. The 3s forms indicate gender as well, though somewhat less so in CajFr due to the use of *ça* for definite referents. The move away from distinguishing gender in the 3p subject clitic is seen by Schwegler (1990) as an analytic tendency of ISF, and this of course is much more advanced in CajFr, the feminine plural 3p clitic being non-existent.

CajFr surpasses ISF in syntheticity with respect to displaceability. The order of clitics is fixed preverbally within the sentence for both dialects, except in the imperative, when clitics follow the verb. As mentioned for CajFr, even in the negative imperative the clitics follow, whereas in SF they precede the verb. Bauche cites one example of this same phenomenon in ISF, *Dérangez-vous pas* '[Please] don't move' (1928:139, gloss--J. S.), though without indicating its frequency. Yet ISF retains some measure of interrogative inversion, albeit slight: Ashby (1980:199) states that inversion occurs in 11.5% of questions. Inversion has given way in favor of the presentential fixed form *est-ce que* and the use of rising intonation in direct questions. CajFr², nevertheless, has lost inversion as a means of interrogative formation, thus cementing the subject clitic's preverbal position in non-imperative sentences.

Moving along to the fourth and fifth criteria, isolatedness and obligatoriness, I find that ISF and CajFr are both synthetic. In neither dialect are the subject clitics capable of being isolated from the verb, and in both dialects they are essentially obligatory. Even with a series of verbs the clitic is repeated (Ashby 1980:201).

There are, nonetheless, three exceptions to the obligatoriness criterion, all of which occur in the two dialects. First, the existential *il* is often omitted from before certain impersonal verbs such as *falloir* 'be necessary' as in '*Faulait pas parler le français*' 'You weren't supposed to speak French.' Second, subject clitics do not occur in relative clauses. The effect of this second exception to clitic obligatoriness on the syntheticity of the verb group is less significant than the first, according to Schwegler (1990), who attributes it to universal tendencies. Lastly, the 3s and 3p disjunctive pronouns occasionally occur without a co-referential clitic. With regard to these two criteria, then, ISF and CajFr share the same degree of syntheticity with certain analytic tendencies.

The last of the morphosyntactic criteria is paradigmatic transparency. For easy reference to the clitic and pronoun forms, Table 4-1 is repeated below as 4-1(a), with the addition of oblique clitic *y*.

Table 4-1(a): Clitic and Disjunctive Pronouns of ISF

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Dir/Ind. Object</u>	<u>Disjunctive</u>
<u>1s</u>	je	me/me	moi
<u>2s</u>	tu	te/te	toi
Formal	vous	vous/vous	vous
<u>3s</u>	(m.) il	le/lui/y	lui
	(f.) elle, alle ce, ça	la/lui/y	elle
<u>1p</u>	nous, on	nous/nous	nous
<u>2p</u>	vous	vous/vous	vous
<u>3p</u>	ils elles	les/leur/y les/leur/y	eux elles

Schwegler (1990) explains that the variation within the subject clitics (liaison, elision, loss of 3s and 3p final /l/) is phonotactically predictable, which makes them structurally transparent. Yet looking across the paradigm, it is evident that a number of rules are necessary to link the forms with each other, except, of course, for *nous* and *vous*, the only forms which may stand alone. They are the most transparent and, therefore, the most analytic. The rules required to relate the other forms to each other e.g. *je/me/moi*, render them intransparent, hence, more synthetic.

Recall that in CajFr the 1p and 2p forms show more structural variation: (1p) *on/nous/nous-aut'* and (2p) *vous-*

aut'/vous/vous-aut'. Recall, too, the plethora of 3p subject clitics (*i/il/iz, ça, eux-aut', eusse*). Clearly these are all less transparent than their ISF counterparts, which means that they are more synthetic.

To summarize the results of the comparison, the verb group of CajFr was found to be more synthetic than ISF with respect to the following criteria: separability, displaceability, and transparency. The two dialects are relatively equally synthetic in their alinearity, isolatedness, and obligatoriness. Because the synthetic scale is tipped in favor of CajFr, I conclude that it is more synthetic than is ISF.

4.3 Cajun French and Other Regional Dialects

In this section I will compare Cajun French with other dialects. Although a thorough comparison would easily constitute a discussion in and of itself, my purpose here is to consider certain traits of CajFr which have been interpreted as indications of its demise (Maher 1985). These traits have already been discussed for CajFr, and they include the loss of *ne*, the loss of interrogative inversion, the replacement of 1p *nous + V-ons* by 3s *on + V + ø*, the use of *aller + infinitive* as a simple future tense, and the decline of *être* as an auxiliary. Attention may be drawn to other striking similarities or differences as may be

appropriate. I shall discuss LaCr separately, since as a creole, it stands apart from the dialects, and the question of the loss of particular structures found in the standard dialect is irrelevant.

I shall begin with a brief historical introduction to LaCr, OMF, AcF, and QF.

LaCr is spoken primarily in St. Martin and Pointe Coupée Parishes (see Figure 1-2 above). It developed among the slaves imported from Africa during the 18th century and other Blacks who came from the West Indies, particularly Haiti.

The Ste. Genevieve district of Missouri, the area where Old Mines is located, was settled in the early part of the 17th century by Frenchmen who had come to work in the lead mines. OMF has been truly isolated from other dialects of French for 200 years or longer, and in 1968, Thogmartin (1969) was able to find only one elderly speaker who could hold a conversation in French without having to resort to English vocabulary. The exact number of speakers who remain is unclear; Thogmartin surmises that there are very few (1969:117).

Acadian French is spoken in the following Maritime Provinces of Canada: New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, New Foundland, and along the north shore of the Baie-des-Chaleurs on the Gaspé Peninsula, which is part of Quebec Province. New Brunswick is the only officially bilingual

province outside Quebec and is the area where many of the displaced Acadians settled following the exile of 1755. Roughly one third its population is French-speaking (Zwarun 1990). The francophone inhabitants of Nova Scotia, on the other hand, the region originally settled by the Acadians during the 17th century, now accounts for only less than 4% of the total population (Richard & Gesner 1991). In New Foundland, those who speak French comprise less than one half of a percent of the province's total population (Niederehe 1991). Allowing for some regional variation, the French of these different provinces is similar enough to be considered a single dialect.

As was previously mentioned in Chapter 2, the majority of settlers in Quebec originated from areas north of the Loire. The province is currently 80% francophone (Rioux 1990).

4.3.1 Louisiana Creole

Neumann (1974) provides an extremely thorough description and analysis of the LaCr spoken in Breaux Bridge, a small town in St. Martin Parish. Goodman (1964) provides some of the basic structures but concentrates primarily on the etymology of the lexicon. For the purposes of this discussion, the majority of the information

concerning LaCr comes from Neumann's (1974) description. The structures composing the verb group are presented below.

There are two groups of personal pronouns in LaCr, the subject and complement pronouns (Neumann 1974:166). The complement forms are used as disjunctive subject pronouns, as direct and indirect object pronouns, as reflexive pronouns, following a preposition, and in combination with *mem* 'self'. Both sets of pronouns are listed in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3: LaCr Pronouns

	Personal	Complement
1s	mo	mwa, m ^o (mwé)
2s	to	twa (to)
Formal	vu	vu
3s	li	li (el = fem.)
1p	no (nu, nuzot)	nuzot
2p	zot (uzot, zo)	uzot
Formal	vuzot	vu
3p	je	je

(sa is also used for 3s and 3p but has a pejorative or emotional connotation)

Some of the variation within LaCr can be attributed to the influence of CajFr. For example, this dialect differs from Haitian Creole in which the subject pronouns are identical to the complement forms³ (Valdman 1992). Neumann points out that some LaCr forms are considered by her

informants to be more CajFr than they are LaCr. The formal *vuzot* is one of these (1974:169). Her view is that LaCr is decreolizing toward CajFr, seen as the 'target language', while the actual ACROLECT is English (1974:46-50) (cf. Valdman 1992). She goes on to say that the verb phrase (VP) has undergone decreolization to a lesser degree than the NP.

There are two classes of verbs in LaCr. The first class comprises those verbs with two forms, a long and a short, such as *mõz~mõze* 'eat' and *kõpron~kõprõ*. Dropping the final /e/ to create the short form is the result of decreolization (Neumann 1974:198). The second class consists of verbs with only a single form, e.g. *kone* 'know' and *ole* 'want'.

For verbs of the first class, the long form expresses a perfective, while the short form is used to express the habitual and the imperative. Tense and aspect are expressed by means of preverbal particles. These particles and their meanings are cited in Table 4-4 (Neumann 1974).

Table 4-4: LaCr Verbal Particles

te/t (prevocalic):	anteriority, distant past; expresses a habitual action with a long form of the verb
ape/ap:	progressive, inchoative, immediate future
va/a:	general future i.e. not perfective, not progressive
ale:	future; only form used with negator <i>pa</i>
sa:	perfective future
se/sre:	conditional and past conditional
pu + long form:	infinitive

The origin of the *sa*, *se*, and *sre* particles can be seen in the French verb *être*: *sera* '3s future' and *serait* '3s conditional'. Unlike in CajFr where *avoir* predominates as an auxiliary, *être* has served as the source for the verbal particles. Even as a free lexeme, *avoir* goes unused, the LaCr verb being *ge* (Goodman 1964:67).

The negative particle *pa* follows *te*, *sa*, and *se* but precedes *ape* and *ale*. *Te*, *sa*, *se*, and *pa* are elided before *ape*. Besides the particles, there is also a series of auxiliaries including *gẽ pu* 'have to', *pe* and *kapab* 'be able', and *bezwẽ* 'need' *inter alia*.

When object pronouns are used, they follow the verb, the preferred order being indirect - direct. The following example is taken from Neumann (1974:256, gloss--J.S.).

- (9) *To va don mwa je bek.* (SF: *Tu va me les rendre*)
 'You will give me them back.'

Questions are usually formed as in CajFr by simply using rising intonation. A presentential particle *esk(e)* from French *est-ce que* is rare.

This brief sketch of the verbal group in LaCr reveals some similarities with CajFr in the forms themselves, and it is easy to see the origins of (some of) the LaCr lexicon in French, e.g. *ape* from *être après*, *pa* from *pas*. In addition, the patterns for interrogative sentences are the same. The pronouns of LaCr, though, are more analytic than those of CajFr, because of their greater autonomy. Furthermore, the order of object pronouns and their position following the verb is quite different from that of the CajFr proclitics, which, though there is the tendency to replace them by *ça*, are certainly still viable. Negator *pa* precedes the verb, whereas in CajFr it follows; yet its position with respect to the verbal particles in LaCr corresponds to its postauxiliary position in the periphrastic tenses of CajFr.

4.3.2 Old Mines French, Acadian French, Quebec French

OMF is vastly similar to CajFr. In lieu of repeating all the forms and structures found in both dialects, I will simply refer to those features which CajFr and OMF share and call attention only to salient differences between the two. All information regarding the structure of OMF is taken from Thogmartin (1970).

The personal pronouns are virtually identical, yet there is no indication in Thogmartin's (1970) description that *ça* is used with definite reference. He points out that 3s and 3p subject pronouns co-occur with lexical subjects as inflectional subject markers which cannot be replaced by the lexical subject. Like ISF, OMF uses *i* for both *y* and *lui*. In both the affirmative and negative imperative, the object pronouns follow the verb. Like CajFr, OMF also manifests a tendency to avoid object pronouns in favor of postverbal *ça* and, in the dative, preposition *à* + the noun.

With respect to verbs, OMF has retained active use of the present subjunctive, while in CajFr this seems to have almost disappeared. Moreover, there is no conditional tense, which does exist in CajFr. OMF also uses *être après* + infinitive as a present progressive construction, but due to the influence of (Haitian or Louisiana?) creole spoken by slaves, *être* has been deleted from this expression. The 2p form *vous-aut'* takes a 3s verb i.e. no suffix, and plural

vous may take either a 3s verb or the SF form with the /e/ suffix. Recall that the /e/ suffix in CajFr is used by most speakers only in the 2p imperative, though for some it remains as a viable suffix with *vous*.

In the present perfect, *avoir* is favored over *être* as in CajFr, and the 1p imperative is also formed periphrastically with a form of *aller* 'go', *anõ* (from Creole) and the infinitive. The simple future remains in OMF, but the periphrastic future in *aller* + infinitive is more commonly used. There exists an alternative 1s form in this construction: *m'as*, as opposed to *je vais*.

With regard to predicate negation, *ne* has been dropped, leaving *pas*, which sometimes co-occurs with *rien*, *jamais*, etc. This was also found to be true of CajFr.

I shall turn now to AcFr, which exhibits some regional variation.

The singular subject pronouns are the same as those of CajFr, and the 3p also no longer distinguishes between masculine and feminine, as was also true of OMF. The significant difference between AcFr as spoken in Nova Scotia and CajFr lies in the first and second person plural forms. Instead of *on*, AcFr uses *je*, but the verb retains the 1p verbal suffix /õ/. Curiously enough, the reflexive pronoun for 1p *je* is *nous*. An example of the 1p verb form taken from Ryan (1985:115, gloss--J.S.) is found in (10).

(10) [ʒənu mɛtjõ a la tab]

Je nous mettions à la table.

'We sat down at the table.'

The 2p form, however, has remained *vous* and continues to be marked by the /e/ verbal suffix. Unlike CajFr, AcFr does not have the multiplicity of 3s and 3p pronouns, only the usual *il/elle (alle)* and *ils*, which is pronounced /il/ prevocally. It is in this dialect, that the origin of CajFr 3p verbal suffix /ɔ̃/ can be seen. Ryan (1985) stresses the efficiency of the AcFr verb group. Although the 1s-1p and the 3s-3p pronouns are homophonous, /ʒə/ and /i/il/, respectively, number is always marked on the verb by the /ɔ̃/ suffixes. Conversely, the homonymy in the 1p and 3p suffix /ɔ̃/ is offset by the subject pronoun.

The dialect studied by Geddes (1908) on the north shore of the Baie-des-Chaleurs⁴ has been influenced by QF and does not have either the 3p suffix /ɔ̃/ nor the 1p pronoun *je*. Instead of *nous* or *je*, these speakers use *on*.

As in CajFr, the AcFr described by Geddes (1908) has lost both the *passé simple* or past perfect and the imperfect subjunctive, yet it retains an active present subjunctive. Recall that OMF also retains the present subjunctive. The regional variant spoken in Nova Scotia and described by Ryan (1980), among others, has retained the *passé simple*.

Other similarities between CajFr and AcFr are that *ne* has been lost from predicate negation, object clitics follow

the verb in both affirmative and negative imperatives, and *avoir* dominates as the auxiliary, even with reflexive verbs.

With respect to object pronouns, Péronnet (1986) identifies a tendency to omit them when another clitic is present. Geddes (1908) states that intervocalic pronoun *l'* is sometimes geminated. The indirect object pronoun *lui* often surfaces as *i*, a trait which Péronnet (1986:289) accounts for as being a conservative form originating in the 'oil' languages of northern France.

To form the interrogative, this dialect places an interrogative particle, *ti*, after the verb, except in the second person forms, where inversion is still most often used. Geddes (1908) explains that this particle originated from inverted verbs such as *chante-t-il?* 'does he sing?' and spread throughout the paradigm to the other persons. The interrogative form *est-ce que* does not exist in the dialect.

Among the salient differences between AcFr and CajFr, are included the 1p pronoun *je*, the retention of the present subjunctive and the *passé simple*, little or no variation in the third person pronouns, and interrogative particle *ti*. I will now review the features of QF to see how they compare with those of CajFr.

The subject pronouns of QF are, in large part, the same as those of CajFr, though the 2p form remains *vous* and there is no variation among the third person forms. Yet *on* has not quite fully ousted *nous* in 1p position: In Deshaies's

(1991) corpus, there occurred 31 tokens with *nous* as opposed to 6,561 occurrences of *on*. Clearly, it should not be long before *nous* disappears altogether.⁵ The second person pronouns have taken on the indefinite reference originally expressed by *on*. This was also seen in CajFr. Varying from CajFr to some extent, QF is less likely to use *ça* in referring to animate nouns, the frequency in Thibault's (1986:303) corpus being only 5% as opposed to Brown's (1988:169) 20% for CajFr. As has been the case in the other dialects examined thus far, the feminine 3p is rarely used, and the negative and affirmative imperatives take post-verbal clitics. Connors (1981) alludes to a dislike for certain clitic sequences, specifically accusative - dative - verb. She also states that *ça* is replacing *le* and *la* and at the same time *là* is replacing *y*. This, of course, is also the case in CajFr.⁶ Robinson & Smith (1984) suggest, too, that *y* is replacing *lui*.

Similar to AcFr, QF has an interrogative particle, *tu*, which does not appear to be restricted from use in the second person.

The use of *avoir* as an auxiliary for the intransitive was already mentioned in the discussion in Chapter 3 (3.4.1). Recall that this change is also taking place in QF, but the verbs most affected by it differ from those of CajFr. As concerns the change in QF, Sankoff & Thibault (1980) confine their discussion only to the intransitives,

so I am not aware if the reflexive verbs are conjugated with *être* or *avoir*.

QF also uses the progressive expression *être après* and also favors the future in *aller* + infinitive. Robinson & Smith (1984) indicate a regularization of *aller* and *être* such that 1s *je vais* becomes *je vas*, and *je suis* becomes *j'sus*, both of which are attested in CajFr. They also point out the irregular 1s form that was seen in OMF i.e. *m'as* + infinitive.

Lastly, so that *ne* not be altogether forgotten, Sankoff & Vincent's (1980) study of *ne* in Montréal shows that it has all but disappeared, since it did not occur in 99.5% of negative tokens.

4.4 Summary

In the first section of this chapter I compared the relative syntheticity of ISF and CajFr, concluding that, according to Schwegler's (1990) criteria for morphosyntactic tightness, the verb group of CajFr is more synthetic than that of ISF. Then, setting aside the issue of analyticity and syntheticity, I compared certain traits of CajFr to other regional dialects. This comparison featured certain traits such as personal pronoun forms, the loss of negative particle *ne* and interrogative inversion, the periphrastic future in *aller* + infinitive, and others. For the most

part, these traits and structures were comparable among all the dialects, with the exception of LaCr, which for obvious reasons is different from the dialects. In the next chapter, I will synthesize the foregoing discussion and attempt to draw some conclusion regarding the status of CajFr as an obsolescent language.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹This alternation is attested only twice in the corpus, but I have heard it in some Cajun songs.

²Cajun English has also opted in favor of rising intonation in lieu of auxiliary-subject inversion. This is something I often heard while in Louisiana but am not familiar with the literature on Cajun English, so I cannot make further comment.

