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The Death of a Dialect: Brule Spanish in Ascension Parish, Louisiana.

Charles Edward Holloway

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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The death of a dialect: Brule Spanish in Ascension Parish, Louisiana

Holloway, Charles Edward, Ph.D.

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1993

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THE DEATH OF A DIALECT:
BRULE SPANISH IN ASCENSION PARISH, LOUISIANA

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
The Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics

by
Charles E. Holloway
B.B.A., Northeast Louisiana University, 1982
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1990
May 1993
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The goals of this dissertation are: (1) to describe the Brule dialect, (2) to investigate aspects of language death, and (3) to provide important information to the area of Hispanic dialectology. The vestigial Spanish dialect spoken by the Brule dwellers of Ascension Parish, Louisiana is at the brink of linguistic extinction. The "Brule dwellers" have remained isolated from other Spanish-speaking groups since they arrived in Louisiana from the Canary Islands in the late 1700's. The specific phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics of this unique variety of Spanish are documented here. Although the close relationship of Brule Spanish to the dialects of St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana and the Canary Islands is evident, this dissertation points out various features of Brule that distinguish it from these and all other varieties of Spanish. This documentation provides information that is relevant to critical outstanding issues in Hispanic dialectology, and several of these questions have been addressed here. Because this dialect is in the final stages of what is commonly known as "language death", and its speakers have remained relatively isolated from speakers of other varieties of Spanish for two hundred years, the case of Brule Spanish offers an
unusual opportunity to investigate commonly held assumptions regarding the nature of structural changes normally associated with vestigial languages. Like its sister dialect in St. Bernard Parish, Brule Spanish exhibits many examples of extreme reduction in the areas of phonology, morphology, syntax, and stylistic options. Nevertheless, a comparison of the two dialects reveals that in each case there is variation in the nature and the relative extent of change in each.

Negative attitudes on the part of Acadian and Anglo residents of Ascension Parish towards the Brule dwellers have had a strong negative impact on the survival of this dialect. These attitudes, which prevail even today, help to explain the social stigma attached to speaking Spanish or claiming any connection with the Brules. In addition to community attitudes, various other social factors such as education, military service, and economic opportunity that have contributed to the demise of the Brule dialect are investigated here.
CHAPTER 1-INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation

When Louisiana was ceded to Spain in 1762, the Spanish government was well aware that what it had acquired might be considered more a liability than an asset. Because of its failing economy, Indian wars, and small population, the Louisiana territory was only reluctantly accepted as "compensation" for having aided France in its war against England. Perhaps the only reason the Spanish did accept the territory in the end was to keep the English from acquiring it and threatening Texas and Mexico (Din 1972:12). Once they had taken possession of Louisiana, the Spanish felt the need to increase the number of colonists in this territory who would feel loyalty to the Spanish Crown. Thus, the new governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Galvez, began a program to encourage immigration to the new province.

The major influx of immigrants came from the Canary Islands. These settlers, sometimes called Isleños, arrived between 1778 and 1783 and were established in four settlements: Galveztown, Valenzuela, Barataria, and Tierra de los Bueyes in what is now St. Bernard Parish. This dissertation will mainly be concerned with Canary Islanders who settled in Valenzuela on Bayou Lafourche near what is today the Ascension Parish town of...
Donaldsonville. However, the St. Bernard group will also be considered in some connections (see map below).

For a variety of reasons which are yet to be discussed, the Isleños of Ascension Parish, or "Brule" dwellers, while not as completely isolated as the St. Bernard group, were able to maintain their own community and language and culture until after the beginning of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the Brule culture and dialect are almost certain to be extinct in the very near future, perhaps within a decade. Indeed, only a handful of the oldest community members retain any knowledge of the Brule dialect of Spanish. This makes obvious the urgent need to document and preserve aspects of this dying Spanish dialect. The documentation of the linguistic characteristics of this dialect will be the major goal of this dissertation.
1.2 Research Goals

1.2.1 Documentation of the Dialect

A primary goal of my research is to document, as completely as possible, distinctive traits of the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish. MacCurdy (1959) and Armistead (1992) have done research in this area, but they provide no extensive documentation of the dialect. My research includes in-depth documentation of lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of this dialect, which I attempt to present in this dissertation. The Brule culture and language are rapidly approaching extinction. Given that many consider language and culture to be inseparable, the importance of documenting aspects of this dialect becomes even more evident. By recording aspects of the Brule dialect, not only will some part of the language be documented for future generations, but also some information about Brule culture will be preserved.

1.2.2. Contribution to Historical Linguistics

The importance of such documentation to Hispanic historical linguistics should be readily apparent. As Lipski affirms (1984:111): "Isleño Spanish is not merely a dialectological curiosity, but an important mirror permitting a glimpse into previous stages of Spanish language development, and represents an integral facet of diachronic Hispanic linguistics." Rarely does the linguist encounter a situation where a dialect has remained
more or less isolated from other dialects of the same language for as long as two hundred years, as is the case in Ascension Parish. This offers the researcher an independent witness to the history of the language, a "time capsule" which he or she can compare with modern versions of the same dialect. A goal of this research, then, is to explore and attempt to explain linguistic change within the Brule dialect of Spanish and to utilize the evidence from Isleño to clarify aspects of Hispanic historical linguistics generally.

1.2.3. Contribution to Hispanic Dialectology

Statements such as Lipski's (see above) should not cause one to underestimate the contribution that the study of the Canary Island dialects of Louisiana can make to Hispanic dialectology. Indeed, because the St. Bernard and Brule dialects derive from a single source and have remained relatively isolated from other Spanish dialects (and each other), the dialectologist is presented with an unusual opportunity to show not only how the two dialects are similar, but also how they have diverged from a common origin. Relying in part on earlier work done in the St. Bernard community (Lipski 1984, 1986, 1990; MacCurdy 1950; Coles 1991), I will compare and contrast the two dialects in an attempt to determine to what extent they reflect their Canary Island origin and to what degree they have changed, either by themselves, or in the case of St. Bernard, through contacts with other varieties of Spanish.
The relationship of the Brule and Isleño dialects to other varieties of Spanish is a matter of some controversy in the Isleño linguistic literature. Some researchers, such as MacCurdy (1949:181, 1950:46) and Armistead (1992), have claimed influence from other Spanish dialects. To quote MacCurdy (1950:46), who finds Canarian features, "In its vocabulary as well as its phonetic system, the Louisiana dialect is closely linked with the zone of the Antilles." Craddock (1981:200) asserts that there is a strong Santo Domingo affinity due to numerous contacts during the colonial period. Lipski (1984), on the other hand, finds Canarian antecedents or plausible independent innovations for most of the more obvious Isleño linguistic features. He holds that "recently arrived Spaniards did not ordinarily impose their linguistic traits" (Lipski 1984:103), detecting no linguistic differences in the speech of Isleños, one of whose parents was a native of Spain, from Isleños with no recent outside ancestry.

Much of the reason that such controversy continues stems from the fact that these researchers have for the most part relied on a single dialect, that of St. Bernard Parish, to draw their conclusions. The present study will add a very important piece to the puzzle, and will shed new light on controversial claims about whether all or most elements can be traced to the Canary Island origins of the dialects, or whether some or any can be attributed to contact with other Spanish dialects.
The earlier work by MacCurdy (1959) offers a particularly rare and exciting opportunity to make real-time comparisons of the dialects. I will attempt to demonstrate that some claims which have been made with regard to the St. Bernard dialect need to be modified based on my findings with the Brule dialect. This research will provide additional information for Hispanic historical linguistics, as well as for Hispanic dialectology.

1.2.4. Language Death Phenomena

The Brule dialect must certainly be considered very near the point of extinction. While Lipski (1984:103) estimates that there are "perhaps as few as 500" fluent speakers in St. Bernard, there are fewer than ten speakers of the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish alive today. Armistead (1992:5), referring to his attempt to find speakers while doing research in 1976 states, "I was able to elicit coherent, if halting, conversation from only five indivi-duals." The few remaining speakers of this dialect illustrate the final stages of language death. For this reason, these speakers provide an important laboratory in which to test claims made about the structural changes characteristic of language death. Recent studies have led to many claims concerning the processes of change a dying language may undergo (Andersen 1982; Campbell and Muntzel 1989; Dorian 1989). A large portion of this dissertation will be devoted to investigating these claims with regard to the dying Brule dialect.
1.2.5. Stability of Linguistic Competence

One section of this dissertation deals with an area of language death which, to my knowledge, has never been extensively studied before. I will investigate the widely accepted claim (see Labov 1982:67) that individuals are stable in linguistically-changing speech communities in that they preserve throughout their lives the vernacular system acquired during formative years. This brings up some particularly intriguing questions when considering language attrition and death. For example, does a once-fluent individual who has not used a dying language for many years retain his or her competence in this system? What happens to the individual's competence in the dying dialect while working with a researcher over an extended period of time. Can previously "lost competence" be recovered? This question will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

1.2.6. Factors Involved In Language Death

An important issue discussed in much of the recent literature on language death involves the question of why languages die. Since not all minority languages become extinct, and not all threatened languages die at the same rate, it is important to identify and investigate the factors which lead to language death in each particular case. For example, it is interesting to note that there are, by some estimates, as many as five-hundred fluent speakers of the St. Bernard dialect as compared with fewer than a half-dozen in Ascension Parish. If the phenomenon
of language death is to be understood more fully, extensive investigation into the causes and mechanisms leading to language death is needed. I investigate the sociocultural factors which have led to the death of the Brule dialect. Therefore, in addition to its contributions to Hispanic dialectology and historical linguistics, this research in Ascension Parish contributes to the field of language death research in general. It is hoped that this study can be used in conjunction with the findings from other researchers to make significant generalizations about the complex process of language attrition and death.

1.2.7 Methodological Problems and Techniques

Finally, this research provides some insights into the particular methodological problems which arise in the study of language death. I discuss the special problems faced by the language death researcher, and the relative merits of specific methods and techniques used in this study, pointing out which were successful and which were not so successful. Such discussion should provide future language-death researchers with some methods and techniques which experience has proven successful, and highlight possible pitfalls which might be avoided.

1.3 Questions

Given the goals of research mentioned in the previous pages, I will attempt to answer the following questions:

1) What are the distinctive phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic elements of the Brule dialect of
Spanish? How is it similar to or different from: (a) Standard Spanish, (b) Canary Island Spanish, and (c) the Isleño dialect of St. Bernard Parish?

(2) What conclusions can be drawn about the history of the St. Bernard and Brule dialects in light of the evidence presented here? Which previously made claims are supported and which are not supported by this evidence?

(3) Is variability in this dying variety of Spanish greater than in "healthier" varieties? Can this variation be attributed to language death processes, language contact with the dominant language(s), or to other factors? Is there, as is the case in many language death situations, an age-graded proficiency continuum with older speakers being more fluent than younger speakers?

(4) Is linguistic competence in the dying dialect stable even after long periods of disuse? Can "latent" language abilities be "recovered" while working with a linguist? Is there an unbalanced competence/performance ratio among the last speakers? How do speakers compensate for lack of ability in the dying dialect?

(5) What sociocultural factors played a role in bringing about the death of the Brule dialect? Why do some formerly fluent members retain the ability to use the dialect while others lose it? Can a formerly fluent speaker "retrieve" or "regain" his or her ability to use the dialect while working with a researcher?
(6) What special problems is the language death researcher likely to encounter? What methods and techniques have been successful for others conducting research in this area? How do community attitudes about the dying language help or hinder research in this area?

1.4 Chapter Organization

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation I discuss various methodological difficulties faced by those doing research in the field of language death such as locating and selecting informants, interviewing informants, and recording data. Included in this chapter is a discussion of the specific methods and techniques that were used to overcome such difficulties in this study.

Chapter 3 is devoted to a discussion of the history of the Brule residents from their early Canary Island origins to the present. Such information is intended to provide insight into the sociocultural factors which have influenced how Brule dwellers view themselves and how they are viewed by the surrounding community.

Chapter 4 is concerned with language death phenomena in general. In this chapter I define language death, characterize different "types" of language death, and discuss the structural changes usually associated with the language death process. In addition to investigating language death phenomena, I also provide in this chapter a profile of the typical "semi-speaker" and investigate the role played by these individuals in the language death
process. The high degree of linguistic variability that characterizes most dying languages is also investigated in this chapter, and it is suggested that reference to the Chomskyan concepts of "competence" and "performance" may not be sufficient to explain the linguistic abilities of semi-speakers.

Chapter 5 is devoted to documenting specific linguistic characteristics of the Brule dialect. In this chapter I also investigate the relationship of the Brule dialects to other Spanish dialects, with particular emphasis being given to the dialects of St. Bernard Parish and the Canary Islands. The role played by language death processes in the evolution of the Brule dialect is also investigated. In Chapter 5 evidence is also provided which seems to indicate that some formerly fluent semi-speakers are able to recover "latent" abilities in the dying language.

The various social factors which contributed to language "shift" in the Brule community are investigated in Chapter 6. The importance of factors such as education, economic opportunity, military service, and exogamy are discussed with regard to dying languages in general, and to the Brule community in particular. The complexity of the language-shift "process" is highlighted by the interconnected nature of these and other factors.

A brief summary of each chapter is given in Chapter 7 along with the major conclusions drawn from the discussions and the evidence presented therein. This chapter
concludes the study by pointing out both its linguistic and non-linguistic contributions.

1.5 Summary

The dying Brule dialect of Spanish found in Ascension Parish is at the point of extinction. This terminal language community presents the linguistic researcher with an important laboratory in which to investigate claims about language attrition and death. Because the speakers of this dialect have remained relatively isolated from speakers of other varieties of Spanish, extensive documentation of the Brule dialect will be an important contribution to Hispanic historical linguistics, as well as to Hispanic dialectology.
2.1 Introduction

Every linguistic researcher is faced with having to make various decisions about such matters as the selection of informants, methods of investigation, sampling procedures and methodological techniques. For the linguist doing research in terminal language communities, however, many of these decisions are complicated by a variety of factors related to the phenomenon of language death. The language death researcher often faces some methodological difficulties which are not encountered to the same degree in other types of linguistic research. Nancy Dorian (1986) has pointed out many of the special problems associated with language death research. She notes that decisions about methodology, identification of community members, selection of informants, and choice of sampling procedures to be used are but a few of the issues which prove to be especially problematic for the language death researcher. The complexity of such issues when studying language death is reflected in Taylor's (1986:167) statement that:

'I am aware that the term "informant" has a different connotation in connection with other areas (law enforcement, organized crime, etc.). Here it is used simply to refer to a what might otherwise be called a "linguistic consultant". I continue to use "informant" because it has become so entrenched in the literature.
If the group is already small, its membership not entirely clearcut, and its further contraction rapid, then the researcher's observations are likely to be more tantalizing and suggestive than full and conclusive, and the fieldwork and research problems will be compounded.

Taylor's statement could well describe the situation in Ascension Parish. In this chapter I present the methods and techniques used to collect data in this study, discuss the specific problems often encountered by those researching language death, and explain how these were dealt with in the particular case of Ascension Parish.

2.2 Determining Community Membership

Deciding who should be considered a member of the dying speech community is in itself a difficult decision. There is controversy in sociolinguistic literature about what constitutes a speech community (see Fishman 1970:28; Hymes 1974:51), and the question remains as to whether language should be considered the single, or perhaps even the primary determinant of community membership. As Cole (1991:20) points out, "more sociological concepts such as kinship, ancestry, and culture can be used to delineate a community in addition to linguistic criteria."

In the case of Ascension Parish, language is clearly not the sole determining factor of community membership. This is made obvious by the fact that none of my informants could say with any certainty which of their neighbors, or even relatives, retained any knowledge of the Brule dialect. On several occasions I was directed by
relatives to prospective informants who turned out to retain little or no knowledge of the dialect. It is obvious, then, that speakers of Brule Spanish do not consider knowledge of the dialect to be a necessary criterion for membership in the community.

In Ascension Parish, the most salient factor for the informants in determining community membership seems to be kinship. Because many descendants of Brule dwellers have intermarried with French-speaking residents, surnames are not a reliable key to identifying community members. However, because their ancestors had encouraged the practice of endogamy until at least the beginning of this century, practically all Brule dwellers or former Brule dwellers are blood relatives.

2.3 Selecting Informants

Dorian (1977a) notes the difficulty faced by the language-death researcher with regard to selecting informants:

The fieldworker who is investigating a dying language has by definition a limited pool of potential informants. This pool may in fact consist of only one person, or it may number a few hundred.

Fortunately, I was not limited to a single informant in Ascension Parish and, as discussed below, I was able to locate several community members who did not have any real knowledge of the dialect, but who were able to provide extremely valuable historical or sociocultural information. However, because a major objective of this research
was to document the dying Brule dialect, it was crucial that I locate as many consultants as possible who still retained some knowledge of the dialect. This proved to be perhaps the most difficult methodological problem I encountered. The difficulty of locating informants was compounded by the fact that many members of the community, including many speakers themselves, have negative attitudes about the dying dialect. The reasons for these negative attitudes will be explored in detail in following sections of this dissertation.

Almost every informant I interviewed expressed some reluctance to use their "broken language", referring me instead to a Spanish-language television station, or telling me that I should get books or take classes if I wanted to "learn Spanish." In the words of one informant (M3): "Man, you don't want that broken mess we use, you want good language."

These attitudes toward the language not only made locating informants more difficult, but also were responsible, I believe, for some informants' initial denial of any knowledge of the dialect. This is a very important factor, presumably, in its death. Some of the informants who claimed not to remember any of the dialect actually remembered quite a lot during the course of the interview. Dorian (1986:563) encountered similar attitudes and explained that:
...some individuals, coming to adulthood in a region where the ancestral language is negatively viewed and well aware of the low prestige attached to native speaker status, may choose to disclaim knowledge of the language.

I found that I was able to overcome these protestations by persistence, and by making clear to speakers that I was truly interested in learning about their particular dialect of Spanish. Also, the idea that they were helping to "preserve" a part of their heritage that was about to be lost appealed to some informants.

2.4 The Informants

In general, the informants included in this study are those I was able to find who were willing to participate. For most kinds of linguistic research investigators might employ a more "scientific" method of informant selection in order to derive a representative sample of the population. Quite obviously, such methods are generally not feasible when working in terminal language communities. As Coles (1991:18) points out, including only those informants I was able to locate who were willing to participate may not be the ideal method of selection, but in most language death situations it is necessary.

The informants in this study include monolingual English speakers, rememberers, semi-speakers, and bilingual speakers. For the purposes of this study these terms will be defined as follows:
(1) monolingual English speakers—those informants who lack the ability to produce Spanish words or phrases and who have no passive comprehension of the dialect.

(2) rememberers—those informants who were never fully competent in the dying language, but only remember isolated words and fixed phrases Campbell and Muntzel (1989:181).

(3) semi-speakers—those who possess substantial comprehension skills but who have restricted speaking competence (Campbell and Muntzel 1989:181). These speakers generally prefer English and speak Spanish only if requested to do so (for extensive discussion of semi-speakers see Chapter 3).

(4) bilinguals—these individuals have the ability to understand and produce both English and (Brule) Spanish utterances. They can converse fluently in either language, though they may prefer one over the other. All informants in this study preferred to use English, but those classified as bilingual were quite fluent in both languages.
TABLE 1

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<thead>
<tr>
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<td>semi-speaker</td>
<td>elementary</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>semi-speaker</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>bilingual</td>
<td>elementary</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>rememberer</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>F2</td>
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<td>rememberer</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>M5</td>
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M1 is the strongest semi-speaker included in the study. He is English-dominant, but he can converse in Spanish. He is considered a semi-speaker because his language clearly exhibits signs of language attrition. He understands French and occasionally confuses French lexical items with Spanish. M1 grew up in Brule McCall and has lived most of his life in Donaldsonville. He served in the army during World War II and was stationed in England. The contribution of M1 to this study cannot be overestimated. Besides being a cheerful and willing informant himself, M1 rendered invaluable assistance to this researcher in helping to locate and interview other informants.

Informants are identified in this manner in order to protect their privacy.
informants (for further discussion of M1's contributions to this study, see below).

M2 is the brother of M1. He is classified as a semi-speaker since he can readily understand Spanish and can express himself in very simple Spanish sentences. His productive abilities, however, are far below those of his older brother.

F1 has lived in Ascension Parish her whole life and is bilingual in English and Spanish. She prefers to speak English but was willing to converse at length in either language, though she often slipped into English in the middle of an animated conversation and switched back into Spanish only when requested to do so.

F2, the oldest speaker I interviewed, speaks Spanish and English fluently. She lived in the Brule for most of her life, but she spent several years working in New Orleans during the 1940's. She was willing to answer questions in Spanish if requested to do so, and would sustain only very brief conversations in Spanish, also clearly preferring to speak English.

M3, the son of F2, disclaims any knowledge of the Brule dialect but was able to follow conversations between other informants. He also served in the military during World War II.

F3 can best be described as a rememberer since she could recall only isolated words and phrases. She was, however, able to understand most of what was said in
Spanish. F3 moved from Ascension Parish over thirty years ago but maintains ties with family members there.

M4 is also a rememberer with some limited passive ability in the language. He has done a great deal of genealogical research and has traced his family name back to an original Canary Island settler. He is very familiar with the history of the Canary Islanders and was quite happy to discuss his research at length (in English).

M5 is the son of M4. He is classified as a semi-speaker, but a semi-speaker of a different sort. That his father is a rememberer and he a semi-speaker is explained by the fact that he worked in Mexico for several years. His Spanish is markedly different from the Brule dialect and he admits having learned most of what he knows in Mexico. I did not include his speech data in this study; rather, his only role was that he was extremely helpful in providing insights into the life of the Brule dwellers, how they viewed themselves, and how they were viewed by French and English speaking residents of Ascension Parish.

2.5 Methods of Investigation

In this study I relied on tape-recorded oral interviews. Because some of my informants were illiterate in Spanish and in English, and because some elderly informants had vision problems, I was not able to use written surveys. I believe that conducting oral interviews not only avoided the potentially uncomfortable situation of an informant having to admit that he or she could not read,
but also was much more pleasant and enjoyable for the informants, many of whom loved to talk. In any case, since a major goal of this study is to document the Brule dialect, a questionnaire administered in writing would have been of limited usefulness. I conducted personal interviews as well as group interviews but rarely were more than two informants interviewed in a single session.

When conducting interviews I attempted, as much as possible, to follow Labov's (1984:40) suggestion that the interviewer "work to develop a position of lower authority and lesser consequence in the conversation." Thus, with more fluent speakers I simply sat back and allowed them to talk and took as passive a role as I could while still being polite. M1's presence was very helpful since he was able to converse with more fluent speakers thus allowing me to assume a more passive role. Nevertheless, because all interviews were conducted in private homes where I was considered a guest, I always took part to some degree in the conversations.

With less fluent speakers, however, it was often necessary to use direct elicitation methods to collect linguistic data. In these cases I naturally had to assume a much more active role in order to elicit production which would reflect the knowledge the informant had of the dialect. While many researchers would argue that conversational data are more desirable, others would agree with Mithun (1990:3) that:
Direct elicitation permits the investigator to probe the boundaries of the skills of less fluent speakers. Speakers generally use the linguistic resources they have, of course, and semi-speakers are notoriously adept at exploiting the structures they control. Structures they do not control simply fail to appear in their speech.

Hopkins and Furbee (1991:63) also found direct elicitation exercises to be of value in their investigation of Chiwere (Siouan) since "attempts to provide hypothetical contexts through strictly verbal means often failed to illuminate distinctions." However, they note (p. 75) that the dissonance between terminal speakers' competence and the linguistic tasks required of them may cause some speakers to be uncomfortable with certain linguistic contexts. Hopkins and Furbee (p. 75) suggest that visual stimuli such as photographs or drawings "may offer a kind of universally acceptable context, freely accessible to speakers..."

In order to lessen the "highly unnatural and often stressful" (Mithun 1990:3) nature of direct elicitation exercises, I often used cartoons or drawings and allowed the informant to describe what he or she was able to describe. Using these descriptions as a foundation, I periodically interjected questions designed to elicit certain structures. Because I used elements of the informant's own description in my questions, I believe that they felt more comfortable in trying to answer my questions, even if they were not able to produce the particular structure I was looking for. Use of visual stimuli
also allowed me, at least to some degree, to avoid unnatu­ral exercises in which the informants became "tongue-tied and embarrassed" when attempting to "fill out a paradigm" (see Hopkins and Furbee 1991:74-75).

2.6 The "Observer's Paradox"

Labov (1984) devotes a great deal of time and atten­tion to solving the problem of what is commonly called the "observer's paradox." This phenomenon arises in a lin­guistic interview situation because, as Labov (1984:30) puts it: "Our aim is to observe how people talk when they are not being observed." In other words, the linguist attempts to discover in a formal setting how the informant speaks in a setting that is not formal.

The observer's paradox is of concern in linguistic investigation, and an attempt was made in this study to lessen its effects. However, as is often the case when dealing with language death, the speakers in this study control a very limited range of speech styles. This "stylistic shrinkage" greatly limits the amount of socio­linguistic variation controlled by the speaker. Thus, the observer's paradox is not so troublesome in terminal speech situations as it might be in other types of lin­guistic investigation. Nevertheless, some methodological strategies and techniques suggested by Labov proved to be very useful in the field in diverting attention away from the interview situation and in promoting spontaneous conversation.
2.7 Techniques Used

One helpful methodological technique used in this study is the now famous "danger of death" type question employed most notably by Labov (1972:113). The purpose of this technique is to have the speaker become so involved in what he or she is saying that little attention is given to the level of speech or to the speech situation. This technique proved to be very effective in eliciting sustained spontaneous narratives among the most fluent speakers. The questions I asked varied according to the personality and interest of the informant and included: "Have you ever been in a situation where you nearly died?", "Have you ever been really scared?", "Did you ever see what you thought was a ghost?", and "Have you ever been in/seen a serious accident?" These questions elicited many extremely valuable narratives including stories about the supernatural, out-of-body and near-death experiences, etc.

Another tool which proved to be very successful was the "conversational module and network" strategy used by Labov (1984:33). According to this approach, the researcher prepares in advance sets of questions related to particular topics. These sets of questions, or modules, may deal with such topics as dating customs, child rearing, family life, marriage ceremonies, etc. By proceeding from one module to another the researcher forms a "network" of questions. This technique, according to Labov
(1984:36), allows the interviewer to construct "a simulated conversation which follows principles quite similar to the unfocused conversations of everyday life." The interviewer does initiate topics, but as Labov (1984:36) puts it, "there is no rigid insistence upon a pre-set order of topics." Ideally, of course, the informant will have no awareness that the researcher has an "agenda." Instead, the interview will be as much like a natural conversation as possible.

This technique proved to be very useful. Even though I always went into an interview with several sets of prepared questions, or modules, I was always delighted when the informants created their own "modules." Because I became well acquainted with some of my informants during the course of the fieldwork, I was able to create modules in which they were interested. Since many of my informants were elderly and had lived in the Brule most of their lives, I often created modules that included questions about what life was like around Donaldsonville forty or fifty years ago. These modules were especially successful because they allowed the informants to talk about topics which were familiar to them without requiring that they reveal personal information if they did not wish to do so.
2.8 Interviews

2.8.1 The Contributions of M1

I was fortunate enough on my first trip to the Donaldsonville area to meet a local resident, M1, who remembered the Brule dialect and was willing to spend a great deal of time discussing the dialect with me. M1's help was invaluable to me throughout the time I did my fieldwork. He was well known in the community and spent many hours of his time accompanying me when I interviewed other informants. Without his help I almost certainly would not have had access to some of the informants I interviewed. The former Brule dwellers form a very close-knit, closed community, and even my physical appearance made me easily recognizable as an outsider. I was often reminded of this fact by well-meaning comments such as the one made by the daughter of F2 who mentioned that her grandson had married a girl from North Louisiana who had "blue eyes and coloring just like yours." Thus, not only did M1 assist me in locating potential informants, but I am certain that his presence also opened many doors which would have otherwise remained closed to someone from outside the community.

Besides providing me access to residents who otherwise would have been reluctant to speak with me, M1's presence also had a substantial impact on the interviews themselves. Because the residents were comfortable with him, and because he was able to discuss topics and events that
were familiar to other Brule speakers, he was often able to engage informants in lively, animated conversation. Most informants genuinely enjoyed talking with Ml about such things as family members (living or deceased) or local history, and they seemed to completely forget about the interview situation. This shift of attention led to more spontaneous interaction among the participants. The idea that the type of interview can influence the quality and nature of data obtained is not a new one (see Hopkins and Furbee 1991), and the importance of such interactional data has been noted by other researchers (see Brody 1991:79). There is little doubt, then, that Ml had a very positive influence on the "quality" of the interviews.

Ml, like most informants, did not at first have a clear understanding of the purpose of this study which led to his well-meaning suggestions that the researcher "use a book" or "watch that Spanish channel" in order to learn "good Spanish." During the course of fieldwork, however, it became apparent that Ml had developed a general awareness of the kinds of information sought by the researcher. During initial interviews with a new informant, Ml would often explain that the researcher wanted "to know about that old time Spanish like we used to speak in the Brule." Ml also assisted the researcher by gently persuading informants to use the Brule dialect rather than shifting into English. Ml often continued to use the Brule dialect even when other informants shifted to English (despite the
fact that he himself was more comfortable speaking English). If an informant continued to speak English, Ml's suggestion of "Let's talk Spanish!" generally brought about at least a temporary shift to Spanish.

Much of the data presented on the Brule dialect was collected from Ml himself. Because he was willing to spend so much time with me, and because he genuinely enjoyed doing the interviews, I relied heavily upon him for primary linguistic data. Data gathered from other speakers were compared with information collected from Ml and were found to be very consistent. Where there were differences, these proved to be very interesting and will be discussed in the following sections.

2.8.2 Time and Location of Interviews

Because of the advanced age of many of my informants, most of my interviews were done in private homes. All interviews were done during the week (usually on Mondays) to avoid being present when friends or relatives came to visit on weekends. I always arrived in Donaldsonville around 1:00 in the afternoon, and remained for two or at most three hours. To lessen fatigue on the part of my elderly informants, I was careful not to spend too much time in any single session.

I believe that conducting relatively brief interviews, generally one to two hours with each informant, over an extended period of time presented several advantages. First, it minimized fatigue and inconvenience on
the part of my elderly informants. I always asked resi-
dents if they were otherwise occupied and assured them
that if this were the case I would be happy to return the
next week. Because there was such a limited number of
informants, it was important that I interview each one
more than once, and doing so over a period of several
months made the situation more pleasant for all concerned.

A second advantage to making many visits over an
extended time was that I was able to interview several
residents that had heard about my research through M1.
Over the ten month period of my fieldwork M1 met friends
and relatives and asked them whether or not they remem-
bered anything about the dialect. Even some who initially
denied any knowledge of Spanish eventually agreed to be
interviewed, and most did have at least some passive
knowledge of the dialect.

Some informants were quite interested in the work of
this researcher and were happy when they were able to
remember something new to tell him. Because this research
was conducted in many visits over an extended period of
time, informants had many opportunities to report various
aspects of the Brule dialect that they had "remembered"
between visits.

Perhaps the most significant advantage of making many
trips over several months, however, is that it allowed me
to establish a rapport with those I interviewed. Some
informants who were somewhat hesitant to talk during the
first visit were much less so during subsequent visits. This made it possible, in some cases, for the interviewer progress from interviews that relied heavily on direct elicitation to those that were characterized by more spontaneous interaction.

2.9 Methods of Recording Data

2.9.1 Recording and Transcription of Data

All interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Initially I was concerned that the tape recorder would make my informants uneasy, but I found that in the course of the interviews, most of the informants seemed to pay little attention to it, and as conversations became more animated, I am certain than it was not noticed. I made no notes during interviews and kept the interview style as informal as possible.

After each interview the tapes were dated and the names of each informant were written on the tape. Tapes were usually transcribed on the day after they were made so that by the end of the fieldwork stage of this project all transcriptions had been completed. Because an important part of this study deals with documenting phonological aspects of the dialect, I have chosen to transcribe dialect data phonetically. Previous Isleño researchers (MacCurdy 1959; Lipski 1990; Coles 1991; Armistead 1992), perhaps because of the focus of their research, chose to use standard Spanish orthography when transcribing data. While this method of data transcription certainly has some
advantages, I believe that phonetic transcription is invaluable to future researchers who might wish to study phonetic and phonological characteristics of the dialect (see discussion in Chapter 5). The transcriptions presented in this dissertation are neither very broad nor very narrow since either extreme would obscure relevant phonetic distinctions. As Ochs points out (1979:44), "A transcript that is too detailed is difficult to follow and assess."

The phonetic symbols used will be consistent with those found in Pullam and Ladusaw (1986), and Spanish and English glosses will be provided for the Spanish transcriptions. For the most part, standard English orthography will be used for interviews recorded in English.

2.9.2 Special Problems With Transcription

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the fact that several of my informants were advanced in years presented a few methodological problems. My oldest informant, F2, spoke so softly that portions of the recordings were difficult to transcribe. Even though I sat directly across from her with an external microphone, her conversations were often barely audible.

Because some of my informants spoke English, French, and Spanish, transcription was made somewhat more difficult. It was not unusual to find French words used in the normal course of conversation. Although many of my informants could distinguish French words from Spanish, there
were times when they used isolated French words or expressions in the course of a conversation, and had no idea that these words were French. For example, M1 never used the Spanish expression otra vez 'again'; he invariably used the French encore. F1 used French mais rather than Spanish pero, 'but'. All informants used the French expression peu près, 'about, approximately', rather than a Spanish equivalent. Some English words were regularly pronounced as in English, and others were given a Spanish pronunciation.

If a word is used and pronounced as in French or in English, as with encore or truck, it is transcribed using standard French or English orthography. If the word is pronounced differently from how it is pronounced in the standard language, it is transcribed phonetically. As previously stated, all Spanish words are transcribed phonetically.

2.10 Summary

Those doing research in terminal language communities must make many methodological decisions. Many of the usual questions about sampling procedures and informant selection are even more complex in language death research. To begin with, the language death researcher is often faced with a very small group of potential informants. He or she must, at some point, make a decision as to which potential informants should be considered members of the community he or she is studying. Language,
kinship, and ancestry are a few of the factors which may determine community membership. In Ascension Parish, kinship and ancestry seem to be more salient than language as indicators of community membership.

Once the language death researcher determines the criteria for inclusion in the study, he or she must then locate potential informants. This process is often made more difficult by negative attitudes towards the dying language or the age or physical condition of potential informants. Two factors which helped me to overcome such obstacles in Ascension Parish were: (1) the willingness of a well-known community member to accompany me, and (2) the fact that I was able to make numerous visits to the community over an extended period of time.

I found both conversational and direct elicitation techniques to be useful in collecting data for this study. While some researchers criticize the use of direct elicitation techniques, I found it especially useful in two respects: (1) I was able to elicit production from certain semi-speakers who would have been unable or too uncomfortable to participate in a conversational interview, and (2) it allowed me to test more fluent speakers for certain specific linguistic elements which might not have been produced in a "normal" conversation. With more fluent speakers, Labov's conversational technique was especially successful.
3.1 Introduction

In order to gain insight into the sociocultural environment of the brule dwellers, it is necessary to know something of their history, how their communities evolved, how they viewed themselves, and how they were viewed by the larger surrounding French- and English-speaking communities. Such information will be of crucial importance in trying to isolate the sociocultural factors which might have brought about language death in the particular case of the brule dwellers of Ascension Parish.

3.2 Canary Island Origins

3.2.1 Early Canary Island History

The seven islands in the Canary Archipelago are: Tenerife, Gran Canaria, Gomera, La Palma, Hierro, Fuerteventura, and Lanzarote. Although stories and legends about the islands had been told as early as pre-Christian times, it was not until Europeans "rediscovered" them in the fourteenth century that continuous contact was established (Din 1988:1). The earliest inhabitants were probably short, dark-skinned people of Mediterranean origin (Hooton 1925:299). This peaceful tribal culture was conquered around 3000 BC by lighter-skinned invaders from eastern Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria (Hooton 1925:299).
These invaders mixed with the other inhabitants to produce a culture known as the Guanches. Though Guanche originally referred only to the prehistoric inhabitants of Tenerife, it is "now often used for all pre-conquest islanders" (Mercer 1980:65). The Guanches led a pastoral life, raising goats, sheep and pigs; they also grew wheat and barley. The Guanches were a peaceful people and they developed a system of judges and laws (Din 1988:2).

3.2.2 Early Expeditions

Stories about the Canary Islands were common before the time of the Roman Empire, but little is known for certain until this time. The Canary Islands get their name from King Juba II of Mauretania who reigned between 25 B.C and A.D. 25. He reported to the Roman emperor that he had sent out an expedition to explore the islands and that no humans had been discovered. However, the members of the expedition had encountered ferocious dogs. Thus, the islands are named for canines (from Latin 'canaria'), not the songbirds as is often thought. After Roman times, nothing is recorded about the islands for nearly a thousand years (Din 1988:4-5; Lopez-Herrera 1971:82-83).

3.2.3 Spanish Conquest

The Genoese arrival in 1291 began a period of increasing contact between Europeans and the islands and, unfortunately, a period of mistreatment and subjugation of the natives which continued for many years to come. Beginning in the fourteenth century, and continuing throughout the
fifteenth, Guanches were sold as slaves. Mercer (1973:67) reports that after being forced by mutiny to leave the Islands, the Spanish conquerors, under the command of Juan de Bethencourt, "simply spent their time killing or catching the islanders and bartering them for badly needed supplies with any passing ship." The pitiful situation of the Guanches is described by Din (1988:6):

The Spanish conquerors of the Canaries often treated the gentle, peaceful Guanches in the most barbaric manner. They were killed in wars or enslaved and sold in Spain. Often the natives preferred death or suicide to servitude.

3.2.4 Spanish Domination

Mistreatment of the natives did not end with Spanish conquest. Spanish nobility seized the best land on the islands and forced the Guanches to work the lands as virtual slaves. This system produced a stratified society with the Guanches being at the lowest level (Din 1988:6). Mercer (1980:217) writes that, for the most part, the land continues even today to be held in the hands of a few powerful families descended from the conquistadors and early immigrant nobility.