³The LaCr pronouns could be viewed as being more synthetic than their Haitian Creole counterparts.

⁴Although actually located in Quebec on the Gaspé Peninsula, this is considered an Acadian dialect.

⁵Sankoff & Vincent (1980:301), in speaking of the use of *ne* in Montréal French, contend that even a 90% to 95% loss cannot be viewed as categorical, since social or stylistic differences can halt a change in progress.

⁶There is only one occurrence of *y* in my CajFr corpus: *J'y ai été là déjà* 'I've already been there.'

Chapter 5. Conclusion

5.1 Summary

In order to situate CajFr within the realm of French dialects, this discussion began with a brief history of the Acadians, their exile from Acadie in the 18th century, and the subsequent development of Cajun French in Louisiana.

With a view to offering a different theoretical orientation to the literature on CajFr, the verb group was analyzed following Schwegler's (1990) redefinitions of analyticity and syntheticity summarized in Chapter 2. A subsequent presentation and analysis of the facts of CajFr in Chapter 3 found the verb group, consisting of the subject clitic and present tense, to be highly synthetic. Unlike the present tense, however, the *passé composé* and the future were determined to be less synthetic, given the potential for negative *pas*, other adverbs, and in the case of the future, object clitics, to interrupt *avoir* + past participle and *aller* + infinitive. Positing a hypothetical 'future Cajun French' in which the object clitics, *pas*, and other adverbs occur postverbally, I examined the verb group from the perspective of NM (Wurzel 1989). I argued that prefixed inflection would not violate the SDSPs of CajFr and would therefore be natural.

In comparing CajFr to ISF in Chapter 4, CajFr was found to be closer to the synthetic pole of the continuum than

ISF. ISF, on the other hand, sets itself apart from CajFr with respect to object clitics and the potential to develop into an object conjugation language. This statement is not meant to imply that such a development is probable in ISF, merely that if it were to happen, it would be more likely in ISF than in CajFr.

The comparison revealed that many features of CajFr are very common in ISF, though to a lesser degree. These features include the loss of *ne*, decrease in the use of interrogative inversion, the frequent replacement of *nous* by *on*, the decline of gender distinction in the 3p, and the use of *aller* + infinitive for the future.

A cursory look at OMF, AcF, and QF showed that they share all these same features to an even greater extent than does ISF, and they also have in common the decline of *être* in favor of *avoir* as an auxiliary.

5.2 Conclusion

In my discussion I have attempted to show that as a spoken dialect Cajun French should be viewed in a different light from Standard French, and that a comparison to Standard French, a primarily written dialect, as opposed to Informal Spoken French, can lead to a biased and, to some extent, faulty conclusion. In basing my analysis on Schwegler's (1990) evaluation of the ISF verb group, which

he found to be synthetic, I have argued that the verb group of CajFr is also highly synthetic and that, in fact, it surpasses the ISF verb group in syntheticity.

In the light of this conclusion, I examined the possibility of prefixed inflection in a projected 'future CajFr', and decided that within the framework of system-dependent Natural Morphology, prefixed inflection would be natural. The possibility of prefixed inflection in ISF has been posited by Ashby (1980), and supported by Champion (1980) on the basis of other Romance languages (Romanian, Logudorese, and Catalan). Yet to consider the question in all fairness, the other side of the coin must be considered, namely, the factors militating against eventual prefixed inflection.

Citing the results of psycholinguistic studies involving prefixed word recognition, Hall (1992) presents a very strong case against prefixed inflection. He discusses accessibility and representation in the lexicon, proposing a model of successive access to the stem and sub-entry, which I shall not go into here. The greater semantic load of the stem and the importance of accessing this information quickly gives the stem priority over affixes. The additional time required to access the semantic information contained in the stem in processing prefixed words results in a prefixing dispreference or a suffixing preference.

In applying the suffixing preference to historical change, Hall (1992:166) suggests a "flirting" process in which a semantically and phonologically decayed free form attempts to become bound to ... a full free form on which it depends and with which it is habitually contiguous.' During the flirtation stage when children learning a language reanalyze the potential prefix, the prefixing dispreference is triggered, because the potential prefix carries 'too much' semantic and phonological information, and prefixation would impede computation by slowing down access to the stem (Hall 1992). Consequently, the reanalysis from free lexeme to prefix does not take place.

Unfortunately for my purposes, the word recognition tests upon which Hall (1992) bases his argument test only derivational prefixes, and he himself does not address inflectional morphology. (Might experiments involving inflectional prefixes yield different results?) Insofar as the hypothesis applies to derivational prefixation, it is a convincing one. On the other hand, the semantic load of inflectional affixes is so highly grammatical and therefore almost minimal, I wonder if a different hypothesis might not be required to account for the suffixing preference.

At any rate, whether Hall's (1992) argument accounts for inflectional as well as derivational morphology or not, it seems clear that the subject clitics of CajFr carry such a small semantic and phonological load, that the prefixing

dispreference would not be triggered. In fact, the semantic, morphological, syntactic, and phonological tightness between the subject clitics and verb is such that prefixation appears, in relative terms, imminent. If prefixation does not eventually take place in Cajun French, I suggest that it would probably be due to some other factor. One such factor might simply be the more 'imminent' loss of native speakers, given that, as time passes, more and more children are not learning Cajun French as a mother tongue.

I have argued for the syntheticity of the Cajun French subject clitics and the present tense verb. In so doing, I have attempted to account for several features of CajFr which are included among the traits of obsolescent languages vis-à-vis their corresponding standard dialect, as presented in Maher (1985), and (4) in particular, the replacement of synthetic by analytic forms. In a synthetic analysis such as I have presented, one based on spoken language, the morphosyntactic tightness of the clitic with the verb compensates for trait (5), the loss of inflectional morphology; in the case of CajFr, suffixes bearing person and number marking.

With respect to less flexible word order, (7), a review of the facts of CajFr shows that it is comparable to ISF, i.e. that the placement of all elements within the verb group is the same for both dialects. That there is little

disparity between ISF and CajFr, obviates trait (7) as a sign of analyticity for CajFr. Moreover, Schwegler's (1990) criterion for displaceability advocates that fixed word order is more synthetic.

The expanded use of progressive *êt' apès* + infinitive in CajFr vis-à-vis SF *être en train de* + infinitive corroborates Bybee's (1985) findings that languages give aspect primacy over tense and mood insofar as relevance to the verb stem is concerned. This would also seem to confirm Maher's (1985) statement that enclave languages focus on aspect in the verbal system. Yet the rise of *êt' apès* has not been at the expense of tense. In fact, one could argue that the aspectual system of CajFr has been enhanced by the distinction between a habitual or repeated past action expressed by the *imparfait*, and the progressive past expressed by *êt' apès*, and the distinction between habitual or generic and progressive is on the rise in the present tense as well.

Certainly this discussion is not intended to discount Maher's (1985) hypothesis that many of the traits of enclave languages are manifestations of partially formed grammars. On the other hand, given the strong parallels between Cajun French, Informal Spoken French, and the other dialects, particularly that of a large 'enclave' community such as Quebec French, I would urge that language internal developments not be discounted as causes of change within

and across dialects that are removed from the prescriptive influences of the 'standard'.

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Appendix A

Partial Transcription¹

Academy of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau

- M.: ... veut dire ein différent affaire. Quand nous-aut', on disait "Attrapez-moi un verre d'eau."
- J.S.: Attrapez-moi, hmmm, ok.
- M.: ... et lui, i disait, "Attrapez-moi un gobelet" et un aut' nom, uh ...
- D.: un moque, moque.
- M.: So, ça c'est trois: un gobelet, moque ...
- B.: Un verre.
- M.: ... et un verre. [Hmmm] Ça, ça, ça ...
- D.: Un prêtre et un curé, même affaire.
- M.: C'est, uh, j'lui ai demandé ein fois, j'peut pu me rappeler au jusse. Nous-aut' on dit "On est parti au hardware". Et eux iz ont un aut' en fran-, le bon français, i m'a nommé, moi je savait pas. I dit c'est pas "hardware", c'est et puis i dit c'était. Des fois on disait pas rien pour pas se faire, connaît, rapprocher.
- [Oui.]
- D.: Et des aut', à la grocerie, à la boutique. C'est les même affaire mais différent.
- J.S.: A la grocerie, quel est l'autre?
- D.: A la grocerie et à la boutique.
- J.S.: A la boutique.
- D.: A la boutique (***) à la grocerie. C'est la même affaire.
- J.S.: Ah, d'accord.
- M.: Et quand vous dit boutique c'est comme ...

- D.: [Un magasin.]
- M.: ... un 'tit shop ou quéque chose comme au French, uh, Quarter. Les tout tits magasins ou les tites bébelles ou le linge ou des portraits ou quoi, la vaisselle manière (here, 'in a way') ...
- B.: Comment, à la France comment ça dit harmonica en bon français?
- J.S.: Harmonica? Je connais pas, hein. Désolée.
- B.: Et icite on appelle ça et eux-aut' ça arrive derrière nous-aut', on appelle ça ein musique à bouche.
- Domec ou M.: Musique à bouche.
- J.S.: Oui, c'est logique.
- B.: Eux-aut' c'est un harmonica or whatever. Ça prononce différent qu' nous-aut'. [Oui.] Et un tas de modernes affaires, nous-aut' on dit un airplane. C'est parce que ç'a été fait après not's ancestors a menu ici. I y avait pas le mot "airplane" quand il ont venu ici. Eux-aut' ç'a un nom différent.
- J.S.: Oui, c'est avion.
- B.: Oui, avion.
- J.S.: Avion, oui.
- B.: Mais quand not' grand-père eux-aut' a venu ici i y avait pas de ça. Ça fait ça connaissait pas comment ça ça l'appelait.
- M.: Dans leur temps à eux c'est soit ein barrouche, un bogey [D.: un cabourrouche] et uh i n avait quéque chose d'aut' ... j'croit c'était un wagon. I n avait un aut' nom, (vous) connaît, pas un vrai wagon à fret, les aut'. So iz avait, connaît, là si tellement différents affaires. Nous-aut' on dit comme un automobile et quand nous-aut' on parle "T'as vu ce nouveau char." Vous connaît, so c'est deux, automobile et char, c'est la même affaire, connaît.
- B.: Et à la France le char, c'est char à fret, railroad train, y'know [J.S.: Oui.] Oui, on, on mêle ça.

- M.: Souvent des fois vous veut dire un tit joke, en français, ça, ça sonne beaucoup bon, connaît, c'est la manière c'est prononcé ...
- D.: A l'anglais c'est pas rien.
- M.: Yeah, et si ti (le) dit en anglais ça change tout, tout l'affaire mais c'est différent mots.
- B.: (Touching his jacket) Quoi c'est vous-aut' appelle ça en France?
- J.S.: Une veste.
- B.: Oui. Nous-aut' on appelle ça un capot.
- Domec et M.: Un capot.
- J.S.: Un capot?
- B.: Ça arrive derrière nous-aut' qu'on dit qu'un capot parce que là-bas dans la France c'est quéque chose d'aut' un capot.
- J.S.: Hmmm, j'apprends des mots moi.
- B.: Oui.
- M.: Eioù vous a étudié dans la, dans la France?
- J.S.: A Paris, à la Sorbonne.
- B.: Ça c'est un tit brin différence. On peut comprend' le mond' qui vient de la Belgique [Oui.] mieux qu'on a comprend' le mond', pour quéque raison, de Paris. C'est, c'est pu dur à comprendre [Oui.]. La Belgique est, est pu aisé à comprendre.
- J.S.: Oui, je suis d'accord. Pour moi les Belges sont plus faciles à comprendre. J'ai travaillé en Suisse aussi où on parle français. I y avait, uh, un tas de Belges qui venaient chaque été. Je parlais avec les Belges et les Suisses.
- M.: Comment vous croit ça a changé, c'est manière comme nous-aut', un tit peu de français? C'est la Belgique et (les) Français iz ont manière mêlé ça ou manière leur-même ou...?

- J.S.: Je crois que dans chaque région les langages se développent comme ça. Ça, ça change partout, hein?
- M.: Ici, peut-êt' à Cécilia, c'est l'nom d'un tit village, peut-êt' dix, douze milles d'ici ...
- B.: [Ça parle un tit brin d ...]
- M.: ... et ça parle tout à fait différent.
- B.: Ça dit "mi couri".
- M.: "Mi vini."
- All three: (***) (des affaires comme ça.)
- B.: C'est pas le même, c'est pas le même français. On se comprend. [Oui.]
- B.: Mais c'est différent.
- M.: C'est différent.
- B.: Ti va entour de la Ville Platte, c'est un aut' langage là. [Oui.] I y a des places ça appelle ça ein tortue. I y en a appelle ça un turtle, ein tortue. [Oui.] I y a des places ç'appelle ça un caouane et c'est les différent regions we live in that they speak a little different.
- J.S.: Mhmm ... Je crois que c'est parce que peut-être les gens qui, qui disent tortue sont venus peut-être du Poitou en France, peut-être et puis les autres sont venus peut-être de Normandie ou de Picardie. J'sais pas.
- B.: Oui, (***) un tit brin différent.
- J.S.: Oui et puis les gens, les Acadiens étaient isolés alors.
- M.: J'jungle souvent l'(e)spagnol, comme le mon' je parlait de Cécilia, "moan couri". Et quand vous écoute l'espagnol parler, connaît, "couri, vini" et les tit, uh, les tit syllables qui, iz ont peut-êt' jusse mêlé les deux ensem', vous connaît?
- J.S.: C'est possible.
- M.: Un tit peu d'(e)spagnol, un tit peu de--'cause nous-aut' ici on parle pas (e)spagnol et on drive

des bus [Oui]. On a douze jeunes filles en arrière et puis tout (e)spagnol. Vous parle, vous va 20 milles, vous comprend un tit mot ici, un tit mot là, connaît, uh. Et quand t'arrive là-bas ti connaît c'est apès parler soit du temps ou les char ou les garçon. [Oui.] Jusse par un, jusse un tit mot ici et là-bas et tous les aut' tit syllables et ça, vous, vous connaît pas quoi c'est mais vous met un tit peu ensem', ça fait le portrait.

- B.: Quand les Acadien a venu ici i s'ont marié avec des sauvage. I s'ont marié avec des (E)spagnol et c'est tout, c'est tout un méli-mélange.
- J.S.: Oui, et puis i'n'y avait pas de, uh, de langue écrite, pas de livres, pas de dictionnaires là-bas.
- B.: Right, oui. (Ti) connaît, ça apprendait à, t'entend ta moman parler, ton popa et comme ça t'apprendait.
- J.S.: Oui.
- M.: Ici, quoi peut-êt' dix, non peut-êt' plus que ça peut-êt', on dirait ent' quinze et vingt an que iz ont essayé dans les école faire les enfant appren' un tit peu du français et là c'est apès faire mieux en mieux. Avant ça, t'allait à l'école, i faulait pas. Ti parlait jusse le français. A l'école ça disait pas de français jusse ...
- B.: [L'anglais.]
- M.: ... l'anglais.
- B.: Les tit garçon vadait si ça t'attrapait à parler français et on parlait tout français, ça te mesait à genoux au milieu de la cour d'école pour il te voir partout. C'est parce que il (?) parler le français. Ti parle pas le français. C'est t'apprend le, l'anglais. C'était le seul moyen ç'a connu faire appren' parce que quand ti retournait chez nous-aut', not' popa, not' moman, grand-mère parlait jusse le français. Ça fait fouler, ça nous fait et ça croyait l'ôter de nous-aut' et i l'ont pas ôté.
- M.: ... et asteur ç'est apès, vous connaît, on dit à nous, "Tourne l'aut' manière." Avant faulait pas. Asteur i faut, i faut t'essaye apprend'. Et moi

je trouve c'est ein belle affaire. Mes enfant à moi peut parler. J'ai jusse ma mère qui vit et elle aime mieux parler le français que l'anglais. So eux-aut', eux-aut' peut se, on parle tout quéque chose et comme vous dit, la moitié anglais, un tit peu de français. Eux-aut' se compren'. [Oui.]

Et quoi vous, vous est jusse apès étudier ou uh...?

D.: Écrit un livre ou quoi c'est?

M.: ... ou comment?

J.S.: J'écris ma dissertation pour le doctorat et alors je fais des recherches et j'écoute les gens et je recorde un tit peu et il faut que j'écris ça en français et après je vais étudier les différences et cetera du français parisien.

B.: C'est pareil comme not' musique. On dirait vingt an passé ou vingt-cinq an passé, trente an passé, la musique cadjin ça on connaît, avait proche, i n avait pu. Là asteur c'est tout cadjin encore parce que cadjin is in, you know ... [Mhmmm] recipes 'n cooking.

M.: Et encore ça, ça ervient ...

D.: Ça revient back.

M.: ... comme l'affaire d'école. Faulait pas parler le français. Là un ou deux a dit on ramène le français. Et la musique, la même affaire. Et là i sont manière apès mêler la musique d'aujourd'hue avec la musique du passé et t'a, t'a comme deux ensem'. [Oui.] Comme on appelle, i disont c'est le "ydeco" 'zydeco music'. [Mhmmm] et encore ça c'est l'ydeco devient de les gensse, les noir, (vous) connaît? So eux iz ont mêlé leur tit peu à eux et le français et c'est ein aut', ein nouvelle affaire, (vous) connaît? [Oui.]

J.S.: Et vous jouez un instrument?

All three: Non.

M.: On peut siffler, c'est tout.

D.: Siffler et chanter.

- J.S.: Vous dansez?
- D.: Oui.
- M.: Un tit peu.
- B.: C'est pour ça quand on va à les salle de danse, on voit jusse du mon' de cinquante an en allant parce que c'est ça qu'était not' passe temps quand t'es jeune. Aujourd'hui c'est pas ça. Ces jeune danse pas autant et ça et ça va v'nir qu'ei n a proche pu plusse que les festival, les salle de danse que nous-aut' on connaît [Mhmm] aïoù c'est jusse français. I n a pu un tas qui resse.
- M.: Pareil comme je peut parler pour proche tous leur moman et leur popa. Et quand eux i sont pitit, i faisant ein danse à la maison comme le samedi [Mhmm].
- B.: Oui, un bal de maison.
- D.: Bal de maison.
- M.: Et ein famille, connaît, les voisin ici, là peut-être' quoi huit, dix famille se mette ensem' et eux-aut' faisait la musique le samedi et puis un tit peu la boisson et eux-aut' charait. Et asteur vous voit pas ça, (vous) connaît.
- B.: C'est comme ça ça se joindait, les femme et les homme.
- D.: Et eux-aut' dit charer. Ça c'est un aut' mot, charer. Et puis nous-aut' a parler et charer, c'est la même affaire.
- J.S.: Ok.
- D.: Quand i a dit "Ça charait ensem'", charer - parler.
- J.S.: Ok.
- M.: On est pas apès vous perd'?
- D.: Parler doucement (?).
- J.S.: Des fois c'est difficile pour moi de comprendre parce que c'est différent.
- Eux: Oui, oui.

- B.: Pareil comme nous-aut', moi je connaît pas pour les aut' mais moi quand j'ai commencé l'école, la première journée j'tait à l'école la maîtresse m'a demandé, "What is your name?" Je l'ai ergardé et le tit boug' en arrière de moi, "A veut connaît' ton nom." This is how, there was no English spoken in my house at all. C'était jusse français. Et c'était dur pour t'en retourner avec des papier edmander à ta mère pour a t'aide quand a pouvait pas lire et (é)crire. In other words, quand toi ti pouvait signer ton nom et parler un m'nu en anglais, t'(é)tait apès faire mieux qu'eux-aut', ça fait eux-aut' se croyait 'were proud'.
- J.S.: Et vous êtes de Grand Coteau ou...?
- D.: Lafayette.
- B.: Moi, Church Point, Pointe de l'Église.
- M.: Ici, Grand Coteau.
- J.S.: Pour vous i y a des différences dans le français de Lafayette et de Church Point?
- B.: Non, c'est tout (***) .
- M.: Non, c'est tout joliment pareil.
- D.: Non, c'est tout pareil.
- M.: C'est jusse dire comme j'ai dit. I n a des tit, les communauté jusse à côté comme uh, vous connaît, Cécilia, Pont Breaux. Pont Breaux ça c'est un bon village et uh, St. Martin. Uh, iz ont ce "mon couri", [D: vini] "aioù t'en va". C'est français manière cassé. Et moi j'croit, à mon idée à moi, ça sem' comme si ça serait cassé avec (e)spagnol putôt à rien d'aut' chose. Et là et quand vous va là-bas, vous connaît, des fois vous fait ça, ça sonne pas pareil que Lafayette ou eioù i edvient ou par ici. Cause uh ... i n a un tas du mond', comme dans mon cas à moi. Mon papa, et quand lui il a menu, i menait de New York. Il a menu dans ce, j'connaît pas si vous a lit, iz apprend ça le Orphan Train? [Ah, oui.] Ok? [Ok.] Et quand lui il a menu il a été né dans dix-neuf cent trois mais il a pas arrivé dans la Louisiane avant j'dirait dix-neuf cent peut-êt' huit ou neuf ici et les prêt' à l'église edmandait

à ein famille s'iz avait comme dans le cas à mon défunt grand-père, il avait cin(q) fille et pas de garçon. Ça fait quand tous ces enfant a menu iz ont peut-êt' l'âge de, i n a qu'avait trois, cinq, six, jusqu'à à peu près douze ans. I dit, "J'veut un garçon." So il avait cin(q) fille et un garçon. Et uh, lui connaissait pas rien même i lui ont donné un tit nom. Eux-aut' l'appelait "Yankee" à cause i menait, connaît, de New York et il a, il a resté avec ce, connaît, ce nom. Tout le vieux mond' qui l'a vu élever appelait "Yankee", connaît, et c'est, c'est jusse lui il a pu appren' i parlait j'dirait à peu près la moitié aussi bon français que l'anglais.

Mais sur le bord de ma mère, les grand-père qui menait de la France, c'est plusse français que l'anglais. Ça c'est comme ça nous-aut' on a, on a ramassé les deux. Et j'pense i n a un tas qui menait comme ça. I n a d'aut' on a jamais pu connaît' exactement qui qu'aurait été son papa et sa maman. Il était orphelin. On a essayé écrire et appeler et tout ça, mais on a jamais pu trouver de la, connaît, peut-êt' un frère ou ein soeur ou [mhmm] un cousin. On a jamais pu ... so, on dit à l'école, la maîtresse disait tout le temps à moi, a dit, "T'es un Allemand". Et ça m'avait manière insulté, connaît. J'suis pas allemand. J'suis soit français ou cadjin. Et uh, j'ai fait mon temps à l'école et quand j'ai fini, j'ai été dans le service, j'ai été stationné à Germany. Et un soir on était apès boire de la bière dan(s) un comment vous appelle ça, un tit cantine. Et les Allemand guettait le nom. Moi j'pouvait pas comprend' et eux-aut' pouvait pas. So, uh, iz ont menu. On a commencé à parler et i n a un Allemand qui parlait français. So, je lui explique, - splique, j'dit, "Est-ce que vous parle français?" So un dit, "Oui." _____ On a parlé et i dit, "Ton nom c'est allemand." So je dit la maîtresse ici elle était correc'. On, nous-aut', on a jamais pensé. Jusse Myers c'est Myers. C'est jusse un aut' nom. Et de ça j'a appris moi j'ai un peu de l'allemand et français mêlé.

- J.S.: Quand vous êtes à l'ouvrage, est-ce que vous parlez français entre vous?
- B.: Oui.
- M.: Yes.

- B.: Si on a besoin d'un numéro de (?) ou on va dire vingt-six, vingt-huit personne. C'est la seule habitude on a.
- D.: Nous-aut' trois parle français. Mais là t'prend les aut', ça parle pas français sûr. On parle anglais avec les aut' nous-aut' on parle français. Pareil comme Gerard. Lui i parle pas français, pas un mot français. On parle à lui en anglais parce qu'i comprend pas français. Mais nous-aut' trois ici, on parle français ent' nous-aut'.
- M.: Et des fois c'est manière comme si quéqu'un rentrait ici et i commencerait parler (e)spagnol, connaît, et i n a un tas du mon' nous-aut' on parle en français. I n a du mond' qui passe (?). So des fois, des fois, connaît, eux, eux-aut' dit et ça peut parler si nous-aut'. So on essaie se guetter jusse ent' nous-aut'. Quéqu'un, un étranger vient, on essaie changer et puis on parle l'anglais. Vous connaît, c'est, c'est manière, uh, j'connaît. I n a du mon' qui a ein manière offensé avec ça, vous connaît. Là si vous serait, allons dire à Lafayette, quoi vous parlerait, français ou l'anglais?
- D.: Ça dépend qui c'est ti parle avec vous?
- J.S.: Oui, d'habitude en anglais, je crois, à Lafayette. Parce que je crois que les gens savent que je ne suis pas de la région, hein. Je suis Yankee.
- D.: Oui.
- M.: De là. Ok. Je m'edmandait. Je trouve vous parle beaucoup bien ...
- B.: Français.
- M.: ... beaucoup bien français.
- J.S.: Merci.
- B.: On vous comprend bien.
- M.: J'suis sûr i n a des mot si on parlerait comme vous comprend pas ça. Nous-aut'on dit un ou deux mot pareil avec vous. Quand vous dit le bon français on a peut-êt' oui, peut-êt' non.
- D.: Mais dans la conversation on va compren' ça t'est apès dire. Un ou deux mots c'est peut-êt' pas

pareil mais à parler au son, on va attraper quoi c'est t'veut dire.

- J.S.: Oui, oui.
- M.: Et combien de jour vous est là pour? Combien de jour vous va rester dans la Louisiane?
- J.S.: Je suis arrivée en septembre et je vais rester encore deux semaines. I faut que je m'en aille, mais je vais revenir parce que j'aime bien la Louisiane et ...
- D.: T'aime la Louisiane. Ti l'aime le manger?
- B.: Le manger?
- J.S.: Oui.
- D.: Le manger et la musique?
- J.S.: Et la musique.
- B.: C'est malheureux ti va pas attraper le Mardi Gras. Pas le Mardi Gras en ville à Nouvelle Orleans: Mardi Gras à Church Point ou à Mamou aïoù ça court toujours avec le grand chapeau, au capuchon et à cheval et tout masqué. [Mhmm.] Et ça va chamonder ('beg') ein tite pcule, du riz pour faire un gombo pour le, le soir. Le lendemain c'est uh, ti peut pu danser, ti peut pu faire rien rien. Le Jour des Cendre on appelle, Ash Wednesday. So you play all ...
- M.: I dit Ash Wednesday. Un aut' mot le vieux mond' usait "carême".
- D.: Carême.
- J.S.: Oui.
- D.: Ti connaît quoi c'est ça?
- J.S.: Oui.
- M.: Vous a entendu parler carême. Ça veut dire différent, connaît.
- J.S.: En Suisse on dit Carême.
- Tous: Carême.

- D.: Pour sept semaine, carême?
- B.: C'est là quand t'est p'tit nous-aut', ça fait pu ça, asteur, ti pouvait pas jouer la musique, ti pouvait pas aller au bal. I fallait pas danser et tous les fille et les garçon pouvait pas (e)spérer jusqu'en jour de Pâques on appelle, Easter, pour aller la première fois dans sept semaine.
- D.: T'avait à aller à la messe et dire le chapelet tous les soir et se met' à genou. A genou et puis dire le chapelet tous les soir.
- M.: Et asteur, c'est, i n a toujours, connaît ...
- D.: Le vieux mond' (?).
- M.: Le jeune mond', uh j'aime pas dire ça. Eux-aut', eux-aut' prie comme ça à la rue. [Oui.]
- Non, j'suis content, on est content de parler avec quéqu'un comme ça. Ça nous donne ein chance, on peut échanger nos, nos idée, connaît.
- Comment vous a connu cette Mère Saizan?
- J.S.: Uh, j'ai fait la connaissance de Julie Landry?
- M.: Ok.
- Tous: (***)
- B.: Oui, avec la musique et son mari.
- J.S.: Je lui ai demandé si elle connaissait quelqu'un et elle m'a suggéré de téléphoner à la Soeur Saizan, la Mère Saizan? [la Mère] Je ne suis pas catholique alors je ne suis, je ne sais pas.
- M.: Well, ça change ici. Habitude on appelait, on avait deux dans la communauté. I n avait les soeur et on avait, on avait les mère.
- D.: Les Mère.
- M.: Et asteur on a pu soeur, c'est jusse mère, connaît. [Ok.] Iz ont changé ça, dans la, j'connaît pas, quéque part dans le nord. Iz ont compris que, habitude les soeur travaillait comme dans la cuisine, dans la maison, dans le parterre, dans le jardin où on avait, ça on appelle un tit clos avec des patate, tit peu des patate, des

concombre, peut-êt' un tit peu du maïs doux, les tites affaire comme ça. On avait d'aut' légume, des navet, et tout ça mais i n avait ein soeur qui s'occupait de ça. Eux-aut' appellait ça les soeur. Mais ceux-là qui enseignait dans les classe eux-aut' appelait ma mère.

- J.S.: Mmmm.
- D.: Quoi c'est justement, ti connaît ça, des pomme de terre? Quoi c'est ça?
- J.S.: Des?
- D.: Pomme de terre?
- J.S.: Pommes de terre? J'ai pas compris. Potato?
- D.: Ok. Des pomme de terre.
- Tous: Pomme de terre, oui, pomme de terre.
- D.: Et quoi ça veut dire? I n a deux, deux ou trois différent mot pour la même affaire.
- J.S.: En français on dit patates aussi?
- D.: Patate anglaise.
- M.: Oui, ça c'est patate anglais, uh, comment ça serait?
- D.: Patate anglaise.
- M.: Yeah, mais ça veut dire. On dirait comme i n a deux différent, comme ein patate douce et les longue et manière pointue et ...
- D.: Pomme de terre c'est des ...
- M.: Pomme de terre i n a deux qualité ...
- D.: Irish potatoes.
- J.S.: Oh, ok.
- D.: Anglaise, sweet potato et Irish potato, pomme de terre.
- (***)
- D.: Irish potatoes,

- M.: Oui, mais on a comme les rouge et les blanc.
- J.S.: Oh, ok.
- M.: You know Irish potatoes you have the red ones and you have the big, long. In other wor--some are made to cook and some are made for french fries. You know, two different ... It's the same fruit but used different ways.
- J.S.: Right.
- B.: Quand t'es plus jeune, quand t'es p'tit, on était beaucoup pauvre dans ce communauté. On avait pas de glacière, on avait pas d'électricité. Pour avoir de la viande dans l'été on rentrait ça dans la terre, un park à boucherie, park à boucherie. On se mesait comme quinze famille. Ein fournissait ein bête, ein vache, un veau. Et un samedi ti tuait. Là ti donnait dix livre à tous les aut'. Là le samedi après c'était l'aut', l(e) tour à l'aut'. Là lui faisait ça. Pour quinze semaine t'avait de la viande frais le samedi pour le dimanche. C'était la (?)
- D.: C'est ein boucherie. Ti connaît quoi c'est ein boucherie?
- J.S.: Ok.
- B.: Uh, là dans les hiver qu'on faisait boucherie avec les cochon, ti donnait des rôti à tous tes voisin parce que la semaine d'après lui allait faire ein boucherie et t'aurait de la viande encore. Ti salait la viande et tout un tas parce qu'on avait pas de glacière, ti la salait. Le park de boucherie, i y a des fois on avait des puits carré, un puits d'eau, et on mesait ça dans un bocal. Et on le mesait dans un puits d'eau parce qu c'était plus frais dedans le puits que, pour le dimanche, parceque t'avait de la viande fraîche pour le dimanche.
- J.S.: Ok, et ça c'est différent d'un cochon de lait?
- D.: Oui, cochon de lait c'est p'tit, c'est trente, quarante livre. C'est un, un tit cochon que c'est apès, ça vit toujours avec sa mère.
- J.S.: Ok.

- D.: Et ein boucherie, ti tue un gros cochon, ti fait ein boucherie. Parce que t'est apès donner à tout quéqu'un c'est quoi i dit. I y avait cinq ou six famille, sept, huit famille. Ça, ça, ça donnait tout un morceau. Et un cochon de lait c'était jusse pour ...
- B.: Ti cuisait tout rond 'whole'.
- D.: Un p'tit. Ti mesait ça en haut du pit, barbecue pit.
- J.S.: Oh, ok.
- B.: Ou ça le pendait en avant d'un fer-blanc 'galvanized iron'. Ça faisait un feu et ça le cuisait. Ça prenait six, sept heure pour le cuire.
- J.S.: Ok.
- M.: La différence comme vous dit un jeune veau ou comme on dit un ...
- B.: Ein vache.
- M.: Non, non.
- B.: Ein bête.
- M.: [vin] un, veal, no?
- B.: Oui, veal, oui.
- M.: Un jeune, un vraiment jeune veau, un aut' mot, connaît.
- B.: C'est veal.
- M.: Et uh, cochon au lait c'est jeune. La boucherie c'est un vieux plus gros.
- B.: Dans not' temps à nous-aut' i y avait pas du cookin' oil, la graisse à cuire. I fallait on use la graisse du cochon. Ça fait t'avait tout l' temps des grand jarre de graisse parce que c'est ça t' usait pour frire ou pour quoi faire.
- D.: Ça ti usait pas des cochon, les cochon au lait de longtemps passé.
- M.: Non, ah.

- D.: Parceq' c'était pas, i (é)tait pas bon pour, i n avait pas de graisse et t'avait pas pour (?) so ti le quittait aller dans le clos et tout quéque chose ti faisait ave(c) des gros cochon. Quand i dit i y avait un tas de graisse mais les tit cochon, i n avait pas de graisse. C'est aujourd'hui ça tue des cochon de lait à les festival mais longtemps passé ça tuait les gros cochon.
- M.: C'est manière, c'est manière comme je disait pour la musique des noir et la musique cadjin. Il les ont mêlé et le cochon à lait c'est manière ça. Le temps est apès changer et uh, quoi c'est le mot iz, uh, comme quoi, on dit aujourd'hui un microwave. [Nous: ok, oui.] Ok, mais ça c'est, quand vous dit microwave, ça c'est dans ein cuisine sur un cabinet et iz ont fait quéque chose ici mais quand eux, iz ont fait un microwave mais dihors, dans la terre, comprend? Ein caisse manière, so, eux-aut' pren' ein idée d'ein place et eux-aut' fait, comment les apprend' [appelle] uh, coon-ass microwave.
- B. & M.: Coon-ass microwave.
- J.S.: Oh.
- M.: Ok. Vous a entendu parler. J'suis sûr vous a entendu ou lit ça. C'est, ça sonne mauvais mais c'est pas. C'est jusse dire les Cadjin avait inventionné un microwave et puis iz ont mis de la viande.
- B.: Le cochon est dans la boîte 'box' et le feu est sur top la boîte. Ça fait ti voit pas le cochon.
- M.: Comme ça, la chaleur comme ça.
- B.: La chaleur va en bas
- D.: La chaleur va en bas. On met le cochon au lait en dedans. Comme ça t'a, t'use des microwave pour les cochon au lait.
- M.: Vous a jamais été depuis vous, uh ...
- D.: Jamais vous (?).
- M.: Par ici on a un festival que iz ont ...

- J.S.: Pas encore mais je sais que dimanche i y aura une boucherie à Vermilionville.
- D.: Vermilionville, oui ...
- M.: Yeah.
- B.: Oui.
- D.: Là où ça tient, i y a des cochon là-bas.
- M.: Non, c'est, c'est, c'est tout changé, connaît.
- B.: I y a ein aut' place et tout je connaît pas si vous a visité à Eunice, le tit village de Eunice? [J.S.: Oui.] Vous a été au Liberty Theatre?
- J.S.: Pas encore. Je veux y aller.
- B.: Ok. Barry Ancelet?
- J.S.: Oui, je l'écoute à la radio.
- B.: Oui, il est là d'à peu près huit cent personne en dedans. Ti peut pas fumer. Ti peut pas boire de la liqueur. Et c'est deux heure de temps. Mais là i y a ein aut' bâtisse sur le côté, c'est le Cultural Center. Ça ti peut aller en dedans. Ça va te montrer comme un video de comment faire du roux ...
- J.S.: Mmm, ok.
- B.: ... et comment les ...
- M.: C'est bon, vous connaît, vous voit.
- B.: ... vous voir et tout ça et ça vous montrer comment faire du roux, comme quoi, c'est, quoi c'est un, ça appelle ça les prairie Cajun parce que Eunice c'est ein prairie. C'est jusse level. [Oui.] Là t'a entour de Thibodeaux, c'est les bayou Cajun parce que c'est jusse des bayou. [Mhmmm.] Mais si vous voulez la chance d'aller à Eunice comme un samedi après-midi aller écouter deux heure ou pour voir le center, ça coûte pas rien. Là à six heures Barry Ancelet commence avec son show pour deux heure de temps.
- D.: Mais ti peut parler avec Barry. Barry connaît parler français joliment bien ici. C'est, il est un maître d'école, un professeur à USL.