Years of warfare, epidemic, drought, volcanic eruptions, famine, plagues of locusts and a shortage of manpower devastated the economy of the islands. Bad harvests of the population's basic diet of wheat, corn and potatoes in 1774 and 1778 on Tenerife made emigration to Louisiana an attractive prospect to many Islanders (Din 1988:7-9).
3.3 The Voyage to Louisiana

The Spanish government, eager to increase the population of its newly acquired province and reduce English influence in the area, set out to recruit emigrants from the Canary Islands. On August 15, 1777, Matías de Galvez, the king's lieutenant in the Canary Islands, received a royal order to recruit a maximum of seven hundred immigrants (Tornero Tinajero 1980:379). The volunteers were to be "between the ages of 17 and 36 years of age, at least 5 feet 1/2 inches tall, robust, and without noticeable vices or imperfections" (Din 1988:16). Preference was given to married men who would take with them their wives and children. In exchange for land, tools and a daily "peseta" the settlers would serve as soldier-immigrants (Din 1988:16). Tornero Tinajero (1980:379) describes the role of these immigrants as follows:

...he was not to be a military recruit in the strict sense of the word. Rather, a soldier-settler was envisioned, the combination which was of such importance to the history of Hispanic America. This was solving two problems simultaneously. On one hand, the military garrison in Louisiana was reinforced and, on the other, a devoted population was brought to the Spanish province.

The great majority of the recruits came from the islands of Tenerife and Gran Canaria, each supplying 45 percent and 40 percent respectively. Gomera, Lanzarote and La Palma contributed the remaining 15 percent with Hierro and Fuerteventura yielding no volunteers (Din
Estimates differ as to exactly how many settlers actually left for Louisiana, but Din (1988:17) writes that those in charge of recruitment "between April, 1778 and May 31, 1779, recruited the 700 soldiers, who with their families, totaled 2,373 Isleños."

For various reasons, many immigrants never made it to Louisiana. Despite the fact that the ships were well stocked with food and supplies, the voyage was not an easy one. Many died on board the ships, and others who survived the trip never made it to Louisiana. When war broke out between Spain and England, many settlers were forced to stop in Cuba. While these immigrants awaited transport to Louisiana, they suffered from hunger, disease and inadequate housing. Many died, and a few were given assistance to return to their native islands. Still others deserted, abandoning their temporary lodgings, to join the general Cuban population (Din 1988:16-24).

The Spanish government incurred considerable expense to bring the Canary Island immigrants to Louisiana. However, according to Tornero Tinajero (1980:385), the crown met its objectives in recruiting of the soldier settlers since at least 600 of the desired 700 soldiers actually sailed, with 72 percent of these being married. The expense of assisting the settlers once they arrived in Louisiana, however, rose to several times the amount needed to transport them there. When the Spanish government later discontinued the subsidies to the Louisiana
settlements, the Canary Islanders were faced with much the same privation and hardship they had left behind.

3.4 The Canary Islanders In Louisiana

3.4.1 Early Louisiana Settlements

The Canary Islanders first arrived in the Ascension Parish area in 1781, and founded a settlement called Valenzuela near what is today the town of Donaldsonville. This community, like the three other Isleño settlements, experienced many hardships including disease, floods, trouble with Indians, and poor harvests).

Each Isleño family received provisions for a year as well as livestock, farm implements, and a land grant of five arpents of bayou frontage (Davis 1971:110; Prichard 1972:59). The Spanish government envisioned that the settlers would need provisions only until their first harvest, and that they would shortly thereafter become self-sufficient. This was not the case, however, and the Canary Island settlements proved to be a tremendous drain on the Spanish budget (Prichard 1972:61). Nevertheless, Valenzuela fared better than the settlements of Galveztown and Barataria which suffered so much hardship that they were eventually abandoned. By the end of the Spanish era, many Isleños still found themselves struggling to survive; only a few of those in Ascension Parish had prospered (Din 1988:64-83).
3.4.2 Acadian Immigration

When the United States took control of Louisiana in 1803, erosion of the Isleno communities had already begun with some Islenos already becoming "gallicized" (Hawley 1976:21). Before 1785 the population of the Valenzuela area was 352. When over 800 Acadians (French speakers from Canada) settled in the area sometime between 1785 and 1786, the Canary Islanders were simply overwhelmed. Although a few of the Acadians settled among the Islenos, most settled on lands below the Canary Islanders (Din 1988:75). Hawley (1976:21) describes the influence these new arrivals had on the Isleno community:

The Spanish and Acadian French lived in adjoining communities along Bayou Lafourche and attended the same church. There was substantial inter-ethnic marriage. Acadian-French census takers carried the process a step further—Antonio Acosta became Antoinne Lacoste; Bartolomeo Hidalgo became Bartolle Idalgo; and Placentia became Plaisance.

The census takers were not the only ones responsible for "gallicizing" Spanish names. One of my informants who was particularly well-informed about Isleno history stated that many of the French-speaking priests often changed Spanish surnames to French.

M5: You see a French priest changed a lot of names, like Rodrigue was Rodriguez, Medine was Medina, you see our name had an "a" on it. A lot of the Martinez dropped the "s" and was just Martin and several names was done like that by French priests because, quite naturally, they wanted control and wanted their dominance.
Given the prevailing negative attitudes about the Spanish-speaking population, the Canary Islanders might have been quite willing to be identified as being of Acadian-French descent. Such attitudes are reflected in a statement by an American visitor to the region, Henry Marie Brackenridge, who wrote (1811:173) of the Canary Island settlers: "They are a poor and miserable population, seem lazy and careless, and are destitute of those little comforts, and that neatness, which are found in the cottage of the poorest French Creole." In the sections that follow further evidence will be cited which demonstrates that, despite the fact that they often lived and worked side by side, Acadian and Isleño residents were not viewed the same by the surrounding community.

3.4.3 Establishment of the Brules

When the United States took control of Louisiana in 1803, the Isleños were allowed to move more freely than under the Spanish government. Between 1820 and 1860 some Lafourche residents moved to Baton Rouge, while others sold their farms and moved to the interior swamps. An increase in the price of Louisiana's agricultural products brought an influx of planters who bought vast tracts of land. Some Isleños resisted selling their property in spite of the high prices offered by the planters. Nevertheless, many eventually gave in and moved to less valuable swampland where they started new farms on land they cleared and burned. Many Acadians also moved to the
ridges of the swamps and they called these burned spots "brulés." The Canary brules were Brule Sacramento (later Brule McCall), Brule Capite, and Brule Maurin (Din 1988:89). Hawley (1976:2) describes the creation of the brules as follows:

After the arrival of the Acadians and Anglo-Americans, the largely illiterate Spanish proved unable to adapt successfully to the new socio-economic order. The ascendance of sugar cane monoculture and the Anglo-French planter class drove the Spanish from the choice land on the levees into the vacant backswamp...On the margin of Anglo/French civilization, they lived off the land while seasonally employed by the sugar plantations. Since the early part of the last century, the sugar plantations have dominated both the brule and the Lafourche area economies.

Although there are few detailed accounts of life in the brules before the time of the Civil War, life seems to have gone on much as it had in the eighteenth century. The brule dwellers were primarily farmers. Besides growing corn, beans, melons, squash, pumpkins and other crops for their personal consumption, they also raised pigs, cattle and poultry (Marchand 1936:111). By the time of the Civil War, only one Canary Islander in Ascension Parish had attained what could be considered substantial wealth; most had little or no property (Din 1988:101).

3.4.4 Attitudes Towards Brule Dwellers

The period from the end of the Civil War to World War I saw many improvements in transportation, communication, and education. These improvements, however, affected mainly the towns and cities; most brule dwellers continued to live as their ancestors had. Many viewed
education as subversive to their traditional values and they continued to maintain their way of life (Din 1988:123).

Unfortunately, the negative attitudes towards the brule dwellers also continued into the twentieth century. Although it is well known that such racist attitudes were all too common in this era, for many today it is shocking to read some of the appalling descriptions written by what would have been considered very "educated" writers of the time. One particularly deplorable example of such ignorance and bigotry can be found in an LSU thesis written by Scramuzza. He describes the brule dwellers as (1924:27) "half-savage, ignominiously poor, and until the beginning of the present century, absolutely illiterate." He further says (1924:28) of those living in the brules that they were "a people of inferior calibre... [who were]... incapable of providing for themselves even the most primitive household and community utilities." (p. 29). He describes their "inborn unfitness of initiative...and self-reliance so characteristic of the English and French settlers" (p. 31).

Such racist attitudes and commentary were not limited to the brule dwellers. Although Acadian-French residents of Ascension Parish were generally held in somewhat higher regard than the Canary Island brule dwellers (as seen in the comments by Brackenridge and Scramuzza), they themselves were not immune to negative stereotypes and
bigotry. Helen Bowie (1935:36) describes the Acadians of Ascension Parish as follows:

Naturally this lack of education among the people has not developed a very fine type. Most of them have no interest in good books, fine music or beautiful pictures...Their chief interests in life are to dress up and sit on the front porch in a rocking chair where they can see everyone, to go to the dance on Saturday night, to church Sunday morning, each time in their best clothes. They take their greatest delight, however, in gossiping, and everyone knows all the happenings along the bayous within a few hours of the occurrence of the events.

It is not difficult to understand how the stigma of living in the brules could have easily influenced many residents to move to nearby towns and to deny any connection with their former communities. It should be noted that the oldest informant in this study would have been in her twenties and thirties when the two theses quoted above were written. The significance of this fact will become obvious in Chapter 6 which deals with the reasons for the death of the Brule dialect. Many brule dwellers did, in fact, leave the brules for a variety of reasons including better job prospects, compulsory military service, and natural disasters. The outward migration from the brules will also be investigated further in Chapter 6.

3.4.5 Modern Society

Today, many of the brules have been abandoned. Many of the stores, schools, and churches have been closed and many of the houses have been torn down. The few residents who remain are generally those who are least likely,
because of age, illiteracy, or poverty, to have the means to leave (Hawley 1976:24).

All of my informants had moved the five or ten miles from the Brules to Donaldsonville, some as long as thirty or forty years ago. Most are quite advanced in years and spend a great deal of their time watching television. Nevertheless, even the oldest remain quite active. Both my oldest informants still lived alone, and it was not unusual to find these 83 and 89 year old women working in their yards or gardens, or sweeping off the sidewalks.

Sadly, many of the former brule dwellers are still quite poor. Although many receive governmental assistance, some lack proper medical care and, for one reason or another, do not utilize the social services available to them. Hawley (1976:31) found that several obviously disabled and unemployable sugar cane workers were denied welfare and social security benefits. The only solution offered by governmental agencies, he reported, was that they "move into a seedy housing project on the edge of Donaldsonville" (p. 31).

Nevertheless, many brule dwellers who left did prosper. Some graduated from college and became attorneys, physicians, and educators; others became business owners or distinguished themselves in military service. Many of these, however, continued to deny any association with the brules. Hawley (1976:34) records this comment of a local businessman:
It took me a long time to get the brule out of me. I'd be in class (at business college) and somebody would ask me if I was related to the Lopez family from Brule Capite. Everybody would know I was Spanish if I admitted it, so I just said I was from Donaldsonville.

When I inquired as to why people might deny being from the brule, M5 replied that such an admission meant that one would be looked upon as "ill-bred" and "coming from a dirt-poor environment." That this attitude towards the brule dwellers exists even today is evident in the statement of an Acadian-French woman that: "Them Spanish in the 'back brules' are just a bunch of gui-guis (rustics, hicks)" (Hawley 1976:33).

3.5 Summary

A knowledge of the history of the Canary Island settlers is crucial if one is to understand how they view themselves and how they are viewed by the surrounding communities. As this chapter has shown, the Canary Islanders have been mistreated and persecuted since well before their arrival in Louisiana. The history of the Brule dwellers of Louisiana has been one of social, economic, and political isolation. The stigma attached to being "from the brule" continues even today.

The once close-knit brule communities have all but disappeared. The former brule-dwellers are scattered about; their children or grandchildren know little of what life was like in the brule, and few, if any, know anything
of the dialect which has almost been lost. The background information presented in this chapter will be used as a basis for investigating the socio-cultural factors involved in language death in general, and in the Ascension Parish in particular (see Chapter 6).
CHAPTER 4—LANGUAGE DEATH

4.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of language death is not new, and though Swadesh (1948) published an article on what he called "obsolescent languages" over four decades ago, the past ten to twenty years have witnessed a surge of interest in this field. In order to understand what has happened to the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish, the general study of language death must be taken into account.

In this chapter I define language death, discuss its structural consequences, give a profile of the typical semi-speaker, and investigate the role these imperfect speakers play in the language death process.

In discussing the commonly-held assumption that dying languages typically exhibit a high degree of linguistic variability, I investigate the role played by factors such as contact with the dominant language and language death processes in helping to bring about such variability. The questions of whether or not younger speakers exhibit a greater degree of linguistic variability and whether one finds evidence of the "age-graded proficiency continuum" in the Brule community are also addressed.

In addition to investigating the "lop-sided competence-performance ratio" typical of many semi-speakers, I address the issue of what might be called the "stability" of the semi-speaker's linguistic competence.
Specifically, I investigate the idea that some semi-speakers who seem to have lost their "ability" to speak a dying language might actually "recover" this latent ability in some situations (such as working with a linguist).

4.2 Definition

When two or more languages are in contact for an extended period of time, it is likely that some linguistic aspects of one or more of the languages will be influenced by such contact. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988:100), there are three possible outcomes in cases where there is intensive contact over a long period of time: (1) rapid shift to the dominant language, (2) language attrition or death, or (3) language maintenance with heavy borrowing in all areas.

Language attrition can be described as a slow process in which native speakers of one language gradually give up use of their language in favor of another. Language death, or linguistic extinction is described by Campbell (1992:1) as follows:

It is the extreme case of language contact where an entire language is borrowed at the expense of another; it involves language shift and replacement where the obsolescent language becomes restricted to fewer and fewer individuals who use it in ever fewer contexts, until it ultimately vanishes altogether.

From this definition, it is apparent that language death is not an unusual or isolated linguistic phenomenon, but is instead the consequence of a language contact situation which is found in very many places in the world.
Indeed, Cook (1989:235) says that language death is "one of the most prominent consequences of acculturation involving languages of unequal status coming into contact" (1989:235). Cook is in agreement with Swadesh's assessment as evidenced by his statement that: "The disappearance of languages, when viewed in the broad sweep of history, is no uncommon phenomenon" (1948:226).

Just as each language contact situation is unique, so is each case of language attrition and death. Despite the fact that each case is different from another, Campbell and Muntzel (1989) have listed four types of language death situations along with a description of their characteristics. Campbell (1992:1) acknowledges that these situations are not mutually exclusive and that they may overlap, but that they do provide a useful guide for considering different cases of language death.

The four types of language death listed by Campbell and Muntzel are: (1) sudden death, where a language abruptly dies because all or almost all of its speakers suddenly die, (2) radical death, which is described as rapid loss usually due to political repression and genocide, (3) bottom-to-top death, where the repertoire of stylistic registers is lost beginning with more intimate contexts and leaving only formal or ritual contexts, and (4) gradual death, the most common type, resulting from gradual shift from usage of one language to another (1989:182-85).
The specific characteristics of the last type of language death, gradual death, vary from situation to situation as described by Rabin (1986:551):

A language does not cease to be used all at once, but it loses certain territories of use: it might cease to be spoken, but continue to be written, or vice-versa, it might be given up as language in public and in economic activities but continue to be used at home, etc. It might lose speakers belonging to one social class, but remain alive in others, or its use may shrink in general, but small groups go on using it, sometimes for centuries.

The last line of Rabin's statement would seem to describe the case of the Brule dialect in Ascension Parish. This dialect is in the final stage of a long period of gradual decline in usage. Having survived since the late eighteenth century, the dialect ceased to be used to any degree in public and economic activities perhaps as long as forty or fifty years ago. It became restricted to intimate situations and, as will be seen in below, its use was often discouraged even then.

4.3 The Phenomenon of the Semi-Speaker

4.3.1 Identifying Speakers

As pointed out above, the researcher involved in the study of dying languages is faced with the unusual problem of deciding who should be considered a "speaker" of the language. The question of exactly who should or should not be considered a member of the community or a native speaker of the language is often a difficult one to answer even for the community itself. The nature of this difficulty is described by Watson (1989:41):
When a language has been in retreat for a long time and its distribution has been shrinking at the same time that its functions have been dwindling, difficulties are likely to arise in even such basic matters as determining who should be considered a "speaker" or a "member" of the community. The "native speaker" population itself may not agree on who falls within that category: some people may claim speaker status when others would not accept them as such; some may say they are not speakers when others would include them as speakers.

This problem of deciding who should be considered a "speaker" is further complicated by the fact that there is often great variation in proficiency levels among those who have (some) knowledge of the language or dialect. Once a researcher makes the determination that a resident might be considered a member of the speech community, he or she must then decide what level of linguistic skill to expect in order to classify the informant as a "speaker" of the language or dialect.

Self-reports of language use are often unreliable. Nelde (1986:473) notes that census statistics, for example, often indicate "more about social consciousness than about the true language use of the informant." Dorian (1986:563) cites the case of a "disclaimer" who did not list herself as a Gaelic speaker on the census. Dorian found that this speaker's ability to generate sentences was superior to another relative who eagerly claimed speaker status. I encountered several similar cases in Ascension Parish of informants who, I believe, surprised themselves with how much of the dialect they were able to remember.
Many researchers use the term "semi-speaker" (see Nancy Dorian 1977a) to describe an informant who, though he or she has some ability in the language or dialect, could not be considered to be a completely fluent or "fully competent" speaker of the dying language or dialect. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) subdivide informants even further in order to characterize different levels of proficiency, but the classification system described below will be adequate for the purposes of this study.

Those speakers characterized as "semi-speakers" are of particular interest to researchers studying language death. The phenomenon of the semi-speaker, while not described using this term, has been documented at least as far back as Bloomfield's study of Menomini (1927:432-39) in which he describes White Thunder's language ability as "atrocious" and his inflectional system as "barbarous." Dorian cites several early cases in which the semi-speaker phenomenon has been recognized (Krauss 1963; Miller 1971; Saltzman 1969), but with the increased interest in language death in recent years, these could be multiplied many times over.

Linguistic descriptions such as Bloomfield's are not at all uncommon in the literature even in more recent years. These "deficient" speakers have often been ignored by language researchers in their attempts to record the "pure" from of a language. With increased interest in the study of language death, however, greater attention has
been given in recent years to the linguistic production of semi-speakers.

4.3.2 A Profile of the Semi-Speaker

As discussed above, it is no easy task to categorize speakers linguistically, and deciding who should be considered a semi-speaker is far from an exact enterprise (see Hill and Hill 1986:142). Clyne (1986:487) criticizes the term "semi-speaker," saying that in the term and the ideology surrounding it "a seemingly mathematical concept is used for something vague." There is, of course, no precise way to determine who should be considered a semi-speaker simply because there is no "scientifically" precise definition of "semi-speaker." In fact, linguists using the term "semi-speaker" do not intend this to be a "mathematical" concept. As is very often the case in the social sciences, such categorization is intended merely as a useful way of referring to certain sorts of speakers with a term which is by no means "scientifically" uniform, but which does reflect common characteristics that are shared by such speakers.

If general characteristics of the semi-speaker can be determined, then a profile of this linguistic concept can be established. Such a profile of characteristics commonly associated with semi-speakers would lead to a better understanding of what role they play in language death. Equally exciting is the prospect that the emergence of such a profile might eventually, as Dorian puts it
(1982:35), "indicate more interesting things, such as the possible existence of linguistic universals." Anna Giacalone Ramat (1983:496) believes that such study could lead to increased knowledge about linguistic universals as well as a better understanding of the relationship of linguistic structure to the function of language. Kay and Sankoff (1974:62) suggest that dying languages, together with pidgins and creoles, "may reveal in a more direct way than do most natural languages the universals that underlie all human language ability and language use."

4.3.2.1 Reduction of Language Use and Form

The fact that an informant is classified as a semi-speaker means that his or her use of language is different from that of one classified as a "fluent" speaker. Exactly how semi-speaker use differs from that of fluent speakers is discussed below. In general, however, it can be said that they exhibit a "simplified" or "reduced" form of the language. It is widely accepted that this "reduction of language" found in language death situations can be attributed to a reduction in the use of that language. The precise processes involved in this reduction or simplification are a matter of great controversy in language death literature; but, as Dorian (1976:24) puts it, "...the assumption that the reduced use of a language will lead also to a reduced form of that language seems realistic." This idea is certainly not a new one since Samarin (1971:127) suggested over two decades ago that using a
language less frequently "probably always has some repercussions on language output."

The question arises as to why and how a speaker reduces his or her use of a dying language. There are several possible scenarios which reflect why a speaker might decide to discontinue use of a dying language or dialect. As suggested earlier in the discussion of "gradual" language death, the most common situation is one in which use of the minority language, for one reason or for a variety of reasons, is restricted to certain linguistic domains. Often it is the case that the dying language will be used only in domestic or intimate contexts, while the dominant language will be used in school, at work, and for public and economic activities. This is a rather accurate description of the brule dwellers' use of their dialect of Spanish since at least the early part of this century. While Spanish was often used at home, English was generally used in the town of Donaldsonville.

The situation in which formerly fluent speakers stop using a minority language in favor of a more dominant language in at least some linguistic domains is typical of many terminal language communities. This is not, however, the only one which might lead to linguistic attrition. Dorian (1977a:25), in her study of Gaelic in Scotland, cites the case of a 58-year-old Embo "exile" who left her home when she was a teen and spoke Gaelic only on brief holiday visits. This informant was married to a
monolingual English speaker and had very few opportunities to use Gaelic. It is not surprising, then, that her Gaelic was found to be significantly reduced. This situation closely parallels that of Brule informant F3 who moved from Donaldsonville over forty years ago.

It should not be assumed, however, that all cases of language death involve reduction in form. Swadesh (1948), for example, notes that the case of Ishi, the last of the Yahi Indians, is a good example of language death without reduction in form. Swadesh writes that Ishi appeared to have "a flawless command of his own language" (1948:22). Of course, it is difficult to evaluate a speaker's knowledge of a language in the absence of a speech community. Dorian cites a personal communication from Jane Hill regarding Hill's work (1973) with two dying Indian languages in which she states that: 'You either speak fairly well or not at all.' However, these are very unusual cases and, as Dorian points out (1982:31), in the case of Yahi, the last speakers remained either monolingual or Yahi dominant for most of their lives. It is far more common to find speakers of varying proficiency levels in a language death situation. Such is the case in the present study, as evidenced by the classification system ranging from "rememberer" to "bilingual." Thus, it can be seen that in a language contact situation where there is intensive pressure to give up the minority language in favor of a dominant language, the speaker has the dubious choice,
as Nelde (1986:470) puts it of "either asserting himself and thereby creating a conflict situation, or adapting himself and thereby relinquishing something of his own identity."

As might be expected, not all persons faced with this dilemma choose to give up use of the dying language. According to Dorian, there are "language loyalists" who may continue to use the language almost exclusively. She asserts that the semi-speakers who will show the most reduction in form are "the individuals who themselves use the language less" (1977a:31). In the same article in which she discusses the 58-year-old exile, Dorian (1977a:31) mentions that there was another exile included in the study who was classified as a fluent speaker. The difference in fluency level, it seems, can be attributed to the fact that the fluent speaker was married to a woman who also spoke Gaelic.

The idea that an individual "chooses" whether or not he or she will stop using a dying language is somewhat problematic. It is obvious that in the face of a shrinking speech community as well as various social, cultural, and economic pressures to shift from the minority language to the dominant language, terms such as "choice" may not be entirely appropriate. Chapter 6 describes the factors that have played a role in bringing about language shift in the Brule community.
4.3.2.2 The Age-Graded Proficiency Continuum

As has already been established, it is possible for formerly-fluent speakers to suffer attrition in their linguistic competence in a dying language as a result of a long period of disuse. However, my research in Ascension Parish indicates that a long period of disuse is not in and of itself a guarantee that a speaker will become a semi-speaker and thus speak a significantly reduced form of the language. One of my older informants, F1, is still quite fluent in Spanish in spite of the fact that she has not spoken the dialect "at all" since her mother died in 1962. This brings up the question of whether or not there is a relationship between the age of a speaker in a terminal community and his or her status as a semi-speaker. In fact, in many terminal language communities, researchers have found a close correlation between speakers' linguistic competence and their age. This situation is especially common in communities where the shift from the dying dialect to the dominant language has been a gradual one. Generally speaking, older speakers are more proficient in the dying language and younger speakers are not as proficient in at least some linguistic domains. In some cases it may be possible to order speakers along a continuum according to fluency level with the oldest/most fluent speakers at one endpoint and the youngest/least fluent at the other. Cases exemplifying this phenomenon, sometimes referred to as an "age-graded proficiency

The explanation for this commonly encountered situation is readily apparent. Older speakers, for one reason or another, stop using the dying language in at least some contexts thereby limiting the younger speakers' exposure to it. This gradual reduction of exposure to the language or dialect, then, limits the opportunities younger speakers have to acquire it, resulting in their less complete acquisition, thereby producing semi-speakers.

While the age-graded proficiency continuum can be considered a very common phenomenon of many language death situations, it is not universal. The correlation between age and proficiency level is not always a perfect one. In attempting to establish such a continuum among twelve Dyribal semi-speakers, Schmidt (1985) found that a perfect ordering of proficiency and age along a continuum was not possible. Dorian (1986:558) also notes that her East Sutherland Gaelic speakers did not "fall neatly into line via correlation between age and proficiency." In her discussion of the dying East Sutherland Gaelic dialect, Dorian (1982:42) cites the very interesting case of a brother and sister, AR and JR, whose proficiency levels in the dialect varied greatly. Dorian (p. 42) noted that JR's averaged success rate on translation tests was twenty-five points higher than that of AR despite the fact
that both siblings were unmarried, lived in the same house with their mother who was a fluent speaker, and most surprisingly, that JR was only one year older than AR. It is obvious, then, that the age-graded proficiency continuum is not characteristic of every language death situation. Nevertheless, this tendency is common enough to be useful in analyzing many situations of gradual language death.

In Ascension Parish one does find some correlation between age and proficiency level. Some evidence of such a correlation can be found in the fact that the two oldest speakers in this study were also the most fluent, while no informants under fifty years of age had any significant knowledge of the dialect. However, as in some of the cases described above, the correlation was not a perfect one. For example, M4 is classified as a rememberer while M1, who is three years younger, is a particularly good semi-speaker. M2, who is 62, is a weak semi-speaker, while the older F3 is only a rememberer.

It is clear, then, that age alone cannot account for the fact that some speakers in a terminal language community are more competent in the dying language than others. It is not surprising to find that proficiency in, or use of a dying language cannot be predicted simply by the age of a speaker. There are many factors which influence language maintenance and use in terminal language communities, some of which are discussed in Chapter 6.
4.3.2.3 Active Versus Passive Competence

A characteristic common to many semi-speakers is that their ability to understand the dying language is much greater than their ability to produce acceptable utterances in the same language. This is sometimes referred to as the "lop-sided" competence/performance ratio. Tsitsipis (1981:117) uses the terms "passive competence" and "active competence" to refer to this asymmetry of receptive and productive skills.

Dorian (1982:32) points out that many semi-speakers make use of their "superb bilingualism" in order to compensate for their incomplete control of the dying language. She cites a case from her study of East Sutherland Gaelic (1982:34) which illustrates very well just how successful some semi-speakers are at exploiting their limited skills. In the course of her interview with two kinswomen, Dorian unintentionally revealed that one of the women was a low-proficiency semi-speaker. While interviewing the younger woman, Dorian (1982:34) "exposed her severe lack of productive skills" in the presence of her older relative. According to Dorian (p. 34), both women were "surprised and distressed" to find out how many things the younger woman was unable to say, since they had been speaking Gaelic to each other for many years. Dorian (p. 34) describes the situation and how the younger had managed to communicate effectively in Gaelic despite her lack of productive skills:
They lived next door to one another and had been interacting partly in Gaelic for years on end without either of them noticing the largely passive role of the younger woman. Essential to this woman's success as a Gaelic participant in the speech community was not only her ability to understand everything said to her in Gaelic, but also her knowledge of when and how to use the meager productive skills she did possess in an unremarkable fashion.

Dorian (1982:34, 1981:116) suggests that one must consider the broader concept of communicative competence as described by Hymes (1974a) in order to account for the successful interaction of semi-speakers. Dressier would seem to agree that there is a difference between overall linguistic competence and communicative competence since, as he puts it, "many speakers exhibit astounding communicative efficiency in contrast to their small linguistic competence" (1981:15). According to Dressier, semi-speakers are "perfectly content to produce what they are able to produce" (1981:15).

Dorian makes much of the passive abilities which semi-speakers possess as evidenced by her statement that the younger Gaelic semi-speaker mentioned above had the ability to "understand everything said to her" (1982:34). Dorian even goes so far as to suggest that the semi-speaker often has greater receptive abilities in the dying language than an outsider whose productive abilities may be much greater:

It is an easy matter for the visiting linguist to outstrip the semi-speaker in the ability to produce correct sentences in the dying language, or even in the ability to converse, but it is unlikely that he or she will ever even come close to the
semi-speaker's ability to understand rapid-fire banter, puns, teasing, or conversations carried on under conditions of high noise. (1982:32)

Other language death researchers, however, do not share Dorian's high estimation of the passive abilities of the semi-speaker. While not denying that many semi-speakers' passive competence exceeds their abilities to produce the dying language or dialect, Ramat disagrees with Dorian's assertion that semi-speakers understand everything that is said to them, as evidenced by the following statement:

...I do not think that complete understanding is a common feature of semi-speakers (in my own experience I found that semi-speakers ignored many of the less usual lexical items); I would suggest that they suffer from a lack of performance... [and] lack of performance may result in a decay of competence. (1983:503)

Dressler (1981:14) also discusses the link between lack of performance and reduced competence. He challenges the commonly-held assumption that a language does not "die" until it has no semi-speakers. According to Dressler, a researcher should not refer to "continuing linguistic competence" in cases where he or she "can retrieve only a few lexical items, number names, etc. from an overwrought informant" (1981:14). Instead, he suggests that, because many semi-speakers are better in receptive than productive skills, the language death researcher should "subdivide competence into various competences" (p. 14). As Dressler (p. 15) puts it: "It has little sense to speak of an undifferentiated competence in the case of
a bilingual who understands the minority language well, but is unable to produce" (p. 15).

Based on my experience in Ascension Parish, I believe that Dorian's assessment of the passive abilities is only slightly overstated. I did not find that the speakers of the Brule dialect were able to understand everything that was said to them. Nevertheless, all semi-speakers were able to follow conversations between more fluent speakers without much difficulty. As for Ramat's (1982:503) assertion that semi-speakers often do not understand "less usual" lexical items, I think one must ask whether it should be expected that they would. If by "less usual" Ramat means "less common", it is understandable that the semi-speaker is less familiar with lexical items he or she hears less frequently (or not at all).

Roger Andersen (1982:94) suggests that the lexical store of a speaker of a dying language will depend on the speaker's need for, and experience with, various lexical items. It would seem that there might be a better criterion than the understanding of "less usual" lexical items which could be used to evaluate passive competence. Indeed, many native English speakers might be shown to have little or no passive competence in English if a researcher were to choose the right set of "less usual" lexical items (physics terms, botanical terms, mechanical terms, etc.). The discussion below includes a more
detailed investigation of what happens to the lexicon in dying languages.

Again, one must take into account the fact that "semi-speaker" is not a discrete, precise category; some semi-speakers know more than others. In general, however, I found that even very weak semi-speakers were able to follow (and in most cases participate in) conversations that included lexical items and sentence structures that were not part of their active competence in the language.

Dressler's suggestion that the informant who is able to dredge up a few lexical items should not be said to possess a continuing, undifferentiated linguistic competence is well taken. However, as I show in Chapter 5, an informant may possess knowledge which is "rusty", that is, which he or she is not able to call upon at the moment to actively produce certain forms of the language, but which may be "recovered" for example, when his or her memory is jogged while working with a researcher. Indeed, there have been cases where researchers have found that an informant who had "forgotten" much of the dying language was able to recover it while working with a linguist (Hill 1979:72; Haas 1950:9). It is possible, then, that the distinction advocated by Dressler of receptive and productive abilities, may not be so clear as some may think. In other words, receptive or passive abilities might represent potential productive abilities. This possibility
will be discussed further in the sections below with regard to the stability of linguistic "competence."

My experience with Brule Spanish also supports Dorian's claim that, while his or her productive abilities may not be as great, the semi-speaker can outstrip an outsider in certain situations such as rapid-conversation, teasing, etc. On several occasions during interviews where both Ml and F1 were present, I found it necessary to ask F1 to repeat sentences which Ml had understood without a problem (and which Ml was very happy to translate for me). In many instances it was a single word which had to be explained to me, as in the case of ['dژe·ta] which was translated as 'watch' or 'look at' (see Brule glossary in Chapter 5). In a few situations, however, I failed to grasp the meaning of a complete sentence as was the case with the following utterance:

F1: Mais ello no puen diji na lante [de] mi poque yo comprieno yo [Me 'e·yo no 'pwen di·'hi na 'lan·te mi 'po·ke yo kom·pri·'e·no yo] 'But they can't say anything in front of me because I understand.' (Standard Spanish Pero ellos no pueden decir nada delante de mi porque yo comprendo).

Ml, whose productive abilities in Spanish are far below those of this researcher (who learned what might be called "standard" Spanish), understood and immediately translated to English when I asked F1 to repeat. Though he sometimes spoke in English, Ml always took an active
role in sessions with the more fluent speakers. If he did not understand everything that was said, this was not apparent to me or to the other interlocutors. Although some of the weaker semi-speakers (M2, for example) did, on occasion, ask for an English translation of what was being said, they generally followed the conversation well enough to interject periodically comments in Spanish or English.

Thus, it is obvious that many semi-speakers do indeed possess some remarkable receptive skills that might well surpass those of outsiders who are more able to produce the language (though perhaps not the local variety). The data from Ascension Parish support Dorian (1982:34) and Dressler (1981:15) in their suggestions that the successful interaction of semi-speakers within the community can be attributed to more than simply productive "linguistic competence." Brody (1991:79) points out that that conversation is a form of interaction that is "inextricable from interpersonal, social, physical, linguistic, and cultural context..." Knowing how to interact successfully, then, requires communicative competence which includes knowledge about the language, customs, and attitudes of the community. This fact is not at all surprising if one subscribes to the commonly held assumption that language and culture are inseparable (or at least highly interrelated). In Chapter 5 I discuss some specific ways semi-speakers compensate for their inability to produce utterances in the dying language.
4.3.2.4 The "Grandmother Factor"

Nancy Dorian has made many valuable contributions to the field of language death. Her years of research in this area have enabled her to make generalizations and point out certain characteristics about language death which would have been impossible without such extensive research experience. One particularly astute observation she made (Dorian 1978) has to do with semi-speakers and involves what she calls the "grandmother factor." It seems that in very many cases semi-speakers maintain close ties with some family member of their grandparents' generation. Dorian suggests that this "grandmother factor" is so conspicuous in the linguistic biographies she has collected, that it might play a role "in the genesis of the semi-speaker as a linguistic phenomenon, at least in East Sutherland Gaelic" (1978:605).

According to Dorian, informants in linguistic autobiographies mention an important "grandmother type" who influenced their use of the dying language or dialect. They repeatedly report a favorite female figure (other than the mother) in the first or second generation--usually a grandmother, but sometimes a great-aunt or cousin at one or two removes--with whom Gaelic was the sole or favored language of communication in their early years (1978:605).

Cases such as the one described above are sometimes mentioned in the literature, but Dorian was the first researcher to suggest that this might be a characteristic common to many semi-speakers. At first glance, it may not
seem particularly surprising or noteworthy that a person who has close ties with an older speaker with whom he or she speaks a dying language would acquire or retain knowledge of the language. Dorian points out, however, that the "grandmother factor" may be very important in helping to explain why some members of a language community become semi-speakers while others lose or fail to acquire competence in the dying language or dialect:

Some social explanation of this is, after all, required to account for the fact that these younger members of the community, whose command of Gaelic is weak and imperfect by their own admission, continue to be willing (eager, in a number of cases) to speak a language which is clearly dying and has extremely negative prestige on the local scene. (Dorian 1978:605)

I believe that Dorian's "grandmother factor" is useful not only in helping to explain why certain younger community members are more fluent semi-speakers than others, but perhaps more interestingly, why certain immediate family members acquire a much greater degree of competence in the dying language than others. This is especially puzzling in cases where two family members live in the same household and are very close to the same age. In the case of Dorian's AR and JR, for example (see above), one is at a loss to explain why JR should possess much greater competence in Gaelic than his sister who was only one year younger. Dorian mentions that both brother and sister lived in the home of an older fluent-speaker mother, but she does not specifically discuss whether or
not the "grandmother factor" might have been involved in this case.

The primary reason for discussion of the "grandmother factor", here is that in Ascension Parish several cases were encountered that seemed to support this notion of Dorian's. In some cases, the "grandmother factor" seems to be the most plausible explanation for why some members of the same family retain knowledge of the Brule dialect, while others do not. For example, M1 is seven years older than his brother M2, and his proficiency level in the Brule dialect is much greater than that of M2 despite the fact that they both lived in the same house, married women who do not speak Spanish, served in the military during World War II, and with the exception of these brief stints in the military, have always lived in Donaldsonville area. While seven years might be considered quite substantial in many families, it is also very interesting to note M1's assertion that his older sister (now deceased) was not as proficient as he in the Brule dialect despite only a one year difference in their ages. The possibility that the "grandmother factor" might have played a role in M1's becoming a semi-speaker is supported by his own description of his relationship with his parents, grandparents, and older community members.

M1: I used to spend a lot of time at my grandmother's house. We used to talk about all kind [sic] of things.
M1: I didn't get along too good with my daddy. He made me go to work when I was real young. I don't know why. You never know. I used to go work for some old ladies in the brule to earn a little money, doing odd jobs and stuff, you know. They used to give me something to eat, you know.