- J.S.: Oui, je l'ai vu et je lui ai parlé un tout petit peu mais il est très, très occupé, very busy.
- M.: On a un aut' gen-, gensse qui est sus television, monsieur Jim Olivier? [Mhmm.] Lui il a un tit programme sus television le samedi soir ...
- D.: Samedi soir il ...
- M.: Vous pourrait peut-êt' guetter ça. Des fois iz ont des, uh, des recipes ou des recette de différent manger ou différent mond' qui fait ces différentes affaire comme manière la musique on parlait. Des fois iz ont des noir en haut, différente musique, connaît.
- J.S.: C'est en français ou ...?
- M.: Oh, proche tout en français, yeah.
- B.: En français. Six heure et demie le samedi après-midi.
- D.: Tous les matin Jim Olivier vient au t.v. et parle français, à cinq heure et demie ou?
- B.: Cinq heure et demie.
- D.: Cinq heure et demie à sept heure.
- M.: Channel ten ou si t'a l'aut' c'est douze mais ten à Lafayette c'est ...
- D.: I parle français. I donne les nouvelle et le temps en français et i n a un différent band qui joue la musique en français.
- J.S.: Mhmm. Le problème c'est que à Lafayette je n'ai pas de télévision. Je l'ai laissé à, dans Seattle. J'écoute la radio parce que tous les matin i y a de la musique française.
- B.: Oui, ça c'est KRVS.
- D.: KRVS, right. Tous les matin moi aussi j'l'écoute.
- J.S.: Oui.
- B.: Ça c'est ...
- D.: _____ français.

- M.: Comment est vos parent, vot' maman et vot' papa? Que' sorte? L'allemand ou, ou quoi?
- J.S.: Je suis d'origines anglaises, un peu d'allemand aussi mais pour la plupart, anglaise.
- B.: Anglaise.
- M.: Est-ce que eux i sont intéressé dans le français ou, ou? Non ...
- J.S.: Ils l'ont étudié à l'école, à l'université il y a quartante ans ou ...
- M.: Mais eux-aut'parle, eux-aut' parle pas.
- D.: Vous. Le français (?) au collège?
- J.S.: Oui.
- M.: Et comme asteur, vous aimerait mieux parler l'anglais ou (l')français? Quelle langue vous aime mieux?
- J.S.: J'aime mieux le français mais l'anglais est plus facile.
- D.: Plus facile ...
(?)
- M.: ... connaît, nous-aut' c'est comme la question vous edmande. Nous-aut' on parle français. C'est plus aisé pour nous-aut'. C'est ça j'voulait voir si vous sentait pareil, connaît.
- J.S.: Oui.
- B.: Personne, on est mêlé ici. Moi, mon grand grand-père de quat', cinq génération, son nom c'était Nicilaus Babineaux. C'était le premier qu'a venu du vieux pays à New Brunswick. Et i y a jusse un qu'a venu. Il a venu dans sixteen sixty et i y a ein maison là-bas, c'est moyen comme Vermilionville. I y a ein maison là-bas qu'est la maison Babineaux et i n'a qu'un qu'a venu à la Louisiane. Ça fait tous les Babineaux sont parent mais i y a des, i y en a ça appelait ça des Babin. C'est tout, (si) ti va assez loin ça edvient Babineaux. Là nous-aut' on a, pourquoi icite on a mis "-u-x" au bout du nom Babineaux? I don't know. Et si ti vient de la Louisiane t'a "-u-x":

B-a-b-i-n-e-a-u-x. Et si t'es toujours dans le Canada, t'as pas -u-x.

- J.S.: Hmm.
- M.: I n a un tas on (é)tait apès parler, moi et monsieur Forrest, des fois des erreur a changé le nom. On parlait, on avait ein famille leur nom c'est Young. Et les année passée, si, correc'-moi si j'suis, des année passée i n avait un enfant qu' était né. Iz ont été pour le baptiser au prêt'. Et le prêt', (é)tait quoi, Améri-, un Américain, so et quand, non, c'était français plutôt. Et quand la famille dit le nom, l'dernier nom, c'est Young, le vieux français Young-Lejeune. So il écrit sur le paper Lejeune. Il a pas écrit Young.
- B.: [Ça fait ... Young.]
- M.: Et c'est deux, la même famille mais Young et Lejeune, connaît. C'est comme ça i dit '-a-u-x' au bout ... C'est des erreur.
- B.: C' (é)tait les prêt'. C'était les seul qu'avait de l'éducation ici. C'était les prêt'. Ça fait quand ti va les baptiser, ça, ça disait son nom et le prêt' aurait écrit parce que moi, tout quéqu'un dit Forrest mon premier nom, spelt F-o-r-r-e-s-t. Mais sur mon baptistaire ('certificate of baptism') il a mis qu'un r. Ça fait that's how I have to go with it, one r, parce que c'était le prêt' qui l'a commencé. Et i n a un tas ...
- M.: Dans mon cas à moi, mon défunt grand-père et quand il a adopté mon papa, la famille c'est Québodeaux et Marks et mon nom à moi, Myers. Mais ça il a fait et quand mon père a menu, iz avait un tit morceau de linge, mais écrit, c'était pas un papier, du linge, écrit manière comme script: Felix Myers, October the third, 1903, New York, New York. Et quand j'ai allé à l'école, i edmandait un baptistaire. Quoi baptistaire? On avait un tit morceau de linge [B.: De linge] quand on apporte ça. Et les jeune garçon et les fille disent (?) et encore le nom, mon défunt grand-père a dit, on va pas changer son nom, connaît. On écrit jusse garde ton nom sur le tit linge, connaît. Et asteur i n a un tas du mond' qui dit, well, je pense j'suis un Allemand. Sur le bord de ma mère, les Pelafigue, ça c'est aussi français que ça vient. Et, uh, des fois genses

connaît Pelafigue et Miller et Marks et Québédeaux et j'ai foulé Myers. C'est différent, vous connaît. Ça gêne.

B.: Quand le char à fret avait venu avec, i y avait un tas du mond'. I y avait un tas des enfant dessus tous à peu près le même âge ... (Someone enters the room) Il est jusse moyen apès espionner j'croit.

D.: I veut savoir quoi c'est goin' on mais i comprend pas quoi on est apès dire.

(Interruption in English.)

B.: Non, y avait un tas des enfant qu'avait venu sus le char. Et c'était jusse ein famille voulait s'en attraper un, ein tite fille, un tit garçon. J'ai besoin de ça pour m'aider dans la maison. And they don't know what happened to them, you know, the ancestors.

M.: La seule affaire que nous-aut' dans ma famille, on est un garçon et ein fille. Et ma soeur est plus vieille que moi. Elle a été au collège. Moi, j'ai pas été au collège. So e se défend mieux avec la plume. Elle écrit à tout le mond' dans le nord essayer trouver et la seule affaire qu'on peut connaît', il a été dans un, comment on appelle ça, ein orphelinie ...

D.: Un orphelin.

M.: ... ein orphelinie, ein maison. Ok. La maison eiou eux-aut' se rassemblait, tous ces enfant. C'(é)tait courri par des, des religieuse, des dame et des prêt'. Et quand lui il a gone, iz avait des papier, connaît, sur chaque enfant mais la, la bâtisse a brûlé. Quand la bâtisse a brûlé, pu de papier. Pas, so on, on, on connaît pas plusse que ça. Jusse on guète television, on voit Myers, oh, peut-êt', connaît, et on connaît pas.

D.: Aioù c'est rendu, vous-aut'?

M.: Well, i commence avoir un tas du matériau que eux-aut' envoye dans la malle (mail). J'croit iz ont ein place dans l'Arkansas. C'est un tas du mond' manière comme Vermilionville qui s'a mis ensem' pour essayer taper tout l'information comme on est apès faire asteur en parlant. Un va dire tel et tel a venu, uh, dans le Texas. Peut-êt' un dans

la Louisiane, peut-êt' un dans Tennessee, de ces enfant sus le char et ça fait i n a du mond' qui rencontre leur soeur ou des frère que eux-aut' connaissait pas en travers de cette, comment ti dirait ça?

- B.: Reunion. A reunion.
- M.: Comme organisation, connaît, du mond' qui se, et c'est vaillant. Nous-aut' on garde not' doigt croisé et peut-êt' un jour. Vous connaît, ma soeur des fois on a des meeting en ville, des fois au, uh, Baton Rouge, des fois sur le bord du Texas. Le mond' se rassem' un dimanche, un dîner ou un piquenique. Eux-aut' parle si ça et puis là eux-aut' met les morceau ensem'. On garde, on garde not' doigt croisé. Peut-êt' un jour un cousin ou peut-êt' ça commence être un onc'.
- B.: ***
- M.: ... connaît, l'âge là ...
- D.: Mais le jeune mond' va peut-êt' pas arrêter ça.
- M.: ... mon père à moi est mort à, il avait seventy-seven. Et ça c'est onze an passé so s'il aurait des frères, [D.: ... serait vieux.], dans les eighties ou plusse ou des soeur. On souhaite.
- Et vous dans la famille, jusse ein fille ou d'aut'?
- J.S.: J'ai une soeur et un frère. [M.: Trois.] I sont plus âgés que moi.
- M.: La mère et le père vit toujours?
- J.S.: Mon père oui mais ma mère est morte i y a très longtemps.
- M.: Quel âge ça avait dans leur, vot' père?
- J.S.: Mon père maintenant?
- M.: Oui.
- J.S.: Uh, il a soixante-dix ans.
- B. & D.: Soixante-dix? Seventy.

B.: Moi, j'ai ma vieille belle-mère a res' avec moi les dernier seize ans qu'a vit et elle est mort elle avait quatre-vingt treize, ninety-three. Et a conte--a me contait des histoire quand elle était fille. Elle et son plus vieux frère vadait à Church Point. Ça appelait ça l' village, à la boutique ou à la grocerie. Et c'était ein caboureuse. C'était un, c'est moyen fait comme un wagon. C'est avec deux roue et c'était des boeuf qui halait. Et t'a pas de guide. C'est des, des baton. Ti picoche, un bord ou l'aut'. Et ça passait en travers des tite coulée pour aller parce qu'i y avait pas grand chose de chemin dans son temps à elle. Et a contait tout quand t'es jeune et ça vadait au bal, bal de maison, si ti dansait avec un boug' étranger, i faulait i met un mouchoir dans sa main. I pouvait pas toucher. Et là les vieux te guettait parce que ti pouvait pas aller dihors non plus.

D.: Ave(c) des gran' robe qui planait au plancher.

B.: C'est ça. A me contait des histoire de dedans leur temps à eux-aut'. La seule liqueur iz ont bé ça ça l'a fait. C'était du moonshine. C'est fait avec du maïs.

D.: (?) pou' faire ça, pou' faire ça.

Tape: Side 2

M.: ... le magasin brûlait ou le vent cassait, eux-aut' se mettont ensem' et asteur t'a pu ça.

J.S.: Oui.

B.: Ça appelait ça faire un coup de main, coup de main. Un saurai-, aurait été malade et il avait son coton à ramasser, les aut', un somedi après-midi, ça v'nait peut-êt' trente, quarante personne et ça (lu)i ramassait tout son coton. Et ça charait, ça buvait de la limonade.

M.: Et là les femme dans l'hiver, les affaire tout doucement, eux, eux-aut'...

B.: Faisait des quilte.

D.: Ça fait des quilte.

- M.: ... piquait des quilte. J'connâit pas la chanson ti va peut-'êt voir, j'croit on va edmander ...
- D.: Vermilionville, on a été dans la semaine, et i y a ein quilte et c'est apès faire ein quilte. [Mhmm.] Toujours il est toujours monté ***.
- B.: Aujourd'hui on a du f-, on a de la chaleur dedans les maison mais quand nous-aut' était jeune, i y avait pas de chaleur le soir. I fourrait des tit four en bas des quilte.
- D.: I y avait un tas des quilte dans le temps mais i n a pu des quilte. C'est tout ...
- B.: Pas de chaleur.
- M.: Mon père a commencé travailler ici joliment jeune et on parle la chaleur. En premier c'était du bois de stove coupé des arb'. Là, la secon' iz ont commencé avec du charbon, coal, charcoal, comme ça? I faulait aller chercher ça au dépôt à Sunset, l'amener ici. Là ça, ç'a changé. Iz ont pris ça on appelle le crude oil, la vieille huile noire. Iz ont brûlé ça. Et puis i n a un stove, ein bouilloire 'boiler'. Là, ça a edvenu mieux iz ont venu avec ce natural gas ou butane dans les bouilloire. J'ai vu quat' différent changement, (t') connâit: du bois, du charbon, l'huile, et asteur le gaz.
- B.: Est-ce que ça vous a amené à le museum en haut?
- J.S.: Non.
- B.: I y a un tit museum en haut qui, qui, qui dit l'histoire ici.
- M.: Un tit peu de changement, t'connâit, comme ... comment dire ça ... la vie *** à Soeur, quoi c'est uh, Saizan [Mhmm.] asteur et ça i n avait comme peut-êt' cinquante ans ou--moi, j'ai cinquante an--peut-êt' cent an passé. Et c'est tout changé, t'connâit.
- B.: *** ça monte *** ça fait--vous est pas catholique mais ça faisait les hostie, communion hosts. Ça les faisait eux-aut'-mêmes. Et i y a toujours les machine en haut qui les pressait pour les sécher. I y avait les soeur qui était en charge de ça. Uh, i y a ein vieille chaise en haut de quand un

dentiste passait ici ein fois par mois et ça assisait et le drill, c'est ein palette.

- M.: Comme ein machine à coud'.
- D.: C'est two roues.
- J.S.: I faut je voit ça.
- B.: Avant, on va, on va aller en haut vous montrer.
- M.: Si vous, si vous aimerait voir, connaît.
- J.S.: Oui, oui.
- D.: Aoù le mirac' s'a fait dans la tite chapelle à haut, *** aoù la chapelle à haut.
- B.: Vous a attendu (entendu) pour le mirac'?
- M.: St. John Berchman?
- D.: St. John Berchman, quand il a paru ***
- J.S.: J'connais pas l'histoire.
- D.: Ti connaît pas l'histoire?
- J.S.: Non.
- B.: C'est dû à lui pour pouvoir vous dire probable plusse parce que lui il était, il a été né ici.
- M.: Vous connaît un mirac'?
- J.S.: Oui.
- D.: A miracle, a miracle.
- J.S.: Oui.
- M.: Well, i n avait ein dame ici. Les docteurs pouvait pu faire à rien. Iz avait prononcé comme, "Demain matin a sera mort." Et ce St. John Berchman a venu et puis il a paru à elle dans la nuit. So, la nurse, la vieille soeur qui s'occupait de elle a menu l' lendemain matin. La soeur pi s'a assis sur le bord du lit paré pour se lever. Et St. John Berchman a venu, il a paru, i l'a traité et on a un, un mirac' ici, t'connâit, qu'a arrivé sur le, le second plancher ici.

- B.: C'est la seule place i y a un mirac' qu'a arrivé que i y a ein chapelle, a chapel, aïoù un mirac' a été comme ça. Si un mirac' dans la France ou ça va dans les près, un chemin, ça va faire ein église aïoù le mon' peut aller. Mais c'est la seule place *** (all three talk at once)
- D.: ... ein vrai chapelle ... aïoù ç'a arrivé.
- B.: Mais les, les jeunes d'aujourd'hui croit pas dans les mirac' que comme not' maman et not' papa.
- M.: On a, on a du mon' de tout partout qui vient, mais pas jusse l'États-Unis, d'aut' pays, qui vient par ici pour visiter et iz ont des, uh, tour qui vient et eux-aut' tour le, the shrine, et puis la place, la balance de la place ici.
- D.: Al a venu un an après? Un an? Al a venu un an après St., un an après al est mort.
- M.: Oui.
- D.: Mais ça croyait pas dans le fait il a venu, qu'il a paru. On l'a vu ...
- B.: Ça les enterrait en dihors là-bas. I y a tous des, des croix aïoù sont enterré tous les vieille soeur et ça croyait un tit brin différent. Mais i n a un tas dedans ça qu'avait dix-huit, dix-neuf ans. Tuberculosis or yellow fever. I y avait pas ...
- M.: Cause uh, longtemps passé t'allait pas au docteur. Le docteur menait [B.: Ici.] ici. Connaît, à manière le, là hors du Sacré Coeur, et quand vous rentrait dans la société, vot' papa aurait pu êt' deux mile d'ici. Enfin, j'ai vu ça. Un mile d'ici, l'aut' chapelle, [Mhmm.] iz enterrait le papa à ein de les soeur. Elle était ici, elle pouvait pas aller comment, uh, j'connâit pas, eux-aut' appelle ça, a cloister. J'connâit pas comment dire ça en français. Mais eux-aut' pouvait pas aller visiter leur maman ou leur papa. Et elle était sur la galerie ici, eux-aut' halait la cloche d'église. A pouvait attend' [entendre] que son papa était apès êt' enterré, mais e pouvait pas aller.
- B.: Un mile.

- M.: Iz ont changé ça asteur. Asteur vous peut aller visiter, connaît, à la maladie ou à la mort, connaît. Ça veut dire ç'est changé un tas. [Mhmm.]
- Quelle heure vous a pour rencontrer cette, ou l'aut'?
- J.S.: Je ne sais pas. Ça dépend de vous. Si ...
- M.: Nous-aut', connaît, j'savait pas si vous avait pour rencontrer quéqu'un à dix heure ou ...
- J.S.: Non, je ne sais pas. Peut-être, oui.
- B.: Est-ce que vous aimerait voir la chapelle, [J.S.: Oui, oui.] la chapelle et the museum?
- B.: Si vous croit on a dit assez on pourrait vous montrer ça.
- J.S.: Merci ...

At the Home of T. C. and A. C.

- T. C.: ... pas travailler.
- J. S.: Non.
- A. C.: Al a deux enfants, un tit garçon et ein tite fille.
- J. S.: Oui ... C'est une belle robe, hein?
- A. C.: Oh, yeah.
- T. C.: (?) le portrait là le tit garçon et la tite fille.
- A. C.: C'est son tit garçon et sa tite fille.
- T. C.: Jarred et Mindy Rose la tite fille.
- J. S.: Ils sont beaux les enfants.
- T. C.: J'ai des tits portraits icite dedans mon porte-monnaie j' va t' montrer. I y en a un, c'est proche l'âge ç'a dans le portrait à l'âge (?). Tu vois ça c'est elle ... la tite fille. Ça c'est Jarred son tit frère quand il était un tit brin plus jeune que elle. Ça (J. S.: oui) c'est un portrait à peu près de la même âge que elle al a droite icite là. (J. S.: oui). Oui, c'est un cracker jack. C'est pas un tit garçon c'est un tit canaille. I m'nait ici i n'a capoté tout ça i y avait sur la tite tab'. Mais sa mère le bâchait, son père s'(e)ssuie les mains. Je croit j'les ai dit, je dit, "Vous-aut' j'croit (?) c't enfant est trop fort."