M1's own statements reveal that he had close contact not only with his grandmother, but with older members of the brule community with whom he spoke Spanish. In another account, for example, he tells of going to visit an aunt for several days.

M1's is not the only case I found where the "grandmother factor" might be invoked to explain a semi-speaker's relatively greater knowledge of the Brule dialect. FI, the best semi-speaker in this study, lived with her grandparents for several years as a child. Her grandmother died when she was fifteen, and she returned to live with her parents. Nevertheless, she maintained a close relationship with her grandfather.

FI: You don't know my dear child, but if I tell you this you know what I say. I was the black sheep of the family. I'm 'on tell you why. Daddy never give [sic] me a nickel. Anything I had grampa gave it to me.

FI stated that she had spoken Spanish with her parents until they died (in the early sixties), and that she has not spoken Spanish with anyone since:
FI: No tengo nadie pa jablá ehpánol. Mi hijo viva allí, e mäh viejo mais no jabla ehpánol. Él no comprenda lo que yo di (digo). [no 'tèn'go 'nai·de pa ha·'bla ehp·â·'ñol. mi 'i·ho viv ayí eh mah vi·'e·ho me no 'ha·bla ehp·â·'ñol. no kom·'prän·da lo ke yo di] 'I don't have anyone to speak Spanish with. My son lives over there, he is older, but he doesn't speak Spanish. He doesn't understand what I say.' (Standard Spanish No tengo nadie con quien hablar español. Mi hijo vive allí, él es más viejo pero no habla español. No comprende lo que yo digo).

In asking Ml and F1 questions about the language preference of their parents and their siblings, a very interesting question was raised. On different occasions both Ml and F1 asserted without hesitation that, with the exception of F1's deceased older sister, none of their siblings spoke Spanish. When asked what language their parents spoke at home they both answered (again without hesitation) that their parents spoke only Spanish in the home. When confronted with the question of how their parents and their siblings communicated, they seemed to be at a loss for an explanation. After giving the question some thought, F1 decided that her siblings must have spoken English and her parents Spanish, and that each group had the ability to understand the other. M1, on the other hand, decided that "they [his parents] must have used a little bit of both."

The interesting point here is that both F1 and Ml remember Spanish as the exclusive, or at least dominant, language of the household. While it is certainly possible that F1 and Ml have less than perfect memories of their
parents' or siblings' language usage, there is some evidence to support their claims about which language was used most frequently by other members of their families. FI's assertion that her mother remained a monolingual Spanish speaker is supported by accounts such as the one in which she recounts that during a hospital stay late in her mother's life, she had to act as translator because her mother could not understand the hospital staff. FI also reports having to accompany her mother to various places in Donaldsonville to act as translator. When asked why she spoke Spanish and her siblings did not, FI gave the following answer:

FI: Yo no comprendo más siem*ple ha*bla*ba kom ma*ma di*a a la 'vi*ya i al 'o*pi*tal i e*ya no kom* prn*'di*a ke e lo ke e*yo di*hi'an i yo ta*ba kon e*ya ai i yo 'di*a kon e*ya tol 'tyem'po a'y[ya] 'I don't understand, but I always used to talk to mama, I used to go to the hospital and she didn't understand what it was they were telling her and I used to go with her all the time there.' (Standard Spanish Yo no comprendo, pero siempre hablaba con mama, iba a la villa y al hospital, y ella no comprendía que es lo que ellos decían y yo estaba con ella allí y yo iba con ella todo el tiempo allá).

Thus, it seems that FI did speak primarily (if not exclusively) Spanish to her mother even in the last years of her life. Also interesting is the fact that when speaking about his childhood, Ml uses Spanish when quoting
from conversations which took place between him and his parents. When relating a story about a "strange man" he saw on the road when he was a young adult, M1 used English. When he related a conversation he had with his parents about the incident, however, he quoted himself and his parents in Spanish.

M1: When I saw that man in the white robe I took off running. When I got to the door where my mama and daddy live [sic], I knocked on the door and didn't even wait for them to open it. I pulled the door off the door frame. My daddy said: "¿Qué hay contigo hombre? ¿ta (Estás) loco? [ke ai kon* ti*go 'om*bre ta 'lo*ko] 'What is the matter with you man, are you crazy?' I said, "Pa yo creo que yo vi el (al) diaulo (diablo)" [pa yo 'kre'o ke yo vi el 'diau*lo] 'Pa, I think I saw the devil.'

While the examples given above seem to support the assertions made by M1 and F1 that they spoke only Spanish with their parents, there is some evidence that their siblings, at least at some time during their lives, used Spanish at home. In another story, which had earlier been told to me in Spanish, about an incident when he fell into a well and nearly drowned, M1 uses Spanish to quote his older sister.

M1: My sister, she was screaming "¡Mira el rao (rabo) pelao!' ['mi*ra el 'ra*o pe*la*o] 'Look at the possum!' 'I was scared of them things back then you know. Well I didn't see the well down there and I fell in.'
Statements made by M2, M1's brother, would also seem to indicate that M2 was at one time fluent speaker of the Brule dialect. A question as to whether M2 at one time spoke Spanish in the Brule with his parents prompted the following exchange between M2 and M1:

M1: No he didn't pick that up too well.
M2: No, [M1], I couldn't speak no English in 1935.
M1: Well I used to speak pure Spanish.
M2: Me too.
M1: How I learned English I don't know, because nobody taught me.
M2: I spoke Spanish up until I was five or six years old then I start...
M1: Going away from that.
M2: Yeah.

M2, then, claims to have been a monolingual Spanish speaker up until the age of six, when he shifted to English. If the siblings of M1 and F1 were, as this evidence suggests, at one time somewhat competent speakers of the Brule dialect, the question remains as to why these siblings retain much less knowledge of the Brule dialect than do M1 and F1.

As has been previously suggested, age alone cannot explain this difference in proficiency. The evidence presented above would seem to support Dorian's suggestion that the 'grandmother factor' plays a very important role in determining who will retain knowledge of the dying dialect and who will not. In fact, after some consideration, Dorian's very astute observation seems to be a
matter of common sense. The 'grandmother factor' has great intuitive appeal for this writer who sees evidence of it in his own family. Although all family members are monolingual English speakers, some of the words and expressions my grandmother used frequently are unknown to my siblings (and cousins) who spent less time with her. It seems quite reasonable to assume that the same situation might be found in cases of language death, except that the words and expressions learned and retained would be in another language.

4.3.2.5 The Assimilation-Resistant Semi-Speaker

As important as it may be, it cannot be said that the 'grandmother factor' is the only element which plays a role in determining whether or not a speaker becomes a semi-speaker or retains significant proficiency in the dying dialect. Because Chapter 6 will be devoted to an investigation of the various factors which play a role in bringing about language shift in a terminal language community, I will not deal with these variables here. However, as a continuation of my effort to establish a profile of the typical semi-speaker, in this section I will discuss a personal characteristic common to many semi-speakers that may play a role in language maintenance or loss. Obviously, each speaker is different and no set of characteristics will describe every speaker. Nevertheless, it is very useful to list individual traits that other researchers have noted in describing
semi-speakers, and to discuss these with regard to the semi-speakers with whom I worked in Ascension Parish.

Some researchers have found cases where semi-speakers apparently retain knowledge of a dying language simply because they have what Dorian (1973:437) calls "assimilation-resistant" personalities. Of the several such cases she found in her research in Scotland, Dorian cites specifically that of an informant she calls E19. According to Dorian, E19 "has a unique reputation in Embo for answering in Gaelic even when spoken to in English" which Dorian calls "a highly unusual, almost impolite departure from local custom" (p. 438). In his discussion of Ofo, a Siouan language, Hymes (1962:115) also points out the importance of personality factors in determining who will or will not retain knowledge of the language. He points out that the preservation of Ofo can be attributed the discovery of such an assimilation-resistant personality.

In Ascension Parish, I also found semi-speakers who demonstrated a reluctance to stop using the dying Brule dialect. Despite the fact that the dialect has not been used to any extent in public life for forty or fifty years, several informants expressed their disgust with those who "gave up their language" or sadness at its passing, e.g.:

M1: All people ought to keep up their language. People stopped speaking Spanish cause they think that language not good no more. That's where
they're wrong. They didn't want to talk Spanish because they thought Spanish stinks. Me, I kept up my language.

One such assimilation-resistant semi-speaker, M5, says that some community members "crossed over", but he describes his own desire to continue using the Brule dialect. He also makes a very interesting analogy to explain how he and others felt about and dealt with the pressure to stop using Spanish:

M5: And why they gave up their good language to cross over I don't know. But a lot of us didn't...I think you could have tortured 'em but it's there with them, you see. It's just like the right hand and left hand. You see I always was left-handed, but at school if they caught you using the left hand they would swat the hell outcha and make you use the right. But I didn't resist them because the child is subordinate, but as soon as I would come home, I would use the left. I still whipped 'em.

This statement by M5 gives insight into the thoughts and feelings of Dorian's assimilation-resistant personality. Many such semi-speakers might lack M5's remarkable ability to verbalize their feelings about giving up their language. Nevertheless, this statement provides evidence that at least some semi-speakers make a conscious choice to resist outside pressures that discourage use of the dying language or dialect.

Other statements made by informants in Ascension Parish seem to indicate that this failure to be
assimilated into the larger Anglo-American culture may not always have been a matter of choice. Two of the best semi-speakers, Ml and F1, made statements about being the "black sheep" (see above) of their families. When asked what games he played as a child Ml made the following statement:

Ml: I never did play too much when I was young. I was kind of like a loner. I mostly kept to myself. Back then you know we had to work real hard. So, I didn't have much time for play.

The feelings of social isolation expressed by both F1 and Ml do not seem to fit in with what Dorian (1989:89) maintains is a common characteristic of semi-speakers. According to Dorian, one of the three factors which "operate to produce the social anomaly of the speaker who chooses to use a low-prestige language which he controls imperfectly" (i.e. the semi-speaker), is "a personality characterized, especially in the childhood years, by marked inquisitiveness and gregariousness." Comments by F1 and Ml in which they describe themselves as feeling like a "black sheep" or a "loner" seem to indicate that they were not gregarious. Dorian (p. 89) does state, however, that it is not necessary for all three factors to operate at once in order to produce a semi-speaker, but that any combination of two is most likely to have that result.
It seems that there are many different factors that can create what some might call an "assimilation-resistant" personality. Other factors that might play a role in determining language shift or maintenance in terminal language communities will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.4 Structural Consequences of Language Death

4.4.1 Simplification and Reduction of Language

The idea that the reduction in use of a language will have an effect on the structure of that language was discussed briefly above. In this section, I investigate some kinds of changes that commonly occur in dying languages, provide some examples of such changes, and discuss some possible explanations for their occurrence. Examples provided in this section of the kinds of structural change often associated with language death come both from my own research in Ascension Parish and from that of various other language-death researchers. The majority of my findings with regard to structural changes in the Brule dialect, however, are covered in Chapter 5.

Campbell and Muntzel, in their discussion of the changes that take place in dying languages, make the following statement (1989:186):

The most obvious prediction one can make about dying languages is that their structure is very likely to undergo a certain amount of change, and in all components at that: phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and lexical.

The idea that the structure of a dying language is somehow "reduced", and is reduced in all components, is
echoed in Dorian's statement that "dying languages characteristically show reduction of one kind or another—or, most often, of many kinds at once" (1978:590). The reduction of structure in dying languages has been investigated by many language death researchers, such as Giacalone Ramat (1979), Trudgill (1983), and Dorian (1981), to name only a few. In describing certain changes found in dying languages, some researchers (Hoenigswald 1989:349, Silva-Corvalán 1989:60, Mougeon and Beniak 1989:299, Hill 1989:150, Giacalone Ramat 1983:505) use the term "simplification" to describe the reduction in form that often takes place in language death. Their claim that the changes which occur in dying languages will tend to simplify the structures of these languages rather than make them more complicated is somewhat controversial. Many linguists will be as likely to criticize any reference to the concept of simplicity with regard to structural changes in language death, as they are to object when it is invoked to explain other linguistic phenomena. The reasons for such objections are explained by Hill (1979:68):

... we are unable to give a principled reason why such phenomena as regularizing in morphology, unmarking of feature and order of rules in phonology, restricted coding, loss of inflection, and so forth should be lumped under a single label. They will point out, in addition, that a language that is tractable in one area will be complicated in the next, such that, for instance, a language which lacks inflectional marking of role relationships will have very strict requirements on word order.
In spite of the fact that there is not a precise linguistic definition of "simplification" many linguists use this concept to account for many of the changes often encountered in dying languages. Hoenigswald (1989:349) says that simplification "ranks high among the putative characteristics of dying languages." Giacalone Ramat (1983:504) refers to simplification as a "production strategy" which "selects communicative structures with a minimum of syntactic opacity." She describes the processes of change which are often found in dying languages (p. 504):

They...include a range of features which are intuitively felt to be simplified when compared to standard languages: word order, avoidance of complex sentences (parataxis), analytical paraphrases replacing unknown lexical elements.

Some researchers such as Ferguson (1971:145) and Campbell and Muntzel (1989:187) have discussed aspects of simplification in terms of marked/unmarked oppositions, while others (for example, Traugott 1977:136) view these kinds of changes as processes of "natural grammar."

Silva-Corvalán suggests that these changes are never at random but "at all stages conform to a predictable trend to develop a least grammaticalized system within the constraints of universal grammar possibilities and preferences" (1989:60).

In some sections of this dissertation, I refer to marked/unmarked oppositions, and in others the relative "transparency" or "opacity" of certain analytic and
synthetic constructions are discussed. In general, however, I will follow Hill (1979:69) in using "simplicity" as a "loose cover term" in order to describe many of the changes which occur in dying languages. As mentioned previously, simplification is not restricted to lexicon or phonology, but takes place in all components of a dying language. The pervasiveness of simplification is explained by Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977:9):

All parts of grammar and language in general are subject to decay during language death. Alienation and influence of the dominant language go hand in hand on all levels, with restriction and overgeneralization of rules, disorganization and individual variation which cannot be attributed to the impact of the victorious language.

This widespread simplification of structure takes several common forms including reduction of lexicon, phonological leveling, loss of embedding or subordination devices, and loss of former style level distinctions (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977:9). In the following sections of this chapter, I will investigate these and other changes with regard to language death in general, give specific examples of such changes, and attempt to explain the processes which play a role in determining what linguistic elements will be changed in some way.

4.4.2 Lexical Reduction

Some of the most obvious changes that take place in dying languages are lexical changes. Many language death researchers have discussed the kinds of changes which are commonly found in the lexicon of a dying language (Dorian
1973:414, Tsitsipis 1989:135, Gal 1989:314, Andersen 1982:92-4, Mithun 1989:247). Miller, in his study of Shoshoni (1971), suggests that the attrition of this language is most evident in the lexicon. He says that younger speakers often do not have complete control of the grammar and phonology of the dying language, but that "the area which shows the greatest impoverishment is vocabulary" (1971:119). According to Dorian, the less fluent speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic recognize this impoverishment of lexicon and this is a major source of feelings of inadequacy in the dying language:

Explicit comment on the decline in the quality of their Gaelic focuses almost entirely on the lexicon, however: the younger speakers feel sure their elders had more 'words for things' than they have themselves. (1974:414)

In Ascension Parish it was the inability to recall certain words which seemed to be the source of the most frustration among my informants. Comments like the following one by M1 were not at all uncommon:

M1: I can't believe it. I used to know all them words. But you know, when you don't use your language then you forget.

The reduction of lexicon is so common and pervasive in many dying languages that some researchers (see Ruoff 1973:51) have suggested that the lexicon is the first area to be reduced or simplified in dying languages, with phonology, morphology, and syntax being simplified later.
(and in that order). Thomason and Kaufman (1988:38), however, suggest that in many cases change begins not with vocabulary, but with phonology and syntax. Other researchers also disagree with the idea that some areas of the grammar are universally more "susceptible" to change than others (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977:9).

In his insightful work on linguistic attrition, Roger Andersen (1982:92) notes that the speaker of a dying language "will have a smaller variety of lexical items available to him than a comparable [fluent speaker] in the same language." This would certainly seem reasonable, given the fact that speakers of dying languages are exposed to a smaller variety of lexical items and in restricted domains of usage. As pointed out above, the semi-speakers recognize that they have more limited lexical resources than do more fluent (and usually older) speakers. Lexical simplification, then, can be described as "the process and/or result of making do with less words" (Blum and Levanston 1978:399).

Andersen (1982:94) suggests that the lexical store of a semi-speaker will depend on his or her experience:

[A semi-speaker's] lexical repertoire will match his recent (and prior) experience with different domains of use and semantic areas. His lexicon will be most impoverished in those areas where he has had little or no experience. He will exhibit greater numbers of gaps in those areas where he has not had recent experience in comparison with other areas where he has had recent experience using the language.
It is, therefore, not surprising that I found M1, a male, to experience more difficulty in remembering words for some household items (such as 'skillet'), while F1 had more trouble with words that had to do with hunting or wildlife (such as 'mink' or 'woodpecker'). In fact, Elmendorf (1968:13-14) notes the very similar case of a female Wappo informant who had more difficulty recalling certain areas of lexicon such as animal terms than she did when attempting to recall household vocabulary. In a later article Elmendorf (1981:39) suggests the possibility that this inability might be attributed to "a possible earlier sex difference in Wappo society, where men may have shown more frequent use and more precise identification of terms in the animal vocabulary." The weakest semi-speakers and even most rememberers were able to recall common and frequently used vocabulary such as 'cat', 'dog', 'table', 'chair', 'bed', 'tree', 'horse', 'cow', etc. This should not seem unusual, and is, in fact, predicted by Andersen's statement that the lexicon retained by a semi-speaker will be "common, highly-frequent, unmarked lexical items" (p. 94), and that "the gaps will be of less-common, low-frequency, highly marked items" (p. 94). Andersen's "hypothesis" would also account for Mithun's "predictable pattern" (1989:248) of lexical loss in Oklahoma Cayuga; namely, that "words for objects no longer discussed have been forgotten" (p. 248),
and that "some specific terms seem to be disappearing before more general ones" (p. 248).

But how exactly does a semi-speaker "make do with less words"? One possibility is that a semi-speaker who is faced with a lexical void might choose to avoid talking about certain subjects which require the use of unfamiliar vocabulary. Elaine Tarone, who has done extensive research on the communicative strategies employed by native and non-native speakers (Tarone 1978, 1980, 1981), found that learners may simply choose to avoid topics which will require them to use vocabulary which is unfamiliar to them (1978:197-98). This is sometimes referred to as "topic avoidance", and is one strategy a speaker may use to avoid having to use lexical items he or she is not familiar with. Topic avoidance is not, however, the only strategy a semi-speaker might use to avoid gaps in his or her lexicon. Because a semi-speaker has access to at least two languages, he or she may choose to discuss specific topics in one language or the other. It is not uncommon to find that a semi-speaker is more comfortable using the dying language when discussing certain topics, and the dominant language when discussing others. For example, my informant F1 was perfectly willing and able to discuss her family, what life was like in the brule, and her early childhood experiences in Spanish. When discussing the occupations of her children and their educational achievements, however, she clearly preferred to speak English. I
believe that this reluctance to use Spanish when discussing the latter topics stems from her unfamiliarity with some of the lexical items such as "telephone operator", "manager", "scholarship", "engineering", "tuition", etc., which she would have been required to produce in a discussion of these topics. It is important to note that these are not words that would have been widely used in the brule during the time F1 grew up there.

There are other strategies a semi-speaker may use to fill his or her "lexical gaps" in the dying language. One common strategy used by semi-speakers (as well as learners of a second language and, on occasion, even monolinguals) is that of circumlocution or paraphrase. The speaker who employs this strategy uses a descriptive phrase to replace a certain lexical item which is unfamiliar. Galván and Campbell (1979:145) suggest that circumlocution is also an avoidance strategy. According to Andersen, a semi-speaker will use "a significantly greater amount of paraphrasing and circumlocution in his use of language X than will [a fluent speaker] under the same circumstances." An example of circumlocution might be where a speaker uses the phrase "land surrounded by water" in place of the unfamiliar lexical item "island" (Blum and Levanston 1978:411). I found several such paraphrases in Ascension Parish including: hierro pa planchá (hierro para planchar) ['ye'ʃo pa plan′ça] 'clothes iron' ("iron for ironing") (Standard Spanish planchar 'to iron'); mashina que colta la hielba
As Blum and Levanston (1978:412) point out, a circumlocution may be replaced by a paraphrase "which does not necessarily specify even all those semantic components required by the context." In these cases the paraphrase can often be misleading to fluent speakers of the language. Blum and Levanston (p. 412) cite the case of Hebrew "mitzvah" being translated in English as 'good deed'. They point out that "mitzvah" is a religious commandment, and that the paraphrase 'good deed' "contains neither the semantic component 'duty' nor the essential connotation (+ religious)" (p. 412). Thus, a semi-speaker may, as Andersen puts it, "choose a semantically related but partially inaccurate equivalent when using paraphrase and circumlocution."

1 The verb "echar" ('to put') is used in Brule Spanish in many cases where standard Spanish would use "poner". The expression "echar afuera" for "to put out" is an obvious syntactic calque on English. For other such examples see Chapter 5.
It was often the case in Ascension Parish that a speaker would use inappropriately a word that was semantically similar to the one needed, but that differed in one or more semantic components. Some examples included: [mon'ta'ña] "montañá" ('mountain') for 'hill'; [mar] "mar" ('sea') for 'lake'; ['va\'ya] "valla" ('tub') for 'bathtub'. In these examples, the terms used by the speaker were somehow semantically related to the one needed, but in each case some semantic component was changed thereby making its use contextually inappropriate.

A speaker (or even a group of speakers) may choose to "borrow" lexical items from another language in order to fill gaps in lexicon. Borrowing is defined by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) as the "incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features." In many terminal language situations, borrowing from the dominant language is often readily apparent in the lexicon of the dying language. Weinreich (1953:56) stated that vocabulary "is beyond question the domain of borrowing par excellence." But under what circumstances might a semi-speaker choose to borrow a lexical item from the dominant language? One of the most obvious reasons a speaker, or group of speakers, might decide to borrow words from the dominant language, has to do with need for words which correspond to new or unfamiliar concepts. As Weinreich
puts it (1953:56): "The need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts is obviously a universal cause of lexical innovation." When confronted with new plant or animal life, social customs, ideas, etc., it is simply linguistic efficiency which motivates speakers of a dying language to borrow this vocabulary from the dominant culture.

There are several ways in which a lexical item can be borrowed from another language. Often in terminal language communities, a word will simply be incorporated into the lexicon of the dying language with no change in pronunciation. Such is the case in both St. Bernard and Ascension Parishes where, as MacCurdy records (1950, 1959) many Acadian French words for Louisiana flora and fauna were borrowed by the Isleños without any change in pronunciation including: clú-clú < Acadian Fr. clou-clou, 'killdeer' (1950:57); críbis < Acadian Fr. críbisse, 'crayfish' (1950:58); pot à fleurs (which MacCurdy writes is "pronounced as in French"), 'flowerpot' (1959:552); and poule d'eau (also pronounced as in French), 'coot' (1959:552).

In Ascension Parish several cases were recorded in which words were always said in English without phonetic alternation. These included: 'truck', 'airplane', 'tractor', and 'refrigerator' (though M1 sometimes used the word 'frigidaire'). When asked how one said 'tractor' in Spanish, M1 looked puzzled and replied: "Well, that's..."
what we used to say, tractor". When asked about the word "refrigerator" he said: "Well, we didn't have them things back then." Obviously, these lexical items were borrowed from English when the objects became familiar in the Donaldsonville area.

In many cases, perhaps depending on factors such as the degree of bilingualism in the language community, a word borrowed from another language will be altered phonetically to make it resemble more closely the phonological system of the borrowing language. MacCurdy (1959) notes that the Acadian French words gachette, 'trigger' (p. 551), and chouette, 'screech owl' (p. 554), were borrowed as gaseta and sueta respectively. The change of the voiceless palatal fricative to a dental fricative in both cases can be explained by the fact that Spanish lacks the former. Thus, these words were altered to fit into the Spanish phonological system. It is interesting to note, however, that the voiceless palatal fricative was not always changed, and when it was it was not always altered in the same way. For example, MacCurdy notes that Acadian French chaoui was adopted into the Brule dialect and "pronounced as in French" (1959:551). On the very same page (p. 551), however, he notes that chica, 'quid of tobacco' (< French chique) is pronounced with a palatal affricate. In order to explain the fact that some words borrowed from another language are phonetically altered while others are not, Einar Haugen (1950:216) looks at the
degree of individual and community bilingualism. He says that "the more [a learner] acquires of the new language the less necessary it is for him to interpret its habits in terms of the old language" (p. 216). In other words, the more a learner knows of the new language, the less likely he is to alter phonetically words that he borrows from it. This assumption has led linguists to hypothesize that "a scale for the time of borrowing can be set up on the basis of phonological form" (Haugen 1950:216). This would explain why words like 'airplane' and 'refrigerator' have not been altered phonetically, since there was widespread use of English among the Brule inhabitants by the time these were introduced into the community. The situation is not quite so clear for French loanwords. Although this hypothesis would suggest a relative chronology for which was borrowed first, it is not so clear why names for two common wild animals, 'screech owl' and 'raccoon', would have been borrowed at different times. As Haugen notes, however, such an explanation is not really necessary since we cannot expect to "follow the fate of individual words and expressions from their earliest introduction" (p. 216). Nevertheless, Haugen suggests that we are "entitled" to make the following assumptions with regard to loanword phonology:

First, that a bilingual speaker introduces a new loan word in a phonetic form as near that of the model language as he can. Secondly, that if he has the occasion to repeat it, or if other speakers also take to using it, a further substitution of native ele-
ments will take place. Thirdly, that if monolinguals
learn it, a total or practically total substitution
will be made. (1950:216)

There will be further investigation of the phonolo-
gical alteration of loanwords below in the discussion
which deals with the phonological characteristics of the
Brule dialect. Suffice it to say at this point that such
cases of language contact where borrowed words have under-
gone phonetic alteration are not at all uncommon. Evi-
dence of this fact is provided by Aurelio Espinosa's
(1975:16) exhaustive list of such borrowings in the
Chicano communities of the southwest United States.

Another way speakers borrow from another language
involves using an expression in the native language, but
extending or restricting its meaning to match its usage in
the other language. Lipski (1990:86) cites examples of
shifts of meaning in lexical items including jurar ('to
swear, declare, insist'), for 'to swear, curse at' (Stan-
dard Spanish maldecir); aceite (cooking oil, vegetable
oil), for 'crude oil' (Standard Spanish petróleo); and
trabajar ('to work') for 'to work out, be good for',
provides many more examples of semantic borrowings with
meaning change including: cadena ('chain') for 'chain of
shops', mariposa ('butterfly') for 'butterfly swimming',
and estrella ('star') for 'film star'. Many such examples
of lexical extension or restriction were found in Ascen-
sion Parish; these are discussed in Chapter 5.
A final type of borrowing commonly found in language contact situations involves what is often called a "loan translation" or "calque", where separate words of an expression in one language are translated individually in the borrowing language thus forming a new compound (Penny 1991:261-62). As Penny points out (p. 262), these loan translations may take the form of two nouns, as in hombre rana ("frogman"); a verb and a noun, rompehielos ("ice-breaker"); a noun and an adjective, caja fuerte ("strong-box"); or an adjective and a noun, tercer mundo ("Third World"). Loan translations of compound expressions were not common in Ascension Parish, but this researcher did find many cases of what Lipski calls (1990:86) "syntactic calques" or word-for-word translations of idiomatic expressions from English to Spanish. These are discussed below.

4.4.3 Phonological Reduction

The phenomenon of phonological simplification or reduction in language contact and language death situations has been extensively studied in recent years (Andersen 1982, Campbell 1976, Campbell and Muntzel 1989, Cook 1989, Dorian 1973, Dressler 1972, Manessy 1877). Researchers in this area have pointed out some phonological characteristics and processes which are commonly found dying languages. Though I have chosen to discuss them first here, and to use terminology and examples which are best suited to phonology, many of the processes discussed
in this section (reduction or loss of contrastive features, overgeneralization, development of rule variability, etc.) are not restricted to the area of phonology. These same processes, often described using terminology such as "leveling of allomorphy", are found in the area of morphology and (perhaps to a more limited extent) in syntactic phenomena. I will discuss how these processes operate in morphological and syntactic reduction in the respective sections.

Andersen (1982:95) makes three claims about the phonological behavior of speakers of dying languages: (1) that a semi-speaker will "exhibit a smaller number of phonological distinctions" than a fluent speaker of the same language, (2) that phonological distinctions which exist in both the dying language and the dominant language "will not be reduced significantly", and finally, (3) that phonological distinctions that "carry a high functional load" will be maintained longer than those that "carry a low functional load."

As Andersen (1982:94) himself points out, the idea that certain phonological distinctions are lost in some cases of language contact is well known, as is the fact that frequent use of a distinction tends to inhibit its loss (see also Weinreich 1953:23). Campbell and Muntzel (1989), however, seek to refine Andersen's hypotheses by referring to the concept of markedness. They suggest (p. 187) that when a distinction is lost, it is generally
the marked member of an opposition which is lost, so that unmarked features are often overgeneralized. They suggest that this would explain, for example, Campbell's finding (1988) that uvular /q/ and velar /k/ merged in Tuxtla Chico Mam. Such cases of loss or reduction of phonological distinction are not at all uncommon in language death literature (Campbell 1980, Tsitsipis 1988, Mohan 1990).

On the other hand, there are cases where, as Campbell and Muntzel point out (p. 187), marked features are sometimes overused by speakers of dying languages in ways that would be considered inappropriate in a "healthy version" of the same language. These speakers, as Campbell and Muntzel put it (p. 187), "sometimes go hog-wild, as it were, employing the 'exotic' version with great frequency." Campbell (1992:5) cites the case of one Xinca speaker who "glottalized nearly every possible consonant, having failed to learn the rule."

This imperfect learning due to overgeneralization and undergeneralization can lead to a situation of rule variability in which "obligatory rules may come to apply optionally, fail to apply (i.e. be lost), or show substitutions" (Campbell and Muntzell 1989:187). For example, Campbell (1980) found that American Finnish speakers often failed to apply the Standard Finnish rule in which [t] > [d] in closed syllables.

The reference to markedeness suggested by Campbell and Muntzel (1989) has much to offer with regard to
explaining why some phonological distinctions are lost and others maintained. It must be noted, however, that some problems arise when one uses markedness as the basis for an explanation of linguistic phenomena. It is not always clear, for example, which features are marked and which are unmarked. Ellis (1985:211-212) points out that, in some cases, the same feature has been considered marked by one researcher and unmarked by another. He explains the difficulties associated with markedness theory (pp. 211-212):

Various criteria have been used to explicate markedness—core vs. peripheral, typological frequency, complexity, simplicity, [and] explicitness...Until reliable and generally accepted means are found for establishing which of two or more forms are marked and unmarked or more or less marked, the whole construct of markedness must be considered of doubtful value for empirical research.

Schane (1973:115) says that the least marked segments "are those occurring in most languages, acquired early by the child, or resulting from language change." He does, however, point out that there is a danger of circularity when one argues that "the reason certain segments are universal, emerge first with children, or are the product of language change is because they are not highly marked."

Some researchers find the value of markedness to be less "doubtful" than others, as evidenced by the number of researchers in areas such as second language acquisition, who have referred to markedness in explaining linguistic phenomena (Eckman 1977, Hatch 1974, Rutherford 1982,
Hyltenstam 1987). Andersen's "hypotheses", refined by Campbell and Muntzel's reference to markedness theory, has much to offer in the way of explaining why one phonological feature is lost while another is retained.

In fact, reference to markedness might be used to explain what appears to be the incipient loss of the trilled /-router in the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish. Judging by all the criteria Schane pointed out in the above quotation, the alveolar trilled [ɾ] of Standard Spanish is considered to be "marked" in opposition with the alveolar tap [r] of Standard Spanish (see Major 1988; Fantini, 1985). In Standard Spanish the alveolar tap [r] and the alveolar trill [ɾ] are in complementary distribution except in intervocalic position. Thus, the noun perro [ˈpeɾo] 'dog', is distinguished from the conjunction pero [ˈpeɾo] 'but', only by the difference between the phonemes /r/ and /ɾ/. In the Brule dialect, however, this distinction is being lost with the alveolar trill [ɾ] often being changed to the alveolar tap [r]. For this reason, free variation of the two phonemes was often found; becerro, 'calf', for example, was often pronounced [beɾˈxeɾo] and barrera, 'fence' was sometimes realized as [baɾˈreɾa].

M1: ́El fue a la villa arriba un tren [ˈel fwe a la ˈviɾya əˈɾiɾa ba un tɾeɾ] 'He went to the city on a train.' (Standard Spanish [aˈɾiɾa ba] arriba 'up').

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M2: ¿Qué tengah adrenta la barriga? [ke 'teŋə·gah a·drən·ta la ba·'ri·ɡa] 'What do you have inside your stomach?' (Standard Spanish ¿Qué tienes dentro de la barriga?).

M1 showed the greatest variation in the use of [F] and [r] in this environment, with F1 generally using [F], and M2 almost exclusively [r]. While this distinction was usually maintained in more frequently used words such as carro 'car' and perro 'dog', in some cases the distinction was neutralized even in these words.

M2: Yo tiena doh perroh [yo 'tye·na doh 'pæ·roh] 'I have two dogs.' (Standard Spanish Yo tengo dos perros).
M2: caro ['ka·ro] 'car' (from word elicitation exercise) (Standard Spanish carro).

Perhaps even more striking was the discovery that neutralization of the trilled [F] is even more widespread in word-initial environment. While in Standard Spanish one expects to find only the trilled phoneme in word-initial position, this is not the case in the Brule dialect. Even in the speech of F1 and M1 (the informants from whom the most data were collected), the alveolar tap was often produced in word-initial position. In fact, there was free variation in this environment, and M1 and F1 were sometimes inconsistent in their usage in the same sentence or with the same word:
M1: El va ro'ba el reloj, oro cucharah de plata...
(Standard Spanish El va a robar el reloj, oro, cucharas de plata. In Standard Spanish robar=to steal and reloj=clock). 'He is going to steal the watch, gold, silver spoons...'

M1: Ese gato tá rahkano ('e*se 'ga*to ta rah*'ka*no)
(Standard Spanish Ese gato está rascando) 'That cat is scratching.' (Standard Spanish [Fa's*'ka*no] rascando 'scratching').

M1: Loh gatoh taban rahkano la puelta ayea [loh 'ga*toh 'ta*ban rah*ka*no la pw*$la*ta a*'ye*a]
'The cats were scratching the door yesterday.' (Standard Spanish Los gatos estaban rascando la puerta ayer).

F1: Ella se ranco toa la ropa ['e*ya se rai^'ko 'to*a la 'Ro*pa] 'She tore off all her clothes.'
(Standard Spanish Ella se quitó toda la ropa.
In Standard Spanish [a*ra*n*ko] arranco='pulled, snatched'). 'She tore off all her clothes.'

The reader will notice that the only instance in which F1 produced the alveolar tap [ɾ] in word-initial position was where there had been aphaeresis of a verb form. This is an interesting finding which will be discussed in more detail, along with other phonological data, in Chapter 5.

Making generalizations or predictions as to the behavior of [ɾ] in the Brule dialect would be easier had I found widespread reduction of the phoneme among all informants in all environments. Unfortunately, because of "gaps" in their lexical knowledge, it was often difficult to elicit the phoneme from some semi-speakers, and its occurrence in word-initial position was rare in the data I
collected. Nevertheless, the data collected show some
general characteristics of three of the speakers with
regard to the use of [r] and [F]: (1) F1 produces the
most alveolar trills in the appropriate environments, (2)
M1 shows widespread variation, and (3) M2 produces the
alveolar tap almost exclusively. This would seem to
indicate that the trilled /r/ phoneme is giving way to the
alveolar tap. Unfortunately, however, the data are insuf­
ficient to be conclusive (see Chapter 5 for quantification
of these and other phonological data). Nevertheless,
given that the loss of trilled [F] in favor of another
variant is not an uncommon phenomenon in other Spanish
dialects (see Canfield 1981:16; Major 1988:498, Lipski
1985:975), that Lipski reports sporadic neutralization of
[r] and [F] in the Spanish of St. Bernard Spanish
(1990:18), and that the trilled variant is generally ac­
cepted to be the marked member of the opposition, it would
not seem unreasonable to suggest that there is a tendency
towards loss of the trilled phoneme.

Thus, the case of [F] in the Brule dialect would seem
to support Campbell and Muntzel's suggestion that it is
the marked member of an opposition which is lost. A
reference to markedness rather than to "frequency of
occurrence" would certainly seem to be preferable in
attempting to explain this particular case. Of course,
the lack of such a contrast in the dominant language
(English), and especially the foreignness of [F] from
English perspective, may also play a role in this in­
stance.

This section is intended as a brief introduction to
the phonological phenomena that often occur in cases of
language death. I have used some examples from the Brule
dialect of Spanish and from other languages to illustrate
some of the processes of phonological simplification
discussed here. Unlike this chapter, which is intended to
provide general information about the nature of phonologi­
cal simplification, the next chapter will discuss these
and other phonological processes with specific reference
to the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish. In addition,
Chapter 5 provides detailed information about its phonolo­
gical characteristics.

4.4.4 Morphological Reduction

The morphological systems of dying languages often
exhibit the same kind of reduction found in other linguis­
tic components, a fact that has been well established by a
number of researchers in studying a wide variety of dying
languages (Dorian 1973, 1977a; Campbell and Muntzel 1989,
Dressler 1981; Elmendorf 1981; Maandi 1989; Huffines 1989;
Schmidt 1985a; 1985b).

This morphological reduction can take several dif­
ferent forms; but, in general, a semi-speaker will, as
Andersen (1982:97) suggests, "exhibit a smaller number of
morphologically-marked categories" than will a fluent
speaker of the same language, and will "tend to exhibit
variability" (p. 97) in his or her marking of these categories. Andersen further suggests that maintenance of morphologically-marked distinctions will "correlate significantly with the relative frequency of use of these" (Andersen (1982:97). It should be pointed out, however, that frequency of occurrence and markedness do not necessarily coincide.