(Pointing out photographs on shelves.) Ça c'est R. C. Wager. Ça c'est un neveu, ein des nièces de ma femme son p'tit à elle. Ça c'est ein tite nièce de Rayne. Ça c'est Jarred plus grand quand i va à l'école. Et ça c'est Angie, sa nièce à elle. Ça c'est le même R. C. Wager. (J. S.: R.C. mhhmm) Et son père à lui i parle pas français du tout. C'est américain. Ça vient de la Floride et c'est jusse, c'est les enfants d'aujourd'hui comme ses deux nièces à elle, la mère de ces tites filles, ça, Connie, a parle quéque mots en français, a comprend tout ça tu dit, mais a peut pas parler. Mais j'les ai montré (?). Et tout le monde est comme ça. Jack et Del.

Al est moyen bêtassee. Elle, tu peut pas lui montrer rien. Elle, a parle pas en français. Je croit pas qu'on (?) Jack.

A. C.: J'sait pas.

T. C.: Et Connie, elle, a t'écoute. Quand on va là-bas, on parle-t-en français nous-aut' ent' nous-aut'. Jeff parle français. Leonard, nuhn-uh. I y en a dans la bande, ça parle avec leur père et leur mère en anglais quand ç'arrive là. Connie parle français quand a vient icite. T'en va là-bas et a veut pas les enfants comprend quoi al est apès dire, a va nous parler en français. Autrement et pis ça force 'it's difficult for her', oui. Des fois j'connaît quoi a veut dire et je dit pour elle, oui.

Tu prend B. B. I resse là et lui montre l'école à Truman Elementary à Lafayette. Et c'est proche tout du monde en couleur. Il a dit i y avait deux-trois enfants blancs qui va là parce que ça resse (rester 'live') pas loin. Ça gêne pas de, là c'est tout du monde en couleur qui va là, Truman Elementary. C'était jusse ça i y avait longtemps passé. Ça fait ça a resté comme ça. I y a un tas qui veut s' mêler avec les blancs, tu connaît même. C'est proche tout du monde en couleur qui va là. Ça fait pas de différence. Ç'apprend pas mieux. Si qu'équ'un veut pas appren', quand i va à l'école i va pas appren' (?) avec qui tu l' met.

J. S.: Oui.

T. C.: Tu prend elle, là c'était treize. Là c'est treize enfants quand i commençait l'école i y en a pas un qui parlait en français, en anglais quand iz ont commencé l'école. I fallait tout ça apprend, pareil comme moi et pis mes soeurs. Et quand moi j'allait à l'école, i y avait, i y avait un peu des Américains dans le voisi-, le-, qu'on connaissait. Il aurait fallu tu vient à Lafayette et t'en aurait pas trouvé un tas. Il aurait fallu (?) où c'est i y avait des Américains qui restaient. A Lafayette, ça c'est le village qu'avait le plus de Cadjins dans le (?), que tous les villages i y a. I y a plus de Cadjins ici qu'à Crowley et à Baton Rouge. Aujourd'hui i y a un vieil restaurant là sus Jefferson, et j'suis pas sûr si c'est toujours ouvert. Tu peut arriver dans le matin à trois heure et demie quatre heure.

Ces vieux Cadjin qui resse toujours à Lafayette, eusse c'est tout retire, ça se joint tout là dans le matin. Si t'arrive là dans le matin, dans les quatre heure, quatre heure et demie, et tu peut trouver t'assir et boire ta tasse de café, tu va jusse entend' du monde qui parle en français en eddans.

- J. S.: Mmm. Et quel est le nom du, du café?
- T. C.: Mais j'connâit pas. C'est sus Jefferson. Habitude c'était à [man (?)] mais à çu-là tu pou'ait pas menir. Quand tu, quand tu, si tu vient d'l'aut' bord, en bas d' l'underpass, tu va frapper Jefferson, le chemin de fer? [J. S.: Oui.] C'est à la gauche comme ça si t'a pour aller comme dans le sud.
- J. S.: C'est Dwyer's, peut-être?
- T. C.: Je connaît pas. C'est, c'est pas loin de l'underpass [borl**]. Un vieil vieil restaurant. J'y ai été là déjà plusieurs fois mais assez longtemps. Je connaît pas si c'est toujours ouvert mais j'm' imagine. Parce que c'est le matin le bon matin, moi j'ai, j'ai rentré là déjà.
- A. C.: A Rayne aussit i n'y a un.
- T. C.: Hein?
- A. C.: A Rayne aussit i n'y a un qu'est comme ça. Uh, comment i s'appelle uh ...
- T. C.: Oui, mais c'est les Townhouse. Et puis ...
- A. C.: Non non, pas Townhouse Parco. Uh, aïoù on a allé pour uh pren' le bus. Tu te rappelle? A Rayne?
- T. C.: Ah, oui, c'est uh, oh, c'était à la pharmacie à, à Rayne. Et puis là i y a le, le, le restaurant à Parco.
- A. C.: Mais c'est ça je parle . . .
- T. C.: Parco Bagne's.
- A. C.: Parco.
- T. C.: Ça c'est un vieux Cadjin mais je connaît pas si c'est ouvert toujours.

- A. C.: Mais j'ai entendu quéqu'un là sûr qu'eusse s'voit là et puis boit du café bon matin. Tous les ... (T. C.: Yeah) tous les vieux se, se rencontre là.
- T. C.: Moi je croit ça. Et le, le, le Rayne Townhouse. Tu prend Highway 90, quand t'arrive à Rayne, (J. S.: Oui) c'est la première lumière, le townhouse à la droite.
- A. C.: (?) Le Townhouse est pareil.
- T. C.: Et là tu vas là-bas à l'aut' lumière, tu tourne à la droite, à la gauche j'veut dire, c'est à peu près un block et demi à la droite, le, le, l'aut' restaurant. Tout le monde se joint là ces vieux Cadjins de Rayne.
- A. C.: Je connaît pas. D'après moi Parco i vit (?)?
- T. C.: Vieux Parco a meuri je croit on m'a dit. [A. C.: Oui.] Parce que lui était un vieux Tom quand moi j'étais bien jeune et j'ai soixante-neuf ans. Ça fait il est pu là, j'suis sûr.
- A. C.: Oh, (je) croit pas.
- T. C.: Il avait sûr trente, trente-cinq ans quand moi j'avait quinze, seize ans. Et i pourrait pas êt' aussi vieux que ça. Il avait, i marchait avec la, il avait ein bosse dans le dos, le vieux Parco. Mais c'était un vaillant homme. Il avait un tas du business. C'(é)tait au ras du bus station. Le bus station, c'(é)tait dans la pharmacie à McBride à Rayne. Parco était jusse sus l'côté, comme ça. Côte à côte. [J. S.: Ok.]. Sus l'même bord de la rue.
- J. S.: Des fois quand je, j'entre dans un restaurant ou quand je suis aux festivals, j'entends des gens qui parlent français mais dès que je les regarde, ils s'arrêtent de, ils s'arrêtent de parler français. Ils parlent en anglais ou bien ils parlent plus.
- T. C.: Mais i'y a un tas en eddans au club là-bas, à Vermilionville? [J. S.: Oui.] La seule, eusse peut jusse dire quéque paroles, oui. C'est tout. Le tit bougre qui travaille en eddans? T'as vu çu-là qu'a la barbe? Des fois i rase, il a les cheveux gris. I joue les tapes dessus la machine pour les aut'. [J. S.: Oui.] Il est un tit brin plus grand qu'moi. Il a les cheveux gris. [J.

S.: Oui.] Lui dit quèque paroles mais pas un tas, non. Moi j'parle tout le temps français. A chaque fois le monde passe, (?) je lui parle en français.

Tu voit à Vermilionville, i y a proche tous les femmes parle français. I y a jusse ces deux-là qui font le linge, le linge, des vieux linges des aut' fois, l'acadien? [J. S.: Oui.] Elle edvient du Texas. Elle a parle pas français. Et puis i y a ein en avant aussi qui parle pas français mais a comprend. J'me rappelle pas de son nom à elle.

A. C.: On dirait quéqu'un qui parle, qui, qui travaille là devrait, devrait parler français.

T. C., J. S.: Ouais.

T. C.: Tu prend tous les aut', ça parle français. La dernière maison, les Broussard en arrière, la vieille femme noire qui cuit, elle, c'est des Cadjins; elle et pis vieux Tom, c'est sa, i sont frère et soeur. Le vieux Tom qui travaille là où les cabris sont, j'suis sûr tu l'as vu. C'est Linus i s'appelle. C'est sa vieille soeur qui cuit. Ça, ça parle bien français comme nous-aut'. [J. S.: Ok.] Et là dans les maisons plus loin, i y a Theresa, elle, c'est ein Cadjine. Al 'tait ein Harrington de Abbéville avant elle s'marie. J'ai oublié son mari qui c'est il était, il est (?) i y a quèques années. Et Warman travaille dans l'aut' maison, i parle français. Et là i y a la femme noire dans la dernière maison de l'aut' bord de là où eusse fait la forge, elle, je connaît pas si a parle en français. J'ai jamais parlé à ça avec pour edmander si e parlait français. Mais les forgerons, les deux, çu-là qu'a la grande barbe roux et les cheveux il a tout l'temps un tillon ('a kerchief tied at the back of the head'), lui parle français et l'aut' aussi. C'est un Goulas, l'aut'. [J. S.: Oui.]

Et là allons (v)oir. I y a la grosse qui travaille, a, a weave du, du, du fil pour faire de l'étoffe. [J. S.: C'est Gayle, je crois.] Comment? [J. S.: Gayle.] Oui, Gayle, grosse Gayle. Elle, a parle mais ça la force. Mais c'est ein Cadjine. A comprend tout ça tu va dire. Et puis là i y a des remplaçants aussi là. Eusse travaille sur champ tu voit, ein semaine, deux ou trois jours. I y a Beverly. Beverly, c'est ein Duhon mais c'était, euh, sa soeur travaille là

aussi, Caron ... la soeur à Beverly. Là ça parle français les deux. Caron parle pas un tas français. J'connait pas si a croit qu' c'est, c'est pas joli. [A. C.: C'est ein habitude.] Mais al est jeune, tu voit, al a vingt-deux ans.

A. C.: C'est ein habitude.

T. C.: Mais a comprend tout ça tu dit. A peut parler parce que Beverly parle trop bien en français pour croire Caron parle pas comme al a jusse 22 ou 23 ans. [J. S.: Mhmm.] Et la, la dame, ça qui tient l'temps des travaillant là et qui figure tout ça? [J. S.: Mhmm.] C'est la femme en couleur là qui travaille dans l'office? Elle, a parle bien français. Ç'a été élevé sur le Chemin de Carencro-ça dans le nord de Lafayette. [J. S.: Mhmm.] Ça parle tout en français ce monde-ça aussi bien que nous-aut'.

Mais Mason, qu'est l'boss, lui parle pas français. Et puis là i y a l'aut', la tite maigre [J. S.: Mhmm.] euh, comment je va l'appeler. On en a deux qui s'appelle proche pareil mais ça c'est spell pas pareil leur nom. C'est Lona Bernard. Elle, al est en charge de tous les travaillants dans les maisons. C'est elle la boss à qui a dit quoi faire à Linus, sa soeur, tout quéqu'un, le monde qu'est dans la forge, Warman. Si eusse veut quéque chose, ça a besoin, c'est elle a passe voir ou si ça a besoin de quéque chose on va la voir.

Mais i y a Lorna Guyne, elle c'est la grand boss de tout. [J. S.: Oui.] Mais a connait pas rien. C'est pour ça Vermilionville fait pas de l'argent. Tous les mois, tous les mois i sont en arrière. Elle, a gagne trop d'argent pour commencer avec. C'est, uh, c'est ein place qui charge proche pas assez pour rentrer. Ça coûte huit pias' ('dollars') pour ein grande personne ein entrée. [J. S.: Oui.] Et tout ça tu voit, si ce serait un état dans le nord, comme Tennessee-ça, ça coûterait peut-êt' quinze pias' pour entrer à la porte les grands. Parce que tu voit pas rien là-bas. Pour voir, ça te coûte quinze pias' pour voir pas rien dans Tennessee compared de ça on a icite. [J. S.: Mhmm.] C'est cheap, bon marché. Mais eusse paie trop les travaillant dans les office. Ça peut pas s'faire de l'argent. C'est pareil comme la Louisiane. I y a jusse assez de taxes qui entre pour faire les payrolls. C'est pour ça ça range pas les chemins, eusse coupe pas

les arb' dans les fossé, c'est tout en grands arb'. I y a assez de deadheads d'ssus le payroll, ça prend tout l'argent des taxes qui entre pour faire le payroll tous les mois. C'est pareil comme ça à Vermilionville.

J. S.: Pourquoi est-ce que ça change pas de boss?

T. C.: Mais eusse doit la changer. Al est gone ce mois icite, mais i vont pouvoir donner le même (?) à c'lui qui va venir. J'croit pas que quéqu'un mérite de gagner quarante mille pias' par an pour faire pas rien. C'est pas un goldmine ça. C'est un tourist attraction, des vieilles maisons, des Acadiens. Et la salaire que les aut' gagne. Elle, a gagne quarante. Peut-êt' l'aut' en bas, Mason, peut-êt' i gagne vingt-cinq-trente milles pias' lui. Et là on a David Scarborough qu'est en charge de les travaillants comme moi et pis quéques-uns, lui, j'connaît pas quoi i gagne. J'l'ai jamais questionné. Mais un salary comme ça par mois, pas par mois, mais, ça fait un gros salary tous les mois, quand t'es après gagner vingt-cinq et trente jusqu'à quarante mille pias' par an. Et çu-là à quarante milles pias' par an, ça c'est plus d'un mille pias' par mois i faut eusse trouve pour payer ça. I y a personne qui devrait gagner plusse que quinze cent pias' par mois. Ça s'rend compte d'êt trop parce que tu fait pas rien.

Eusse, i faut, la grand boss là, i faut proche eusse l'oublie (?) d'êt' tout l'temps dans l'office. Des fois al est pas là. Al est quéque part d'aut'. Ça drive tout des tit char, des high price car. Tu peut voir la manière eusse fait de l'argent pour afford quéque chose comme ça. J'pense i y a des notes dedans, des commandes. Si tu peut afford un char et payer à mesure que tu l'use, c'est aussi bon que si t'aurait l'argent pour la payer carrément. C'est proche meilleur. Si tu wreck et puis il est total, oui, t'a pas tout l'temps à rester dedans, mais l'assurance paie ça. Oui, ça drive ces tits chars-là.

Chars, moi je driverait pas quéque chose comme ça parce que j'aime pas. Ça, eusse s' drive à la shop. Moi, les chars des Japon, j'aime pas ça du tout. I faut jamais oublier quand les Japon nous bombe Pearl Harbor et là-bas là avec pas de raison. Et i sont toujours pareil les Japon. C'est tout pour eusse et rien pour toi. Nous-aut'

on achète un tas ein fois plusse qu'eusse achète tous les an. Nous-aut' le deficit s'a rendu plus haut, plus haut. On achète plus avec les aut' pays que ça ç'achète avec nous-aut'. Et i y a pas un président qui court l'affaire comme ça devrait êt' couru. I s' tracasse pour les pays étranger comme quoi ça devrait faire i resse là-bas. I devrait rester icite un peu courir les États-Unis. On l'a électé pour ça. On a voté pour. On a pas rien. C'est pareil quand tu achète un char neuf. Tu connaît jamais si tu va t'acheter un bon char ou ça sera un limon. Tu va te faire ein limonade tant (que) tu va l'garder. I y a des chars t'achète, trois mois après tu l'a achété, il est après casser. Il a ein garantie d'ssus mais quand la garantie finit, si t'a assez bien ergardé i va te coûter un gros gros char, un char neuf, un aut' plus gros.

Ça dit les Japon fait quéque chose meilleur que les Américain. J' connaît pas. Quand ça casse, ça va faire arranger si tu croit ça. Mon neveu, ça veut s'acheter un tit truck, un Toyota. Deux ans après i l'a eu, les fuel injectors ça était wrong dessus, eusse voulait quinze cent pias' pour changer les fuels injectors et c'est pas n'importe qui qui les avait. Là tu croit c'est meilleur marché que nous-aut'? C'est meilleur marché jusqu'à ça casse. Mais achète les morceau quand i sont cassé. Tu peut t'acheter un bon char seconde main ou un truck pour quinze cent pias' si tu ergarde un élan.

T'a vu là sus le chemin là? I y a un tit char avant là un tit Oldsmobile ou un tit Pontiac vert. Eusse veut quarante-cinq cent pias' pour. J'croit c'est un, un quatre-vingt dix-huit. [Mhmm] Non, un quatre-vingt huit, j'ai mis trop haut. Et tu va pas avoir un tas un tas de milage parce que c'est pas un vieux char. Le jour c'était un tit station wagon Ford, un Taurus? [Mhmm] Il a commencé à neuf mille, à neuf mille pias' i y a un an. Yeah, et il l'a drop down drop down et i y a quéque'un qui l'a acheté pour cinq mille pias'. Il a trois seat dedans, un joli. J'ai dit ça à elle. J'ai dit, "Tu voit," j'dit, "si on aurait besoin d'ein embarcation," j'dit, "i serait pas là à ce prix-ça parce qu'i y aurait longtemps j'aurait été, j'l'aurait acheté." Mais j'dit j'en ai pas besoin. Je dit moi quand je veux quéque chose i faut je paie plein prix. Quand j'ai pas

d'besoin j'en trouve souvent. J'peut acheter à meilleur marché. [Oui.]

Des fois un bon char seconde main t'empare un tas dans l'village (?), est meilleur qu'un char tout neuve tu v'acheter parce que les tout neuve, c'est comme j't'ai dit tout à l'heure, c'est ça t'appelle un limon, c'est tout l'temps cassé. Parce que t'achète un char seconde main bon marché, t'a tout un garanti d'un an, douze mille miles peut-êt' et puis ou an an. S'i casse, tu ervend ça. Ça coûte pas rien pour la rouler.