As in the case of phonological distinctions, Andersen suggests that frequency of occurrence plays a large role in determining which morphological distinctions will be maintained or lost. Andersen describes the influence of this and other factors in morphological simplification (1982:97):

...Those distinctions which appear with highest textual frequency...will be maintained longest by a [semi-speaker]... Those morphological categories also marked in the stronger language...will be maintained in a [semi-speaker's] weaker language...Morphological distinctions which have a high functional load...will be maintained in the use of language X by a [semi-speaker].

There is great intuitive appeal in Andersen's claim that a semi-speaker will exhibit a smaller number of morphologically marked categories than a fluent speaker, and that these will depend largely on their frequency of occurrence. After all, it seems perfectly reasonable to assume that a semi-speaker would acquire that which he or she is exposed to most often. There is ample evidence in the language-death literature to support this claim. Campbell and Muntzel (1989:192) note, for example, that
American Finnish speakers tend to reduce adjectival case endings even though Standard Finnish requires that adjectives agree in case and number with the nouns they modify (see also Larmouth 1974, Dressler 1981, Elmendorf 1981).

Dorian's study of East Sutherland Gaelic (1973) offers some evidence that would seem to support the idea that frequency of occurrence plays a role in the acquisition or failure to acquire certain distinctions. Dorian (p. 416) found that certain elements of the verbal system were especially resistant to change. She attributed this resistance to change to their being present in "the highest frequency verbs" (p. 418) thus allowing them to be given "inordinately heavy reinforcement" (p. 418). In the nominal system, however, she found more variability of what Dorian calls "mutating elements" (p. 425) which was closely correlated with the age of the speaker (p. 422). Dorian's findings, then, would seem to support Andersen's claim that more frequently occurring distinctions will be maintained longer.

It must be noted, however, that frequency of occurrence alone cannot account for the maintenance or loss of some morphological distinctions. It is generally accepted, for example, that grammatical gender is particularly easily eroded in dying languages (Andersen 1982:97, Dorian 1977b:108), but the marking of grammatical gender is certainly not an infrequent occurrence in the languages which employ such morphological distinctions.
The fact that Andersen listed several "hypotheses" which contribute to maintenance or reduction of morphological distinctions suggests that frequency of occurrence is not the sole factor to be considered. The second of Andersen's "hypotheses" mentioned above suggests that those distinctions that are "marked", in both the weaker and stronger languages of a semi-speaker will be maintained longer. The term "marked" in this case is perhaps not the best choice of terminology. Andersen might have used a less ambiguous term such as "overtly signaled" to describe distinctions which have a specific morphological marker in a particular language. Weinreich (1953) found that speakers of a German dialect in Texas "neglect the distinction between dative and accusative in certain constructions" (p. 43), and Bavin (1989:268) cites the case of morphological reduction in the pronominal system by English-dominant Walpiri speakers who have lost an inclusive/exclusive distinction. Both these cases might be attributed to the fact that English does not "overtly signal" these distinctions with a specific morphological marker. But if one accepts the claim that these distinctions are lost because they are not marked in English, one is still faced with unanswered questions. Why, for example, are some distinctions that are present in the dying language and not in the dominant language maintained while others are lost? Some features that are not present in the dominant language may be maintained and even overgen-
eralized by speakers of a dying language. Campbell (1992:05) points out that a semi-speaker "may employ things that are marked or 'exotic' from the point of view of the dominant language with great frequency in inappropriate contexts" (1992:05).

Also problematic is Andersen's (1982:97) final claim that, in order to avoid "frequent loss of information," speakers of dying languages maintain longer those morphological distinctions that "have a high functional load." Dorian (1977b:108) suggests that in the case of East Sutherland Gaelic, the morphological distinctions that, if lost, would cause two grammatical categories to collapse will be maintained longer. Many of the cases of morphological reduction cited above (Maandi 1989, Campbell and Muntzel 1989, Weinreich 1953), however, show that there is often reduction that leads to the collapse of grammatical categories. Schmidt's (1985a, 1985b) finding that among some speakers of Dyribal, the ergative case ending has collapsed, leaving a nominative-accusative system, is but one example that seems to refute the functional load "hypothesis." It should be noted, however, that a weak version of this "hypothesis" may be more plausible. The idea that important grammatical distinctions tend to be maintained, but that even these can collapse in some cases (though not as readily), seems quite reasonable.

The difficulty seems to arise when one tries to determine objectively the relative "information loss"
which occurs when certain morphological features are reduced. While some distinctions seem more likely candidates for reduction than others, deciding which ones could be reduced without "frequent loss of information" is no easy matter. Because it serves no real semantic function, one might think that loss of grammatical gender marking, for example, would not bring about any significant "loss of information." In fact, several researchers have noted early and widespread reduction of these distinctions in dying or reduced languages (Weinreich 1953:43, Gumperz and Wilson 1971:160-67, Dorian 1977b:108, Andersen 1982:96, Pfaff 1987b:85). There are, however, other cases that might not be so clear or predictable. For example, is the loss of a dual-plural (Campbell and Muntzel 1989) distinction more significant than the loss of inclusive-exclusive distinction (Bavin 1989)? Indeed, would the collapse of either of these be considered a significant "loss of information"? Both of these cases would represent some loss of information, but many (most?) of the world's languages function perfectly well without such distinctions. And what about Weinreich's finding (1953:43) that German speakers tend to ignore the distinction between the dative and accusative cases in certain constructions. Few would deny that the dative and accusative have a high functional load in German or that the loss of this distinction viewed as an isolated phenomenon would signal some loss of information.
The difficulty of basing predictions of morphological reduction of distinctions on isolated criteria such as their frequency of occurrence, functional load, or existence in the dominant language should be obvious. It is not a question as to the validity of Andersen's claims, of course, that makes such predictions so difficult; it is instead the complexity of the language death process which is to blame.

Campbell and Muntzel (1989:188) suggest that an appeal to 'multiple causation' might provide us with solutions to some of the problems associated with differing "hypotheses." To illustrate how multiple causation might operate in language death, Campbell and Muntzel (p. 189) present an analogy with potential causal factors in a automobile accident (excessive speed, bad road conditions, mechanical malfunctions, etc.):

Now suppose a car crashed against a tree, where it is dark, the road is icy, the driver is drunk, a tire blew out, and the driver was speeding. It can be presumed that any single factor may have been sufficient to cause the accident, but it is also possible, even probable, that these factors combined, working in concert, contributing multiply to cause the wreck. So it is with linguistic change.

Many researchers agree with Campbell and Muntzel's suggestion that multiple factors may be involved in many changes which commonly occur in language death. Andersen himself, in a later article (1989), suggests that the loss of oppositions which often occurs in language death can be attributed to the "combined influence" (p. 382) of a
process of simplification and transfer. While many re-
searchers (Hamp 1989:201, Mougeon and Beniak 1989:302,
Silva-Corvalán 1986:6) still mention the influence of
transfer from the dominant language as being a factor in
determining which linguistic distinctions are maintained
or lost, such transfer is often regarded as one of a
variety of contributing factors. In attempting to deter-
mine the motivation for a loss of categories such as
inclusive/exclusive and dual number, Bavin (1989:285)
comments that these changes "cannot be attributed just to
contact with English". While admitting that English
transfer may play some part in these changes, she points
out that other changes are taking place that "reflect a
movement towards semantic transparency, which is generally
internally motivated change" (p. 285). Silva-Corvalán
(1986:6) also see transfer and universal simplification
processes at work in cases of linguistic "convergence":

Transfer leads to, but is not the single cause of,
convergence, defined as the achievement of structural
similarity in a given aspect of the grammar of two or
more languages assumed to be different at the onset
of contact. Indeed, convergence may result as well
from internally motivated changes in one of the
languages, most likely accelerated by contact, rather
than as a consequence of direct interlingual influ-
ence.

It seems, then, that an increasing number of language
death researchers are looking for a number of contributing
factors rather than one all-important cause in attempting
to explain the reduction of various morphological distinc-
tions. Given the systemic nature of language, the
potential advantages of seeking answers by appealing to these "multi-causation" theories is obvious. It is also becoming increasingly apparent that each language death situation is uniquely complex, and that the language death researcher must take great care when attempting to make generalizations.

Evidence of the danger of making broad generalizations with regard to language death might be found in the attempts made by some researchers to formulate a "hierarchy" of morphological reduction in dying or "reduced" languages. Since the time Dorian (1973) reported that the verbal system of East Sutherland Gaelic showed less morphological reduction than the nominal system, some researchers have attempted to make generalizations as to which areas of a dying language will exhibit the earliest and most significant signs of morphological decay. Markey (1980) proposed an ordering for the loss of inflectional morphology that suggests that nominal morphology will be reduced first, followed by pronominal morphology and finally by verb morphology (which is the least affected). Dressler (1981:6) disagreed with Markey's claims, and found that in Breton certain verb forms are lost first, followed by the inflection of possessive pronouns, and finally by nominal morphology.

It is obvious, then, that morphological reduction takes place in many areas of the grammar of a dying language, and that several factors play a role in determining which
features will be lost and which ones will be maintained. It could be that attempting to make generalizations about what areas of dying languages will be earliest and most significantly affected without considering factors such as the structure of the dying language, the structure of the dominant language, markedness constraints, phonological factors etc., is a bit too ambitious (or perhaps theoretically unwise). As noted in the above quote from Silva-Corvalán, it is quite possible that both elements of universal grammar and the structure of the dominant language play a role in linguistic convergence. If this is the case, it seems reasonable to assume that these as well other factors might influence the chronology and extent of morphological reduction in different systems (nominal, verbal, pronominal, etc.). It does not seem improbable that markedness constraints, the structure of the dying language, and the structure of the dominant language might all simultaneously play a role in determining how quickly and to what degree some morphological distinctions will be reduced. In the case of Caribbean and Isleño Spanish, for example, the use of the second person singular subject pronoun tú has become obligatory in dialects which have lost the _s inflection of second person singular verbs. One might question whether this is an internally-motivated change (to compensate for the loss of _s), or whether it involves transfer from English (which is a non-PRO-drop language). While the possible influence of English
cannot be ignored, it seems unlikely that this would be
the sole causal factor since the same pattern occurs in
regions where there is no contact with English (Lipski
1990:88; Kany 1951:146;). Even in cases where there is
contact between English and Spanish, English influence
does not seem to be the primary cause for many structural
changes (see below).

Before leaving the area of morphological reduction, it
should be pointed out that not all dying languages exhibit
widespread morphological reduction. Many researchers have
reported cases of language death that have not demonstra­
ted reduction (Trudgill 1977, Dorian 1973, Moore 1988,
Voegelin and Voegelin 1977). Dorian described East
Sutherland Gaelic as dying "with its morphological boots
on" (1978:608). Morphological reduction, then, should be
regarded not as an exceptionless universal of language
death, but as a very common process which often operates
in dying languages.

4.4.5 Syntactic Reduction

It is not uncommon to find that the reduction in
resources of some dying languages extends even to the area
of syntax (Dorian 1973; Campbell and Muntzel 1989:192;
Campbell 1992, Hill 1973, 1979; Lipski 1990; Schmidt
semi-speaker will use a smaller number of syntactic de­
vices than will a fluent speaker of the same language, and
that he will "preserve and overuse syntactic constructions
that more transparently reflect the underlying semantic and syntactic relations" (p. 99). Where there is more than one possible surface structure for an underlying relation, Andersen states that the semi-speaker will "tend to collapse the different surface structures into one" (p. 99).

There is ample evidence from a variety of dying languages to support Andersen's hypotheses. For example, the reduction in the use of subordination is a very common occurrence in dying languages (see Hill 1973, 1979, 1983, 1989) as is the replacement of synthetic constructions by analytic ones. In her study of East Sutherland Gaelic, Dorian found that semi-speakers replaced synthetic prepositional suffixes with a preposition followed by a pronoun (1983:162). Campbell (1985) found that in modern Pipil, the future suffixes of older texts have been replaced by periphrastic constructions. Cárdenas (1975:2) notes that in some Chicano communities the periphrastic construction IR + A + INFINITIVE has replaced the morphological future, and that analytic de nosotros has replaced the first person plural possessive adjective "nuestro." Romaine (1989:376) suggests that this preference for analytical structure is "a hallmark of both pidgins and dying languages." One possible consequence of the elision of case

Lipski also found these constructions among the Isleños of St. Bernard Parish. These and other examples of syntactic reduction commonly found in the Isleño dialects will be discussed in the following chapter.
endings in pidgins or dying languages is a loss of flexibility in word order. Such a tendency towards a more rigid word order with regard to pidgin and creole languages has been noted by many researchers (Thomason 1983, Haiman 1985, Givón 1979, Romaine 1989). Markey (1982:179) and Hymes (1971:73) cite invariant SVO word order as being characteristic of pidgins and creoles. The tendency of dying languages toward more rigid grammatical word order has also been noted by many language death researchers (Dorian 1981, Mithun 1990, Campbell and Muntzel 1989). It should be noted, however, that although pidgins and dying languages share the characteristic of invariant word order, dying languages, as Romaine (1989:377) puts it, "do not on the whole show a tendency to uniformity of word order". Some dying languages exhibit substantial word order variation while others seem to take on the word order of the dominant language.

Another very common type of syntactic reduction exhibited by dying languages involves the loss of tense or modality distinctions. Romaine's (1989:382) suggestion that modality distinctions are among the first distinctions to be lost is supported by the findings of several researchers including Tsitsipis (1981) and Trudgill (1977) in Arvanitika, and Torres (1989) in Puerto Rican communities of New York, and Silva-Corvalán (1989) in Hispanic communities of Los Angeles. Although modality distinctions seem to be the earliest lost in dying languages,
other elements of the verbal system such as tense and aspect are also reduced in many dying languages (Torres 1989:65; Silva-Corvalán 1989; Elías-Olivares 1979; Pousada and Poplack 1979; Gal 1984b; Mougeon, Beniak, Valois 1985). Pousada and Poplack (1979:45-49), for example, found that some English-dominant Puerto Rican Spanish speakers do not use the future perfect or conditional perfect, and that they rarely use the morphological future, the conditional or the pluperfect indicative. Silva-Corvalán (1989:56) found similar "loss and simplification" of verb tense forms in her study of Los Angeles Spanish. For many years it was thought that, unlike the lexicon, the grammatical systems of two languages in contact were, as Meillet put it (1938:82), "impenetrable to each other." Despite Silva-Corvalán's suggestion that "syntactic change across generations occurs infrequently and much more slowly than lexical change" (1986:57), many researchers, including Bavin (1989:285), Dorian (1978:607), and Silva-Corvalán herself (1986:57), admit that the grammatical system of a dying language is not immune to changes that might be attributed to language contact. Most would agree, however, that it is difficult to determine whether specific changes are a result of direct influence of the dominant language, whether they are internally motivated changes, or some combination of both. Some researchers see the influence of transfer as motivating or accelerating internally motivated changes:
English does not have an inclusive-exclusive distinction, nor a dual number, and if these categories are lost in Walpirc, a motivating factor could be the absence of them in English. However, other changes are going on, and these reflect a move towards semantic transparency, which is generally internally motivated change. (Bavin 1989:285)

The major results of this study are that language contact tends to accelerate internally motivated changes in the system of the less-used language; that direct influence from English is difficult to posit; and that syntactic/semantic changes proceed step by step, in a manner reminiscent of the lexical diffusion of phonological change. (Silva-Corvalán 1986:587)

Silva Corvalán (1990:174) notes that it is often difficult to prove the direct influence of English in bringing about grammatical change. For example, in her study of Los Angeles Spanish Silva-Corvalán noted (p. 167) the widespread process of simplification and loss of verbal morphology. She points out (p. 168) that many of the changes in the verbal system, such as the early loss of the pluperfect indicative and the retention of the imperfect indicative, do not support the idea that such changes can be attributed to direct influence from English. Another convincing example provided by Silva-Corvalán (p. 171) involves the acceleration of a tendency towards preverbal placement of clitic pronouns in Los Angeles Spanish. Because English has a parallel construction with a postverbal clitic pronoun, one would expect a trend toward postverbal placement.

It would seem, then, that changes that take place in the syntactic structure of a dying language are similar to
those changes which are found in other systems. While the exact mechanism for such change may not be known, it seems likely that language universals and markedness constraints, as well as transfer from the dominant language are involved in determining what changes will take place.

4.4.6 Style Reduction

One very common phenomenon found in many terminal language situations involves the reduction or simplification of the styles or registers available to the semi-speaker. As Mougeon and Beniak point out, this "stylistic shrinkage", as it is sometimes called, usually reflects the speaker's experience in certain linguistic domains (1989:299):

If simplification is the result of disuse of a minority language, style reduction is the consequence of its functional restriction and usually involves the decline of stylistic options which are tied to those societal domains where use of the minority language is excluded. The 'classic' case of style reduction is one where formal stylistic options are reduced as minority language use gradually becomes confined to informal situations...

The phenomenon of stylistic shrinkage is well documented in the language death literature (Gal 1984b, 1989; Hill 1973; Hill and Hill 1977; Giacalone Ramat 1979; Appel and Muysken 1987), and as noted above, it is usually the case that the styles which are maintained the longest are those which involve casual speech or intimate family vernacular (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977:37, Hill 1983:260). Campbell and Muntzel (1989:195) report finding only two Pipil speakers who were proficient at telling...
tales with the traditional oral literary devices such as paired couplets. Armistead (1992) was able to find only one speaker in Ascension Parish who was still able to sing Spanish ballads or décimas. In his study of two speakers of Yukian languages in California, Elmendorf (1981:42) noted that "both show disuse, reduction of repertoire, and loss of former style levels." He attributed this reduction in style to "a social obsolescence factor, resulting in restricted learning and use in a narrow social environment" (p. 39).

While stylistic shrinkage is most common in formal repertoires, some researchers have cited cases of reduction in informal styles or registers, where as Campbell (1992:2) puts it, "the language is lost first in contexts of domestic intimacy and lingers on only in elevated ritual contexts." Campbell and Muntzel (1989:184) cite the case of a Chiapanec informant who, though he remembered very little of the language, was able to recite a memorized religious text. Sasse (1990:23) notes that some younger Kemant speakers are still able to say prayers in an archaic variety of this language. Also, among Franco-Ontarian high school students whose use of French is restricted to the school domain, Mougeon and Beniak (1989:299) found that it was informal variants which were not used.

This stylistic reduction can play a role in determining which linguistic structures are lost and which are.
maintained. As Gal (1989:314) notes, some structures may not be learned by younger speakers because they are "limited to genres, styles, or registers which are no longer performed at all, or because the obsolescent language is no longer used in speech events which require that style or register." The finding by Hill, for example, that there is reduced use of subordinate clauses in Luiseño and Cupéño might be explained by the fact that subordination is characteristic of the "higher' styles of speech which are often lost early (see Hill 1983:270-272, Campbell 1992:7). However, one must bear in mind Brody's (1991:81) finding that in Tojolab'al "labeled genres do not necessarily correlate with distinctive elements of language structure" (see also Brody 1986, 1988).

It is important to be clear about what exactly is meant by the "loss" of stylistic options. While a speaker or group of speakers may no longer use the dying language in certain contexts, domains or genres, this does not mean that these individuals will be unable to function adequately in such situations. Hill (1989:163) cites a very interesting case of stylistic shrinkage in Mexicano (Nahuatl) of central Mexico. She points out that there is no "overall" loss of stylistic options. Instead, she says, "a full range of coding strategies is retained, but it is distributed across two languages instead of one" (p. 163). Thus, as with other types of reduction, one cannot ignore the role of the dominant language in considering
factors which lead to maintenance, reduction, or "loss" of certain elements of the dying language.

4.5 Variability in Dying Languages

Another very common characteristic of dying languages is that they exhibit a much higher degree of variability than do "healthy" languages. Dressler (1972:454) notes that "a disintegrating language is characterized by fluctuations and uncertainties of its speakers." Dorian's (1973:414) description of her early research in East Sutherland Gaelic which "seemed to show a patchwork of inconsistencies, and...mistakes, haphazardly distributed over villages, speakers and occasions" would no doubt be familiar to many who have undertaken the study of a dying language. In his study of Gros Ventre, Taylor (1982, 1983) found that even fairly competent speakers could be distinguished from fully competent speakers by (among other things) "the fact that they occasionally produce competing or pseudoforms" (1989:171).

But what about variation in the speech of fully competent speakers of "healthy" languages? In order to contrast fluent-speaker variability with semi-speaker variability, it would be useful to consider some concepts drawn from the field of Second Language Acquisition. In his discussion of linguistic variability among native speakers and second language learners, Ellis (1985:80) notes that (1) variability does exist in the speech of fully-fluent speakers, (2) this variability is systematic,
and (3) it is "determined by situational and linguistic context." Ellis further states (p. 80) that the interlanguage of second language learners is "marked by a high level of free variability" (that is, variability which is not determined by linguistic or situational context), while in the case of native-speaker speech such free variation "is unlikely to be observed in more than a few instances" (p. 80). Thus, the speech of non-native learners is distinguished from that of a native-speaker not by the existence of free variation but by the level of such variation. In one particularly telling example, Ellis (1985:84-85) cites the case of a Portuguese speaker who exhibited such free variation in utterances that "were produced within minutes of each other" and in the same speech situation. This closely resembles the nature of the variability exhibited by semi-speakers in terminal language communities. Dorian also notes that, although variation does exist among fluent speakers, it is different from that exhibited by semi-speakers:

I have found idiosyncrasy in many areas of ESG usage at all levels of proficiency (e.g. in the phonological shape of words, in gender assignment of nouns, in semantics—all among fluent speakers as well as among [semi-speakers]). Nonetheless, fluent speaker idiosyncrasy tends to be stable: i.e. the same idiosyncrasy will be elicited from the same speaker repeatedly, for the most part...[Semi-speaker] idiosyncrasy, however, shows rather less stability

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Ellis (1985:47) defines the term interlanguage as "the structured system which the learner constructs at any given stage of development."
across a number of occasions, or simply occurs vari­ably on a single occasion. (Dorian 1978:603)

Cook points out the difficulties of making claims about the degree of variability in dying languages in general, and particularly in those languages "for which there are no written records, not to mention any record of colloquial speech, in which much variation exists even in a thriving language" (1989:236). Nevertheless, Cook states that his intention is simply to point out this problem and not to question the generally held assumptions about variability in dying languages (1989:236). Mougeon and Beniak (1989:309) answer the question of whether or not there is greater variability in dying languages with a "qualified yes." They note that in dying languages one finds "linguistic developments that simply do not arise in monolingual settings." These developments include "morphological simplification due to insufficient linguistic input, gratuitous borrowings... phonological denativi­zation of loanwords" and "interference-based innovations." The only justification Mougeon and Beniak give for the qualification of this answer, is the fact that stylistic reduction "amounts to a loss of variability" (p. 309). Stylistic reduction does, of course, represent some loss of variability; however, given the widespread variation in lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax, it hardly seems necessary to "qualify" an affirmative answer to the question of increased variability in dying languages.
There are apparently other differences in the nature of variation in dying languages as compared with "healthy" varieties. As Labov (1963, 1966, 1970) demonstrated, certain linguistic variants in healthy languages can carry what King (1989:139) calls "sociosymbolic" meaning. Linguistic variants may be markers which correlate with certain socio-cultural characteristics. Giles, Sherer, and Taylor (1979:351) point out the important role such speech markers play in social organization:

For humans, speech markers have clear parallels...it is evident that social categories of age, sex, ethnicity, social class, and situation can be clearly marked on the basis of speech, and that such organization is fundamental to social organization even though such categories are easily discriminated on other bases.

In dying languages, however, this may not be the case. In her study of Newfoundland French, King (1989:148) found a great deal of variation. Although it was strongly correlated with age, she found that such variation did not seem to "carry the social meaning one finds in healthier speech communities." Mougeon and Beniak (1989:309) also found that variability has ceased to be "a vehicle for social meaning" among English-dominant speakers of Welland French. Bavin (1989:283-84) found that there was a great deal of variation in pronoun usage among younger Walpiri speakers, but she maintains that this variation "does not have social correlates."

But how might one explain the fact that such variation does not, as Mougeon and Beniak put it, "carry the
freight of social meaning" (p. 309) in terminal language communities that it does in healthier language communities? One possible explanation might be found in King's statement that, in the case of Newfoundland French, such variation "is not particularly salient to its speakers" (p. 146). Dressler's claim that many semi-speakers "can produce spontaneously forms that they cannot evaluate" (1981:15), as well as his descriptions (1972:454) of the "fluctuations and uncertainties" of terminal speakers, would seem to support the idea that semi-speakers may not pay attention to linguistic variants.

It would seem, then, that the primary reason for the high degree of variation in terminal communities has to do with the fact that such variation in a dying language is not salient to its speakers; and, because linguistic variants go unnoticed by members of the community, they do not become speech markers. It is because they are not associated with certain socio-cultural variables such as economic or social class that are perpetuated by various members of the community without regard to these variables. In a discussion of King's (1989) study on Newfoundland French, Hoenigswald (1989:349) would seem to offer just such an explanation for the degree of variability in this community by suggesting that it is "the absence of internal social differentiation among the fully fluent speakers" that "enables them to maintain linguistic variation."
4.6 Stability of Linguistic Competence

One aspect of language death that has not been extensively investigated involves what might be called the linguistic "competence" of terminal language speakers. Throughout the literature dealing with language death (including the present study) one finds descriptions of speakers or groups of speakers who have "lost" certain linguistic skills, abilities, distinctions, etc. But one might question whether or not all these aspects of the dying language are truly "lost." While very little has been written on this subject, some researchers have hinted that "lost competence" of many dying languages may be "recovered." Hill's (1979:72) statement that "a speaker recovers his language as he works with a linguist" is one of the few references one finds to the recovery of competence. In her study of New York Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, Lourdes Torres (1989:66) makes a comment about language recovery:

In the El Barrio community, young children are usually exposed first to Spanish and speak Spanish predominately. By the time they are adolescents, they prefer to use English exclusively...However, when teenagers assume adult roles and responsibilities, their passive or limited Spanish ability is 'reactivated' because Spanish is necessary in order to function in adult community networks.

Of course, the situation described by Torres is not exactly the same as most terminal language situations. In the case described by Torres, the use of the minority language is not as restricted as in some terminal language
communities, nor is the period of time between shift and "recovery" as long as might be expected in the case of dying languages. This case is not unique, however, as Hill and Hill (1986:114) note a similar situation in some Mexicano-speaking communities, where Spanish is increasingly favored by younger residents as the language of casual and intimate interaction. Nevertheless, that even these speakers place a certain value on knowing how to interact in appropriately in Mexicano is evident in the statement by Hill and Hill (1986:121) that: "The importance of controlling at least enough Mexicano to be able to present it as a badge of community membership is such that many young people relearn it..." The similarities between such cases of language contact and terminal language communities are not surprising given that many consider language death to be "the extreme case of language contact" (Campbell 1992:1).

In this section I will briefly discuss the notion that speakers of dying languages "lose" linguistic competence. Before attempting to investigate the "loss" of linguistic competence two important and interrelated questions must be answered. With regard to linguistic competence, what exactly does "lost" mean, and which speakers can be said to have "lost" certain aspects of their linguistic competence? In terminal language communities it is quite common to find speakers who were never fully-fluent in the dying language or who never acquired
certain elements of the grammar. For this reason, one must be careful in making statements about what an individual speaker has "lost" since, quite obviously, one cannot lose what one has never had. It would, therefore, make little sense to speak of a rememberer "losing" the ability to produce structures which he or she never knew. In this study, for example, I would not claim that F3 has "lost" the ability to produce the subjunctive since it is doubtful that she ever had this ability.

Of course, it is impossible to know exactly which structures were at one time or another controlled by a given speaker. For this reason, my discussion of "lost" competence will focus on those speakers who are presumed to have once been more fully fluent speakers. Clearly, making a determination of a speaker's former fluency level is not so easy in the field, but for the purposes of this discussion I will assume that it can be done in at least some cases.

Given that a researcher is working with a formerly fluent speaker who is assumed to have once controlled certain linguistic structures, can the failure to produce these structures or to produce them consistently and/or appropriately be accepted as evidence that the speaker has "lost" part of his or her "competence" in the dying language. For many who are confronted with this question, Chomsky's (1965) competence/performance distinction will immediately suggest an answer. According to this model,
it might be suggested that the problem is one of performance rather than of competence. A discussion of the merits of this distinction is beyond the scope of this study, so I will make comments only with regard to its applicability (or lack thereof) in cases of language death.

It is difficult to see how the Chomskyan competence/performance distinction would account for some phenomena associated with language death. For example, how would one explain the case of a formerly fluent speaker who, without time constraints, is able to produce only basic lexical items and who demonstrates very limited conversational ability. This case would not seem to fit Chomsky's idea of "performance" errors (1965:4) which include such things as hesitation, false starts, repetition, memory lapses, etc. The difficulty associated with attempting to apply this distinction to cases of language attrition is evident in Dressler's somewhat confusing attempt to distinguish speakers who experience temporary performance problems from those who have problems that (he believes) can be attributed to a loss of competence (1981:14):

Individuals who have not spoken their minority language for a long time may at first have great problems in production and reception, but this may be explained away as temporary, repairable memory problems, thus by a performance factor. When semi-speakers typically show a considerable degree of flux in their minority language proficiency, then this may be due to a lack of routine, thus again only a question of performance. But what about semi-speakers who were once fluent speakers...[and who]...when starting to use the language again, have become,
irreparably, semi-speakers... In this case a direct link between lack of performance and change in competence is unavoidable, and this fits much better a notion of competence...i.e. competence of performance.

What Dressler seems to be saying is that for some semi-speakers lack of performance is due to performance problems, while for others a lack of performance is due to competence problems. If one accepts, however, that the competence/performance distinction is real, that competence is deeply separate from performance (Dressler 1981:13, Chomsky 1980:59), and that this distinction can be applied to cases of language death, how is one to explain why the same factor (lack of performance) should result from performance in some cases and competence in others.

It is quite possible that Dressler's attempt to fit the differing proficiency levels of semi-speakers into Chomsky's competence/performance model obscures more than it clarifies. In effect, what Dressler has claimed, it seems, is that lack of performance causes temporary performance problems with some speakers and permanent performance (and hence also competence) problems with others. But this still does not seem quite right. The idea that some performance problems are temporary while others are permanent needs some explanation. A more reasonable assumption is that long periods of disuse (lack of performance) can bring about some performance problems which are more difficult than others for a speaker to overcome.
When viewed in this way, one might appeal to some of the factors already discussed in this dissertation (markedness, language universals, transfer) to explain why a speaker might have more difficulty overcoming some problems and less difficulty overcoming others. In order to avoid confusion, in the following sections of this study the terms "ability" rather than "competence" or "performance" are used to refer to an individual's linguistic skill or proficiency.

In the next chapter I present the case of a semi-speaker from Ascension Parish with whom I worked over a ten month period and will show that he was able to "recover" a considerable amount of his "ability" in the dying language during this period.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, it has been shown that language death is a complex process in which many factors play a role in determining how and to what extent the dying language will be changed. The Brule dialect of Ascension Parish is at the brink of extinction after a long period of what Campbell and Muntzel (1989) call "gradual death." As in most cases of language death, there are a number of factors, both linguistic and non-linguistic, which led to the inevitable demise of this dialect.

Although the primary discussion of the social factors which led to the death of the Brule dialect is found in Chapter 6, this chapter has dealt with one of the most
interesting aspects of language death—the phenomenon of the "semi-speaker." As was pointed out, it is difficult to define exactly the term "semi-speaker"; and, the term does not denote a precise classification. Making predictions about language death which will hold true in all language death situations, and under all circumstances, would seem to be an impossible task since each case of language death, like each speaker of a dying language, is unique. However, there are some characteristics that are common to many semi-speakers, just as there are similarities in the processes which occur in various dying languages.

By definition, the semi-speaker shows some reduction in his or her ability to use the dying language in at least some contexts. Many researchers suggest a relationship between a long period of language disuse and a reduction in the form of that language. Besides linguistic reduction, semi-speakers often share other common characteristics such as a lop-sided competence/performance ratio, an assimilation-resistant personality, and close emotional ties with an first or second generation female family member. In terminal language communities, there is often a close (but usually not perfect) correlation between the age of a speaker and his or her proficiency in the dying language.

Linguistic reduction in a dying language can take on many forms and can occur in any or all linguistic areas.
including lexicon, morphology, phonology, syntax, and even style level. The Brule dialect of Ascension Parish exhibits widespread reduction in all these areas. In the phonological system, for example, there seems to be a tendency towards merger of the trilled [Ɂ] phoneme with the alveolar tap [r].

The exact nature of the linguistic processes which bring about the reduction of a language is not known. Some researchers have suggested that transfer from the dominant language is a very important contributing factor in determining which linguistic elements will be lost or maintained. Other researchers point to markedness and universal grammar constraints as being the primary factors in such a process. As noted in this chapter, many scholars currently involved in the study of language death or language contact seem to favor explanations that appeal to the concept of "multiple causation." Those who support such explanations suggest that transfer, markedness constraints and universal grammar may ALL play a role in a given linguistic change. Contact with a dominant language, for example, might accelerate an internally-motivated change.

Dying languages generally exhibit much greater linguistic variability than do "healthy" varieties of the same language and, unlike the case in "healthy" languages, this variability does not appear to have social correlates. The fact that such variation is apparently not
salient to many semi-speakers may help to explain why linguistic variables do not become linguistic "markers" in terminal language communities.

The linguistic reduction which is often exhibited by speakers of dying languages is assumed by many to be evidence of a loss of linguistic "competence." Here it is suggested that Chomsky's competence/performance distinction (regardless of its usefulness in other contexts) does not seem to be applicable to the linguistic abilities or performance of semi-speakers. I suggest that this distinction may become somewhat blurred in cases where once-fluent speakers have not used a language for many years. It may be that a speaker who, following a long period of disuse, has difficulty recalling certain aspects of a dying language, can "recover" at least some of his or her ability to use the language.
CHAPTER 5—THE BRULE DIALECT

5.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to document various lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish. Because this dialect is at the brink of extinction, the urgent need to obtain such documentation is obvious. In addition to describing the linguistic aspects which are unique to the Brule dialect, I also investigate the relationship of this dialect to other dialects of Spanish, and to what is commonly called "standard" Spanish. Because the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish and the St. Bernard dialect share a common origin, a comparison of these two dialects is given particular emphasis in this chapter.

Another major goal of this chapter is to investigate the Brule dialect from a language death perspective. It is often difficult to separate "normal" linguistic change from that which might be attributed to language contact or language death phenomena. Chapter 4 was devoted to a general discussion of the nature of the phenomena associated with language death, and in a broader sense, with language contact. The role played by such phenomena in the evolution of the Brule dialect is examined in this chapter.

In light of the data collected in Ascension Parish, the following discussion also deals with various claims

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which have been made with regard to the Isleño dialect of St. Bernard Parish. Evidence is presented which supports some of these claims and refutes others. The fact that the St. Bernard and Ascension Parish dialects have remained relatively isolated from each other and, in the case of the Brule dialect, from other Spanish dialects, presents a valuable opportunity to test claims made about language death phenomena, Hispanic dialectology, and Hispanic historical linguistics.

5.2 The "Other" Isleño Dialect

Because some parts of this chapter are concerned with comparing the Brule and St. Bernard dialects, it will be useful to give a very brief social history of the latter dialect. This history is, of course, the same for both dialects until the arrival of the Isleños in Louisiana (for pre-Louisiana history see Chapter 3).

The descendants of the original Canary Island settlers of St. Bernard Parish are situated within a twenty-five mile radius of New Orleans in and around what are today the towns of Delacroix, Reggio, Shell Beach, and Ycloskey (MacCurdy 1950:19). The principal settlement is Delacroix Island which is completely surrounded by bayous (Lipski 1984:103).

The Canary Islanders of St. Bernard Parish were originally much more geographically isolated than were the brule dwellers of Ascension Parish. This isolation was maintained until the construction of roads, telephone
lines and rural electrification projects in the 1940's (Lipski 1990:10). Despite their geographical isolation, the St. Bernard Islenos had more contact with other groups of Spanish speakers than did the Ascension Parish residents. As early as 1791, a slave rebellion forced some exiled planters from Santo Domingo to settle in Louisiana (Bunner 1846:157). Guillotte (1982:27-32) notes that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a number of people immigrated to St. Bernard Parish from various regions in Spain including Asturias, Valencia, Galicia, and Andalucía, as well as from Cuba and Mexico. During Prohibition the Islenos came in contact with Cuban rum runners who took refuge in the swamps of St. Bernard Parish (Din 1988:150, Jeansonne 1925:18). Although there is some disagreement as to the degree of contact that existed between Cuba and the St. Bernard Islenos (see MacCurdy 1950:24, Lipski 1984:104) during this time, it is clear that there was substantial contact between the Islenos and Spanish speakers from various places outside St. Bernard Parish. The Isleno and Acadian residents of St. Bernard Parish lived side-by-side without notable inter-group antagonism (Dominguez 1979:126). The fact that these two groups got along well might be attributed to what Coles (1991:252) calls "comparable physical characteristics, lifestyles, religion, and socio-economic status." The close contact between these two groups is evidenced by the large number of French loanwords in St.

The "opening" of St. Bernard Parish in the early part of this century, brought about many changes in the Isleño communities of St. Bernard. A combination of factors, some of which are discussed in Chapter 6, has greatly changed the use of Spanish among the Isleños of St. Bernard. There are no monolingual Isleño speakers, and few Isleños under the age of thirty speak the dialect fluently. There are perhaps as few as 500 speakers of the St. Bernard dialect remaining. (Lipski 1984:103, Coles 1991:69). While the process of language death has not progressed to the same point in the Isleño dialect of St. Bernard as it has in the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish, both dialects seem doomed to extinction.

5.3 Linguistic Characteristics of the Brule Dialect

5.3.1 Lexicon

5.3.1.1 Previous research

MacCurdy (1950, 1959) compiled extensive lists of Isleño vocabulary from St. Bernard, and a much briefer one for Ascension Parish. In conducting his own research in St. Bernard Parish, however, Lipski (1990:69) noted that, although MacCurdy did provide an extensive list of lexical items, "some of the words he cited are not currently used by the Isleño, while other curious terms do not appear in his lists." The same could be said of the Brule word list complied by MacCurdy in Ascension Parish.
In this section lexical items are documented that are found in Brule Spanish but not found (at least to the same extent) in other Spanish dialects, were not recorded by MacCurdy, or are used differently from the way he described. For example, some lexical items that MacCurdy found to be in use in the late 1950's were rejected by those I interviewed; these are noted in this chapter. Other goals of this section are to compare lexical usage in the two Isleño dialects (St. Bernard and Ascension), and to investigate earlier claims made by Lispki (1984, 1985, 1987, 1990) with regard to how such usage reflects the extent of contact between the Isleño dialects and other Spanish dialects.

5.3.1.2 Archaic Elements

Brule Spanish retains archaic elements (some of which were noted but not discussed in detail by MacCurdy (1959:549)) that are still found in many Spanish dialects. All those archaisms listed below are attested in some Spanish dialects of the Canary Islands. Some of these differ in certain respects from their modern Canary Island counterparts; such differences will be noted in their descriptions. The following are but a few of the interesting examples of such elements rather than an exhaustive list of all those which are found in the dialect.
ajena [a·ˈhe·na]-so, thus. (Standard Spanish así). MacCurdy (1950:50) recorded the form asina in St. Bernard Parish, and noted that así, así, and ansín are also common. These forms are also common in Canary Island dialects (Alvar 1959:43, 1959:56; Guerra 1977:388). In Ascension Parish one occasionally finds the ansí variant which is realized as [a·ˈsi].


dir [di] 'to go'. (Standard Spanish ir). Alvar (1959:55) calls this form "un arcaísmo que tiene amplísima difusión geográfica" (an archaism which has a very wide geographic distribution). Lipski (1990:72) states that the addition of prothetic /d/ to the infinitive ir "is attested in nearly all popular varieties of the language, and is apparently a longstanding modification." MacCurdy (1950:60, 1959:551) noted this verb in both St. Bernard and Ascension Parishes and gave dla as the imperfect form as does Alvar (1959:56) for Canary Island Spanish (Standard Spanish iba 'used to go'). It is interesting to note that in Ascension Parish one speaker added a prothetic a to produce the first person singular of the future tense, with yo adi being used instead of Standard Spanish yo iré or the periphrastic future yo voy a ir ('I will go'). Since the periphrastic future was used by this speaker in all other cases, adi is most probably an analogical creation based on other periphrastic constructions such as ella va a dir ['e·ya va di] (Standard Spanish Ella va a ir 'She is going to go'). The preterite tense of dir is the same as Standard Spanish (fui, fuiste, etc.) (for further discussion of dir see the section below which deals with syntactic change).


naide ['nai·de] 'no one', (Standard Spanish nadie). This word has other archaic forms in various Spanish dialects including, nadi, nadien, and naiden. MacCurdy recorded both naide and naiden in St. Bernard (1950:74). (See also Spaulding 1943:106, Guerra 1977:458).
ora ['o·ra] 'now' (Standard Spanish ahora). In most dialects this is realized as [a·'o·ra] but this word underwent aphaeresis of word-initial "a" which is described below in the discussion of phonological aspects of the Brule dialect. (See Spaulding 1943:209, Alvar 1959:56).


5.3.1.3 Language Transfer

As discussed in Chapter 4, it is not unusual to find lexical borrowing between two languages in contact situations (Espinosa 1975; Sobin 1982, Hill and Hill 1977). It is not surprising, given the extended contact of the Brule dialect with English and with Louisiana French, that some lexical items in the Brule dialect show evidence of transfer from these two languages. Some of these words were adapted to the phonological structure of the Brule dialect, while others were not (for a more detailed discussion see the section below which deals with the phonological characteristics of the Brule dialect).

Lipski (1990:85-86) listed examples of lexical items such as farmero 'farmer' (Standard Spanish agricultor), lonche 'lunch' (Standard Spanish almuerzo), guachimán 'watchman' (Standard Spanish velador) which exhibit unmistakable evidence of transference from English. Four decades earlier MacCurdy (1950) had noted similar examples of transference from English such as marqueta 'market' (p. 72) (Standard Spanish mercado), sopín 'powdered soap' (p. 82) (Standard Spanish jabón), and tiqueta 'ticket'
(p. 84) (Standard Spanish boleto or billete). In his earlier study, MacCurdy (1950:47) had noted that "contrary to expectations there were "relatively few hispanized English words", but that the "most notable feature" about the St. Bernard dialect was the number of French and Louisiana French words which had been adopted in hispánized form (p. 45). Lipski (1990:85) admits that "creole French elements were at first the most common source of foreign borrowings in Isleño Spanish", but says that "for almost a century English has been the nearly exclusive non-Hispanic influence." In the Brule word-list that MacCurdy (1959) compiled, one also finds that the great majority of lexical borrowings shown are derived from French or Louisiana French. Of the 325 words MacCurdy recorded, only 4 (one percent) are attributable to transfer from English; one-hundred eighteen of the words (thirty-six percent) come from French or Louisiana French. Just as in St. Bernard Parish, however, the Brule dialect shows much more evidence of contact with English. As discussed previously (see Chapter 4), Brule speakers have borrowed many words such as 'tractor', 'truck', and 'airplane' and incorporated them into the dialect without modifying them phonologically. Nevertheless, many other borrowed words such as cuilta [ˈkwilta] 'quilt' and vola [ˈvoʊla] 'bowl' have undergone phonetic alteration. Other words borrowed from English include grocerías [ɡroʊˈsɛɹas] 'groceries' (Standard Spanish comestibles), raidar
[rai·da] 'to ride' (Standard Spanish montar), and sosa
['so·sa] 'saucer', banco ['bā·ko] 'bank of a river'
(Standard Spanish orilla) (see Brule glossary for further
examples).

Borrowings from French nevertheless outnumber those
based on English in the Brule dialect. Some examples of
such borrowings which were not recorded by MacCurdy in­
clude: crión [kri·'ō] 'pencil' from French crayon (Stan­
dard Spanish lápiz), bouchri [buš·'ri] 'butcher's shop'
from French boucherie (Standard Spanish carnicería), and
poison [pwa·'zō] 'poison' from French poison (Standard
Spanish veneno) and paré [pa·'re] 'similar' from French
pareil (Standard Spanish semejante) (see below for further
examples).

The formation of neologisms based on English words is
not very common in Brule Spanish. Instead, a Spanish word
is often used in such a way that its meaning resembles the
use of an English word. Examples from St. Bernard Parish
of what Lipski (1990:86) calls "shifts of meaning" are
listed in Chapter 4. The following are a few examples
which were recorded among Brule speakers: colto ['kol·to]
'short' (as the opposite of tall) (Standard Spanish bajo),
planta ['plan·ta] 'factory' (Standard Spanish fábrica),
corré [ko·'rē] 'to run, manage' (Standard Spanish admini­
strar, manejar), jugá [hu·'ga] 'to play a musical instru­
ment (Standard Spanish tocar) (for additional examples see
the section below which deals with syntactic calques).
When investigating loanwords in a language contact situation, and especially in a situation where the majority of speakers are quite fluent in more than one of the languages, the researcher must exercise caution in deciding whether or not a given word has actually been "borrowed." For example, if a speaker of a dying dialect code-switches and uses a particular word from another language while most members of the community use the native word for the same concept, should the foreign word be considered a part of that dialect? And what about a speaker who consistently uses a particular foreign expression rather than the native equivalent (for example, Fl's use of French *mais* rather than Spanish *pero* 'but')? Most linguists would agree that the lexical items in these cases should not be considered to have been "borrowed" into the language or dialect (see Hill and Hill 1986:346-355).

This present research in Ascension Parish calls into question whether or not some of the words recorded by MacCurdy should actually be considered a part of this dialect. Since many of MacCurdy's informants were perfectly bilingual in both Louisiana French and the Brule dialect (MacCurdy 1959:548), some of the words that he recorded might represent borrowings that most Brule speakers would say do not belong to their dialect. For example, some of the words in MacCurdy's (1959) list were rejected by all those informants whom I interviewed as
being "French." Those words on MacCurdy's list which were rejected by all speakers included canar 'duck' (p. 550), cravata 'tie' (p. 550), papillon 'butterfly', (p. 553).

It should be noted, however, that speakers of dying languages do not always agree as to what "belongs" to a language or dialect and what does not. As noted in Chapter 4, the high degree of linguistic variability often found in terminal language communities might be attributed in part to the fact that there is little correlation between linguistic variables and sociocultural variables in these communities. It has already been mentioned that Ml, for example, rarely used Spanish otra vez 'again' substituting instead French encore, and that F1 used French mais 'but' to the exclusion of Spanish pero. Ml also used French s'il vous plait 'please' in certain circumstances (see the section below which deals with style reduction) rather than Spanish por favor, and F1 sometimes substituted galçon [gal. 'sɔ] (< French garçon) 'boy' for Brule Spanish nuevo. Despite the fact that Ml himself used expressions which were obviously derived from French, he often criticized other speakers for "mixing their languages" (that is, French and Spanish). It is no easy task in language contact situations to decide which lexical items should be considered a part of a particular dialect and which should not. Given the fact that all informants considered the lexical items mentioned above (canar, papillon, and cravata) to be French rather than
Spanish, one might question whether they have been incorporated into the dialect, or whether MacCurdy simply found some idiosyncratic usages of these words which are similar to those of M1 and F1 described above. The fact that *cravata* has apparently undergone a morphological change to make it more like the Brule dialect (French *cravate* $>$ Brule Spanish *cravata*), would seem to lend some support to the claim that it has been "borrowed" into the dialect. One should note, however, that the word F1 used for 'boy' *garçon* [galsõ] has also been phonetically altered.

5.3.1.4 Relationship to Other Spanish Dialects

Lipski (1990:81) states that the lexicon is "even more revealing of the multiple linguistic sources for this dialect [Isleño] than the grammatical and phonological peculiarities." He (1990:81-82, 1984:110-111) discusses the presence or absence of various lexical items in Isleño Spanish, and makes various claims based upon his findings. For example, Lipski notes (1984:110) that the second person plural subject pronoun *vosotros* is not found in Isleño Spanish. This fact leads him to suggest that the *vosotros* forms "disappeared early from most dialects of the Canary Islands." This would seem to be a reasonable conclusion, and one which gains additional support from the finding that the *vosotros* forms are also absent in the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish.

Lipski (1990:81) also claims that contact between the Isleños and French-speaking residents "must have been of
consequence", and that "a period of bilingualism may have existed." He (1990:81) points to the incorporation of such fundamental forms as tanta 'aunt' (Standard Spanish tía, Standard French tante), fruí 'to scrub floors' (Standard Spanish fregar, Louisiana French froubir), lacre 'inland lake' (Standard Spanish lago, Standard French lac), and viaje 'time, occurrence' (Standard Spanish vez, Louisiana French voyage) as an indication of "intimate contact and not merely occasional borrowing to accommodate semantic innovations." This claim also appears to be justified and could well describe the situation in Ascension Parish where similar borrowings are found, and where such intimate contact is well documented. The present study of Brule Spanish in Ascension Parish also supports in part Lipski's (1990:81) claim that the presence of certain words "points to at least some linguistic penetration of Caribbean Spanish dialects." Lipski (1990:81) claims that the words jaiba 'crab', matungo 'tomcat, man who chases women', tegurón 'shark', caimán 'alligator', and macaco 'monkey' may have been brought into the Isleño dialect by Spanish sailors who had contact with the Isleños, or through contact with Cuba. Lipski (1990:76) claims that the existence of such words in the St. Bernard dialect is evidence of maritime contact between this and other Spanish dialects. The fact that the Brule dwellers are assumed to have had very little contact with other
dialects of Spanish offers an excellent opportunity to test Lipski's claims about the origin of these words.

None of the informants I interviewed recognized the words jaiba, matungo, or tegurón (Standard Spanish tiburón). Given the assumed lack of contact between the Brule dialect and other dialects of Spanish, this would seem to support Lipski's claim that these words were not a part of the rural Canary Island dialect base at the time of immigration to Louisiana. It is possible, of course, that the Brule speakers once used the word tiburón but lost it over time due to lack of contact with the sea (which would have reinforced and helped maintain its use).

The fact that three of my informants did recognize the words caimán 'alligator' and macaco 'monkey', however, makes it somewhat more difficult to draw definitive conclusions with regard to Lipski's claims. In the case of caimán, Lipski (1990:71) says that (in the case of St. Bernard Spanish) "although transference from Cuba is a distinct possibility, this word is common in maritime Spanish and could have been transplanted in St Bernard Parish by any of the Spanish sailors who settled there." The existence of macaco in St. Bernard Spanish, says Lipski (1990:76), "is another indication of the introduction of Hispanic Americanisms via maritime contacts." If one accepts Lipski's argument with regard to the existence of these words in the Isleño dialect of St. Bernard Parish, it might seem that the Brule dwellers must have had
some significant maritime contact with other Spanish dia-
lects from which the words caimán and macaco were bor-
rowed.

The existence of the word cayúc [ka-'yuk] 'rock' in
Brule Spanish also raises questions as to the possibility
of subsequent contact between the Brule dialect and Carib-
bean Spanish dialects. The word cayuco is also known in
St. Bernard Parish where it has the meaning 'pirogue'
(MacCurdy 1950:56), and in Cuba where it used to refer to
'a big-headed person'; the Spanish Real Academia
(1970:282) lists its meaning as 'Indian boat' (see Brule
glossary below). Pearson (1992:30) points out that the
latter meaning given by the Real Academia makes it likely
that this is "an Americanism which was later taken up in
Peninsular sources." The Brule meaning can most likely
be attributed to influence from the Acadian French word
cailou 'pebble', but the addition of the word-final [k]
would seem to represent some confusion between this word
and cayuco.

While contact between the St. Bernard Isleños and
other groups of Spanish speakers has been documented
(MacCurdy 1950:24, Kammer 1941:71, Gayarré 1903:171), the
idea that the Brule dwellers had substantial contact with
other dialects of Spanish has no historical support.
MacCurdy (1950:24) noted, for example, that there was some
immigration of Spanish speakers to St. Bernard Parish
after the arrival of the original colonists. However,
there are no indications that such was the case in Ascension Parish. The question remains, then, why are two of these lexical items found in the Brule dialect?

A careful look at the history of the Canary Island immigrations might reveal an answer to this question. As pointed out in Chapter 3, the voyage to Louisiana from the Canary Islands was not an easy one. Many of the passengers became ill, and many of the ships stopped in Cuba (Din 1988:21); it was not unusual for the passengers to be detained there for extended periods of time. One of the ships, *El Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, remained in Cuba for four years (Din 1988:22, Pearson 1992:5). It does not seem unreasonable to assume that the Isleños who remained in Cuba for such extended periods of time might have borrowed certain lexical items from their Cuban neighbors and then brought these with them when they proceeded on to Louisiana. Such an assumption makes unnecessary the postulation of subsequent contacts (maritime or otherwise) between the Brule dwellers and other Spanish speakers in order to explain the existence of the lexical items caimán and macaco and cayúc in Brule Spanish. In fact, it may help to explain how the latter word acquired different referents in the two communities after being transferred to Louisiana with the original Cuban meaning of 'big headed person'.

Another interesting claim made by Lipski (1990:74, 1984:110-111) with regard to Isleño lexicon has to do with
the word guagua 'bus'. Lipski (1984:110) says that this word is found with identical meaning in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and the Canary Islands. He (1984:110) seeks to challenge the "commonly held" belief that this form was brought to the Canary Islands from Cuba by Canary Island natives who emigrated to Cuba in the first decades of the 20th century and later returned (see Alvar 1955:94-95, Alvarez Nazario 1971:242-43). According to Lipski (1990:75), the fact that guagua is used throughout the Canary Islands "places the postulated Cuban origin in a somewhat difficult position", but he admits that "this hypothesis is not ruled out." Lipski (1990:75) suggests instead that the word guagua might have been transported from the Canary Islands to the Caribbean since many of the speakers who know the word were born well before the large-scale migration from the Canary Islands to Cuba. He (1990:75) also notes that while not all St. Bernard Isleños recognize this word, those who do always assign the same meaning to it without prompting. As evidence of its possible transference from the Canary Islands, Lipski (1990:75) points out that the Isleños who recalled the use of guagua are "among the oldest community members, born before 1900, who claim to have heard this term before documented contacts between Isleños and Cubans."

While Lipski's postulation of a Canary Island origin for guagua cannot be dismissed out of hand, it does seem
to be problematic in some respects. To begin with, there is documentation of contact between the St. Bernard community and other groups of Spanish speakers (including Cuba) since at least the middle of the nineteenth century as reflected in the following statement by Din (1988:102):

Because of its proximity to New Orleans, by 1850 St. Bernard Parish had received an impressive influx of foreigners, mainly from Europe—Spain, Ireland, France, and Germany. A few of the immigrants had come from other Hispanic countries such as Cuba and Mexico. When they married they usually selected their wives from among Canarian girls and women. These Spaniards, Cubans, and Mexicans helped reinforce the Hispanic character of the parish...

It is quite possible, then, that some of these immigrants could have introduced guagua into the St. Bernard community (see also Scott 1982, Guillotte 1982).

One must also consider the fact that, as pointed out above, the word guagua has the meaning of 'bus' in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, the Canary Islands, and St. Bernard Parish. It seems unlikely, since automobiles did not exist at the time of Canary Island migration to Louisiana, that this word would have been transported to the colonies (presumably with some other meaning) and eventually used in each of these places with identical meaning.

The present research in Ascension Parish does not support the claim that guagua was originally transported from the Canary Islands. None of those interviewed by this researcher, including F1 and F2 who were born in the early 1900's, knew the word guagua; in fact, even when
they were told that it meant 'bus' they expressed no recognition of it. The words elicited for 'bus' in Ascension Parish were 'bus' (with English pronunciation) or carro ['kaɾo]. While not disproving Lispki's claims with regard to the lexical item guagua, the above discussion does point out some potential weaknesses in his argument that must be addressed.

The fact that the St. Bernard residents have had significant and continuous contact with other dialects of Spanish for over a century makes it difficult to defend hypotheses which are based on the existence of certain lexical items in the Isleño dialect. Indeed, one might question whether or not it is a theoretically sound practice to formulate linguistic hypotheses based on a few lexical items from any particular dialect. However, the fact that the St. Bernard and Brule dialects are known to share a common Canary Island origin and the Ascension Parish dialect has remained relatively isolated from other Spanish dialects offers an unusual opportunity to test such claims. As demonstrated above, in-depth documentation of the Brule dialect can provide valuable information that can be used to support or refute such claims. Investigating both Louisiana Isleño dialects, as well as those of the Canary Islands, adds an extra dimension to what is already known about these dialects and should lead to a better understanding of the origins and evolution of all of these. Of course, the possibility of such increased
understanding is not limited to the lexicon, but also extends to the areas of phonology, morphology, syntax, etc.

5.3.1.5 Brule Vocabulary

The following Brule word list includes lexical items which in some way differ from Standard Spanish, Canary Island Spanish, or St. Bernard Spanish. Some of these items have special significance with regard to their phonology or morphology while others are important because they provide information as to the historical origins of the dialect, and still others show how language contact has influenced the lexicon. The reader may wish to refer to the Brule word list compiled by MacCurdy (1959). The only items duplicated from MacCurdy's list are those which were found to be used differently from the way he described.
bifunto* [bi·'funt·to], n. 'ghost'. (< Sp. difunto 'deceased person'). Lefunto in St. Bernard is used to refer to a 'deceased person' or a 'corpse' (MacCurdy 1950:69).

bonito [bo·'ni·to], adj. 'handsome'. Bonito would be considered pejorative in many varieties of Spanish if used to describe males. Although guapo 'handsome' is now common throughout the Canary Islands (Alvar 1978:1230), this word was not recognized by Brule informants.

butica [bu·'ti·ka], n. 'store'. (< Fr. boutique 'store'). MacCurdy (1950:72, 1959:552) records that marqueta is used in both St. Bernard and Ascension as 'market', but this word was rejected by those I interviewed in favor of butica.

cachara [ka·'cha·ra], n. 'tin can'. (< Sp. cacharro 'earthenhware pot'). Cacharra is recorded by MacCurdy (1950:55) in St. Bernard as 'cup'. But its meaning on Tenerife of "caldero" or "olla de aluminio" 'aluminum pot' (Alvar 1959:143) provides some explanation of its evolution to 'tin can'.

calá* [ka·'la], n. 'fried bread' made with salt and flour. (< Sp.? ) In Standard Spanish the verb calar means 'to soak', 'to drench', or 'to penetrate'. MacCurdy (1950:54) notes that calar in St. Bernard has the meaning of 'to sink'. Because calar was often eaten with coffee, it is possible that it derives its name from the action of "dunking" it in the coffee (see also talta).

calía [ka·'li·a], n. 'kind', 'type'. (< Standard Spanish calidad 'quality'). Normally used in expressions such as toda calía [de] cosas [to·a ka·'li·a 'ko·sa] 'all kinds of things'

calina [ka·'li·na], n. 'fog'. (< Sp. calina 'haze' or 'mist'). MacCurdy records (1959:550) caliñoso
'foggy' in Ascension. Alvar (1977:83) also found this word to be common in the Canary Islands.

canal [ka-'nal], n. 'ditch'. (< Sp. canal 'canal'). As in most Spanish dialects, throughout the Canary Islands zanja is used for 'ditch' (Alvar 1978:1111).

carota* [ka-'ro-ta] n. 'carrot'. MacCurdy records garota in St. Bernard (1950:66). However, zanahoria [sa-'na-'o-ria] was also common in Ascension.

cayuc*+ [ka-'yuk], n. 'rock'. (< Cuban Sp. cayuco 'big headed person'?| ) MacCurdy found cayuco to mean 'pirogue' in St. Bernard. He noted that it is derived from a Taino word 'dugout'. It is not hard to see how the Cuban meaning of 'big headed person' might be related to the Brule meaning of 'rock' (considering that French tète 'head', is derived from Latin testa meaning 'pot'). However, in Brule Spanish this word is sometimes realized as [ka-'yu] which strongly suggests that it might be related to the French word caillou 'pebble' or 'gravel'.

colorao [ko-lo-'ra-o], adj. 'red'. In many Spanish dialects colorado is a synonym for the more usual rojo. In Brule Spanish, however, colorado is used almost exclusively.

corau* [ko-'ra-o], n. 'yard'. (< Sp. corral, 'farmyard'). MacCurdy's (1950:58) translation of this word in St. Bernard was 'bayou'.

clearea [kla-'re-a] or [kla-'ri-a], n. 'light'. (< Sp. clarar, or claridad) The word lu [lu] (< Sp. luz) is also used as it is in the Canary Islands (Alvar 1978:1016). The difference between these two words as explained by one informant is that clearea is a "big light" and lu is a "little light." This assessment is supported by the fact that one informant used the word lu when talking about a lamp in his home, but when describing the "huge, blue-white light" he saw during a near-death experience, the same speaker used the word clearea.

craba*+ ['kra-ba], n. 'crab'. MacCurdy (1950:59, 1959:552) claims to have found jaiba 'crab' in St. Bernard as well as in Ascension Parish, but none of my informants, not even the oldest residents who would have been in their late forties or early fifties when MacCurdy visited the Brules, recognized this word.
criche ['kri'če], n. 'cricket'. (<?) This could be a phonological adaptation of English 'cricket', or possibly an onomatopoetic innovation.

charruga [ça'fu'ga], n. 'plough'. ( < Spanish charrúa). The word arado 'plough' is used throughout the Canary Islands (Alvar 1978:1045), but charrúa is common in Andalusia (Real Academia Española 1970:407).

chiquillo [ki'yo], n. 'small child'. This word is found in many Spanish dialects, but in Brule Spanish it is the most common word for 'child'. In the Canary Islands the words niño or muchacho serve this function.

diétá [dʒe'ta], v. 'to watch', 'to watch out for'. ( < Fr. guetter 'to watch intently, to watch (out) for'). This verb was recognized even by less fluent semi-speakers. It is especially interesting since it includes the alveopalatal affricate [dʒ] which is not found in most varieties of Spanish, and is extremely rare in Brule Spanish.

di tú [di tu] 'not at all'. ( < Fr. pas du tout, 'at all').

echá [e'cha], v. 'to put', 'to place'. ( < Sp. echar 'to throw'). This verb is used in many cases where Standard Spanish would use the verb poner. Such usage is not limited to the Brule dialect, however, and it is noted by Guerra (1977:417) in Gran Canarian Spanish.

filac [fi'lak], n. 'North American quail' or 'bob-white' (colinus virginianus virginianus). (<?).

lifante* [li'fan'te], n. 'elephant'. (Sp. el elefante)

limeta* [li'me'ta], n. 'match' ( < Fr. allumette 'match'). This word does not seem to be related to Old Spanish limeta 'bottle'.

lipejo* [li'pe'ho], n. 'mirror'. ( < Sp. el espejo)

lizón* [li'zō], n. 'lizard'. ( < Eng. 'lizard'?)

macaco+ [ma'ka'ko], n. and adj. 'monkey', 'impish'. ( < Sp. macaco) Lipski (1990:76) notes that this word has taken on a pejorative connotation in St. Bernard Parish. Such is not the case in Ascension Parish, though it is used with the meaning of 'impish' (see MacCurdy 1950:70) when referring to children, etc.
mashina* [ma'-si-na], n. 'machine'. ( < Fr. machine, Sp. máquina, English machine).

medio hombre ['me-dyo 'om-bre], n. 'young man'. This expression was used to refer to men in their late teens or twenties. Such usage is not unknown in the Canary Islands (Alvar 1978:716). Strangely enough, there was no feminine form of this expression. A woman is referred to as a nueva ['nwe-va] when in her teens, and as mujé joven [mu-'he 'ho-ven] or simply as mujé thereafter. (See also nuevo hombre).

mojá* [mo-'ha], n. 'pillow' ( < Sp. almohada). MacCurdy (1959:553) had recorded armojá in Ascension. The word cabecera [ka-'se-\'ra] was preferred by some speakers. Alvar (1978:1026) found cabecera to be in use only on the island of Tenerife.

monte ['mon-te], n. 'woods' or 'swamp'. ( < Sp. monte 'mountain' or 'hill'. Although the use of this word to mean 'forest' is not unknown in other Spanish dialects, it is more commonly used in Central and South American with the meaning of 'undeveloped land', 'the outback', etc.

muelso* ['mue-l-so], n. 'breakfast'. ( < Sp. almuerzo, 'lunch'). In the Canary Islands it is not uncommon to find that almuerzo refers to the morning meal, or the meal before the principal meal of the day which, in most Spanish speaking countries, is the noon meal. Guerra (1977:31) recorded such usage in the Canary Islands (1977:31) as did Alvar (1959:11; 1978:621). (See also yenta).

nene ['ne-ne] or ['ne-ne], n. 'grandmother'. ( < Spanish nana). In Standard Spanish nene has the meaning 'baby boy' while nana is grandmother. Abuela is also common in Brule Spanish.

nuevo hombre ['nwe-vo 'om-bre], n. 'teenage boy'. The shortened forms nuevo/nueva (Standard Spanish 'new') are often used to refer to young people. The same usage in the Canary Islands is noted by both Alvar (1959:209) and Guerra (1977:214).

pachá [pa-'ca], v. 'to hurry'. ( < Sp. empachar 'to hinder, impede', pacho 'lazy?'). This form was only recorded in the imperative ipachatei [ip-a-'ca-te] 'Hurry up!'. It is also quite possible that this form is based on the French Dépêche-toi! 'Hurry up!'.
pajarita [paˈxaɾita], n. 'butterfly'. (⟨Sp. pajarita 'paper kite' or 'paper bird') Also found in the Canary Islands (Alvar 1959:305). MacCurdy (1959:553) recorded papillon 'butterfly' in Ascension, but this was rejected by the informants in this study who classified it as being French.

pellejo [peˈleho], n. 'skin' (of a person). Most dialects of Spanish prefer piel to refer to the skin of a human being though many use it colloquially much as English uses 'hide'.

penco ['penko], n. 'rabbit'. (⟨Standard Spanish penco 'skinny horse; penca 'bush, plant'?). This word was recorded earlier by MacCurdy in Ascension Parish (1959:553), but it is mentioned here because of its uniqueness to the dialect and its unknown origins. Without exception this was the word Brule speakers used for 'rabbit'. The more common Spanish used word for rabbit, conejo, is recognized, but despite its widespread use in other Spanish dialects, it is not generally used in Brule Spanish. This can most likely be attributed to the fact that conejo has exactly the same obscene connotation in Ascension Parish as Guerra (1977:112) recorded in the Spanish of Gran Canaria, specifically that of, "designación general, popular, y casi única del órgano sexual femenino" ('general, popular, and almost sole designation for the feminine sexual organ'). It is quite likely that, in an attempt to avoid the taboo expression conejo, Brule residents chose to use penco instead. Guerra notes that such avoidance of conejo is common in Gran Canarian Spanish: "muchas veces se evita llamar por su nombre al conocido roedor, y se le sustituye por otros no sospechos" (often they avoid calling the well-known rodent by its name, substituting for it other names which are not suspect). The origins of penco are unknown. MacCurdy (1959:553) stated that he saw "no logical connection between this word and Paincourtville (a town in Ascension Parish usually pronounced ['pɑ̃ kə vɛl]). Many of those I interviewed, however, did (without prompting) make a connection between the word penco and the town of Paincourtville. Two residents mentioned having gone there to hunt when they were young because of the abundance of rabbits which used to be found there. Another possible explanation is that this word is somehow based on analogy with French le lapin 'rabbit'. It is possible that this word had been perceived by Brule speakers as being "la pin" with "pin" [pɛ̃] being the noun 'rabbit'. The form penco ['penko] would then be a phonetic alternation

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of the word that more closely resembles the Brule
dialect.

peu près [pO prɛ] 'about', 'approximately'. (< Fr. à peu
près 'approximately').

pistash* [pis*'taʃ], n. 'peanut'. (< Fr. pistache 'pista-
chio'). MacCurdy (1959:553) recorded this form as
pistacha which would mean that it was pronounced with
a voiceless alveopalatal affricate rather than with a
fricative. It is not unlikely that variation exists
among speakers, but this was the only pronunciation
used by those interviewed in this study. This form
was used for both the singular and plural.

plasa ['plaˌsa], n. 'place'. (< Eng. 'place' and Sp. plaza
'public square').

plén [plɛ̃], adj. or adv. 'much' or 'many'. (< Fr. plein
'full', and perhaps also English 'plenty'?). Al-
though Standard Spanish mucho 'a lot, many' (and its
various adjectival forms) was used, plen was by far
the most commonly used expression.

pléna ['pleˌna], n. 'open field'. (< Fr. plaine 'plain').
MacCurdy (1950:77) recorded this form in St. Ber-
nard Parish.

poizon* [pwaˌzo], n. 'poison'. (< Fr. poison).

potrez* [poˌtrez], n. 'picture'. (< Fr. portrait?). The
pronunciation [poˌtre] is also common, and MacCurdy
(1959:553) recorded the form potré in Ascension
Parish. For a possible explanation for the produc-
tion of word-final "z" in some cases, see the section
below which deals with phonological aspects of the
dialect.

puela ['pweˌla], n. 'skillet'. (< ?).

rao pelao ['raˌo pɛˌlaˌo], n. 'opossum'. (< Sp. rabo
pelado 'hairless tail'). Though MacCurdy (1959:553)
recorded a similar word for opossum, he was confused
by the mistaken assumption that the full form of the
word was ralo pelado which he glossed as ? pelado
'hairless'.

ranchá* [ˈθanˌθa], v. 'to fix'; 'to put a curse on some-
one'. (< Standard Spanish arranchar 'to brace').
MacCurdy recorded the word in St. Bernard, but noted
that the more common form was arranchar. In St.
Bernard, however, the meaning of 'to put a curse on
someone' was not mentioned. MacCurdy (1959:551) recorded desranchar which he glossed as "to disconnect, disarrange." He questions whether this form might be derived from French déranger 'to disarrange'. It seems more likely that it is related to the nautical usage of the Spanish verb arranchar 'to brace'.

saura [sa-'u-ra], n. 'liver' (< Sp. azaura, 'liver'). Also found in St. Bernard (MaCurdy 1950:88).

sucra ['su-kra], n. 'sugar'. (Sp. azúcar). This word might reflect French influence (sucré 'sugar'), but given the fact that MacCurdy (1950:51) recorded azucrar 'to sweeten' (Standard Spanish azucarar) in St. Bernard, a Spanish origin seems more likely.

talta* ['tal-ta], n. 'sweet fried bread'. (< Sp. tarta 'cake'). In Standard Spanish tarta refers to a large round cake usually filled with fruit, cream, etc., which is sometimes made with almonds. According to several Brule informants, talta is distinguished from the other type of fried bread, calar, by the fact that it is sweet and is made with baking powder. Both these dishes were so common that even rememberers were able to describe them and how they were prepared.

unguno [uŋ-gu-no], pro. 'someone'. (< analogy with Sp. ninguno 'none, neither one?).

vanika* [va-ni-ka], n. 'fan'. (< Sp. abanico).

velse [vel-se], n. 'rocking chair'. (< Fr. bercer 'to rock') MacCurdy (1959:550) recorded bersera in Ascension.

viaje ['bya-he], n. 'time, occurrence'. (< Sp. viaje 'trip, voyage). In Standard Spanish vez is used with this meaning. Lipski (1990:80) found viaje and vuelta used with the same meaning in St. Bernard Parish. He attributes its meaning in this dialect to influence from Acadian French voyage (Standard French 'trip') which he says has the meaning of 'time' or 'occurrence' in some archaic and creole French dialects. This form exists along with Standard Spanish vez in Ascension Parish.

villa ['vi-yay], n. 'city'. (< Sp. villa 'town'). MacCurdy (1959:554) found that this word was used only to refer to the city of New Orleans and that "no other city is so-called." In modern Brule Spanish
vucana [vuˈkaˈna], n.-smoke. (< L. Fr. boucane 'big wind' or 'hurricane', Tupi bucán 'lattice frame for smoking meat'). MacCurdy (1950:53) recorded bucana in St. Bernard Parish which he glossed as 'smoke'. However, Lipski (1990:70-71) claims that bucana in modern Isleño Spanish means 'smoke cooker' while bucanero means 'smoke'. Brule Spanish usage is closer to that recorded by MacCurdy with vucana definitely having the meaning 'smoke'. Throughout the Canary Islands the word for 'smoke' is humo which is realized as either ['uˈmo] or ['huˈmo] (Alvar 1978:1089). For further discussion of the origins of this word see Pearson 1992:34 and Read 1931:83-84.

valba* ['valˈba], n. 'Spanish moss'. (< Standard Spanish barba 'beard'). Recorded in St. Bernard as barba (MacCurdy 1950:52).

vuja* ['vuˈha], n. 'nail'. (< Sp. aguja 'needle').

yenta* ['yenˈta], n. 'lunch'. (< Canary Island Sp. ayento). This usage is known in the Canary Islands, but is common only on the island of Tenerife (Alvar 1978:623, 1959:130).
5.3.2 Phonology

5.3.2.1 Introduction

The phonological characteristics of the Brule dialect firmly establish the connection between this dialect and both its Canary Island origins and its St. Bernard Parish counterpart. Nevertheless, the phonological system of the Brule dialect of Spanish is different in many respects from both of these relatives.

Lipski (1990:14) provides the following description of the Isleno dialect:

In general, Isleno Spanish may be characterized as a popular, uneducated variety representative of the rural speech of southern Spain and the Canary Islands. Among its features are significant consonantal reduction and neutralization, the partial erosion of certain morphological structures, and considerable polymorphism and variable application of phonological processes.

Exactly the same could be said of the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish. However, it is important to note that while many of the same phonological processes have been operating in both the Brule and St. Bernard dialects, the degree of change and end result of these processes are often different.

In this section, the specific phonological characteristics of the Brule dialect and the real-time progression of certain phonological changes in this particular dialect are discussed. These are then compared with other dialects of Spanish including the St. Bernard and Canary Island dialects. Such a comparison requires that the
researcher draw upon the work of linguists who have previously conducted research in Ascension and St. Bernard Parishes. Before presenting such a discussion, I need to comment on the methods used by these earlier researchers to record phonological data.

5.3.2.2 Methodology of Earlier Research

Research on the phonological aspects of the St. Bernard dialect is limited (Lipski 1990 and elsewhere, Coles 1991); in the case of Ascension Parish, it is almost non-existent (see MacCurdy 1959). It is very unfortunate that all of the linguists conducting such research chose primarily to employ only Standard Spanish orthography when they published their findings. MacCurdy (1959:548) himself apologizes for the fact that he "resorted to the rather unsatisfactory system of using Spanish 'official' spelling" and included "some general observations" (p. 549) which were intended to "correct any false impressions that 'official' spelling may create" (p. 549). This is especially troubling in the case of his research in Ascension Parish where he (1959:554) states that, since he was never able to return to Ascension Parish with a tape recorder, he was forced to rely on "fragmentary notes." MacCurdy's (1959) study, while not extensive, is particularly important as it offers the modern researcher an unusual opportunity to study how this dialect has changed since the late 1950's when MacCurdy did his research. The two other major Isleño researchers, Lipski and Coles, did
not transcribe most of their data. Lipski (1990, 1985) uses phonetic transcription only sporadically, and Coles (1991) makes limited use of phonetic transcription, but mainly in sections which deal specifically with phonological phenomena.

The fact that these researchers used Standard Spanish orthography complicates the task of phonological analysis and comparison. The inclusion of a phonetic transcription of their data in addition to standard Spanish orthography would not only have greatly facilitated phonological analysis, but it would also have increased the reliability of any conclusions that are based upon the data. The linguist who attempts to make phonological claims based on such data must be reasonably satisfied that relevant phonological distinctions were perceived by those conducting the earlier research, and that these were recorded in a consistent manner.