Tu voit son neveu à elle ça va s'acheter un de ces Toyotas, un four-wheel drive pour eusse aller² faire la chasse et puis haler son bateau pour aller pêcher. [Mhmm.] I y avait à peu près un an i l'avait je pense. Je m'rappelle pas combien ça lui a coûté. J'ai jamais demandé. Le transmission a été wrong. I voulait pu se haler dans sa (?). Tu connaît combien ça voulait pour travailler son transmission? Sans voir quoi ça i y avait, Toyota people. Eusse voulait seize cent pias' pour travailler son transmission. Tu peut faire travailler sus American made pour à peu près cinq, six cent pias'. [Oui.] Par ra- (?) moins que, la moitié ou moins. Mais si eusse le fait si bon que ça pour faire il a cassé, un truck qu'avait deux ans de service et c'est pas un homme qu' est brute sus son embarcation. Il a peut-êt' fait quéque chose avec et puis on a jamais connu mais j' croit pas.

Oui, ça coûte tout l'temps un tas plus cher, les Japanese make. Et l'habitude eusse te donne l'excuse que iz avait pas les part des fois. C'était pas les part c'est jusse les mécaniciens ici. Ça va t' rip-off quand tu va faire arranger quéque chose les Japons a fait. Oh, i dit comment eusse met ça bien ensem', comment c'est bien mis ensem', un tas meilleur que ceux-là d'ici. Mais si eusse voulait le faire ici, on a le, on a des bonnes idée ici. On peut tenter quéque chose pour faire que ça dure. Mais si eusse le ferait comme ça que ça durerait longtemps comme les Japon garanti leurs affaire, ce serait un peu plus cher. Mais tu l'aurait en se payant moins que s'il est des Japons, mais t'a pas meilleur. S'i casse deux ou trois fois, t'a payé plusse que si t'aurait acheté un char d'icite. Ou un char d'icite, tu voit j'ai soixante-et-un mille mile d'ssus. C'est un, un soixante-quatre, non non, un quatre-vingt

quatre. [A. C.: Soixante-quat'.] Un quatre-vingt-quatre, j'ai mis trop vieux. Tu connaît j'ai fait mett' des plugs et tout quéque chose jusse ein fois depuis je l'ai. Les japons, j'avait proche soixante mille mile d'ssus, j'avait cinquante-neuf mille mille quand j'ai fait tout neuve. Les japons aurait pas couru plus longtemps que ça avant i faut tu met des plugs et tout quéque chose. T'a (?) de ça.

- A. C.: J'sait pas combien c'est tu resse là-bas, but uh, j'ai observé, moi j'va dans les groceries, tu connaît. Et les Japon i vont jamais parler à rien d'aut' chose que leur langage à eusse. Quand ça, tu va les rencontrer dans ein grocerie ou n'importe eioù tu ...
- T. C.: Tout ce monde-là de dihors fait ça: les Viêtnameuse, les Japons.
- A. C.: Mhmm. I vont pas parler di tout.
- T. C.: Ça veut pas appren' à parler un peu menu en anglais.
- A. C.: Mais i connaissent. Eusse peut, mais eusse veut pas. Tu comprend, tu comprend quoi t'est apès dire, quoi i sont apès dire.
- T. C.: (?) Eusse veut pas tu connaît quoi c'est i sont apès dire.
- A. C.: Mhmm.
- A. C.: Mais garde. Ça c'est un langage j'croit pas j'pourrait appren' non.
- J. S.: Non, c'est très différent.
- A. C.: Ohhh!
- T. C.: Oh oui! Pour moi c'est pareil comme ein grosse pu qui vient sus ein couverture en fer blanc. Ça fait le même train puis t'entend. Tu connaît le Mexico et pis les aut' pays iz a un tas des mot eusse use c'est en français et en anglais si tu veut bien compren' (?) mais les Japons i y a pas rien (q') tu peut compren'. Tout ça eusse use, c'est tout différent.

At the Home of L.B. and H.B.

- L. B.: Mais uh il a (?) asteur ('now')? Tu l'a pas mis encore?
- J. S.: Moi? Si.
- L. B.: C'est paré? C'est apès ... ?
- J. S.: Oui, c'est paré.
- L. B.: C'est apès recorder ça déjà?
- J. S.: Oui.
- L. B.: Non, uh, j'suis content (q') t'a venu.
- J. S.: Merci.
- L. B.: Si on peut t'aider ...
- J.S.: [Oui, merci. C'est très gentil.]
- L. B.: ... avec le français. [Oui.] Mais i y a un tas du mond' qu'aimerait ça d'êt' des, des Cadjin comme nous-aut' là et tout ce mond' qui vient de New York ou la Californie ou la France et le Canada, la Belgique. Eux-aut' aime assez ça ici que i y a des fois iz avaient proche envie de rester ici. [Oui.] Mais i y en a, i y a du mond' qu'est apès déménager des aut', des aut's état ici. [Mhmm.] I y a pas longtemps i y en a qu'avait venu à Vermilionville et iz ont dit ça que eux-aut' avait déménagé [Mhmm.] à Lafayette en quéque part.
- H. B.: J'pense quand ça peut retire ou quéque chose et puis ça va menir et le climat est plus frais, confortable j'pense que là-bas aussi.
- L. B.: Dimanche après-midi on a été à ein place à un de mes ami, Harry Smith. Et il a un lodge et puis là il a un grand parking area. Uh, i y avait, proche, j'ai pas l'idée combien (de) trailers i y avait là mais i y en avait peut-êt' cent, deux cent, peut-êt' plus que ça. I y en avait assez c'est dur pour dire combien gros i y avait. Et i y avait un tas un tas du mon'. On avait été là-bas, moi et Lona pour parler avec eux-aut' voir s'iz était intéressé pour venir à Vermilionville, connaît, pour visiter la place. Et c'est du

vaillant mond' mais j'suis sûr c'est tout du mond' qu'est retire et qu'a un bon, ein bonne pension et ça peut partir et rester le temps ça veut. L'argent va pas manquer.

Mais, uh, iz était là j'croit pour ein semaine.

Et là il a, il a ein grand bâtisse là. Je connaît pas. Des fois j'croit quéqu'un m'a dit i peut met' huit cent personne dedans la bâtisse. Et j'pense i y a des fois iz ont de la musique et là il a ein place i cuit pour les servir à manger et tout quéque chose. Là i y a ein couverture c'est ouvert en, tout en bas. I y a j'sait pas combien de tab' et là, la, la salle ça jette peut-être cent, cent cinquante à deux cent pied de long. Avec jusse ein couverture et des tab' en bas ça fait, uh, ce mond'-là ça resse en bas ça s'visite l'un à l'aut.

Là quand on a arrivé là-bas on avait ein cassette. Ça fait Lona l'a mis apès jouer. Ça fait i y avait ein femme là, je l'ai mis, j'l'ai attrapé. J'l'ai pris à danser avec. Et uh elle allait bien, ça, e dansait bien. Elle appréciait ça. [Oui.]

Oui, moi, ça, mon job à Vermilionville c'est parler avec le mond' et puis danser avec les femme.

J. S.: Oui, je vous ai vu des fois danser.

L. B.: Et quand tu va travailler là-bas?

J. S.: Moi?

L. B.: Oui.

J. S.: Je ne sais pas. Je n'ai pas demandé si je pouvais travailler.

L. B.: Moi, j'avait compris que t'avait peut-être venu travailler moyen volunteer ou quéque chose.

J. S.: Je ne sais pas exactement parce que je veux faire mes études et si je travaille, si j'ai un schedule c'est plus difficile.

L. B.: I y a un tas de, du mond' de la France et Canada et Belgium qui vient là-bas. [Oui.] Et ceux-là de la Belgique j'les comprend quand ça parle.

Uh, j'ai dansé avec ein femme quéque temps passé de Venezuela. Là i y a un couple qu'a venu dans les West Indies. Le mond' de tout partout. [Oui.]

Si là vous-aut' parle. Moi je peut pas parler tout le temps et puis ...

H. B.: (?) disturb.

L. B.: Oui, mais c'est bon vous-aut' parle un tit brin. Quand tu va arriver là-bas tout tu va enten' c'est moi.

J. S.: Mais pour moi il est plus important que vous parliez et moi, que je ne parle pas.

H. B.: Au commencement de la (?), ma moman parlait pas l'anglais du tout. On a tout appris à parler français et on a pris à parler l'anglais quand on a commencé l'école. C'était dur parce qu'on comprenait rien et tu pouvait pas, défendu de parler français sur la cour d'école. Et asteur i sont essaient de le ramener. J'croit qu'c'est un tit peu tard parce qu'i n a pas grand, i y avait jusse les deux enfant à moi qui parle français dans tous les tits enfant dans les sept soeur. I y a vingt-six tits enfant et i y a pas d'aut' que les deux garçon qui parlent français.

Ça fait je pouvait demander à mes soeur. I y en a qu'a marié des homme qui parle pas français et ceux-là qui parle français, je dit (?) français.

Mais c'était dur parler français. Ça parlait français quand ça voulait pas les enfant comprend quoi ça disait. Et uh, mon garçon et sa femme, les deux parle français, celui qui vit toujours. Un jour j'ai demandé, j'dit "Comment ça se fait vous-aut' parlait pas français à vos enfant?" "Well, i dit, quand on en allait à l'école on était considéré basse classe. Et j'voulait pas mes enfant à moi soit traité comme ça." On était puni si on était entendu parler français dans la cour d'école. On connaissait pas rien. J'pense que c'est pour ça qu'on a pu appren' mieux but il aurait dû nous donner un recess pour parler français. On aurait peut-êt' compris quoi c'est le lançais veut dire. [Oui.] Et moi j'suis fière de mon français. [Oui.]

L. B.: Oui, c'est, c'est bon quand tu peut parler les deux langue--français ou l'anglais. [Oui.] T'a l'avantage de s'i y a un tas du mon'.

J. S.: Oui, c'est vrai.

H. B.: Pour Donald, l'ouvrage lui faisait c'était un conducteur dans la banque ou d'un loan service et tout ça. Et i y a toujours un tas du vieux mond', tu connaît, qui pense pas l'anglais. Et quand ça pouvait attraper quéqu'un qui parlait français iz était tout content. Pour ça, il a, il avait apprécié son français pour ça aussi.

Et Alan était music director, enfin i montrait le band à l'école. Et là il a quitté ça pour, asteur il est apès (?) un loan service. Il aime mieux faire quéque chose dehors que la musique. Il aime toujours la musique. Il a un band. I joue des bal, des réception, des mariage, des chose comme ça. But, uh, il aime son ouvrage, i le préfère.

L. B.: Oui, c'était rendu 'unbearable'. Les enfant étaient trop terrib' pour, uh, uh c'était bien agrément pour essayer de manier les enfant. Et puis là asteur les parent ça veut proche pas (q') tu ma-, t'essaie à corriger tes, les enfant. Et là, ça fait mauvais pour eux celui qu'est apès essayer montrer l'école 'teach school' et tout ça. Mais, uh, j'pense ça va venir i faudra ça change ça parce que ces enfant assez rendu c'est trop terrib'.

Eh oui, tu prend là-bas à Vermilionville, i y en a d'aut' qui parle français mais i n a pas un tas. Ça parle pas tous français. Ça fait, ça fait ça vaillant là j'peut parler si quéqu'un arrive qui, qui vient de la France ou le Canada ou la Belgique, j'peut parler avec eux-aut'. Moi quand j'commence parler français i sont content.

J. S.: Oui. Et Warman, lui i parle bien français n'est-ce pas?

L. B.: Yeah. Et Catalon parle français là. Cette-là qui fait les, les chapelet elle, a parle français. Cette-là qui fait les fleur parle français. Ce guy qui fait les violon lui parle français aussi. I y en a joliment qui parle français mais i y en a qu'aime pas rencontrer du mond'. [Mhmm] Et moi ça me gêne pas parce que si j'connaît pas quéqu'un

j'va aller voir qui il est. [Oui.] Et je va connaît' qui il est avant i part.

Uh, le mond' ça qui vient, ça sem' comme si ça m'aime parce que, connaît j'les entertain et tout ça, parler avec les aut' là, danser et tout ça.

J. S.: Et ici à la maison vous parlez français d'habitude?

L. B.: On parle jamais l'anglais.

H. B.: J'pense pas. Tout le temps français au foyer. Tout le temps, tout le temps. Et là quand mes soeur vient, i n a ein, la plus jeune, la seule qui, qu'est comme moan, al aime parler son français. Son mari parle pas français. So uh ...

J. S.: Elle parle bien?

H. B.: Oui, on parle français, al aime parler français aussi.

J. S.: Mhmm.

L. B.: Tu veut de l'eau?

J. S.: Oui, s'il vous plaît.

H. B.: Tu veut un café? C'est ça j'allait venir vous demander. J'boit pas de café mais la grègue 'drip coffee pot' est paré pour le faire.

J. S.: Si vous allez en faire, oui ça serait bien, merci.

L. B.: Tu mange pas du gombo?

J. S.: Uh, je ...

L. B.: S'i y en a pas, tu 'n mange pas mais si i n a, tu 'n mange.

J. S.: Oui, je, j'en mange. J'aime beaucoup la cuisine de la région. Le manger est très, très bon.

L. B.: Ah, oui. Mais on a fait un gombo pour toi, ça fait.

J. S.: Aaahhh.

H. B.: Ça j'ai dit que je souhaitait qu' t'aurait aimé ça parce que j'étais apès cuire ça pour aujourd'hui.

- J. S.: Merci. C'est gentil.
- L. B.: Ça fait froid là-bas?
- J. S.: Où? A Seattle, dans Seattle?
- L. B.: Oui.
- J. S.: Oui, mais pas trop. Dans les, en hiver dans les trente-huit ou dans les bas quarante degrés. Mais il pleut souvent, pas beaucoup, pas très fort, mais très, très souvent.
- H. B.: C'est ... souvent j'ergarde les nouvelle du temps sur la télévision et c'est plus chaud là-bas que nous-aut' on est ici des fois. Pas tout le temps.
- J. S.: Non, pas tout le temps, hein.
- H. B.: Mais, uh, le docteur et sa femme qui restait ici à Lafayette, j'étais apès soigner leur tit garçon, iz ont parti i y a cinq an dans janvier. I sont gone. I sont back à Seattle. C'est de là où lui i devenait. Elle a devenait du Canada. Et a parlait français pas trop good mais a, a comprenait à parler. Et là, lui, il a retourné pour, il était un pathologist. I check les test de toute sorte de chose que, ça fait il aurait fait mieux là-bas qu'ici à Lafayette. J'croit il était plus habitué c'est là où i devenait. [Oui, alors...] Et j'continue avoir des nouvelle de eux après tout ça. Et iz ont ein tite fille qu'est né dans janvier cette année que i m'ont envoyé ein carte de announcement. Le garçon va avoir six an ou sept an? Il avait un an et demi quand i sont parti. I y a cinq an i sont gone. Ça fait il a eu sept an dans juin. I joue la, le piano et il est beaucoup smart qu' j'connait parce que un tout petit bébé al prenait, al avait des liv', des chose qu'a, tu connaît, des instructions. Ein heure tous les avant-midi al était avec l'enfant, elle et lui tout seul. I parlait (?). Et j'ai cru qu' il aura pas été trop, uh, il aurait été joliment avancé dans ses étude.
- Son père était smart. J'croit qu'il a sauté quéque grade d'école et le collègue il l'a fait dans bientôt.
- J. S.: Pourquoi est-il venu à, à Lafayette?

H. B.: J'connâit pas pour quelle raison il a, il avait venu ici. J'ai pas d'idée. J'connâit pas où il a fait son étude (?). I travaillait pour we call it General ici à Lafayette. Et elle a été ein nurse aussi mais a pratiquait pas tu connâit, ein nurse. Al aimait jouer le tennis. A connâissait pas ça avant lui, i sont marié. Elle était beaucoup bon. J'croit (?) le bat'. Al était mieux que lui. Al aimait ça, jouer tennis.

J'les ai bien manqué quand iz ont parti.

L. B.: Mais moi j' ... moi j'm' imagine iz ont peut-êt' venu parce qu'il a tenté voir le sud comment c'était j'pense. I fait plus chaud ici que i fait là-bas dans le, dans le nord. [Oui.] Parce qu'i y a un tas du mond' qu'entend parler comment c'est alentour ici dans Acadiana et i y en a qui vient jusse par rapport que quéqu'un leurs a dit comment c'était vaillant. Et puis eux-aut' aime le manger d'ici et la musique.

J. S.: J'ai rencontré une dame de New York qui ne parle pas français mais elle a venu à Lafayette simplement parce qu'elle aime la musique. [L. B.: Oh, oui.] Elle a déménagé. Elle a laissé sa mère et ses enfants et elle est venu à Lafayette il y a six mois.

L. B.: Oh, oui, oui i y en a un tas quand eux-aut' entend la musique, my god wheww! Eux-aut' aime ça. [Oui.] Mais moi j'dit i y a des fois ça danse pas pas rien mais j'dit si t'attend la musique et puis tu grouille pas, il est bon que tu va au docteur parce que t'est plus près de la mort que tu croit.

Non, c'est ... i y avait du mond', du mond' alentour de Lafayette et tout ça habitude i y en a qui, qu'a voulu manière rire après la musique, la musique cadjin, tu connâit. [Oui.] Et asteur la musique cadjin est populaire un tas. I mean ces musicien ça va dans les aut' pays et dans tous les état ici [Oui.] et le mond' est, est fou pour la musique. Eux-aut' l'aime un tas. Mais c'est de la belle musique. [Oui.]

J. S.: Moi j'suis après appren' à danser. [Oui.] La valse, ça va mais pour le two-step, j'sais pas, c'est, c'est assez vite, très rapide mais uh ...