All three of the researchers mentioned above did make note of certain phonological distinctions which differed from Standard Spanish. This was accomplished in most cases by departing from Standard Spanish orthography and using another "letter" which most closely resembled the phonetic variant. For example, MacCurdy (1959:552) records the lexical item jelver 'to boil' (Standard Spanish hervir, presumably [hel'ver] phonetically), Lipski (1985:972) chufar 'to drink, suck' (Standard Spanish chupar) and Coles (1991:217) celebro 'brain' (Standard

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MacCurdy (1959:549) uses notes to explain departures from Standard Spanish orthography. He (1959:549) explains, for example, that italicized "z" represents voiced intervocalic "c", "s" and "z", as in muzica 'music'.

In comparing the Brule dialect of Ascension Parish with that of St. Bernard Parish, I deal with those phonetic variants which were evidently perceptible to the earlier researchers given the fact that they were represented with symbols that depart from Standard Spanish orthography. I will assume that such phonetic variation was consistently recorded. Of course, those examples provided in earlier reports which include a relevant distinction and which were transcribed phonetically are especially valuable.

5.3.3 Phonological Characteristics

5.3.3.1 Previous Research

In the first major study of Isleño, MacCurdy (1950:26-44) presented a reasonably detailed description of the phonological system of the St. Bernard dialect of Spanish. In addition to documenting the unique characteristics of this dialect, MacCurdy discussed what he called (p. 40) the "special changes" (aphaeresis, syncope, apocope, etc.) which had taken place. In this section the phonological system of the Brule dialect is discussed and compared with Standard Spanish and with other Spanish dialects including the St. Bernard dialect and those of the
Canary Islands. At the same time, some of the most important phonological processes that affect the Isleño and Canary Island dialects and the relative progression of some of these "special changes" in each are also investigated.

5.3.3.2 The Vowel System

MacCurdy (1950:27) and Lipski (1990:14) noted that, compared with the consonantal system, the pronunciation of vowels in the St. Bernard dialect (particularly the accented vowels) is quite stable. This same claim could be made with regard to the Brule dialect. All Standard Spanish vowels are represented in the Brule dialect with little variation. Brule Spanish o, u, and i exhibit no significant variation from Standard Spanish (but see discussion below which deals with nasalization and neutralization of word-final vowels). There is sporadic substitution of u for o as in some lexical items such as cultinah [kul•'ti•nah] 'curtains' (Standard Spanish cortinas) and regular substitution in a few verb forms such as uyir [u•'yir] 'to hear' (Standard Spanish oir) and lluviendo [yu•'vyen•do] 'raining' (Standard Spanish lloviendo). One case was also found where o > ue in the word contra which was realized as ['kwen•ta].

Brule Spanish e and a exhibit much greater variability. For example, MacCurdy (1950:27) noted e, when in an initial syllable closed by r, often becomes a. Although also noted in St. Bernard Parish, MacCurdy (1950:27)
stated that the practice "is not as general as in the Spanish brulie settlements of Ascension and Assumption Parishes." Examples cited by MacCurdy (1950:27) include cuarpo 'body' (Standard Spanish cuerpo), sarvilleta 'napkin' (Standard Spanish servilleta, and cuarvo 'crow' (Standard Spanish cuervo). While I would agree that there is a lowering of the vowel in these environment, in fact the vowel more closely resembles the low front variant [ə], i.e. ['kwæl·po], [səl·'vye·ta] and ['kwæl·'vo]. The fact that this variant was historically pronounced only in syllables closed by the phoneme [r] (MacCurdy 1950:27) will be extremely important in the discussion below which deals with the progression of the process of liquid migration in the Brule community.

The Brule dialect also exhibits sporadic substitution of the vowel i where Standard Spanish would have e. MacCurdy (1950:28) attributes this variation to assimilation of vowels in cases such as dicir 'to say, tell' (Standard Spanish decir), pidir 'to ask for' (Standard Spanish pedir), and vistido 'raincoat' (Standard Spanish vestido 'dress'). The similar forms diji [di·'hi] 'to say, tell', and vistio 'suit' [vis·'ti·o] are found in the Brule dialect. It is possible that the latter forms represent an analogical change since several forms in the vestir 'to dress' and decir 'to say, tell' verb paradigms exhibit an e to i stem change. Thus, it is not unreasonable to assume that such an analogical change
might cause vestir to become visitir and decir to become dicir.

In St. Bernard Parish, MacCurdy (1950:28-29) noted that word final, non-tonic e and o often become i and u respectively, as in the cases of Standard Spanish noche 'night' > nochi, and leche 'milk' > lechi. In the Brule dialect, pronunciation with [i] in such forms is very rare, although it does occur sporadically as in the case of triste ['tris•ti] 'sad'. Instead, a low-mid front variant [e] is often substituted in this environment, as in ['no•če] 'night' (see below). Other changes noted by MacCurdy in the St. Bernard dialect such as o- > a (otorgar > atorgar) 'to grant, give', o- > e (ostión > estión) 'oyster', a- > e (estilla > astilla) 'splinter' are not common in the Brule dialect.

Two of the vocalic changes noted by MacCurdy in his 1950 study can be subsumed under one general change mechanism. MacCurdy (1950:28-29) notes that in the St. Bernard dialect final e, and o frequently become a. The most likely possibility is that these three phonemes are in many cases variably reduced to the centralized variants [ ] or [ ] in word final non-tonic position (see Lipski 1990:19, Alvar 1978, 1955:15-19). Such is the case in the Brule dialect. This process has progressed to the point where, in some cases, Brule speakers are unaware of the underlying phonemic distinction between [a] and [o] in this position. This means that these phonemes are no
longer used by some speakers as gender markers. This is reflected in the following conversation:

CH: How do you say "boy."
M1: el chiquilla [el či′'ki′ya]
CH: And how do you say "girl"
M1: LA (emphasis) chiquilla [la či′'ki′ya]
You see it's one word different.

While neutralization of word-final vowels in the Brule dialect does occur, it is certainly not categorical since some words such as 'fly', mosca ['moh′ka], and 'mosquito', mosco ['moh′ko], are distinguished only by the final vowel.

In Standard Spanish the phoneme /e/ has two allophones: a tense mid front articulation [e], and a lax mid front articulation [ε]. Either allophone is possible in all environments, but in general [e] occurs in open syllables as in me [me] 'me' or cena ['se′na] 'dinner' and in syllables closed by [s] or [z] as in esperar [es′pe′rar] 'to wait for, hope' or fresno ['frez′no] 'ash', while [ε] generally occurs in syllables closed by consonants other than s and z (Dalbor 1980:152). In the Brule dialect, the allophone [ε] is much more commonly found in open syllables than is the case in Standard Spanish. This is particularly noticeable in word-final open syllables. For example, Standard Spanish padre 'father', hombre 'man', grande 'large' are often realized in Brule Spanish as ['pa′dɾe], ['om′bre], and ['gran′de]. Interestingly, this
variant was frequently employed even when used as an inflectional ending for certain verb forms: El fue con-migo. [el fwe kō-'mi-go] 'He went with me' and Yo guizé ayé (ayer) una gallina [yo gi-'zc a-'ye 'u-na ga-'yi-na] 'I cooked a chicken yesterday'. While the use of [ε] is most salient in word final position, it is certainly not limited to this environment as evidenced by the Brule pronunciation of ['pe'-lo] 'hair', ['me-sa] 'table', ['fwe-go] 'fire', and [hko-'pe-ta] 'shotgun' for Standard Spanish pelo 'hair', mesa 'table', fuego 'fire' and escopeta 'shotgun'.

The diphthong ei is generally lowered and centralized in Brule Spanish. For example, Standard Spanish seis 'six', treinta 'thirty', are regularly pronounced [sais] and ['train-ta]. This pronunciation is common in both St. Bernard Spanish (MacCurdy 1950:29) and in Canary Island Spanish (Lipski 1990:19), as is the realization of the groups ai and ae as is the diphthong [ai] in some words such as maíz [mai] 'corn', ahi [ái] 'there', cae [kái] 'he falls' (MacCurdy 1950:30, Guerra 1977:361, Alvar 1955:55).

MacCurdy (1950:30) states that one of the most distinctive features of the Isleno dialect is "the frequent insertion of a glottal stop between adjacent identical (or adjoining) vowels to preserve hiatus." He illustrates this phenomenon with examples such as que 'el [ke?el] 'that the', and monte 'en [monte?en] 'forest in?' (p. 30), and suggests that this might be attributed to English
influence. In the Brule dialect, however, insertion of glottal stops between vowels is not so frequent. In fact, the dialect seems to have undergone changes which show a tendency towards avoiding hiatus (perhaps due to influence from French) as evidenced by the following sentences:

L'oto potreh tiene una varrera. ['lo·to po·'trəh tyen 'u·na va·'re·ra] 'The other picture has a fence [in it]' (Standard Spanish En el otro cuadro hay una barrera) and 'La mashina del fuegro di pal fuegro' [la ma·'ʃi·nə 'fwe·'go di pal 'fwe·'go] 'The firetruck is going towards the fire' (Standard Spanish El camión de bombero va para el fuego), and No olvia el palasol [no ol·'vi·əl pa·'la·'sol] 'Don't forget the umbrella' (Standard Spanish No olvides el paraguas).

The nasalization of vowels is quite common in the Brule dialect. MacCurdy (1950:31) noted in St. Bernard Spanish that nasalization generally took place only where vowels occurred between two nasal consonants, or as a consequence of the loss of a final nasal consonant. The same could be said of the Brule dialect. Vowel nasalization is also a very common process in the Canary Islands (Alvar 1955:42; Catalán 1963:242), and has been noted in some Caribbean dialects (Poplack 1980:380).

It is strange that MacCurdy made no mention of the nasalization of vowels in his 1959 word list of Brule Spanish. He (p. 549) makes several "general observations" which he says are intended "to correct any false
impressions that 'official' spelling may create", including cases where, as he (p. 549) puts it, words are "pronounced in French fashion." One such example is souvent 'often' which he (p. 554) says is "pronounced as in French." In the word list he includes items such as laigrón 'thief' (p. 552) (Standard Spanish ladrón), robón 'thief (p. 553), and even sosón 'sock' (p. 554) which is derived from French, without any indication of how they are pronounced. Each of these words is pronounced with a final nasalized vowel in modern Brule Spanish. Deletion of word-final nasals with the retention of nasalization of the preceding stressed vowel is a very regular process in the Brule dialect. Thus, in addition to those listed above, most other words in the Brule dialect exhibit nasalization of a stressed final vowel before a nasal consonant. A few of the many examples are pan [pâ] 'bread', behón [be`hō] 'bumblebee' (Standard Spanish abejón), chicharrón [či`ča`rō] 'pork cracklings', halagán [ha`la`gā] 'lazy person' (Standard Spanish haregán), corazón 'heart' [ko`ra`zo] and ratón [Fa`'tō] 'rat'.

Based on the discussion above, one might assume that the nasalization of vowels was not a common process in the Brule dialect at the time MacCurdy conducted his research. While this is certainly possible, the fact that this process is so common in the dialects of the Canary Islands and St. Bernard Parish makes it seem unlikely. Indeed, Alvar (1955) recorded forms in the Canary Islands which
are very similar to some of the Brule words listed above such as pan [pɑ] (p. 42), abejón [aˈbeˈhʊ] (p. 71). It is possible that vowel nasalization was in an incipient stage at the time of the Canary Island migrations to Louisiana, and that this process accelerated rapidly after the immigrants arrived in Louisiana, abetted by contact with French. It may seem unlikely that the process would have remained relatively unproductive in the Brule dialect for over a century and a half, after which it progressed to its current state in a time span of approximately four decades. One must not dismiss this possibility out of hand, however, since widespread variation and a rapid rate of change are characteristic of many dying languages (Cook 1989:236, Vogelin & Vogelin 1977:337, Mougeon & Beniak 1989:309) including the Brule dialect. The discussion below will demonstrate how certain phonological processes can proceed rapidly in dying language communities.

One of the most striking and pervasive phonological processes operating in the Brule dialect is that of aphaeresis. The most common case is aphaeresis of word initial "a" in non-tonic syllables, and MacCurdy (1950:41) cites many such examples in St. Bernard Parish including bujero 'hole' (Standard Spanish agujero), vihpero 'bee-hive' (Standard Spanish avispero) and zaura 'liver' (Standard Spanish azaura). Each of these examples is found in the Brule dialect and they are pronounced as [buˈˈheˈro], ['bihˈpeˈro], and [saˈˈuˈra]. Aphaeresis of initial "a"
is common in the Canary Islands as recorded on Gran Canaria by Guerra (1977:361) and on Tenerife by Alvar (1959:25).

The Brule dialect is distinguished not by the mere existence of this phenomenon, but by the extent of it. The operation of this rule, while not categorical in Brule Spanish, is extremely widespread. Thus, where Guerra (1977:361) records aonde 'where' the Brule dialect has one ['o·ne] (Standard Spanish adonde). Alvar (1959) notes the forms aora 'now' (Standard Spanish ahora), (p. 52) avihpera 'wasp' (Standard Spanish avispa), and yento 'lunch' (p. 623) (Standard Spanish almuerzo) while Brule Spanish has ora ['o·ra], bihpera ['bih·pe·ra], and yenta ['yen·ta]. Other examples from Ascension Parish include legle ['le·gle] 'happy' (Standard Spanish alegre), marrá [ma·'ra] 'to tie up' (Standard Spanish amarrar), mariyo [ma·ri·yo] 'yellow', feitá [fey·'ta] 'to shave' (Standard Spanish afeitar), prendé [prën·'de] 'to learn' (Standard Spanish aprender) and muelsa ['mwel·sa] 'breakfast' (Standard Spanish almuerzo 'lunch').

This phenomenon is also common in St. Bernard Parish, but it has proceeded much further in the Brule dialect. The following examples compare lexical items recorded by MacCurdy (1950:49-51) in St. Bernard Parish with current forms in Ascension Parish.

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St. Bernard Parish

abuja (p. 40) 'nail' (Standard Spanish aguja 'needle')
alante (p. 50) 'in front of' (Standard Spanish adelante)
americano (p. 50) 'American'
ardento (p. 50) 'inside' (Standard Spanish adentro)
armojá (p. 51) 'pillow' (Standard Spanish almohada)
arranchar (p. 51) 'to fix' (Standard Spanish 'to brace')
azúcar (p. 51) 'sugar'

Ascension Parish

vuja ['vu•ha]
lante ['lan•te]
melicano [me•li•'ka•no]
dento ['dên•to]
mojá [mo•'ha]
ranchá [Tan•'ća]
sucra ['su•kra]

More recently Coles (1991) recorded atrás 'behind' (Standard Spanish detás de or atrás) (p. 242), amarilla 'yellow' (Standard Spanish amarillo) (p. 242), and americano 'American' (Standard Spanish americano) (p. 377), where Brule Spanish regularly has [trah], [ma•'ri•ya] and [me•li•'ka•no].

This process of aphaeresis also extends to other vowels, and in some cases to a vowel and one or more consonants. For example, there is frequent aphaeresis of word initial des or es; Standard Spanish escupido 'spittle', espiritu 'spirit', and despertarse 'to wake up', various forms of estar 'to be', and escuchar are regularly realized as [hku•'pi•a], ['spri•tu] or [hpri•tu], [spel•'tə•se], and [hku•'ća]. It should be noted that the various forms of the verb estar 'to be'
also show the effects of aphaeresis in the Brule dialect. Standard Spanish *estoy, estás, está, estamos, están, estaba, and estaban* are often pronounced in Brule Spanish with aphaeresis of word initial (unstressed) *e* or of *es*. However, in St. Bernard Parish, MacCurdy (1950:63) recorded *escupida* 'spittle' and *estijera* 'scissor-tail, frigate bird'. MacCurdy (1950:28) noted that "initial *e* is dropped sporadically in all forms of *estar"*, but stated that "the reduced forms *ta* and *tan" did not exist. Coles (1991) found *ehpírito* (p. 368), and *ehcuchar* (p. 282, 248), *ehtá* (p. 369), *ehtán* (p. 244) and *estaban* (p. 283). Coles did, however, record some cases of free variation in the realization of the various forms of *estar*, which demonstrate that the process of aphaeresis is in operation in that community. For example, in addition to the more common forms *ehpañol* 'Spanish' (p. 371), *ehtá* 'is, are' (p. 379), and *escuchar* 'to listen' (p. 243), she occasionally records, *hpañol* (p. 377), *stá* (p. 377) and *cuchar* (p. 244) with the latter forms appearing to be sporadic variants in the St. Bernard dialect.

Examination of the Brule data recorded in the present study reveals the widespread nature of the process of aphaeresis in this dialect. Table 2 (below) shows the extent of this process with regard to word-initial *a* and *e* (in non-tonic position).
TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Tonic Word-initial /a/</th>
<th>Non-Tonic Word-initial /e/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a] - 56%</td>
<td>[e] - 59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ø] - 44%</td>
<td>[Ø] - 41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chart above demonstrates that aphaeresis of both /a/ and /e/ is very common. It is important to note, however, that various forms of the verb estar accounted for many cases of /e/ aphaeresis, and that if these cases are not included, the rate of /e/ aphaeresis drops from 41 percent to 16 percent. While aphaeresis of both word initial e and word initial a is found in both Isleño dialects, it would appear to be more advanced in the Brule dialect. A comparison of the two dialects also indicates that aphaeresis of word initial a is much more widespread in the Brule dialect than in that of St. Bernard Parish.

Perhaps even more interesting than the differential effect of this phonological process in the two Isleño dialects is its extension in the Brule dialect since the time when MacCurdy (1959) conducted his research in Ascension Parish. For example, MacCurdy recorded abuja 'needle' (Standard Spanish aguja), alantre 'in front of', (Standard Spanish adelante), azucra 'sugar' (Standard Spanish azúcar) and, escupida 'spittle' (Standard Spanish escupido) (all p. 549), armojá 'pillow' (Standard Spanish...
almohada) (p. 550), and estizera 'scissors' (Standard Spanish tijeras) (p. 551). In modern Brule Spanish, these words are all realized with aphaeresis as ['vu*ha], ['lan*te], ['su*kra], ['hku*pi*a], [mo*ha], and [ti*sc*rah].

The fact that MacCurdy did actually perceive and record this process where it existed at that time is evidenced by his documentation of lexical items such as cender 'to light, ignite' (Standard Spanish encender (p. 550), bardonar 'to abandon' (Standard Spanish aban-
donar) (p. 550), baratar 'to destroy' (Standard Spanish desbaratar) (p. 550), feitar 'to shave' (Standard Spanish afeitar) (p. 551), garrar 'to seize, grasp' (Standard Spanish agarrar) (p. 551), torsniar 'to sneeze' (Standard Spanish estorundar) (p. 554), and visparo 'beehive' (Stan-
dard Spanish avispero) (p. 554).

5.3.3.3 The Consonants

5.3.3.3.1 The Labials and Labiodentals

As in most dialects of Spanish, the Brule dialect exhibits alternation of the voiced bilabial stop [b] in phrase initial position and the voiced bilabial fricative [β] in other environments (MacCurdy 1950:32, Lipski 1990:14). Unlike many Spanish dialects, however, the Brule dialect has the labiodental fricative [v] which alternates with [β] and [b]. There is widespread varia-
tion in the use of these variants with the labiodental [v] occurring most often in words which retain etymological v
as in vaca `cow' and villa [ˈviˈya] 'town'. Interestingly enough, however, many Brule Spanish speakers also produce [v] in many cases where Standard Spanish orthography has b as in valba [ˈvalˈba] 'Spanish moss' (< Standard Spanish barba 'beard'), voca [ˈvoˈka] 'mouth' (Standard Spanish boca), veve [ˈveˈve] 'to drink' (Standard Spanish beber) and cevolla [ˈseˈvoˈya] 'onion' (Standard Spanish cebo-lha). This same alternation exists in St. Bernard Parish, but Lipski (1990:15) says that the variation of [b] and [v] "goes relatively unnoticed" among these Isleños.

While the same might be generally true in Ascension Parish, that there is some underlying awareness of the two variants is evidenced by the fact that I was corrected by one informant for "mispronouncing" valba [ˈvalˈba] 'Spanish moss' (Standard Spanish barba 'beard') as [ˈbalˈba].

Other changes in the labials and labiodentals which are common in many other Spanish dialects either do not exist or are very sporadic in Brule Spanish (see MacCurdy 1950:32, Espninosa 1930:149-151). For example, the change b > g before back vowels was noted only in one word gomitar 'to vomit' (Standard Spanish vomitar), and the vocalization of [b] to [u] was noted only in the word diaulo [diˈauˈlo] 'devil' (Standard Spanish diablo). In the imperfect tense the /b/ is often deleted as in jablá [haˈbla] 'I used to speak' (Standard Spanish hablaba) or pehcá [peχˈka] 'I used to fish' (Standard Spanish pes-caba). As in St. Bernard Parish and the Canary Islands,
the cluster `mb` is reduced in the word tamien [ta·'myen] 'also'. It is retained in the verb lamber [lam·'ber] 'to lick' (Standard Spanish lamer) (MacCurdy 1950:35, Alvar 1955:39), as it is in many rural dialects of Spanish.

5.3.3.3.2 The Dentals and Interdentals

As in many other Spanish dialects, word final /d/ is categorically eliminated as in paré 'wall' [pa·'re] (Standard Spanish pared) and ciudá [syu·'da] 'city' (Standard Spanish ciudad). The phoneme /d/ is almost always elided in intervocalic position, as in venado [br·'na·o] 'deer' or colorao [ko·lo·'ra·o] 'red'. The reduction of intervocalic /d/ is a very common process in many dialects of Spanish including the St. Bernard and Canary Island dialects (MacCurdy 1950:34, Lipski 1990:15, Alvar 1955:22, Catalan 1963:258-61, Guerra 1977:367) as well as many Caribbean dialects (Cotton and Sharp 1988:203, Zamora Vincente 1979:412, Navarro Tomás 1957:101-102). Catalan (1963:258-61) found /d/ deletion to be very common in the rural areas of the Canary Islands. Coles (1991:238) also noted widespread deletion of /d/ across all speech styles by St. Bernard semi-speakers.

Intervocalic reduction of /d/ in Brule Spanish may occur word internally as in sentá [sen·'ta:] 'seated' (Standard Spanish sentada), ruilla [ru·'i·ya] 'knee' (Standard Spanish rodilla), felmeá [fél·me·'a] 'illness' (Standard Spanish enfermedad) or in a phrase such as 'Tiene una piaza (pedazo) (de) gató' [tyè·nu·na 'pya·sei
ga·'to] 'He has a piece of cake'. In some common words such as too [to:] 'all' (Standard Spanish todo) and naa [na:] 'nothing' (Standard Spanish nada), such reduction is categorical.

Coles (1991:203) compared the variable behavior of /d/ in the speech of two informants through performance, interview, and casual speech styles. Unfortunately, she did not provide such data for the population as a whole. The data from the informant who showed the most significant reduction of /d/ (which, not surprisingly, happened to be in casual speech style) is compared in Table 3 (below) with data from Ascension Parish.

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior of /d/ in Brule and St. Bernard Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/VdV/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Bernard (Informant CC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension Parish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: V=vowel; #=word boundary

Table 3 shows that Brule speakers in general show significantly greater reduction of intervocalic /d/ than even the speaker who showed the greatest reduction in St. Bernard Parish. This clearly indicates that reduction of /d/ is more advanced in the Brule dialect than in that of
St. Bernard Parish. Reduction of /d/ regularly occurs in forms of the verb poder 'can, to be able to' such as puedo [po] or [pwo] 'I can' (for further discussion of this form see the section below which deals with morphology) puede [pwə] 'he can' and podia ['pwia] 'he could'. The perfect tenses have all but disappeared from Brule Spanish (see also below), but this reduction is seen in adjectival forms based on past participles such as faão [fa:'o] 'angry' (Standard Spanish enfadado 'displeased') and sentaa [sən'ta:] (Standard Spanish sentada). The reader will note that identical vowels are often reduced to a single long vowel in these cases (perhaps to avoid hiatus).

In the group dr the /d/ is often deleted as in pare ['pa're] 'father' (Standard Spanish padre), mare ['ma're] 'mother' (Standard Spanish madre, and piera ['pyə'ra] 'rock' (Standard Spanish piedra) as sometimes is case in St. Bernard Spanish (MacCurdy 1950:34). In Brule Spanish often r is deleted after the voiceless dental /t/ in the combination tr, as in oto ['o'to] (Standard Spanish otro), and cuenta ['kwənta] (Standard Spanish contra). Also, in a few cases Brule speakers substitute /k/ for t before r as with krihte ['krih'ti] 'sad' (Standard Spanish triste) and rahkrillano [rah'kri'ya:no] 'raking' (Standard Spanish rastrillando).

The phoneme /d/ is sporadically reduced after n, as in the progressive, for example, 'tá jablano' [ta ha·]
'bla·no] 'He is talking' (Standard Spanish "Está hablando") and "Taba comieno" ['ta·ba ko·'mye·no] 'I was eating' (Standard Spanish "Estaba comiendo"). In the case of the verb nadar 'to swim' this reduction has led to the competing progressive forms [a·'na·no] or [a·'nan·do]. This reduction of /d/ after /n/ is also common in the forms such as one ['o·ne] 'where' (Standard Spanish donde) and cuano ['kwa·no] 'when' (Standard Spanish cuando) (see also MacCurdy 1950:34).

The voiceless interdental fricative [θ] does not exist in either the St. Bernard or Brule dialect and is absent in the Canary Islands (Lipski 1990:32). Lipski (1990:32) says that the lack of this phoneme in the St. Bernard dialect "reflects both the probable geographical origins of the Isleños and the dialect leveling that has taken place since the first waves of immigration."

5.3.3.3.3 The Alveolars

In St. Bernard Parish as well as most of America and Andalusia, /s/ generally has a dorsoalveolar pronunciation rather than the apicoalveolar articulation of Castilian Spanish (MacCurdy 1950:35, Alvar López 1968:23). In Brule Spanish /s/ is sometimes aspirated when it occurs in syllable-final position (usually before a consonant) as in loh chiquilloh [loh ch·i·'ki·yoh] 'the children' (Standard Spanish los chiquillos or los niños) or la cohta [la 'koh·ta] 'the town' (Standard Spanish costa 'coast'). Lipski (1990:20-21) claims that the behavior of /s/ is one
of the principal "dialect differentiators" of Spanish which "allows the classification of Spanish dialects into three main categories." According to Lipski, the first category represents "those varieties that preserve /s/ as a sibilant in virtually all phonetic contexts." Dialects included in this group include those of northern and eastern Spain, most of Mexico and Guatemala, and the Andean region of South America (Lipski 1990:21). The second category, which includes the dialects of south central and southeastern Spain and coastal Mexico, exhibits aspiration of /s/ to [h] in preconsonantal position and sometimes in phrase-final position before a consonant, but retains it in prevocalic position (Lipski 1990:21). The third category, which Lipski claims would include most dialects of the Canary Islands and St. Bernard Parish as well as those of most of the dialects of the Caribbean, Central America, and southern Spain, variably may aspirate or delete even word-final prevocalic /s/ (Lipski 1990:21) (see also Terrell 1974, 1977, 1979; Canfield 1962, 1981). While Lipski places the St. Bernard dialect in this third category (1990:21), he notes that [s] is retained in word-final position more often than in most of the dialects of the Canary Islands (where in some cases such reduction is categorical). This leads Lipski (1990:23) to suggest that "in the Canary Islands complete reduction of /s/ took place after the emigration of the Isleños, whose speech preserves earlier stages of the evolution of /s/."
Brule Spanish, like many other American Spanish dialects (as well as those of Andalusia and the Canary Islands), exhibits widespread aspiration and deletion of /s/ in a variety of linguistic environments. However, in addition to being realized as [h] and [Ø], in Brule Spanish the phoneme /s/ often becomes the voiced allophone [z] in certain environments. In most Spanish dialects, the phoneme /s/ is often voiced to [z] as a result of anticipatory assimilation when it precedes a voiced consonant as in mismo ['miz·mo] 'same', and even applies in many cases across word boundaries as in los gatos [loz 'ga·tos] 'the cats' (Dalbor 1980:86). In the Brule dialect, however, this assimilatory process is common even in cases where /s/ precedes vowels (both stressed and unstressed). For example, the most common verb for 'to cook' in Brule Spanish, guiza, is regularly pronounced [gi·'za], and the infinitive coser 'to sew' and its progressive form cosiendo 'to sew', are regularly [ko·'ze] and [ko·'zye·n·do] or [ko·'zye·no] (but see the section below which deals with linguistic variation for the pronunciation of other forms). In his word list, MacCurdy (1959) noted the voicing of /s/ (which he represented with orthographic z) in words such as azul 'blue' (p. 550) and muzica 'music' (p. 552), and dozenia 'dozen' and hypothesized (p. 550) that each case was "owed to the influence of the French cognate." This does not seem to be correct, since the voicing of intervocalic /s/ is a widespread process which,
though perhaps having been influenced by French, occurs in
native words with no phonetically similar French counter-
part, and therefore cannot always be attributed to associa-
tion with French look-alikes. This becomes obvious when
one considers other examples of words in which /s/ is
often voiced: manzana [manˈzaˈna] 'apple', cazáse
[kəˈzaˈse] 'to get married' (Standard Spanish casarse),
uzá [uˈza] 'to use' (Standard Spanish usar), bezerro
[beˈzeˈro] 'calf' (Standard Spanish becerro), camiza
[kaˈmiˈza] 'shirt' (Standard Spanish camisa) and calzone
[kalˈzoˈne] 'pants' (Standard Spanish calzones). This
process also extends across word boundaries as in Fue las
once la noche [fuˈla zonˈse la ˈnoˈce] 'It was eleven
o'clock at night' (Standard Spanish Eran las once de la
noche). This process is so common that it has caused
native Brule speakers to reanalyze a number of words which
begin with a vowel as having an added prothetic /z/. For
example, Standard Spanish ojo 'eye', oreja 'ear', uña
'fingernail', hijo 'son', hija 'daughter' and ajo 'garlic'
are regularly realized as zojo ['zoˈho], zoreja [zoˈɾeˈha],
zuña ['zuˈna], zijo ['ziˈho], zija ['ziˈha], and zajo
['zaˈho] even in environments where an /s/ of some other
form such as the plural article is not be present as in un
zojo [un 'zoˈho] 'one eye', Yo tengo cuarto zijo [yo 'tɾoˈho]
'kwaˈto 'ziˈho] 'I have four children' (Standard Spanish
Yo tengo cuatro hijos). These lexical items have now been
fully reanalyzed to include the prothetic /z/, as
evidenced by the fact that in elicitation exercises words such as oreja 'ear' and ojo 'eye' were always realized as [zo-'ra-ha] and ['zo-ho]. As Lipski (1990:29) points out, this process of reanalysis is common in many creole French dialects (oiseax (sic?)> zoizeaux 'bird') and is not unknown St. Bernard Spanish (un hijo > un sijo 'a son' and al otro dia > al sotro dia 'the next day'). While he states that such phonological restructuring is frequent in some cases of language creolization, Lipski (1990:29) notes that the amount of such restructuring has been relatively small in the St. Bernard dialect, perhaps because this group has had some contact with other Spanish speakers. This contact, he suggests (p. 29), might have been sufficient to "preserve the essential phonological patterns of most words." As was the case with the phonological process of aphaeresis, the two Louisiana Isleño dialects, it would seem, are distinguished by the extent of the restructuring (it is quite common in the Brule dialect), and by the fact that Brule Spanish speakers voice the prothetic /s/ in these restructured words.

Lipski (1990:22) provides a quantitative comparison of the variable behavior of /s/ according to linguistic environments (see also Cedergren 1973:46) in several Spanish dialects. He compares the retention, aspiration and deletion of /s/ in four environments: (1) word-internally before a consonant, (2) at a word boundary before a consonant, (3) at a phrase boundary, and (4) at a word
boundary before an unstressed vowel. Table 4 (below) shows the behavior of /s/ in Brule Spanish in these environments.

**TABLE 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior of /s/ in Brule Spanish</th>
<th>[s]</th>
<th>[h]</th>
<th>[θ]</th>
<th>[z]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sC/</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s#C/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s##/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s#V/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s#V/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: C= consonant; #=word boundary; ##=phrase boundary; V=stressed vowel; V=unstressed vowel. Symbols used in this chart are used consistently in the charts below.

Lipski's tabulation of the behavior of /s/ in various dialects (including that of St. Bernard Parish) provides a basis for the comparison of these dialects with Brule Spanish. Coles (1991:163-169) presents a very useful dialect-by-dialect comparison (in bar graph form) of Lipski's data in which she notes the variable behavior of /s/ in each of these environments. Following Coles, Tables 5 and 6 (below) show the behavior of /s/ in various linguistic environments across several Spanish dialects (based on Lipski's data) with the addition of the current findings on the Brule dialect.
TABLE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Brule</th>
<th>St Bernard</th>
<th>Isleño:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sC/</td>
<td>12 39 48</td>
<td>2 46 52 0</td>
<td>18 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s#C/</td>
<td>11 76 13</td>
<td>3 62 35 4</td>
<td>11 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s##/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Isleño:
- Brule
- St Bernard

Caribbean:
- Dominican Republic
- Cuba
- Puerto Rico

Canary Islands:
- Gran Canaria
- Tenerife
- La Palma

Source for data other than Brule: Lipski (1990:22)

TABLE 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Brule</th>
<th>St. Bernard</th>
<th>Isleño:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s#V/</td>
<td>0 18 32 50</td>
<td>0 22 78 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s##/</td>
<td>49 30 21 0</td>
<td>10 57 33 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Isleño:
- Brule
- St. Bernard

Caribbean:
- Dominican Republic
- Cuba
- Puerto Rico

Canary Islands:
- Gran Canaria
- Tenerife
- La Palma

Source for data other than Brule: Lipski (1990:22)
Table 4 shows the behavior of /s/ in various linguistic environments in Brule Spanish. Table 5 compares the behavior of /s/ in preconsonantal and prepausal positions in selected Spanish dialects. This table shows that the behavior of preconsonantal syllable-final /s/ in Brule Spanish most closely resembles the Dominican Republic dialect in that each of these dialects favors deletion. All other dialects prefer aspiration in this environment.

In the case of preconsonantal /s/ before a word boundary, Brule, St. Bernard and Dominican Spanish favor deletion. In this case the behavior of /s/ Brule Spanish most closely resembles St. Bernard Spanish with deletion being more prevalent in Brule than in St. Bernard Spanish. All other dialects strongly favor aspiration in this context. As pointed out by Coles (1991:165) /s/ retention is the least favored variable in this environment.

In prepausal position the Brule dialect, like those of St. Bernard Parish, the Canary Islands, and the Dominican Republic, favors deletion (see Coles 1991:166) while in the Caribbean dialects retention of /s/ is more common.

Table 6 shows that the case of /s/ before a stressed vowel is unique in the Brule dialect, since it is the only one which regularly voices the phoneme in this environment. Coles points out (1991:167) that the St. Bernard, Cuban, and Puerto Rican dialects parallel each other in this environment. The behavior of /s/ in this environment in Brule does not differ greatly from these dialects.
except that where the former dialects favor retention of /s/, Brule Spanish has the voiced variant. In the behavior of /s/ before an unstressed vowel, Brule Spanish is once again closer to Dominican Spanish than to any other Spanish dialect.

5.3.3.3.4 The Liquids

Alternation of the phonemes /l/ and /r/ in certain contexts is a very common process in many Spanish dialects. This "liquid migration" as it is sometimes called, is common throughout in the Canary Islands (Catalán 1963:266), the Caribbean (Alonso 1967:213-267, Terrell 1982:55-61, Canfield 1981:45), and Andalusia (Alonso 1961:219). Lipski (1990:27) says that the phonemes /l/ and /r/ in the St. Bernard dialect "receive nonexceptional articulation except in syllable-final position, where partial or total neutralization is the norm." He notes that preconsonantal /r/ and /l/ may be realized as [l], [r], [θ], and [h], "apparently without regular application of specific phonological rules of neutralization" (1990:28).

Unfortunately, Lipski provides no information about the relative frequency of each of these variants in St. Bernard Spanish, but he does provide a comparison of the behavior of these phonemes in several other Spanish dialects. He (1990:28) states that, compared to the behavior of /s/ and /n/, the phonemes /l/ and /r/ "show fewer consistent trends in behavior...among Spanish dialects with
overall rates of neutralization being more important than individual phonetic results."

MacCurdy (1950:36) noted that /l/ in syllable-final position was sporadically produced as /r/ (el jardín > er jardín) or vocalized to /i/ (del pastor > dei pastor). In syllable-final position before a consonant MacCurdy (1950:36) observed that /r/ is often aspirated (puerta > puehta), pronounced as /s/ (estornudar > tosnuar), vocalized (acuerda > acueida), or becomes /d/ (arveja > adveja). Thus, the behavior of preconsonantal [r] is quite variable in the St. Bernard dialect, and Lipski's comparison of the behavior of /l/ and /r/ shows that there is indeed substantial variation in the Spanish dialects of the Caribbean and Canary Islands.

The behavior of /l/ and /r/ is much more consistent in the Brule dialect than in many of the other Spanish dialects in Lipski's comparison. Unlike many of the other Spanish dialects in Lipski's tabulation, /l/ generally receives non-exceptional articulation in the Brule dialect. The change [l] > [r], as noted by Lipski (1991:28) in vuelta ['vuer·ta] 'turn', is virtually non-existent in modern Brule Spanish. However, this may not have always been the case since MacCurdy (1950) recorded armojá (p. 550) for 'pillow' (p. 550) (Standard Spanish almohada), argoncillo (p. 550) for 'cotton' (Standard Spanish algodón), and armión (p. 550) for 'starch' (Standard Spanish almidón). The loss of word-final /l/ in St. Bernard
Spanish is also very rare in Brule Spanish, though it sometimes receives a velarized pronunciation as in azul [aˈzul] which can likely be attributed to English influence.