L. B.: Si tu vient et puis j'suis là on va danser moi et toi.

- J. S.: D'accord.
- L. B.: C'est, c'est pas difficile. Quoi tu fait, t'écoute le, la musique et ça, comme si ça te dit quoi que tu fait. [Oui.] Et puis là tu peut ergarder quoi les aut' fait. [Mhmm.] Et là après tu commence danser i faut essayer de faire danser comme le two-step. Moi j'ai dansé avec i y en a de New York et la Californie. Quand iz ont gone ça dansait bien.
- H. B.: I y a un qu'avait venu, un couple deux an passé et il aurait aimé appren' à danser comme nous-aut'. Ça fait j'dit, j'dit "Va danser avec Lawley. Ça va plus vite." "Oh, non," a dit "(?) regarder (?)". Al a venu plus tard. J'dit, "Comment tu fait avec la danse?" "Oh, (?). J'peut pas faire à rien." "J't'ai dit i faut tu danse pour appren', tu connaît. Jusse ergarder quéqu'un ça aide j'pense mais c'est pas plus (?). I faut t'assaie danser. Al aurait aimé ça.
- L. B.: Mais dimanche i n avait un tas du mond' i y en a, i y avait un tas du mond' d'Ibérie. J'ai dansé avec plusieurs de ces femme d'Ibérie là ça voulait danser avec moi.
- J. S.: Ibérie?
- L. B.: New Iberia.
- J. S.: Oh, ok.
- H. B.: Nouvelle Ibérie.
- L. B.: Il était supposé avoir un band de, de New Iberia et i y a eu de la mortalité. Quéqu'un est mort dans la famille de quéqu'un qui jouait dans le band. Ça fait iz ont pas venu. On a eu un bon band, though, Steve Riley. [Uh huh.] Ça c'est, ça c'est aussi bon comme i n'a pour jouer la musique. Ce mond' s'a amusé. Wheww!

Mais ces band-là aime tourner là pour jouer. Mais là i y en a qui joue pas, j'aimerais avoir ein chance pour venir jouer mais ça dit, "Voit si j'peut pas parler et puis voir pour essayer de les avoir pour venir jouer. Mais j'peut jusse faire tant, moi. J'ai pas le pouvoir de les engager pas rien.

(Speaking of a bal masqué at Vermilionville for Halloween.) Là vendredi soir i y a un, i y a un couple qui va venir mais uh lui et sa femme va pas venir ensem'. Et lui i sera habillé comme la queen de la France et quand i va arriver i voudrait que j'l'annonce et dire que la reine de la France est là. Ça fait, eh, i m'a expliqué i dit il aura des grand eyelashes et i s'habillerait comme la, ein reine, tu voit. Et là i dit i va partir à marcher i va échapper sa mouchoir voir si quéqu'un va le ramasser. I va peut-êt', la mouchoir va peut-êt' rester par terre. Parce que ça sera en costume et quéqu'un peut s'habiller comme i veut.

J. S.: Oui. Vous allez au bal vendredi?

L. B.: J'pense i faudra j'va moi.

J. S.: Vous êtes le maire.

L. B.: J'suis le maire de ville asteur ça fait. J'étais après faire rire, j'pense j'met mon suit et ma cravate (?) le maire i faut i se prépare bien. J'connâit pas quoi j'va met'. Moi j'ai pas de costume ça fait j'va met' d'aut' chose.

H. B.: I y en a à ven' quéque part sûr.

L. B.: Hein?

H. B.: Tu peut t'acheter un costume.

L. B.: Oui. Pas la peine dépenser de l'argent pour ça.
[Non.]

Mais i y en a là qui sera habillé, oui. Dans toute sorte de moyen. Là c't homme-ça il est apès venir mais i veut pas, i voulait pas que personne connaît qui il est, tu voit. [Mhmm, oui.] Et nous-aut' on a eu des, des show, des homme habillé en femme. I y a des homme là-bas qui fait des belle femme, oui. C'est proche plus joli qu'en, que i y a des femme.

H. B.: (Bringing coffee.) Le suc' et la crème. J'ai pas rien dedans.

J. S.: Je prends seulement le sucre. Merci.

H. B.: Moi je le bois avec rien, jusse ...

- J. S.: Mhmm, noir ...
- H. B.: Noir.
- J. S.: ... café noir. Ça c'est le mieux parce que comme ça i n'y pas de calories.
- H. B.: Oui, pas autant. J'ai ...
- L. B.: Moi, i faut je boit du Sweet 'N Low et puis de la crème.
- H. B.: J'ai habitude avoir un shop pour arranger les cheveux. Et, uh, i n avait des dames qui venait qui me disait ça buvait leur café noir et j'dit bon, ok. J'buvait avec la crème et le sucre. J'ai commencé à réduire le sucre un petit à mesure. Asteur si je boit du café doux c'est pu bon. C'est un différent goût.
- L. B.: Le café est bon?
- J. S.: Je ne l'ai pas encore goûté.
- L. B.: Oh, t'a pas goûté encore?
- J. S.: Oui, j'vais mettre la cuill- merci.
- H. B.: Pourquoi tu t'a grouillé de place?
- L. B.: Oui, j'croit vous-aut' se voit pas.
- H. B.: (?) Mais i y a pas, si t'a pas été attendu, on va ...
- J. S.: Peut-être que moi, je devrais me mettre de ce côté. C'est plus facile.
- L. B.: Oui mais si tu parle toi tu sera pas en haut.
- J. S.: Ce n'est pas un problème, hein.
- H. B.: Tu n'aime pas?
- J. S.: Je n'aime pas m'écouter sur cassette.
Ça sent bon.
- L. B.: Oui, eh, c'est du bon café.
- J. S.: C'est du Community Coffee?

- H. B.: Du Community, oui. Café français pour la Louisiane. (?) le café de la Louisiane? Community.
- J. S.: Comment est-ce que vous connaissez les, les Olivier?
- L. B.: Oh, oui. I y a quarante-cinq an j'ai marié dans décembre et on connaissait, on les connaissait depuis ...
- H. B.: I travaillait dans les école aussi, tu voit. Ma plus jeune soeur a gradué avec le frère à Julie, ça qu'a couru pour sénateur. Et lui et sa femme et ma soeur en même temps. Ça fait on les connaît depuis tout not' vie, j'pense. Son papa était un docteur, à Julie. Son papa a été docteur et c'était lui not' docteur de famille. Ça fait on a été élevé tout ensem'.
- J. S.: Quarante-cinq ans de mariage en décembre? Félicitations. Quel est le secret pour rester marié quarante-cinq ans?
- L. B.: J'dit l'homme, quand la femme dit quéque chose, a tout le temps le dernier mot c'est, "Yes ma'am." Ça fait quand tu fait ça comme ça t'a pas de trouble. Si tu répond, là ça va pas aussi bien.
- H. B.: (?) tu travaille un tit ... passer tout le temps sur un bord (?)
- L. B.: Mais si tu, si t'agree tout le temps avec la femme t'aura pas de trouble.
- H. B.: Sois tout le temps agréab', tout le temps agréab'.
- L. B.: Oui, le sept de décembre, i y aura quarante-cinq an.
- H. B.: (?) longtemps passé. Quand on s'a marié on avait ein laiterie et moan, j'avait jamais tiré des vache mais (?) et j'avait jamais tiré les vache, les mame (?) tirait les vache. Quand on allait à la laiterie les (?) tirait les vache. (?) Donald a mis des machine pour tirer les vache. Ça c'est facile.
- L. B.: On avait la laiterie, uh, i y avait ein compagnie d'huile au coin là. Et iz avait venu, ça a venu m'engager pour ein semaine et j'ai resté là-bas

au-dessus d'un an d'après moi. Et là j'ai travaillé pour l'état pour deux an en plus. Ça fait long. Et là (?) j'ai décidé bâtir la maison et ça fait on était tout le temps occupé. Mais ...

- H. B.: (?) la maison. (?) Le dedans c'est nous-aut' qu'a fini.
- J. S.: Oh, la, la.
- H. B.: On a pas engagé un homme. On a travaillé dur, on le rappelle. C'est un tas de l'ouvrage.
- L. B.: Oui, c'est six cent pias' ('dollars') (?) proche tout ça nous a coûté. On a fait la maison et ça pour j'croit c'est cin' mille pias'.
- J. S.: C'est pas mal.
- H. B.: Mais on a fait un tas de l'ouvrage nous-même. Ça, ç'a aidé.
- L. B.: (?) j'ai connecté ça moi-même. Le dedans, c'est moi et puis elle qui l'a fait.
- H. B.: C'était du bon (?). Dans l'été passé j'ai mis le papier ici et là. J'ai fait ça moi seul.
- L. B.: I y avait quéque chose, on avait pas eu assez. Ça fait, j'ertourne chez Montgomery Ward. Ça fait j'arrive là-bas. I y avait du papier, c'est là où on a pris ça. Ça fait uh c'était pas tout à fait la même affaire mais c'était plus près. I restait comme çu-là il avait déjà. Ça fait j'l'ai amené et tu peut pas dire la différence.
- H. B.: D'abord ça, c'est le (?). C'est pas le même lot number mais uh comme en arrière des châssis, ça c'était le premier j'avait. Là j'ai tout mis à côté de ça pareil. J'avait commencé là mais quand j'ai mis l'aut' papier pareil, ça a pas resté. J'ai tout décollé là j'ai tout mis ce bord-ça pareil.
- J. S.: Ça c'est, c'est pas facile de poser le papier des fois.
- H. B.: Non.
- J. S.: Ma soeur, elle le fait, c'est son travail.

- H. B.: Oh, oui?
- J. S.: Elle peinture aussi les maisons.
- H. B.: J'aime faire des chose comme ça. Mon beau-frère qu'est dentiste, l'année passé on a tout renouvelé son office. Et lui, il est comme moi, il aime faire quéque chose comme ça. (?) ou moi et ma soeur, lui il avait aut' chose pour faire et ça a réellement (?) c'est la différence de ça il avait avant. On a vraiment changé son office.
- L. B.: T'est habitué manger du gombo, tu mange pas ça souvent?
- J. S.: Pas souvent, non. J'en ai mangé une fois je crois depuis que je suis là à Lagneaux's Restaurant.
- H. B.: Oui.
- L. B.: Danielle, ça va venir?
- H. B.: (?) à dormir, al l'aurait réveillé (?) C'est le tit enfant qu'est malade. I l'ont ramené au docteur hier. Le docteur dit i croit c'est le flu al a.
- L. B.: L'effet d'avoir chaud et frais (?) la chance ave(c) de la fièvre. Mais quand elle était petite elle avait des allergies et elle a pris des shot et d'aut' shot pour j'sait pas pour combien longtemps. Et elle était allergic à un tas d's affaire. Ça fait quand elle prend les shot, puis elle aimait pas ça un tas. Mais, Don était comme ça, lui il aimait pas les ...
- H. B.: Il aimait pas les shot. Mais l'an dernier il était apès les donner à la tite fille. Ça fait un jour j'étais là i dit à Danielle i dit, "Dit à moman quoi c'est, qui c'est qui t'a donné ton shot." A dit, "Daddy." "Unh uh" j'dit. (?) I dit, "Trente-cin(q) pias' le shot et puis j'ai figuré pour me sauver ça. J'en prend un ou deux par semaine. Ça edvenait coûteux. Et il était apès lui donner ses shot lui-même.

J'ai jamais pu compren' parce que quand un jour i s'avait fait mord' par ein guêpe quand i fauchait dans le clos. Quand j'ai ervenu dans la maison il était tout gonflé gonflé. Ça fait mal. Ma jeune soeur était ici, al a dit, "On va l'amener au

docteur. Le docteur lui a donné un shot il l'a jamais oublié. I dit, " Donne-moi des médecine dans la bouche mais pas, pas de shot." Et il était à peu près quatorze an, j'pense, quand il, quand ça s'a arrivé. Tu pouvait pas le--il aimait jusse pas prend' les shot. C'est çu-là qu'est mort avec un attaque de coeur.

L. B.: Mais s'il a eu pour aller pour ein opération, ça ce l'aurait tué quand même. Parce que moi j'ai été opéré deux fois sur mon coeur et uh la première fois i y a treize an et là i y a, i y aura un an le trente de janvier que j'ai été opéré la seconde fois. Mais la première fois j'ai dit lui allait pas (?) et (?) et j'ai eu cinq by-pass le trente de janvier. Et uh quand j'ai quitté l'office du docteur pour ertourner à l'ouvrage, uh, course, eux-aut' avait venu et puis i m'ont dit quoi c'est j'allait ertourner, quoi c'est j'allait faire quand j'ai ertourné à l'ouvrage. C'était jusse parler avec le mond' et puis danser avec les femme. Ça fait, le docteur a dit ça mais i dit, "T'pourra pas danser asteur" et j'pense i croyait c'était trop vite et tout ça. Quand j'ai arrivé là-bas, j'ai dansé et j'voulait voir quoi c'est qu'allait arriver. Et ça m'a pas fait rien. Ça fait depuis ça, i dit go ahead et danser. Mais c'est un bon exercice. Uh, j'croit c'est proche mieux qu' marcher. Marcher ... tu marche pour un élan mais là-bas là i y a des fois j'danse, uh, au moins deux, trois, quat', quat', cinq heure des fois. Ça c'est un tas d'exercice. [Oui.]

Mais j'aime un tas danser. Ça fait, j'veut pas faire quéque chose j'aime pas. Mais des fois si t' attrape ein qui connaît pas danser, ça va mal. Wheww! Puis i y en a joliment comme ça.

Et mon bras là fait mal depuis j'ai été opéré et i y a des fois j'suis après essayer de les pousser pour pas, pour les faire tourner et puis pour pas ça borde sur (?) quéque chose. Et eux-aut' borde sur mon bras et boy, ça fait mal. Et là j'peut faire venir un ...

H. B.: A vibrator.

L. B.: ... a vibrator. I y a un de mes ami qui a, qui a passé ça sur mon bras et puis ça m'a aidé un tas. Ça fait un tas du bien. J'peut faire venir un et là j'va liser (et) régler. Tellement que ça ça fait mal. Mais i n'y a un, j'peut pas la pousser

comme ça. Ça fait ça bordait cont' quéque chose après ça, ça commence à pren' (?) sur le l'aut' côté, (?) côté par là.

Mais i y a de ces femme là qui veut réellement appren' à danser. Ça croit qu' si ça voit les aut' danser ça va appren'. J'ai dansé avec des femme de la Californie et i y en avait de New York j'ai dansé avec aussi, de tout partout. Mais dans le Canada ça danse pas comme nous-aut'.

- J. S.: Non?
- L. B.: Oh, non, c'est, c'est différent qu' nous-aut'. Iz ont pas de la musique comme nous-aut' on a, non plus. Et j'ai été là-bas ein semaine chez mes cousin et on a été à un bal mais ç'a pas, ça connaissait pas danser.
- J. S.: Où est-ce que vous êtes allé au Canada? A quelle ville?
- L. B.: (?) partout dans le Nouveau Brunswick.
- J. S.: Hmm. Je pensais que les Acadiens sauraient danser.
- L. B.: Oui, ça danse différent que nous-aut'. On a été un soir à ein place et iz ont fait deux ligne--un ligne là, un ligne là et là celui-là a parti avec celle-là et celui-là a parti avec celle-là et ça cognait leur pied et un tas du train. Nous-aut' on danse ensem'. [Oui.] L'aut moyen j'croit ça passe un tas du train, ça.
- J. S.: Alors la danse pour vous c'est la meilleure médecine.
- L. B.: Oh, oui. Uh, i y a un tas d'exercice et plus tu exercise, mieux c'est.
- J. S.: Oui, je vous ai vu à l'élection uh i y a un monsieur qui a voulu danser avec vous.
- L. B.: Oh, oui.
- J. S.: Je ne sais pas ce qu'il a dit mais ...
- H. B.: Oh, t'a été là le douze?
- J. S.: Oui.

- L. B.: On a dansé après ça encore et boy le mond' a ri.
- H. B.: (?).
- L. B.: Mais i m'a dit ça, i dit "Si tu gagne l'élection" i dit "On va danser ein valse avec toi." Moi, j'dit, "Moi, j'veut." I danse bien. Oh, des fois i y en a qui vient et je dit, "J'danse avec les femme" et j'dit, "les homme" j'dit, "J'connâit pas s'i y a moyen à trois si je vais danser avec vous-aut'." Ça rit.
- T'a fini avec ton café?
- J. S.: Oui, merci, c'était bon. (L. B. takes away coffee cup, comes back and reaches for water glass.)
- Je, je vais le boire, merci.
- L. B.: Tu garde l'eau?
- J. S.: Oui, merci.
- Vous pouvez peut-êt' m'expliquer, Madame, comment faire un gombo.
- H. B.: Faire? Uh, premièrement i faut tu fait un roux. Moi, j'fait mon roux avec pas de graisse du tout, jusse la farine. Et j'le, j'le met dedans le fourneau, dans le oven et je le brown. Ça dépend le temps j'ai pour le faire. Si j'suis pressé, je met le feu haut. Et si j'suis pas pressé, j'le met bas et des fois ça prend longtemps. A tout moment tu brunse jusqu'à il edvient la couleur tu veut et ça j'fait quand j'veut le cuire. J'met mon eau à bouillir, dedans ein chaudière ...
- (Tape ends)
- (Side Two)
- H. B.: J'fait de la viande, euh, de poule ou aujourd'hui c'est de la viande de guime que, et des saucisse fait avec la viande de dinde. On est réglé-, on est pas supposé manger rien qu'est gras. Ça fait, c'est pour ça j' fait mon roux avec pas de graisse, et c'est aussi bon comme çu-là ti fait avec la graisse. Et tu met le roux dépendant comment épais tu veut ton gombo. I y a du mond' qu'aime ça plus épais que d'aut'. Uh, ça, ça dépend (de) ton goût. Tu met des assaisonnement

qui (?). Des oignon, j'met des piment doux. (?)
 Nous-aut' on aime ça beaucoup.

- L. B.: Après c'est tout après bouillir (bouillir), ouais, tu laisse bouillir jusqu'à la viande est tend' et la balance, les assaisonnement ou les piment et tout ça, ouais, c'est tout délié ça, ça fait. Quand la viande est assez tend', ouais, l'affaire est cuit.
- J. S.: Et quelles saucisses est-ce que vous achetez d'habitude? Moi, je ne connais pas les saucisses.
- L. B.: Elle en achète des saucisse de dinde. [Mhmm.] Et le dinde n'a pas du cholestérol comme les saucisse de cochon [Mmm.] ou les saucisse de bête aussi.
- H. B.: Nous-aut' on les prend à Church Point. C'est là où on va chez Rod's à Church Point. C'est là où on prend les saucisse. Pour moi c'est les meilleur de dinde, la viande de dinde. [Mhmm.] C'est beaucoup bon. Nous-aut' on les aime.

C'matin quand j'ai appelé Linda, j'lui ai dit j'avait acheté les siennes aussi, ma belle-fille. Mais j'l'ai ôté les saucisse de la boîte parce que c'est la pure saucisse de dinde [Mhmm] et i sont manière difficile si ça connaît exactement quoi c'est. Al aime les saucisse-ça mais j'suis pas sûr al connaît quoi c'est fait avec. Ça fait j'l'ai mis dans un plastic bag. C'était quand not' garçon vivait c'est ça j'faisait. Lui il aimait ça. Mais i faisait des affaire avec ça là-bas. Si ça connaissait c'était des saucisse de dinde, i les aurait pas mangé. Et dimanche soir on a été là-bas faire un tour et pour parler (?) un grand gombo. Et e dit, moi j'dit, j'va me chercher des saucisse j'pourrait (?). E me dit, "Quand tu va aller amène-moi-z-en," parce qu'a dit, "Ça c'est les meilleur saucisse" et j'ai toujours pensé qu'a connaissait c'était des saucisse de dinde. Ça fait j'ai mis ça dans un plastic. C'est comme ça que j'les amenait quand j'les achetait pour Don. J'lui ai dit j'avait ses saucisse. La tite fille, al aime du gombo févi. Tu connaît quoi ça c'est?

- J. S.: Non.
- L. B.: Okra gumbo.
- J. S.: Oh, ok.

- H. B.: Gombo févi. A dit ça, "Quand tu va faire du gombo, moi j'veut du gombo févi." Ça fait, j'l'ai pas fait àcematin parce que j'savait pas si t'aurait aimé ça. Tu connaît, c'est plus délicat que, nous-aut' on l'aime. Mais la tite fille, un matin arrivait, uh, le plus vieux garçon arrivait, elle était apès déjeuner du gombo au déjeuner. I me dit, "Mais que(lle) sorte de affaire ça c'est." J'dit, "C'est le déjeuner à Danielle c'est du gombo févi." Il a (?) . Il a jamais pu manger de ça, i a jamais aimé ce gombo févi. Mais elle, a mange ça pour déjeuner s'i y en a.
- L. B.: Oh, oui, al aime ça.
- H. B.: (Alors?) j'ai fait un gombo févi. Même j'ai edmandé à, j'ai dit ça à Linda, si j'suis apès faire du gombo aujourd'hui si vous-aut' veut venir dîner. Al aurait bien réveiller Danielle, peut-êt' elle al aurait pu venir. J'connaît pas. I sont, c'est comme si eux-aut' se ermonte de leur maladie et ça erprend 'get better' et ça ervient tout encore. Et quoi i vont faire. J'vais leur rappeler si eux-aut' peut venir (?) appeler. J'ai edmandé si a travaillait dimanche. A dit, "On a pas pour travailler mais on aura pour aller chez Paul et Leslie." J'dit, "J'pensait j'aurait fait le, le vrai family gumbo dimanche si t'avait pas pour travailler" mais ... C'est manière de la misère pour tous se met' ensem' mais quand un peut venir i n a un aut' qui peut pas. [Oui.] Il est dur pour tous se met' ensem'. Et finalement j'les assaie d'les avoir ein fois par mois, mais c'est un tit peu plus loin à loin que ça. J'sait pas si j'suis apès edvenir ... J'suis pas apès edvenir vieille, ça c'est sûr.
- L. B.: Ouais, t'est apès edvenir vieille et puis t'en as assez à faire. Même si t'en fait pas un tous les mois, t'en fait assez sans ça.
- Al est rendu vieille, elle.
- H. B.: Aussi vieux comme tu t'sent. J'me sent pas vieille.
- L. B.: Oui, mais c'est q' t'est vieille quand même.
- H. B.: No, sir. Avant j'me sent vieille j'suis pas vieille. J'va avoir soixante et onze an le neuf de novembre.

- J. S.: Oh, là là.
- L. B.: Moi, j'ai soixante huit, tu voit, j'ai ... Moi, j'suis jeune encore elle, al est vieille.
- J. S.: Non.
- L. B.: Hein?
- J. S.: Non, non, elle n'est pas vieille.
- H. B.: On est pas des vieux. On est jusse du vieux linge, on est pas des haillon.
- J. S.: Mon père va avoir soixante-dix ans en décembre. Mais pour moi il aura toujours quarante-trois ans. J'sais pas pourquoi, mais quarante-trois ans dans mon idée.
- H. B.: Ton idée.
- L. B.: Oh, yeah.
- H. B.: C'est ça j'dit, t'est vieux comme tu t' sent, combien tu veut êt'. But uh, j'arrête jamais. J'oublie quel âge j'ai. L'âge c'est jusse un numéro. J'suis beaucoup active, en bonne santé, pas de médecine à prend'. (?)
- L. B.: Aioù tes parent edvient? Des États-Unis?
- J. S.: Oui, de l'état de New York.
- L. B.: New York?
- J. S.: Oui, mais pas la ville de New York, dans le nord, près du Canada.
- L. B.: Eux-aut' parle français?
- J. S.: Non, pas du tout. Iz ont étudié le français à l'université mais c'est tout. Ils ne parlent que l'anglais.
- H. B.: On a un neveu qui resse à New Jersey, Allendale, New Jersey.
- J. S.: J'connais pas Allendale.
- H. B.: Tu connaît pas ça. Il a été dans le service et quand il était dans le service, il a recontré la

femme il a marié. Il a jamais ervenu. Il a resté là-bas. C'est là-bas i restait. En soixante-seize on a été là-bas visiter lui. Dans le service i transfèrait les officier à différen' station. I connaissait New York (?) j'pense. (?)

- L. B.: On a été au Statue of Liberty. On a été à les, on a vu les twin buildings, Empire State Building, United Nations. Et on a vu, uh, où c'est, ça va pour (dire?) pour d'êt des officier pour l'armée ça, à Westpoint.
- J. S.: Ah, oui, oui.
- L. B.: On a été au Roosevelt home. On a été dans la maison et on a été là où il est enterré et on a vu un tas d's affaire. Et on a passé là-bas dans le, j'croit c'est Harlem.
- H. B.: Ça c'était l'année (?) dans Harlem. (?) on a pas resté.
- J. S.: Oh, oui.
- L. B.: Il est l'heure on s'en va, i dit on est gone d'ici parce que c'est dangereux si tu va là. Ça fait on a vu un tas d's affaire. J'ai réellement apprécié ça. J'avait jamais vu l'Empire State Building et le Statue of Liberty, tout ça.
- J. S.: Moi non plus. Je viens de l'état de New York mais je n'ai jamais visité la ville.
- L. B.: Non.
- H. B.: C'est (?).
- L. B.: C'est gros ça.
- J. S.: Oui.
- L. B.: Non, uh, on a venu pour s'en ervenir, on arrive là-bas. On a acheté des ticket pour le round-trip, tu voit. On a été sur, sur le char Amtrak. Ça fait on arrive là-bas soi-disant i y avait pas de place pour ervenir back. Ça fait le char était apès gone. Ça fait moi, je m' rappelle pas, on a arrangé quéque chose jusqu'à qu'on a pu ervenir. Et ça fait iz avait ici ein cham' et c'était ein cham' chaude jusqu'on a arrivé à Washington (?) i nous ont changé et puis nous met' dans ein qui était air conditioning.

Et pour aller là-bas c'était un tas mieux qu'ervenir. Pour ervenir i y avait un tas des nègre et puis ça faisait du train. Pour aller là-bas on a été avec du mond' qu'on connaissait qui était gone, j'croit, quéque part dans New York. Et pour ervenir on avait tout ce train-là. On pouvait pas se reposer.

J. S.: Il faut combien de jours pour aller à New York dans le train?

L. B.: (à H. B.) Combien longtemps ça nous avait pris?

H. B.: On a parti, on a parti d'en ville à sept heure le matin. On a pas arrivé, c'était lundi, on a pas arrivé avant mardi à midi et demi. On avait, on a couché sus le char. On a passé ein nuit sus le char, ç'a pas couché. On s'a assis dans les chaise. Ça nous a pris, uh, c'est pour ça que ... Pour ervenir j'me souvient pas. Je me rappelle plus. J'connaît c'était un tas de tracas pour partir d'là-bas. Avec qu'ein chaise sus appointment (?). J'dit, tu connaît, "C'est ça la différence avec le sud." J'dit, "Le sud, i nous ont amené ici." J'dit, " Pour partir d'ici vous-aut' connaît pu à rien." J'dit, "Supposez que (?) pas nous-aut'. C'est (?) vous-aut' a fait ça d'entre vot' main." Et ça c'est ça la différence avec le sud et le nord. J'pense pas ça les a affecté but uh ...

L. B.: Tu leurs a dit quand même.

Mais uh mon neveu, boy quand on a parti avec, ça lui a fait un gros coeur, sayin' how he wanted to go home. I vient pas souvent ici. Boy i haissait voir qu'on était apès partir. Oh, il avait enjoy ça. Mais sa fille s'a marié ... d'après moi l'année passé, j'pense.

H. B.: En septembre.

L. B.: Et il ont venu ici avec son mari et lui voulait venir rester ici. Boy il aimait ça ici. Et i y a pas moyen dire, i va peut-êt' faire ça.

J. S.: I sont venus ici pour la lune de miel?

L. B.: Vacance.

J. S.: Vacances?

L. B.: Ouais. Mais eux-aut', lui il a réellement aimé ça ici. Quand il a venu i y avait ... ça mouillait et ça, j'croit. Et iz ont pas pu enjoy ça comme si ça aurait été du beau temps. (à Hazel:) Quoi c'est ça? I mouillait quand eux-aut' a venu, hein?

H. B.: Oui. C'était pour Mardi Gras, iz allait au Mardi Gras en ville. Ça fait ç'a acheté des costumes, iz ont été et là le jour que on était après les voyager alentour ç'a pris à mouillir. Ça a pris à mouillir à Grand Isle et l'aut' place qu'on voulait aller on a manqué, uh, ça mouillait assez ...

L. B.: Jefferson Island j'croit.

H. B.: Jefferson Island ... et ça mouillait assez fort, moi j'(é)tait assis dans le seat en arrière et j'pouvait pas voir trop. Ça fait on a dépassé la place et on a jusse ride et on a venir, on a été à Ibérie. On a été à la place aïoù ça a le, le riz. Iz ont passé tout partout et iz ont donné des sample à goûter des différen' chose ç'avait fait. C'est ça que le [ris], c'est comme un, un rice patty iz appelle ça. On a mangé tout ça il avait pour nous donner à manger. C'était bien magnifique, c'était (?) quèque chose (?). Eux, lui, il a beaucoup aimé ça.

I sont supposé venir dans août. Ma soeur, ça fait c'est son garçon qu'est là-bas, i y aura cinquante ans dans août l'année dernière elle est marié. Ça fait ça va venir pour célébrer les cinquante an de mariage de ses parent. Et a dit, "Oh, mais moi, j'veut pas ça. J'va pas aller." J'dit, "T'a pas pour venir." A dit, "Nous-aut' on va venir icit. Ti sera là, t'aura pas pour t' tracasser."

L. B.: Mais la c't girl-ça il a marié, d'après moi elle aime ça ici aussi. Son mari aime ça, lui est terrib'.

T'veut voir comment le gombo erssem'?

J. S.: Oui.

L. B.: T'peut voir dans la chaudière.

J. S.: Ok.

Mhmmm.

- L. B.: Tu crois ça sera bon?
- J. S.: Oui. (?)
- H. B.: Tu peut voir ça icit le roux q' je fait.
- J. S.: Alors, c'est jusse de la farine?
- H. B.: Jusse la farine. Et tu voit, i y a rien de graisse dessus le gombo. With L.'s heart condition, we have to watch. Le moins de gras qu'on peut.
- L. B.: Oui, quand tu mange du gombo avec le roux avec de la graisse, ça res' dans l'estomac. Et c'est pas bon, c'est pas bon pour ton coeur parce que c'est du cholesterol, et le cholesterol vient boucher tes veine. C'est là aioù j'ai été opéré. [Oui.] Et c'est pas du fun. [Non.] Quand j'ai ervenu ici après l'opération j'avait mal--j'me sentait pas bien pour quat', cin', six semaine j'pense. J'avait pas d'appétit et j'dormait pas. J'me sentait pas bien. Là j'ai été au docteur. Ça fait rien de médecine, j'étais apès la boire. Il a arrêté c'tte-là. Mais j'étais apès la boire avant j'étais opéré mais j'connait pas après l'opération uh ça faisait pas bien. Quand je m'ai ôté sur la médecine-ça là j'ai pris à me sentir mieux. Avant ça, ça allait mal.
- H. B.: Son appétit a ervenu. J'croit j'va le ercommencer sur la médecine pour son appétit.
- J. S.: Mais la première fois c'était plus facile?
- H. B.: Oui. C'était dur la dernière.
- L. B.: Ouais, la première fois j'ai souffert avec ma jambe. Oh, ça était j'sais pas combien longtemps ma jambe faisait mal. Mon estomac ça m'a jamais gêné mais ma jambe. J'avait q' ça, ça faisait mal et là j'ai un ami à Sunset là qu'a été opéré et lui il a miséré avec sa jambe. Ça a edvenu, sa jambe a edvenu mauvaise même. Et il est all right asteur mais il a souffert avec sa jambe. I n a un tas du mond' c'est ça, ça souff' plusse avec c'est leur jambe putôt que l'estomac.
- H. B.: Ça prend les veine dans la jambe pour mett' au coeur.

- J. S.: Ah, oui, je vois.
- L. B.: Ici, iz ont pris la veine ici et ça vient jusqu'en quéquepart ici. Mais c'tte-là ici m'a pas fait mal mais c'tte-là ici a m'a fait mal, ho!
- J. S.: Le père de mon ami à Seattle a été opéré et lui il a des problême avec sa jambe. Depuis plus d'un an maintenant il a des problême.
- H. B.: (?) tu voit, ça ça dit tout ça i peut faire c'est trouver un aut' (?) pour circuler le sang dans son coeur.
- L. B.: Non, c'est, c'est pas du fun aller s'faire opérer. Puis là j'peut pas dormir mais en hiver i faisait froid et j'venait m'assiser dans la chaise là essayer à dormir (à briller?) avec ein de ces affaire-ça. Mais j'ai commencé a dormir c'était peut-êt' côté de trois heure du matin. C'(é)tait long.
- I y a ein de ces nurse qu'avait venu et al avait dit qu'on pouvait pas user du sel. Ça fait al a ervenu ici, al a fait de la soupe avec pas de sel. Et puis j'avait déjà pas d'appétit, j'avait pas faim. Ça fait a m'a mis de la soupe, j'ai mangé deux bouchée, j'croit. J'ai poussé ça à côté. Et après j'ai ertourné chez le docteur, j'ai dit, "Doc, (?) avec le sel." Ah mais i dit, "Moi, j't'ai pas dit tu pouvait pas l'avoir." I dit, "Tu peut mett' du sel." C'est là, c'est là où on a commencé à cuire avec un tit brin de sel et j'ai commencé à manger, mais avec pas de sel ... ça c'était pas bon.
- J. S.: Qu'est-ce que vous allez faire pour célébrer les quarante-cinq ans de mariage?
- H. B.: Pas rien, j'pense pas. Tous les aut's année on a pas rien eu. A vingt-cinq an ça nous avait fait, tu connaît, un party pour les vingt-cinq an. Mes soeur et puis les enfant (?) C'est les cinquante, vingt-cinq, cinquante et soixante-quinze an les plus célébré j'pense.
- J. S.: Moi, je crois que quarante-cinq ans c'est longtemps (?).
- L. B.: Oh, ouais, vingt-cinq an avec la même femme, tu voit.

- J. S.: (A Hazel) Avec le même homme, n'est-ce pas?
- H. B.: Oui, c'est joliment pareil. C'est sûr.
C'est pas facile. On a sûrement (?)
- L. B.: Tu va aller vendredi soir?
- J. S.: Oui. Je ne sais pas exactement quel costume je vais mettre, mais je vais aller.
- L. B.: Moi, il est temps dur pour voir les bougre comment i seront habillé.
- H. B.: (?) C'est un bel habit.
- L. B.: J'croit i y aura des grands homme et tout quéque chose.

Mais lui et sa femme, ça vient tous les weekend et là son beau-père et sa belle-mère vient aussi. Son beau-père c'est un homme qu'aime danser un tas. Il est comme moi. J'm' imagine i y aura un tas de mond', hein.
- H. B.: Oui, j'pense.
- L. B.: Dommage c'est ça va pas pren' les meilleur band qu'est apès jouer.
- H. B.: (?) i sont mieux que d'habitude. I sont pas dans les meilleur mais i sont toujours mieux que ça pouvait (d')êt.
- L. B.: Parce qu'iz avait pu avoir Steve Riley ou Eddie Lejeune. T'en aurait de la musique, wheww! Ces band là, c'est tout Steve Riley dimanche. Iz ont pris un break mais d'après moi aussi ein demi-heure et le mond' était apès partir. I mean eux-aut' veut pas rester assis là et tout quéque chose. C'est ça qui est mauvais ces band-ça prend un break trop longtemps.
- J. S.: Est-ce que vous allez aux festivals? Par exemple les Festivals Acadiens? Vous y êtes allés?
- L. B.: On a pas été.
- H. B.: On a jamais été. Là le week-end-ça c'est le (?) à Plaisance. Ça c'est la célébration du (?) Ça commence ... jeudi ...

L. B.: Vendredi-samedi.

H. B.: Jeudi, vendredi, samedi et dimanche. Et là i y aura le Rice Festival à Rayne--à Crowley aussi le weekend-ça. I y a tout le temps quéque chose tu peut aller le weekend.

L. B.: Mais, uh, New Iberia eux-aut' a eu la chose là ...

H. B.: Sugar Cane Festival.

I y a bien beaucoup du mond' à Lafayette quand iz ont le festival dans le village, au musée ...

Notes to Appendix A

¹J. S. is the interviewer.

²Bauche calls this structure, consisting of pronoun + infinitive the 'proposition infinitive' (1928:124). It is also attested in François' corpus, though usually with verbs referring to consumption e.g. manger 'eat', boire 'drink' (1974:423).

VITA

Jane S. Smith was born in Rochester, New York, on September 16, 1956, to Dorothy and Lloyd Smith. Following her graduation from Pittsford-Mendon Senior High School in 1974, she attended the State University of New York, College at Oswego, where she studied French and Russian and participated in the College's semester abroad program, operated in conjunction with the Cours de Civilisation Française at the Sorbonne in Paris, France.

In 1978 she entered The George Washington University in Washington, D.C., as a teaching assistant in French. To complement her studies of French literature, she attended language courses at the Institut Catholique de Paris during the summer of 1979. She received her Master of Arts degree in 1980.

Following a hiatus of several years, during which she spent a year working in Verbier, Valais, Switzerland, Jane returned to her graduate studies at the University of Washington in 1987, where she has studied Romance linguistics and taught French. She has also taught at Whitworth College in Spokane, Washington, in Spring, 1992, as a member of the adjunct faculty.