Neutralization of the phoneme /r/, however, is extremely common in Brule Spanish. As is the case in many Spanish dialects (including the St. Bernard dialect), neutralization of /r/ is most commonly found in syllable-final position. Canfield (1981:45) notes that the change of [r] to [l] is very common in the Dominican Republic, and Alonso (1961:219) notes that such leveling is widespread in Andalusia. One of the most salient features of the Brule dialect is the widespread change of [r] to [l] in preconsonantal position. The change of [r] to [l] in syllable-final position before a consonant, while not categorical, is an extremely common one in the Brule dialect. A few of the many examples of this change include valba [ˈvalˈba] 'beard', selvilleta [səlˈviˈyeˈta], malteh [ˈmalˈteh] 'Tuesday',gold0 [ˈɡolˈdo], lalgo [ˈlalˈgo] 'long', pelsona [pəlˈsoˈna] 'person', colbata [koˈləˈbaˈta] 'tie', talde [ˈtalde] 'afternoon', and veldá [ˈvelˈda] 'truth' (Standard Spanish barba, servilleta, martes, gordo, largo, persona, corbata, tarde, and verdad). Neutralization of syllable-final [r] in favor of [l] is so widespread that it occurs sporadically even in pre-vocalic position as in the cases of palaba [paˈlaˈba] 'he used to stop', Milano [miˈlaˈno] 'watching' siempre

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[syem'ple] 'always', legle ['le'gle] 'happy', templano [tem'pla'no], and ela ['e'la] 'I was' (Standard Spanish paraba, siemere, alegre, temprano, and era).

MacCurdy (1959) apparently noticed the neutralization of syllable final /r/ and /l/ where the lateral was the favored articulation since he recorded jelver for 'to boil' (Standard Spanish hervir) (p. 552), puelta (p. 553) for 'door' (Standard Spanish puerta), and templano (p. 554) for 'early' (Standard Spanish temprano). A comparison of MacCurdy's word-list and my current findings reveals that this change has almost certainly undergone very rapid progression since the time of MacCurdy's study. For example, where MacCurdy (1959) records cuarpo (p. 551) 'body', cuarvo (p. 551) 'crow', harmano (p. 552) 'brother', hierba (p. 552) 'grass', marsue (p. 552) 'raccoon', martilla (p. 552) 'hammer', and sarvilleta (p. 553) 'napkin', modern Brule Spanish has ['kwel'po], ['kwel'vo], ['zl'ma'no], ['yel'ba], [mal'swe], [mal'ti'yo], and [szl'vy'e'ta].

Thus, in every case where MacCurdy records syllable-final [r] before a consonant, modern Brule Spanish has [l]. It is important to note that MacCurdy (1950:27) formulated a phonological rule which specifically stated that the change of e > a (which I maintain is actually a change of /e/ to [ə]) occurred only in an initial syllable closed by /r/. This fact strongly suggests that at the time of MacCurdy's research in Ascension Parish, the words
which he recorded as cuarpo, cuarvo, harmano, and sar villeta were actually pronounced with an alveolar tap [r] rather than [l] as is the case currently in Brule Spanish. The evidence presented above supports the idea that the change of [r] to [l] is much more widespread today than it was at the time MacCurdy did his research. In addition to being realized as [l], syllable final /r/ is sometimes deleted as in porque ['po'kɛ] 'because' and cerca ['se'ka] 'near'. Nevertheless the [l] variant is by far the most common articulation of syllable-final /r/ before a consonant.

As in St. Bernard Spanish (Lipski 1984:105, 1990:28), word-final /r/ is usually deleted in Brule Spanish as in jablá [ha'bla] 'to speak' (Standard Spanish hablar) or viví [vi'vi] 'to live' (Standard Spanish vivir).

MacCurdy (1959:549) found that "the final -r of infinitives is rarely pronounced as r (usually being dropped, aspirated, or vocalized to i). The same could be said of modern Brule Spanish, except that the vocalization is closer to a mid-central vowel [ə] than it is to high front [i]. For example, ver 'to see' is in some cases articulated as [ve] and in other cases as [veə]. The tables below show the variable behavior of /r/ in syllable-final position before a consonant and in word-final position in the Brule dialect.
TABLE 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[r]</th>
<th>[l]</th>
<th>[Ø]</th>
<th>[ə]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/rC/</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r#/</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/rC/</th>
<th>/r#/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isleño:</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brule</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean:</td>
<td>[Ø]</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canary Islands:</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gran Canaria</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenerife</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Palma</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andalusia:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sevilla</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granada</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source for all data except Brule: Lipski (1991:29)

The tables above illustrate the widespread nature of the process of liquid migration in the Brule dialect. No other dialect of Spanish exhibits evidence of this process.
to the same degree. In preconsonantal environment the Brule dialect most closely resembles the dialects of Cuba and the Dominican Republic, but Brule Spanish surpasses these dialects both in overall rate of neutralization and in the degree to which it favors the [l] variant in such neutralization.

In word-final position the Brule dialect most closely resembles that of Cuba. However, Brule Spanish is again unique in its preference of the centralized [ə] in word final position, while Cuban Spanish favors the lateral variant [l] in word final position. As is the case in preconsonantal position, word-final /r/ shows a greater degree of reduction in Brule Spanish than in does any other dialect shown.

The behavior of the alveolar trill [F] was discussed in some detail in Chapter 4. In the discussion, it was noted that there appears to be a tendency towards shift of the two phonemes /r/ and /F/, particularly in word-initial position. Such shift appears to be more frequent in the speech of less fluent speakers, though the phoneme did not occur frequently enough in the data of less fluent speakers to make a conclusive statement to this effect. While shift of [F] to [r] is most common in word-initial position, it is not uncommon in intervocalic position (where such a distinction is phonemic and thus results in a neutralization). In fact, there are isolated cases where it would appear that [F] has shifted in favor of [r] which
then undergoes the process of [r] > [l] described above. For example, in one informant's statement Yo celé la puerta 'I closed the door' (Standard Spanish Yo cerré la puerta), cerré 'I closed' is realized as [se•'le]. In another case, a different speaker pronounced Standard Spanish agarró 'she grabbed' as [ga•'lo], Mi mare me galó po el pelo [mi 'ma•re me ga•'lo pol 'pe•lo] 'My mother grabbed me by the hair' (Standard Spanish Mi madre me agarró por el pelo). The table below shows the behavior of the trilled phoneme [F] in Brule Spanish in both word-initial and intervocalic position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior of /-r/ and /VFV/ in the Brule Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[F]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/F-  /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/VFV/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=50

Table 9 shows that there is substantial tendency to shift /F/ in favor of /r/ in word-initial position. In intervocalic position (where the distinction between /F/ and /r/ is phonemic) such neutralization occurs, but it is not as frequent.
5.3.3.3.5 The Alveopalatals

The alveopalatal affricate [ɾ] and the voiced palatal fricative [y] show little variation from most other Spanish dialects. In addition to the alveopalatal affricate [ɾ], in Brule Spanish the alveopalatal fricative [ɣ] is often found in many French loanwords, and in some words of English origin. As in many other Spanish dialects, including that of St. Bernard Parish, (Lipski 1990:17, MacCurdy 1950:59, Ross 1980:552-54, Canfield 1980:12), /y/ may sporadically weaken or disappear in Brule Spanish when it is in intervocalic position in contact with /i/ or /e/ as in gallina [ga'í'na] 'chicken' or botella [bo'te'a] 'bottle'.

As in most Latin American varieties of Spanish, the palatal lateral [ʎ] does not exist in either Brule Spanish or St. Bernard Spanish (Lipski 1991:17). Because this phoneme is widespread throughout the Canary Islands (Alvar 1978), Lipski (1991:18) suggests that the lack of the phoneme [ʎ] in St. Bernard Parish might be a case of spontaneous neutralization. He says (1991:18) that the non-existence of this phoneme "shows no indication of resulting from direct influence of other Spanish dialects, but suggests that it may instead "result from the infusion of speakers from a wide variety of Spanish dialects lacking this phoneme." While not an unreasonable assumption in the case of St. Bernard Parish, this argument could not be applied in the case of Ascension Parish, since there is
no historical evidence for such infusions. In the case of
the Brule dialect, given the pattern of neutralization
demonstrated by syllable-final /s/ and /r/, if one assumes
that the palatal lateral did exist at the time of the
Canary Island migrations, its disappearance is more likely
to have resulted from what Lipski (1991:18) calls "the
gradual loss of awareness of underlying phonological
structure, and increasing contact with French."

It would seem unwise, however, to ignore completely
the possibility that the palatal lateral either was absent
or not widespread in the dialects of Canary Islands at the
time of the settlement of Louisiana. The fact that this
phoneme is found in all dialects of the Canary Islands
except among the younger generations in the principal
urban areas (Lipski 1984:108, Lorenzo Ramos 1976) may make
this possibility seem less likely, but it cannot be ruled
out completely.

5.3.3.3.6 The Velars

The voiced velar stop [g] sporadically becomes [b] or
[v] before rounded back vowels in cases such as vuha
['vu·ha] 'nail' (Standard Spanish aguja 'needle'), and
bujero [bu·'he·ro] 'hole' or 'pond' (Standard Spanish
agujero 'hole'). This phoneme is also sporadically elided
when it is in intervocalic position as in Él me preunó
(preguntó) [él me prə·un·'to] 'He asked me'. Both these
processes are common in St. Bernard Spanish (Lipski
and are attested in non-standard dialects elsewhere.

5.3.3.3.7 The Glottals

As in many dialects of Central America and the Caribbean, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela, (Canfield 180:12, Dalbor 1980:99), Brule Spanish has a glottal fricative [h] rather than the velar fricative of Castilian, Mexican, and other varieties of Spanish. MacCurdy stated (1950:39) that St. Bernard Spanish had a velar fricative [x] which was "somewhat weaker" to "considerably weaker" than in Castilian. It is very likely that what MacCurdy had actually heard was the glottal fricative [h], since Lipski (1990:16) found more recently that /x/ is normally realized as a "postvelar or pharyngeal aspiration [h]."

One of the most salient features of the Brule dialect is its pronunciation of word initial h. Pronunciation of /h/ is not common in Andalusia but is found in rural Canarian areas of Gomera, Lanzarote, and Tenerife (Alvar López 1968:88). In his study of the St. Bernard dialect, MacCurdy (1950:33) had recorded the pronunciation of /h/ in several words such as jundo 'deep' (Standard Spanish hondo) juyir 'to flee' (Standard Spanish huir) and ajogar 'to drown' (Standard Spanish ahogar). Coles (1991:223) found that Isleño speakers pronounce /h/ "only in the lexical item hacer and its various reflexes" and states (p. 224) that this pronunciation "is prevalent only among the oldest speakers."
In Brule Spanish, however, pronunciation of word-initial /h/ is much more common than in St. Bernard Spanish. Some words in which word-initial /h/ is regularly pronounced include jablá [ha-'bla] 'to talk' (and its various reflexes) (Standard Spanish hablar < Latin fabulari), jolmiga [hol-'mi-ga] 'ant' (Standard Spanish hormiga < Latin formica), jigo ['hi-go] 'fig' (Standard Spanish higo < Latin ficu), jallá [ha-'ya] 'to find' (and its reflexes) (Standard Spanish hallar < Latin afflare), jerramientas [he-ra-'myen-ta] 'tools' (Standard Spanish herramientas < Latin ferrum), jelvi [he-l-'vi] 'to boil' (Standard Spanish hervir < Latin fervere), jilo ['hi-lo] 'thread' (Standard Spanish hilo < Latin filu) and, unlike MacCurdy's finding in St. Bernard Parish (1950:33), also in jarina [ha-ri-na] 'flour' (Standard Spanish harina < Latin farina) and hambre ['ham-bre] 'hunger' (Standard Spanish harina < Latin famen). Word-initial /h/ is never pronounced in some words such as hombre ['om-bre] (< Latin homine), the verb hay [ai] 'there is, there are' (< Latin habet), or hielba ['yel-ba] 'grass' (Standard Spanish hierba < Latin herba) and, unlike in St. Bernard Parish (MacCurdy 1950:33), it is rarely pronounced in helmano [əl-'ma-no] 'brother' or helmana [əl-'ma-na] (Standard

7 This discussion deals solely with the pronunciation of orthographic h which is derived from Latin f or h and is not pronounced in most dialects. It is not concerned with word-initial /h/ represented orthographically by ge or gi or j (which is realized as [x] in many other dialects).
Spanish hermano/hermana (< Latin germanum) 'sister') or hijo 'child' (< Latin filius), which is pronounced as ['i·ho] or ['zi·ho] (see above). The behavior of word-initial /h/ is shown in the table below.

**TABLE 10**

| Behavior of Word-Initial /h/ in the Brule Dialect |
|-----------------|------------------|
| [h]             | [Ø]              |
| /h-/            | 88               |
|                 | 12               |

A comparison of the data collected in the present study with the word list compiled by MacCurdy (1959) reveals that there has been no significant shift in the pronunciation of word-initial /h/ since the time of his research. For example, MacCurdy (1959:552) records hierba 'grass' and harmano 'brother' as having a "silent" initial /h/ but he records jelver 'to boil' (Standard Spanish hervir) and hambriente 'desirous, greedy' (Standard Spanish hambriento). It is notable that every word in which Brule speakers pronounce word-initial orthographic h is derived from a Latin word beginning with f. The fact that Brule speakers pronounce word-initial h in these cases can be attributed to the fact that word-initial Latin f was, in some cases, pronounced /h/ in Old Spanish (see Penney 1991:79-86, Spaulding 1943:88, Lathrop 1980:79-80). Word-initial h is sometimes not pronounced in a handful of
Brule words that are derived from Latin words beginning with f (e.g. hambre 'hunger' < Latin famen), but there are no cases where h is pronounced in words with etymological Latin h (see examples above).

Although Coles (1991) makes no such claim, the fact that she found word-initial /h/ to be pronounced only by the oldest informants and only "in the context of hacer" (p. 239), while MacCurdy had noted such pronunciation in several commonly used words (he mentioned twelve), seems to indicate that there has been reduction of this phoneme in St. Bernard since the time of MacCurdy's study.

Four conclusions with regard to the behavior of word-initial /h/ can be drawn based on the present study: (1) pronunciation of word-initial /h/ is a very common phenomenon in Brule Spanish, (2) word-initial /h/ is pronounced only in cases where it was derived from Latin f, (3) this pronunciation is currently more widespread than in St. Bernard Parish, and (4) there does not appear to be significant reduction in the tendency toward loss of h in Brule Spanish. It is interesting to note that, unlike most of the other phonological processes described above, the pronunciation of word-initial /h/ in Brule Spanish represents a more conservative tendency in the Brule dialect than in St. Bernard Parish.
5.3.4 Morphological and Syntactic Reduction

5.3.4.1 Classification of Features

The processes of morphological and syntactic reduction which are commonly found to operate in dying languages were discussed at length in Chapter 4. This section is concerned with investigating the specific processes which have influenced the evolution of Brule Spanish.

Lipski (1985, 1987, 1991) has investigated various processes of morphological and syntactic reduction in several Spanish dialects. He (1991:32) states that the morphological and syntactic features of the St. Bernard dialect can be divided into three categories: (1) archaic, popular, and rural elements, (2) elements that result from the process of vestigial use and language death, and (3) elements that are the result of direct syntactic transference from English.

At first glance Lipski's division of linguistic phenomena into these categories might seem uncontroversial. After all, he notes (1991:34) that some forms such as vaiga 'may he you/it go' may be considered archaic elements since they are "found in other marginal, rural dialects throughout the world." Many other cases, however, are not so clearcut. For example, it is not so easy to determine whether forms like comprende [kəpri'ænde] 'he understands' (Standard Spanish comprende) which have been noted by MacCurdy (1950:44) and Lipski (1991:36) in
St. Bernard Parish, and by me in Ascension Parish, reflect "archaic or popular" usage as claimed by Lipski (1991:36), or whether they represent analogical extensions (based on such alternating forms as entiende he/she/it understands and entender 'to understand') that might further be abetted by vestigial language usage and language death. While no attempt is made in this section to categorize these phenomena according to Lipski's three classifications, in many cases the probable origins of certain of linguistic elements are discussed. The classification of linguistic phenomena in this section more closely resembles another system used by Lipski (1985, 1987). The discussion below will investigate the following linguistic processes: (1) reduction of verbal morphology, (2) reduction of nominal morphology, (3) modification and reduction of the pronominal system, (4) modification in prepositional usage, and (5) modification of syntactic usage. It must be noted, however, that even the boundaries of this language structure based classification system are not distinct. The interconnected nature of linguistic systems was discussed in Chapter 4 and need not be repeated here except to remind the reader that a change in one linguistic area often brings about change in another area. For example, a reduction in verbal morphology might help to bring about a modification of the pronominal system (see below). Thus, in the following classification of
morphological and syntactic features the divisions do not indicate discrete and unrelated categories.

5.3.4.2 Verbal Morphology

As discussed in Chapter 4, widespread variability in linguistic forms is typical of many dying language communities. This variation can be attributed in part to a loss of underlying awareness of various linguistic distinctions. For example, one speaker produced the form yo adí [yo a-'di] 'I will go'. It is very likely that this form represents a restructuring based on the periphrastic future construction Voy a ir ('I am going to go') (see below for further discussion). Thus, the verb di 'to go' (Standard Spanish ir) has been reanalyzed as adí based on periphrastic future constructions such as Yo voy a di [yo vo ya di] 'I am going to go' and él va a di [él va di] 'He is going to go'. On another occasion, when the same speaker produced the sentence Yo va di mañana [yo va di ma-'ña-na] for 'I am going tomorrow', he replied negatively when asked if one might also say Yo adí mañana. Nevertheless, in the same conversation he produced the following utterance: Yo adí mañana; tú pue venir conmigo [yo a-'di ma-'ña-na tu pwe ve-'ni kő-'mi-yo] 'I am going tomorrow, you can come with me' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a ir mañana; tú puedes venir conmigo).

In some cases the uncertainty about verb forms has brought about a situation in which there are competing forms for certain verb conjugations. For example, in
Standard Spanish the verbs aprender 'to learn' and comprender 'to understand' are regular in the present indicative (conjugated yo comprendo 'I understand', tú comprendes 'you [familiar] understand', etc.), and some Brule speakers follow standard usage of these verbs. Other speakers, however, produce forms which exhibit the e to ie stem alternation found in stem-changing verbs such as entender 'to understand' yo entiendo 'I understand' etc.). Thus, rather than Standard Spanish yo comprendo 'I understand' or él aprende 'he learns', some Brule speakers regularly use the forms yo compriendo [yo kom·pri·'en·do] or él apriende [el a·pri·'en·de]. The same speaker might use competing forms of such verbs on different occasions.

In his investigation of several creole and vestigial Spanish dialects, Lipski (1985:970) notes that morphological instability in verb forms is extremely frequent, and that there is a tendency for some variant of the third person verb form "to become the canonical verb form in vestigial Spanish." While this tendency has not progressed as far in Brule Spanish as in some other dialects (see Lipski 1985:970-71), its existence in this dialect is evidenced by the following examples:

Ayea yo fue (fui) a Winn Dixie [a·'ye·a yo fwe a wen 'dik·si] 'Yesterday I went to Winn Dixie.'

Yo pue (puedo) cantá [yo pwe kan·'ta] 'I can sing.'

Yo te va (voy) a da el puño [yo te va a 'da el 'pu·ño] 'I am going to give you my fist.'
Unlike Lipski (1991:971), I found very few cases in Ascension Parish where the third person plural verb form was substituted for the first person plural. It is notable, however, that there has been a reduction in usage of the first person plural form in the speech of some informants. Some speakers simply use the first person singular yo 'I' form, while others replace the of first person plural nosotros 'we' form with one or more singular subject pronouns. The first person singular pronoun nosotros (sometimes realized as [no'ho'tro]) as well as its corresponding verb forms are still sometimes used by Brule speakers. However, Brule speakers often avoid using this form, and one speaker consistently avoided the nosotros verb forms even in an exercise designed to elicit them. In the following cases this speaker was asked how one would say 'We can't go', 'We caught a lot of fish', and 'We went to the store yesterday':

Yo no pue (puedo) di (ir) y tú no pue (puedes) di (ir) [yo no pwe 'di i tu no pwe di] 'I can't go and you can't go.'

Mi grámpá y yo cogía (cogíamos) mucho pehcao. [mi gra'pa i yo ko'hí a mu'ço peh'ka'o] 'My grandfather and I used to catch a lot of fish.'

él fue, ella fue, yo fue (fui), toh (todos) fue (fuimos) a la butika ayea. [él fwe e'ya fwe yo fwe, toh fue a la bu'ti'ka a'ye'a] 'He went, she went, I went, we all went to the store yesterday.'
This loss of awareness often leads to reduction of allomorphy and the leveling of verb paradigms. For example, in Standard Spanish the irregular preterit tense forms of the verbs oír 'to hear' (conjugated yo oí 'I heard', tú oíste 'you [familiar] heard' él/ella/usted oyó 'he/she/you [formal] heard' nosotros oímos 'we heard', ellos oyeron 'they heard') and caer 'to fall' (conjugated yo cayí 'I fell', tú caíste 'you [familiar] fell', él/ella/usted cayeron 'he/she/you [formal] fell', nosotros cayimos 'we fell', ellos cayeron 'they fell') exhibit the /y/ in third person singular and plural forms. Some Brule speakers regularize the verb paradigm with the /y/ variant appearing in all forms (yo uyi [yo u'yi] 'I heard', tú uyiste [tu u'yih'te] 'you [familiar] heard' etc.; yo cayí [yo ka'yi] 'I fell', tú cayiste [tu ka'yih'te] 'you [familiar] fell' etc.).

It is not uncommon to find that certain phonological changes will bring about changes in other linguistic areas. For example, the loss of intervocalic /d/ (see above) has brought about a change in many verb forms. For example, in Standard Spanish the imperfect tense conjugation of the verb pedir 'to ask for' include the forms yo pedía [yo pe'ði'a] 'I used to ask for'), tú pedías [tu pe'ði'as] 'you (familiar) used to ask for', and él/ella/usted pedía [el/e'ya/u'sted pe'ði'a] 'he/she/you used to ask for'. In Brule Spanish these are realized as yo pìa [yo pi'a], tú pìa [tu pi'a], and él/ella/usted
pía [e1]/['e·ya]/[u·'ste]/['pi·a]. In many cases, the first vowel of these forms assimilates to the second vowel and is produced as one long vowel as in pía [pi:a].

The verb poder 'can, to be able to' also exhibits such reduction. Lipski (1991:35) notes that in certain forms such as puedo 'I can' diphthongs may occasionally reduce to monophthongs in rapid speech. He notes that the diphthong ue in puedo many follow the progression ue > uo > o resulting in puedo > puodo > podo. In Brule Spanish the loss of intervocalic /d/ has resulted in some cases in the further progression of podo to po as in Yo no po [puedo] comé [comer] eso. [ yo no 'po ko·'me 'e·so] 'I can't eat that'. Where Standard Spanish has yo podía [yo po·'qi·a] 'I was able', tú podías [tu po·'qi·a] 'you (familiar) were able', and él/ella/usted podia [el/'e·ya/ u·'sted/po·'qi·a], Brule Spanish speakers regularly produce the forms yo pwía [yo 'pwi·a], tú pwía [tu 'pwi·a], él/ella/usted pwía [e1]/['e·ya]/[u·'ste]/['pwi·a].

Among some speakers of Brule Spanish, the reduction of the verbal system has progressed much farther. Many of the phonological changes that have taken place (see above) in the dialect have brought about changes in other linguistic areas. For example, the loss of word-final /r/, intervocalic /b/, and intervocalic /d/ in Brule Spanish

As discussed below, the subject pronoun usted and its corresponding verb forms are rarely used in Brule Spanish.
infinitives such as sentar(se) 'to sit', imperfect forms such as sentaba 'I/he/she/you used to sit' and adjectival forms such as sentada 'seated' (the perfect tenses have almost disappeared in Brule Spanish) are all pronounced [sənˈta] (sometimes with the final vowel lengthened to [sənˈtaː] in the latter two cases).

In the case of at least one speaker, this situation is complicated even further by the fact that loss of underlying linguistic awareness caused him to reanalyze the periphrastic future construction (IR A + INFINITIVE) (see above). Thus, for Standard Spanish Yo iré a la tienda, voy a comprar un sombrero 'I am going to the store and I am going to buy a hat' and Yo voy a cortar la hierba mañana 'I am going to cut the grass tomorrow', one Brule speaker said Yo adí a la butica, comprá un sombrero [yo aˈˈdi a la buˈˈtiˈka komˈˈpra un somˈˈbreˈro] and Yo coltá la hielba mañana [yo kolˈˈta la 'yelˈba maˈˈñaˈna]. The form vucaná was used by this speaker with reference to future Yo vucaná jamón [yo vuˈˈkaˈˈna haˈˈmɔ] 'I will smoke some ham' and as the adjective 'smoked' Yo comia la calne (carne) vucaná (vucanada) [yo koˈˈmiˈa la 'kalˈˈne vuˈˈkaˈˈna] 'I used to eat smoked meat'. Thus, for this speaker, the single form koltá [kolˈˈta] is used for the Standard Spanish infinitive cortar, first and third person imperfect tense forms cortaba 'I/you(familiar)/he/she/you (formal) used to cut', and as the periphrastic future voy a cortar 'I am going to cut'. While the use of the
infinitive form was not found among more fluent speakers and was not consistent even in the speech of this particular informant (see section below which deals with 'language recovery'), it does illustrate how a change in one linguistic area can affect another area. Other changes in the verbal system will be discussed in the section below which deals with syntax.

5.3.4.3 Nominal Morphology

In Brule Spanish as in many other vestigial Spanish dialects (see Lipksi 1991:36, 1985:972), reduction and neutralization of nominal and adjectival gender is very common as evidenced by the use of inappropriate articles in such words as el hielba [el 'yel• ba] 'grass' (Standard Spanish la hierba), and la reloj [la re•'lo] 'the clock' (Standard Spanish el reloj). The inconsistent use of gender and number morphemes across a single noun phrase is not uncommon in Brule Spanish (see also Lipski 1985:972) as evidenced by Ella e (es) un poquito má (más) viejo [vieja] ['e•ya e un po•'ki•to ma vi•'e•ho] 'She is a little older' and La gente tán [está] durmiendo. [la 'hen•te ta dur•'myen•do] 'The people are sleeping', Hay tre (tres) gran gato (gatos grandes) [ai tre grā 'ga•to] 'There are three big cats'.

In addition to inappropriate gender and number assignment, the loss of linguistic awareness has brought about an even more interesting phenomenon in the Brule dialect. Morphological uncertainty has led to forms such
as el lifante 'elephant' (Standard Spanish el elefante),
Hay doh lifante (dos elefantes) [ai doh li·'fan·te] 'There
are two elephants'; el lipejo 'mirror' (Standard Spanish
el espejo) La mujé (mujer) se mira en un lipejo [la mu·'he
se 'mi·ra en un li·'pe·ho] 'The woman is looking at her-
self in a mirror'. Forms like los canal [lo ka·'nal] 'the
canals' (Standard Spanish los canales), el polici [el
po·li·'si] 'the policeman' (Standard Spanish el policía),
lo animal [lo a·ni·'mal] in Yo di comia (comida) a lo
animal [yo di ko·'mi·a a lo a·ni·'mal] 'I fed [gave food
to] the animals' (Standard Spanish Yo les di comida a los
animales) and pā in tre (tres) pan [tre pā] 'three loaves
of bread' (Standard Spanish tres panes) demonstrate the
loss of morphological competence with regard to gender and
number distinctions. This loss of awareness was evident
in the explanation of one informant as to the difference
between the forms cayú [ka·'yu] and cayúc [ka·'yuk]
'rock'. When asked how the two forms differed, one infor-
mant stated that cayú meant 'one rock' and cayúc was 'a
bunch of rocks'. This informant obviously experienced
some confusion as to the appropriate usage of rules for
pluralization of nouns in Spanish.

5.3.4.4 Modification of the Pronominal System

Lipski (1985:973) claims that the system of pronouns
is "rarely affected in vestigial Spanish dialects," and
says that his study of such dialects indicates that "rad-
dical shift in pronominal cases is extremely infrequent."
cal shift in pronominal cases is extremely infrequent."
The current study of Brule Spanish indicates that while
evidence of "radical" shift of pronominal usage cannot be
said to occur in this dialect, the changes are neverthe­
less greater than Lipski's claim might lead one to be­
lieve.9

One very common shift in pronominal usage involves
what are known as "prepositional pronouns" which, as their
name implies, are used after prepositions in Standard
Spanish. Brule Spanish speakers do use prepositional
pronouns appropriately in many cases, but it is not un­
usual to find cases of subject pronouns being used where
prepositional pronouns would be used in Standard Spanish,
or where prepositional pronouns are not used appropri­
ately:

Si, ehto e bueno pa tú [si 'eh·to e 'bwe·no pa tu].
"Yes this is good for you." (Standard Spanish Si, esto
es bueno para ti).

El sabro e pa tú y pa Dio [el 'sa·bro e pa tu i pa
di·'o]'The sabbath is for you and for God.' (Standard
Spanish El santo día es para ti y para Diós).

Ella viene con mí ['e·ya 'bye·ně kō mi]'She is
coming with me.' (Standard Spanish Ella viene
conmigo).

---

9The fact that Brule speakers exhibit pronominal
shift does not, of course, weaken Lipski's claim that
such shifts are "extremely infrequent".
reflexive pronoun _se_ was sometimes used with the verb _gustar_ rather than the indirect object pronouns _le_ and _les_ of Standard Spanish: _Se guhta el programa que mira la tre [se 'gus'ta el pro'gra'ma ke 'mi'ra la tre]_ 'She likes the program that she watches at three o'clock' (Standard Spanish _Le gusta el programa que mira a las tres_); and _Se guhta wuga con lo chiquillo [se 'gus'ta wu'ga kō lo či'ki'yo]_ 'They like to play with the children' (Standard Spanish _Les gusta jugar con los niños_). In some cases subject pronouns are used in Brule Spanish where Standard Spanish would employ direct or indirect object pronouns:

_Yo taba dijieno él que no sabe [sé] como aprendí el hpañoł [yo ta'ba di'hye'no el ke no 'sa'be 'ko'mo a'preñ'di el hpa'ñoł]_ 'I was telling him that I don't know how I learned Spanish.' (Standard Spanish _Yo estaba diciéndole que no sé como aprendí el españoł_).

_Se va con la muchacha pa jablála [se va kō la mu'ča 'ća pa ha'bla'la]_ 'You go out with the girl to talk to her.' (Standard Spanish _Se va con la muchacha para hablarle_).

_Yo vo ve tú ota ve [yo vo ve tu 'o'ta ve]_ 'I am going to see you again.' (Standard Spanish _Yo voy a verte otra vez_).

_Yo quiero ese hombre; yo quiero él [yo 'kiye'ro 'e'se 'ombre yo 'kiye'ro el]_ 'I love that man; I love him.' (Standard Spanish _Yo quiero a ese hombre; yo lo quiero_).

The examples above illustrate that there is substantial variation in the use of standard pronoun patterns in Brule Spanish. As noted in chapter 4, speakers of dying
languages often exhibit confusion and variation in pronominal usage and the role of language death in contributing to such variation is obvious. The fact that many speakers of dying languages have decreased underlying awareness of relevant grammatical distinctions such as subject, object, and preposition, helps to bring about a breakdown in consistent usage of the corresponding pronouns. Such variation and confusion is rare, and is found almost exclusively in cases of language death or creolization. While modification of pronominal cases does take place in Brule Spanish, there are other nonstandard uses of pronouns which are much more frequent. One aspect of pronominal usage which is characteristic of the Brule dialect, as well as several other dialects of Spanish, is the use of redundant subject pronouns (see Poplack 1980). As Lipski (1991:61) points out, the use of redundant subject pronouns is never strictly ungrammatical in Spanish, but speakers who use such pronouns more than 80 percent of the time, or who use coreferential subject pronouns two or more times in the same sentence, would not be considered native speakers in more typical varieties of Spanish. The following examples illustrate the widespread use of redundant subject pronouns in Brule Spanish:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Elio no puen diji na lante [de] mi poque yo comprieno yo ['e'yo no pwen dihi na 'lanste mi 'po'ke yo kom'pri'e no yo]. 'They can't say anything in front of me because I understand.' (Standard Spanish Ellos no pueden decir nada delante de mi porque yo compreno).}
\end{align*}
\]
Cuando yo era chico yo daba a lo dia aí, but yo no quiero dí ma ['kwa·no yo 'e·ra 'či·ko yo 'di·a to lo 'di·a ai bAt yo no 'kye·ro di ma] 'When I was a boy I used to go there every day, but I don't want to go there anymore.' (Standard Spanish Cuando yo era chico, iba todos los días allí, pero no quiero ir más).

Ella tá muelta ella ['e·ya ta 'mwel·ta 'e·ya] 'She's dead (Standard Spanish Ella está muerta).

It should be pointed out that the redundant use of tú has become obligatory in some Caribbean dialects primarily due to the loss of s which marked the second person singular (familiar) verb forms. The loss of s causes the second person singular verb forms to be the same as the third person singular. For example, the loss of s would cause the second person singular verb form (tú) vienes to be the same as the third person singular (él/ella/usted) viene—that is, viene ['vye·ne] in both cases. In order to compensate for this ambiguity a speaker might choose to use the subject pronoun with the second person singular (e.g. vienes 'you come' > tú vienes) (see Hochberg 1986:618). Because the same tendency is found in the St. Bernard dialect, it is quite possible that the redundant use of other subject pronouns, such as yo 'I' is correlated with the loss of s. Of course, this is not the only possible explanation for redundant use of coreferential pronouns in Brule Spanish. Since subject pronouns are mandatory in English, transference from English cannot be ruled out. Coles' (1991:293) investigation of frequency
rates of subject pronoun use in St. Bernard Spanish and
the correlation of these with (1) contact with English
and, (2) language death was inconclusive.

Another nonstandard employment of the pronouns in
Brule Spanish involves the use of the second person singu­
lar pronoun tú as an impersonal pronoun where Standard
Spanish would have the pronoun se or uno 'one' as in Con
 eta dieta tú no pue comé guevo tampoco [kō ne'ta 'dye'ta
tu no pwē ko·'me 'gwe'vo tam·''po'ko] 'On this diet one
can't eat eggs either' (Standard Spanish Con esta dieta no
se puede comer huevos tampoco) or Si tú no tiene mucho
dinero, no te jablan [si tu no 'tye·ne 'mu·'to di·''ne·ro no
tē 'ha'blan] 'If you don't have a lot of money they don't
talk to you' (Standard Spanish Si uno no tiene mucho
dinero, no le hablan). Lipski (1987:324) noted that such
a generic use of tú and usted for impersonal subject was
frequent in St. Bernard Isleño Spanish.

Other modifications of the pronominal system were not
common. For example, only two cases were found where a
subject pronoun was used as a possessive adjective. In
these cases ella zoreha ['e·ya zo·''re·ha] was for 'her
ears' (Standard Spanish sus orejas) and ella sombrero
['e·ya som·''brē·ro] for 'her hat'. It should be noted
that both these forms were produced in contexts of direct
elicitation and were not recorded in actual usage (unelic­
cited contexts). Brule speakers often used the genitive
construction **NOUN PHRASE + DE + SUBJECT PRONOUN** to express
possession. For example, a request for the Spanish translation of 'her house' and 'our house' most often elicited la casa de ella [la 'ka•sa de 'ε•ya] and la casa de nosotros [la 'ka•sa de no•'so•tro] respectively. These constructions are quite common in many Spanish dialects (particularly American Spanish dialects) and the replacement of the possessive adjectives by genitive phrases has occurred in some non-standard varieties of Spanish (Penney 1991:128). Use of possessive adjectives is still common in Brule Spanish, but some Brule speakers' preference for the genitive phrase is evidenced by one informant's translation of 'her hair' as el pelo [de] la mujé [el 'pe•lo la mu•'he] 'the hair of the woman' and 'his hat' as el sombrero del hombre [el som•'bre•ro del 'om•br•e] 'the hat of the man'.

5.3.4.5 Modification of Prepositional Usage

As noted by Lipski (1985:973, 1991:57), elimination of the prepositions de 'of, from' and a 'to, at' whose semantic value can frequently be reconstructed from the surrounding context is a very common phenomenon of vestigial Spanish dialects. Examples of such reduction include el pelo [de] la mujé [el 'pe•lo la mu•'he], 'the woman's hair' No fuimo [a] ningún lao [no 'fwi•mo ni•'gun 'la•o] 'we didn't go anywhere', Comi calne [de] cochino [ko•'mi 'kal•ne ko•'ti•no] 'I ate pig meat', Ella gizo to calia [de] cosa ['ε•ya gi•'zo to ka•'li•a 'ko•sa] 'she cooked all kinds of things'. The reader will note that in each
case where de was reduced above, the phoneme /d/ is in intervocalic position. It is possible that the widespread phonological process of reduction of intervocalic /d/ may have played a role in the reduction of the preposition de. It should also be noted that the reduction of de is not uncommon in many other dialects of Spanish--particularly in faster speech--due to the typical reduction of /d/ between vowels. The Brule dialect is distinguished by the frequency of this reduction in all speech styles. Brule Spanish speakers often demonstrate other uses of prepositions which differ from Standard Spanish usage. For example, in some cases where Standard Spanish would employ an indirect object pronoun to express the idea of 'from', Brule speakers often use the preposition de, as in El hombre robó la cartera de la mujer [el 'omˈbre roˈbo la kalˈteˈra de la muˈˈheɾ] 'The man stole the wallet from the woman' (Standard Spanish El hombre le robó la cartera a la mujer). It is likely that use of de in constructions such as this one reflects the influence of English on the Brule dialect.

English influence might also play a role in the common nonstandard uses of the prepositions por 'for, by, through' and para 'for, to, towards'. Brule speakers often use one of these prepositions where Standard Spanish would not (see section below which deals with syntactic aspects); or, as the following cases illustrate, they
sometimes employ one of these in cases where Standard Spanish would use the other.

Cuando se casa eh po [para] la via ['kwa'no se 'ka'sa eh po la 'vi'a] 'When you get married it is for life.' (Standard Spanish Cuando se casa es para la vida).

Yo fui a la misa y yo fui po [para] la casa [yo fwi a la 'mi'sa i yo fwi po la 'ka'sa] 'I went to mass and I went home.' (In Standard Spanish por la casa in this context means 'through the house').

Taba lluviendo [lloviendo] pa [por] una semana ['ta'ba yu'yve no pa 'u'na se'ma'na] 'It was raining for a week.'

Pa (por) tre dia yo taba ai [pa tre 'di'a yo 'ta'ba ai] 'For three days I was there.' (Standard Spanish Estuve allí por tres días).

In some cases certain adverbs were inappropriately used as prepositions. For example, the adverb arriba 'above' was used as the meaning 'on, on top of' as in él tiene un sombrero (en) riba la cabeza [el 'tye'n un som'bre' ro 'ri'ba la ka'be'sa] 'He has a hat on his head' and él gato ta riba (encima de) el hombre [el 'ga'to ta 'ri'ba 'lom'bre] 'The cat is (sitting) on top of the man' (see section on syntax below for further discussion of arriba). The adverb dentro 'inside' was used in some cases as the preposition 'in' or 'into', and Lo chiguillo tan wugando dentro [de] el agua [lo Chi'ki'yo tan wu' 'gan'do 'den'to 'la'wa] 'The children are playing in the water' (Standard Spanish Los niños están jugando en el agua).
5.3.4.6 Modification of Syntactic Structures

As discussed in Chapter 4, the syntactic structures of dying languages are certainly not immune to change. Many elements of Brule syntax are different from those of Standard Spanish and/or other popular varieties of Spanish. One of the most obvious characteristics of Brule syntax that distinguishes it from "healthy" varieties of Spanish is its reduced tense/aspect/mood system. While individual speaker usage differs to some degree, the reduction of the verbal system has progressed so far that Brule Spanish can be said to retain essentially only the present, preterit, imperfect, present progressive, and past progressive tenses in the indicative mood.

The preference of dying languages for analytic constructions over synthetic ones was discussed in Chapter 4. It is not surprising, then, that no remnants of morphological future were found in this investigation of Brule Spanish. Instead, the periphrastic future construction IR A + INFINITIVE is used. However, as mentioned above, there is evidence that one speaker in some instances reduced this construction by focusing only on the infinitive form. For example, in the following utterance this speaker used neither the preposition nor a form of the verb IR: Yo comé mañana po la noche [yo koˈme maˈñana po la 'noˈché] 'I will eat tomorrow night'. It should be noted, however, that such usage was not found among other Brule speakers.
There is very limited use of the perfect tenses in Brule Spanish. In this study, only four instances were found where it appeared that a speaker was attempting to use the present perfect or past perfect tenses. Interestingly, in two of these cases it appears that the speaker attempted to form these tenses using the verb tener 'to have' as the auxiliary rather than the verb haber 'to have' of Standard Spanish. The examples are:

Yo hice un prie pa tú, mais si tú no bia [había] sio [sido] fuelte y to... [yo 'i'se un pri*e pa tu m* si tu no 'bi*a 'si*o 'fwal'tei to] 'I said a prayer for you, but if you hadn't been strong and all...'

Yo nunca le he enseñao ehpañol [yo 'nurrka le en'se: 'ña' o eh'pa'ñol] 'I have never taught her Spanish.'

¿Tú no cree que unguno te tenía ranchao? [tu no kr* ke uj* 'gu'no te te ni'a ran''ca'o] 'You don't think someone had fixed you?'

No tiene matá (matada) la culebra [no tyen ma*ta la ku'le' bra] 'He has not killed the snake.'

Variation in the use of tener and haber was very common in Old Spanish (see Lapesa 1980:215, 399) with both verbs being used as auxiliaries in perfect verb forms. Modern Portuguese finally chose the verb tener as the standard verb to be used in perfect tenses, while Standard Spanish chose haber. Some Asturian and Galician dialects (and others) still exhibit such usage (Lapesa 1980:476). The imperfect indicative is still widely used, but there is some confusion and variation among different speakers.
(and even in the speech of individuals) as to its forms and uses. For example, the first person singular from of the verb *dir* 'to go' (Standard Spanish *ir*) is normally conjugated *yo dí a* [yo 'di·a] 'I used to go' in Brule Spanish (Standard Spanish *yo iba*). All speakers who used the imperfect used this form at least some of the time. However, Ml often used the form *yo adía* (see section above which deals with verbal morphology), and F1 sometimes used a competing form *yo iría*. On one occasion F1 used two forms in the same sentence.

While some instances of appropriate usage were recorded, the subjunctive mood has largely disappeared from the Brule dialect. In some cases, an infinitive alone is used where Standard Spanish would require the subjunctive as in *Yo te dije [dije] no olví á la* [yo te 'di·se no ol· vi·'a·la ] 'I told you not to forget it' (Standard Spanish *Yo te dije que no lo olvidaras*). It is much more common, however, to find the preposition *para* 'for, in order to'
used with an infinitive in cases where Standard Spanish would employ the subjunctive:

La mujé tá jablando pa [para] dí [ir] trabajá [la mu'he'ta ha'blan do pa dí tra'ba'ha] 'The woman is telling him to go to work.' (Standard Spanish La mujer esta diciéndole que vaya a trabajar).

Yo vo ranchá el papel pa tú te cazá [yo vo Fan'ča el pa'pel pa tu te ká'za] 'I am going to fix the paper for you to get married.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a arreglar el papel para que te cases).

Le diše a la mujé pa jace café [le di'še a la mu'he pa ha'se ka'fé] 'I told my wife to make coffee.' (Standard Spanish Le dije a la mujer que hiciera café).

Yo le pi'e pa vení [yo le pi'e pa ve'ní] 'I asked him to come.' (Standard Spanish Yo le pedí que viniera).

Ella tá dijieno el chico pa plantá la flo ['e'ya ta di'hye'no el 'ti'ko pa plan'ta la flo] 'She is telling the boy to plant the flower.' (Standard Spanish Ella esta diciéndole al chico que plante la flor).

There is some question as to whether the PARA + INFINITIVE construction represents a transfer of the English FOR-TO construction that Spanish lacks. Lipski (1987:325, 1990:42-43) discusses this possibility, but finds it unlikely since PARA + INFINITIVE is found in many Spanish dialects that are not in contact with English.

In many cases speakers used the relative pronoun que 'that', to produce a subordinate clause, but they usually failed to produce the appropriate subjunctive verb form:

Quiero que tú viene ['kwe'ro ke tu 'vye'me] 'I want you to come.' (Standard Spanish Quiero que (tú) vengas).
Quiero que tú traes la mujer ['kyeˈɾo ke tu ˈtra e la muˈɾe] 'I want you to bring your wife' (Standard Spanish Quiero que tú traigas a la mujer).

Eso factories no quieren que tú va alí ['eˈso ˈfa∫teɾkas no ˈkyeɾen ke tu va ai] 'Those factories don't want you to go there.' (Standard Spanish Esas fábricas no quieren que tú vayas allí).

Informal command forms are often used by Brule speakers, but the irregular commands are often replaced by the third person singular indicative of the present tense. Formal commands were very rarely used by Brule speakers, in only two instances in this study, and even these cases represented nonstandard usage. In each case the formal command was used where an informal command would have been appropriate:

Haceme un poco [de] café ['aˈseˈme um ˈpoˈko kaˈfe] 'Make me a little coffee.' (Standard Spanish Hazme un poco de café).

Viene a verme encore ['vyeˈɾe a ˈveˈme oˈko] 'Come and see me again.' (Standard Spanish Ven a verme otra vez).

Va a tu casa [va a tu ˈkaˈsa] 'Go to your house.' (Standard Spanish Ve a tu casa.)

Andate todo el tiempo y tiene buena idea, si te sientas allí te vas a morir. ['anˈda te tol ˈtyemˈpo i ˈtyeˈɾe ˈbweˈna i ˈde a si te ˈsyenˈte ai tu te va moˈri] 'Keep going all the time and have good ideas; if you sit down there you are going to die.' (Standard Spanish Andate todo el tiempo y ten buenas ideas, si te sientas allí te vas a morir).

Coja allí y llama tu gente ['koˈha aˈyi i ˈyaˈma tu ˈhenˈte] 'Pick up (the telephone receiver) and call your people.' (Standard Spanish Cogelo y llama a tu gente).
Corra po el yelba y mira pa lo penco ['ko·Ta po·el 'yel·ba i 'mi·ra pa lo 'pê·ko] 'Run through the grass and look for the rabbits.' (Standard Spanish Corre por la hierba y busca los conejos).

Thus, the system of morphologically marking tense/aspect/mood in Brule Spanish has undergone drastic modification. This dialect represents the final stages of the same process of reduction which has been noted in some Spanish-speaking communities of New York (Pousada and Poplack 1979:45-49) and Los Angeles (Silva-Corvalan 1989:56). In addition to the reduction in marking tense/aspect/mood distinctions, various other syntactic distinctions have been modified in some way. For example, even though *ser* and *estar*, the two verbs meaning 'to be', are used appropriately in the many cases, there is some evidence that the distinction between the two is not completely clear to some Brule speakers. In Standard Spanish there are many cases where either *ser* or *estar* can be used in the same construction, but with different intended meanings. However, some Brule speakers use the verb *estar* where one would normally expect to find *ser* in most dialects of Spanish (and in Standard Spanish).

Ese hombre sta un mal hombre ['e·se 'om·bre sta um mal 'om·bre] 'That man is a bad man.' (Standard Spanish Ese hombre es un mal hombre).

Cuando yo taba nuevo yo dia to lo dia ai ['kwa·no yo 'ta·ba 'nwe·vo yo 'di·a to lo 'di·a ai] 'When I was young I used to go there every day.' (Standard Spanish Cuando yo era joven iba todos los días allí).
El camino ta grande ['el ka·mi·no ta 'gran·de] 'The road is wide.' (Standard Spanish El camino es ancho).

Ese hombre ta un robón ['e·se 'om·bre ta un ro·bo] 'That man is a thief' (Standard Spanish Ese hombre es un ladrón).

In addition to ser and estar the verb tener 'to have' is also used in a way which differs from its use in Standard Spanish. The use of tener as an existential verb has been discussed by several researchers of vestigial dialects and Afro-Iberian creoles (Lipski 1985, 1991; Granada 1968, 1978; Otehguy 1975; Megenney 1984). Lipski (1985:976) stated that existential usage of tener was not frequent in the dialects he studied, but he did find some cases of such usage. In the present study several cases were noted in which the verb tener appeared to be used as an existential verb.

Tiene (Hay) una flo (flor) en la ventana ['tye·ne 'u·na flo en la ven·ta·na] 'There is a flower in the window.'

Tenia unguno le dio algo. [te·ni·a u·gno le dyo 'al·go] 'There was someone that gave her something.' (Standard Spanish Habia alguien que le dio algo).

Tuve una viaje que tenia una melecina que me yugaba bien ['tu·ve 'u·na 'vya·he·ke te·ni·a u·na me·le· 'si·na ke me yu·ga·ba byen] 'There was a time when I had some medicine that helped me a lot.' (Standard Spanish Habia una vez que tenia medicina que me ayudaba mucho).
Interestingly, in this study several cases were recorded in which this existential use of tener was transferred to English (see section below on linguistic transfer).

In Standard Spanish questions, the verb generally precedes the subject of the sentence as in ¿Qué dices tú? 'What are you saying?'. However, in Brule Spanish it is not unusual to find cases where certain questions retain declarative word order. Lipski (1991:40) notes that this construction is normally associated with Cuban, Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish (see also Lipski 1977:61-67, Nuñez Cedeño 1983:1-24). Lipski (1991:40) also maintains that this type of question formation usually has a pronominal subject in combination with an interrogative word such as qué 'what', quién 'who' or cómo 'how'. This was also found to be true in the case of Brule Spanish. Cases of declarative question order in Brule Spanish include:

¿Qué tú quiere? [ke tu 'kye·re] 'What do you want?' (Standard Spanish ¿Qué quieres (tú)?)

¿Onde tú va? ['on·de tu va] 'Where are you going?' (Standard Spanish Adónde vas (tú)?)

¿Cuánto hermano tú tiene? ['kwan·to el·'ma·no tu 'tye·ne] 'How many brothers and sisters do you have?' (Standard Spanish ¿Cuántos hermanos tienes?)

Lipski (1991:41) suggests that "it is unlikely that this construction in Isleño Spanish results directly from contact with Cubans" since it is frequent among the oldest community members and those who "have never had direct or
indirect acquaintance with Cuban speakers." It is unclear exactly what Lipski means by "indirect acquaintance" with Cuban speakers. Quite obviously, it is not necessary that a given speaker have direct contact with Cuban speakers in order to adopt linguistic habits of the Isleño community which were influenced by Cuban Spanish. Nevertheless, the present study supports Lipski's suggestion that this construction does not result from contact with Cuba.

One aspect of Brule Spanish syntax which distinguishes this dialect from other Spanish dialects involves the placement of certain adjectives. While in most Spanish dialects certain adjectives can be placed either before or after the nouns they modify, post-nominal placement is the most common position for adjectives. In Brule Spanish, however, a few adjectives are ALWAYS placed before the nouns they modify even though some of them would usually be placed after the noun in other varieties of Spanish. For example, the adjectives mal [mal] 'bad', buen [bwen] 'good' gran [grän] 'big' which can be placed before or after the noun in Standard Spanish are ALWAYS placed before the noun in Brule Spanish. The adjectives chiquito [či·'ki·to] 'small', bonito [bo·'ni·to] 'pretty', and feo 'ugly' may be placed prenominally from time to time in other dialects of Spanish, but they are much more commonly found in post-nominal position. The Brule dialect differs from other dialects in that it consistently places these adjectives before the nouns they modify even in cases
where other varieties prefer post-nominal placement; some Brule examples are:

\[ \tilde{e}l \ e \ un \ bonito \ hombre \ [\tilde{e}l \ e \ um \ bo\textquoteleft ni\textquoteleft to \ 'om\textquoteleft bre] \ 'He is a good looking man.' \] (Standard Spanish Es un hombre guapo).

Ese hombre sta un mal hombre [\'e\textacute e \ 'om\textacute bre \ sta \ um mal \ 'om\textacute bre] 'That man is a bad man.' (Standard Spanish Ese hombre es un hombre malo).

Eh un chiquito oso [\'e\textacute h \ un \ \tilde{c}i\textacute ki\textacute to \ 'o\textacute so] 'It is a little bear.' (Standard Spanish Es un oso chiquito).

\[ \tilde{e}lla \ tiene \ un \ gran \ perro \ [\tilde{e}\textacute ya \ 'tye\textacute e \ nu\textacute na \ gra \ 'p\textacute e\textacute ro] \ 'She has a big dog.' \] (Standard Spanish Ella tiene un perro grande).

Ella es una fea muchacha [\'e\textacute ya \ 'su\textacute na \ 'fe\textacute a \ mu\textacute cha\textacute ca] 'She is an ugly girl.' (Standard Spanish Ella es una muchacha fea).

In no other Spanish dialect are these adjectives consistently placed before the nouns they modify. Neither Lipski nor MacCurdy mention this in their writings about the Isleño dialects. It should be noted that the adjectives listed above (with the exception of fea 'ugly') correspond to some of the handful of adjectives which are generally placed before the noun in French, bon 'good', mauvais 'bad', grand 'large', petit 'small' and joli 'pretty' (Valette and Valette 1981:62). Given the long

\[10\] In most dialects of Spanish the adjective bonito would not be used to describe males. In fact, such usage is pejorative in some dialects.

\[11\] In Standard Spanish the adjective gran in pre-nominal position means 'great' rather than 'large'.

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period of contact between French and Spanish speakers, the
history of intermarriage between the groups, and the fact
that many Brule dwellers spoke both French and Spanish, it
is not unreasonable to attribute the preference for preno-
minal placement of these adjectives to influence from
French.

5.3.4.7 Language Transfer

Of course, the placement of these adjectives is not
the only evidence of language transfer in the Brule dia-
lect. Lipski (1987, 1991) discusses the substantial
influence English has had on the St. Bernard dialect. As
in St. Bernard Parish, English influence on the semantics
of native forms is very common in Brule Spanish. Some of
the many examples include dejá [de'ha] 'to leave, go out'
(Standard Spanish dejar 'to leave something behind'); wugá
[wu'ga] or jugá [hu'ga] 'to play a musical instrument'
(Standard Spanish jugar 'to play a game'); corré [ko'Fe]
'to oversee' (Standard Spanish correr 'to run'); virá
[vi'ra] 'to turn' (in various senses) (Standard Spanish
virar 'to turn, veer'); colto ['kol.to] 'short' (the
opposite of 'tall') or 'scarce' (Standard Spanish corte
'short in length'; ranchá [Tan'cha] 'to fix' (in various
senses) (Standard Spanish arranchar 'to brace', manera
[ma'nera] 'way' (in various uses) (Standard Spanish 'way
or manner'); cogé 'to catch' [ko'he] (as in 'to catch
fire') (Standard Spanish coger 'to grasp, seize'); sé [se]
'to be' (used with telling a person's age) (Standard
Spanish uses *tener* 'to have' rather than *ser* 'to be');
*letra* ['le*tra] 'letters' (in the sense of 'written correspondence') (Standard Spanish uses *cartas* in this context with *letras* being used to refer to 'letters of the alphabet'). Some of these are exemplified in the following:

Ella se sta ranchando la cara ['e*ya se sta Tan 'do la 'ka*ra] 'She is fixing her face.' (Standard Spanish Ella se está maquillando la cara or Ella se está maquillando).

Va a la ota manera [va a la 'o*ta ma*ne*ra] 'He is going the other direction.' (Standard Spanish Va en la otra dirección).

Él taba caminando, venía pa mi manera [el 'ta*ba ka*mi''nan*do ve*nía pa mi ma*ne*ra] 'He was walking, he was coming my way.' (Standard Spanish Él caminaba; venía hacia mí).

Se viró frio [se vi*ro 'fri*o] 'It turned cold.' (Standard Spanish Se enfrío).

Él ta wugano el piano [el ta wu*ga*no el 'pya*no] 'He is playing the piano.' (Standard Spanish Él está tocando el piano).

La camiza cogió fuego [la ka*mi*za ko*'hyo 'fwe*go] 'The shirt caught fire.' (Standard Spanish La camisa se prendió).

Dinero taba muy colto [di*'ne*ro 'ta*ba mwi 'kol*to] 'Money was very short.' (Standard Spanish El dinero fue muy escaso).

Él e die zaño [el e dye 'za*ño] 'He is ten years old.' (Standard Spanish Él tiene diez años).

La mujé que corre la hcuela llama a lo chiquillo [la mu*'he ke 'ko*re li*''hkwe*la 'ya*ma lo ti*''ki*yo] 'The woman who runs the school is calling the children.' (Standard Spanish La mujer que maneja la escuela llama a los niños).
There are many verbs in Spanish that must be expressed in English by a phrasal verb (a verb and a preposition in these cases). The influence of English is evident in constructions in which speakers of both Brule Spanish and St. Bernard Spanish use certain verbs followed by prepositions. Lipski (1991:86) notes English influence in expressions such as preguntar por 'to ask for' (Standard Spanish pedir). This same expression is used by Brule speakers along with others such as pedir por 'to ask for' (Standard Spanish pedir); ver para, mirar para 'to look for' (Standard Spanish buscar); cazar para 'to hunt for' (Standard Spanish cazar); some sample sentences illustrating these are:

Yo adi vé pa aldilla [yo a*'dī ve pa al*'dī*ya] 'I am going to look for squirrels.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a buscar ardillas).

Yo casá pa penco [yo ka,*'sa pa 'pē*ko] 'I am going to hunt for rabbits.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a cazar conejos).

Tú va mirá pa una muchacha [tu va mi,*'ra pa 'u*na mu*''ča,*ča] 'You are going to look for a girl.' (Standard Spanish Tú vas a buscar una muchacha).

El hombre día vé una muchacha y le pia po la mana la muchacha [el 'om*bre 'dī*a ve 'u*na mu*''ča,*ča i le 'pi*a po la 'ma*na la mu*''ča,*ča] 'The man would go to see a girl and ask him for the hand of the girl.' (Standard Spanish El hombre iba a ver a una muchacha y le pedía la mano de la muchacha).

Le preunto pa la licencia pa casá [le pre'un*to pa la li*''sēn*sy pa ka,*'sa] 'He asked him for the marriage license.' (Standard Spanish Le pidió la licencia para casarse).
Lipski (1987:323-324, 1991:89) devotes a great deal of attention to what he (1991:89) calls "perhaps the most curious and significant" of the established syntactic anglicisms--constructions based on the expression para atrás. This expression is often used to translate the English particle 'back' in a variety of expressions.

Lipski (1987:324) notes that constructions with para atrás exist in all Spanish dialects with the meaning of movement in a backward direction (El se echó para atrás 'he fell backward'). He also points out (1987:324) that para atrás is normally not used in the sense of an adverb or verbal particle since Spanish has "readily available" lexical items which correspond to phrasal verbs that include the particle 'back' in English. In St. Bernard Spanish, however, para atrás is sometimes used with verbs in a way which corresponds to the English particle 'back'. For example, Lipski (1987:323) notes that instead of Standard Spanish responder 'to respond', and volver 'to return' St. Bernard speakers sometimes use hablar para atrás 'to talk back' and ir para atrás 'to go back, return'. Although not extremely common, Brule Spanish speakers also use the para atrás construction in this way from time to time, e.g.:

Yo vine pa tra y le di se a mi mu je que yo vi [yo 'vi ne pa tra i le 'di se a mi mu 'he ke yo vi] 'I came back and told my wife what I saw.' (Standard Spanish Yo volví y le dije a mi mujer lo que yo había visto).
El hombre dice 'Ránchalo encore y mándalo pa tra al mundo' [el 'ómbrë 'di•sa 'fán•tä•lo è•'ko i 'män•da• lo pa tra al 'mun•do'] 'The man said, "Prepare him again and send him back to earth"' (Standard Spanish: El hombre dijo, 'Prepáralo y devuélvelo al mundo').

Lipski (1987:323) notes that expressions with para atráss are found among speakers of Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Cuban origin in the United States. He also points out that such usage has been attested in Sabine River Spanish, the Spanish of Gibraltar, Belize, Trinidad and some bilingual areas of Central America. He notes (1987:323), however, that the Isleño situation differs from that of the other groups mentioned:

Among the Isleños, use of para tras cannot be traced to contact with other bilingual groups, although among the latter speech communities, it might be possible to postulate a single source for para tras combinations.

According to Lipski (1987:324), the fact that para atráss constructions have apparently arisen independently in St. Bernard Spanish as well as in dialects outside the United States "indicates that some quasi-universal tendencies have shaped the syntactic carryovers into Spanish."

The present finding of such usage in Brule Spanish tends to strengthen Lipski's claim since this dialect is presumed to have been even more isolated from other varieties of Spanish than the St. Bernard dialect. Lipski (1990:91) makes the following statement with regard to the para atrás construction:
There are no other common cases in which Spanish has translated an English verbal particle or phrasal verb by an adverbial combination; forms such as 'sit down', 'knock over', 'blow up' and 'pass by' rarely have any effect on the Spanish of bilingual communities, and when English does penetrate Spanish syntax, only the root verb, never the particle or adverb, is translated.

Lipski's statement that there are no other "common cases" of such usage in Spanish may be correct. However, information gathered in the present study does not support the second claim that the particle or adverb is never translated. In Brule Spanish, at least among some informants, the adverb arriba 'up' is often used as an adverb meaning 'on' or to translate the English particle 'on' in phrasal verbs such as 'to put on', 'to turn on' as seen in the following utterances:

No hay mucho arriba la televisión [no ai 'mu·cho a·ri·ba la te·le·vi·'zyon] 'There is nothing much on the television.' (Standard Spanish No hay mucho en la televisión).

Él fue a la villa arriba un tren [el fwe a la 'vi·ya a·ri·ba un tren] 'He went to the city on a train.' (Standard Spanish Él fue a la ciudad en tren).

Me echó arriba la tierra [me e·'cho a·ri·ba la 'tye·'ra] 'She threw me on the ground.' (Standard Spanish Me echó en la tierra).

E una cosa pa caminá arriba [e 'u·na 'ko·sa pa ka·mi·'na a·ri·ba] 'It is something to walk on.' (Standard Spanish Es algo en que se puede caminar).

Eché mi ropa arriba [e·'che mi 'ro·pa a·ri·ba] 'I put on my clothes.' (Standard Spanish Me vesti).
Cuano en la noche echa la claría arriba, etán comiendo ['kwa\no en la 'no\'c\' a la kla\'ri\'a 'ri\'ba e 'tan ko\'myen\'do] 'When you turn on the light at night, they are eating.' (Standard Spanish Cuando se encienden las luces por la noche, están comiendo).

The examples dealing with arriba cited above make obvious the fact that the influence of English syntax can and often does, at least in the Brule dialect, lead to the loan translation of the particle or adverb. Thus, Lipski's suggestion that only the root verb is affected might require modification. Further study of this phenomenon in other Spanish dialects might lead to additional counterexamples to this claim.

Although English has been the dominant language in the Brule community for many years, one would be mistaken in assuming that language transfer with regard to syntax has been unidirectional. Given that French, Spanish, and English have all been used in this community for many years, it is not surprising that each of these would have influenced the other. While the most common cases of language transfer involve the influence of English on the Brule dialect, examples were found in this study which demonstrate the influence of Acadian French. For example, the influence of French on the Brule dialect is noted in the use of Spanish llegar 'to arrive' with the meaning of 'to happen'. This usage is apparently a syntactic calque based on the French verb arriver 'to arrive, to happen' Tú
You told his wife that something had happened to him.

(Standard Spanish Tú le dijiste a su mujer que algo le había pasado). The influence of French on the English of some Brule informants is evidenced by the use of the expression 'second stage' (based on French deuxième étage) in English for 'second floor'.

Many local English structures also exhibit the influence of the Brule Spanish dialect. The following examples provide evidence that the existential use of the verb tener 'to have' (see above) may have been carried over into English:

Well they got (there are) some of them (that) talk French.

They got (There is) a young man when he got a headache he can't do nothing.

Two boys came to my door. They got (There were) two of them; one was a blonde and the other was a brune.

The preposition por in Standard Spanish can mean both 'through' and 'by' in some contexts, and is the normal marker of the agent in the oblique phrases that accompany passives in Standard Spanish (e.g. Fue hecho por Juan 'It was done by Juan'). The following example shows nonstandard use by one Brule speaker of the preposition por.
'through' where 'by' would be required in Standard English:

I was raised through my grandmother.

In Spanish the imperfect tense can be used to express either repeated/habitual past actions or on-going/continuing action in the past. The former actions are often translated with the phrase 'used to' in English, while the latter is most often translated with the past progressive in English (was/were VERB + ING). In the following case, the speaker was relating a story about a woman who had car trouble during a storm and came to her door for help when she code-switched from Spanish to English translating the imperfect form botaba as "used to throw" rather than as the more appropriate "was throwing."

El viento botaba agua cuenta la puerta...The wind used to throw water on the door and I couldn't open the door the force that wind had.

In Spanish the indirect object pronouns are used in some cases where English would have the object of a preposition. For example 'They gave her something' and 'They gave something to her' are both translated "Le dieron algo" in Spanish. The failure to use a preposition in the following case might be attributed to influence from Spanish:
Finally, both Spanish and French use the verb \textit{tener} 'to have' in order to express age. The following utterance by one speaker shows the transference of this usage to English.

\textit{She was old this lady, eighty-three years she had.}

The examples above illustrate very well the fact that it is not only the dominant language which exerts its influence in language contact situations. In the case of Ascension Parish, there is evidence of transfer from English to Spanish, from French to Spanish, from French to English, and from Spanish to English. No Spanish to French examples were noted since interviews were conducted in English or Spanish.

5.3.5 Stylisitic Shrinkage

As pointed out in Chapter 4, it is very common for speakers of dying languages to exhibit a reduction in the styles or registers as compared with speakers of "healthier" varieties of the language. As is most often the case, speakers of the Brule dialect also demonstrate such reduction in the more formal styles and registers. The formal register is so impoverished that Brule speakers for the most part have little underlying awareness of the
distinctions which speakers of many other Spanish dialects use to signal formal and informal speech. The most obvious manifestation of this reduction is the loss of the distinction between formal usted and informal tú, both second person pronouns. One occasionally finds cases of formal usted verb forms or pronouns or possessive adjectives, but Brule speakers have no awareness of the difference between these as evidenced by the following conversations between F1 and me.

CH: What if somebody came to the door that you knew and you wanted to invite them in. How would you say "Come in" and "How are you?"

F1: ¡Entra! ['en·tra] 'Come in!' (Same in Standard Spanish)

¿Cómo te jalla? ['ko·mo te 'ha·ya] 'How are you?'

CH: How would you say 'How are you' if it were somebody you didn't know or if you wanted to be very polite?

F1: ¿Cómo te jalla? ['ko·mo te 'ha·ya] 'Come in.' (Standard Spanish ¿Cómo se halla (usted)?)

In other words I would say the same, but I wouldn't open the door.

Thus, F1 uses the informal command form Entra, as well as the informal verb form te jallas (although deletion of /s/ results in a situation where both halla and jallas are pronounced ['ha·ya]) and the reflexive pronoun te in situations where most speakers of "healthier" Spanish dialects would use the formal forms Entre, and se.
halla. While some formal command forms were noted in F1's speech, these were not used consistently and were sometimes used along with informal forms in a single conversation with the same speaker. For example, when relating a story about a stranger who stopped at her house in a rainstorm, F1 states that she made the following statement to the woman Coja allí y llama tu gente ['ko·ha a·'yi i 'ya·ma tu 'hæn·te] 'Pick up there and call your people' (Standard Spanish Coja allí y llame a su gente). In the same utterance F1 uses the formal command form coja 'pick up' along with the informal command form llama 'call' and the informal possessive adjective tu 'your'.

Loss of awareness about formal/informal distinctions is also evident in M1's speech as demonstrated by the following conversation between M1 and me. In this conversation M1 uses the usted forms of the verb jalla and reflexive pronoun se for both informal and formal situations, while he chooses the informal command form Éntrate in both cases and the informal prepositional form contigo 'with you' where formal iÉntre! and con usted would be more appropriate. As noted above, however, because /s/ is routinely deleted in word-final position, the informal forms quieres and hallas are pronounced ['kyɛ·rɛ] and [ha·ya] as would be the formal counterparts, quiere and halla.
If a friend came to your door and you wanted to invite him in, what would you say?

¡Entrate! [‘en-trá-te] 'Come in!' (Standard Spanish ¡Entra!).

¿Cómo se jalla [‘ko-mo se ‘há-ya] 'How are you'? (Standard Spanish ¿Cómo estás? or ¿Cómo te hallas?).

¡Siéntate! [‘syen-ta-te] 'Sit down!'

¿Tú quiere café? [tu ‘kye-re ka-‘fe] 'Do you want some coffee?'

How would you say the same thing to someone you just met that you wanted to be polite to.

¡Entrate! [‘en-trá-te] 'Come in!' (Standard Spanish ¡Entre usted!).

¿Cómo se jalla? [‘ko-mo se ‘há-ya] 'How are you'

Yo quiero hablar contigo [yo ‘kye-ro ha-‘bla kon-‘ti-go] 'I want to talk with you' (Standard Spanish Quiero hablar con usted).

¿Quiere una taza de café? [‘kye-re ‘u-‘na ‘ta-‘sa de ka-‘fe] 'Do you want a cup of coffee?' (Standard Spanish ¿Quiere usted una taza de café?).

As demonstrated in the conversations above, when asking 'How are you?' F1 uses exclusively the informal form ¿Cómo te jalla?, while M1 uses only the formal ¿Cómo se jalla?. Perhaps even more interesting than this lack of awareness of the formal/informal distinctions are the ways in which M1 attempts to compensate for this loss. When asked how one would say 'Speak!' to a friend M1 produced the appropriate informal tú command form. However, when asked how he would say the same thing to someone to whom he wished to show respect, M1 said ¡Tú quiere
jablá conmigo? [tu kyːˈɾɛ həˈbla kɔˈmiˈɡo] 'Do you want to talk with me?' (Standard Spanish ¿Quieres hablar con-migo?). Thus, rather than use the standard formal usted form Hable, M1 showed respect indirectly by forming a deferential question.

But perhaps the most interesting way M1 chose to show formality involved the use of more than one language. In her study of Cupeño and Mexicano, Hill (1989:156-63) found that there was no overall loss of stylistic options. Instead, she suggests that, in the case of these dying languages, "a full range of coding strategies is retained, but it is distributed across two languages instead of one (p. 163)." There is evidence in the speech of some Brule speakers of such identification of certain styles or registers with a particular language (with French being associated with more formal usage). For example, when asked how one would say 'Excuse me' to a stranger, M1 replied with the French expression Excusez-moi. When asked how he would say the same thing to a friend, however, M1 produced the appropriate informal Spanish command Perdóname. A question as to how he would say 'Sit down!' to a friend elicited the informal Spanish command ¡Siéntate!. When asked how he would say 'Sit down' politely to someone he did not know well, M1 said S'il vous plaît, si quiere sentá (sentarse) [si vu 'plɛ si 'kyːɾɛ ˈsentə] 'Please, if you want to sit down' (Standard Spanish ¡Siéntese!). In this case M1 used the French expression...
S'il vous plait 'please' at the beginning of the utterance and code-switched into Spanish. This utterance apparently represents two compensation strategies. Not only did M1 resort to using French, but he also avoided using a command form at all by indirectly suggesting that the hearer might wish to sit down si quiere sentá (sentarse) 'if you want to sit.'

This use of French as a formal register and the loss of awareness of such distinctions helps explain the following conversation between the researcher and M1.

CH: Do you know the word usted?
M1: Usté? That's French. It means 'you'
CH: So you don't say usted in Spanish?
M1: No.
CH: Would you say something like "Entre usted"?
M1: Yeah, that's the way you 'gon do it if you [you're] respectin' 'em. But it's French though.

In many cases Brule speakers misinterpret and respond inappropriately to questions which include the usted or ustedes subject pronouns. In my opinion, the widespread deletion of word-final /s/ has contributed to this confusion. This phonological process might explain why M1 answered the following questions in the first person singular yo form rather than the expected nosotros form (see the section below which deal with language 'recovery' for explanation of how the same process has caused M1 to confuse sus padres 'your parents' with su padre 'your father').
Y ustedes trabajaban mucho, ¿verdad? ('And you [plural] used to work a lot?')

Sí, yo trabajé de chiquito. Pa siete año yo taba trabajando [si yo traˈbaˈha da ʃiˈkiˈto pa ˈsyɛˈte ˈaˈño yo ˈtaˈba traˈbaˈhanˈdo] 'Yes I worked as a child. By the age of seven I was working.'

¿Y por eso ustedes tenían que sacar agua...? (And so you [plural] had to get water...?)

Del pozo, sí. Yo bebé ah bebi agua del pozo [dɛl poˈso ˈsi yo beˈbe a beˈbi ˈaˈwa dɛl ˈpoˈso] 'From the well, yes. I drank water from the well.'

However, given the previous discussion about the severe reduction in the first person singular nosotros 'we' verb forms, an alternate explanation for the above conversations immediately suggests itself. It could be that the first person singular yo form was employed to avoid having to use the nosotros form (or to compensate for its loss). That this might have been a contributing factor seems quite possible since M1 did, on one occasion, recognize and respond appropriately in ENGLISH to the ustedes form (see also the section below which deals with language "recovery"):

¿Qué hacían ustedes para la Navidad?

Oh well, we used to cantar (‘sing’), comer (‘eat’)...

What is clear in the case of the Brule dialect is that informants rarely use the usted or ustedes subject pronouns spontaneously (there were no cases of such usage recorded in this study), and that they use the
corresponding verb and non-subject pronominal forms sporadically and often in ways that differ from Standard Spanish. This case represents the most common type of stylistic reduction which involves the loss of (or the failure to acquire) more formal speech styles or registers. In the case of Brule Spanish some speakers have compensated for this loss by using Acadian French in situations associated with 'politeness' or 'formality'. It should not be surprising, given that Acadian French settlers were historically accorded higher status in the Ascension Parish area (see Chapter 3) than were the Canary Island residents, that French should be regarded by some residents as being more "formal" than Spanish.

This situation provides support for Hill's (1989:156-63) suggestion that styles or registers may not be lost but spread over two languages. What is especially interesting about the Brule case is that this association of language and style level has caused some speakers to assume that certain formal distinctions (such as the usted forms) in one language (Spanish) actually belong to another language (French).

5.3.6. Language Recovery

As pointed out in Chapter 4, researchers in the area of language death disagree as to whether the "lost competence" of semi-speakers can be recovered (see Hill 1979:72, Dressler 1981:14). The following discussion is intended to show that formerly fluent semi-speakers, or
"latent" speakers are indeed able, in some cases, to "recover" some aspects of language ability that might be assumed to have been "lost." This discussion will focus exclusively on the linguistic ability of the informant Ml. By spending many hours with this informant spread out over a ten month period, the researcher was able to gather valuable real-time information with regard to the change in his linguistic ability.

During the fieldwork phase of this study it became obvious that Ml did indeed "recover" much of his "lost" ability in the Brule dialect. His awareness and appropriate use of morphological, tense, and aspect distinctions, as well as his overall fluency, increased rather dramatically over this ten month period. As is often the case, however, it was difficult to demonstrate objectively what was obvious to me—that Ml had indeed "recovered" some ability in this dialect.

Before the presentation of specific information as to the exact nature of the Ml's language recovery, one area of possible criticism should be discussed. This potential criticism involves the possibility that, rather than having "recovered" linguistic ability, Ml might somehow have "acquired" certain linguistic skills, perhaps from contact with the researcher during the course of fieldwork or through contacts with other speakers. However, various age, health, personality and cultural characteristics, as well as the nature of Ml's linguistic recovery (see
below), make such a possibility remote. As noted above, most informants were elderly and some rarely left their homes. Most informants were also female, and M1 told the researcher that he had a "rule" that prohibited him from visiting the homes of females unless there were other males present. Because the number of fluent Brule speakers is so small, one can be relatively certain that M1 had little contact with other Brule speakers, except when he was involved in the research. While he did have contact with his brother M2, the linguistic abilities of the latter were so negligible that one may safely discount the possibility of this having had any significant influence on M1's linguistic ability. In fact, the only two informants who might have exercised such influence, F1 and F2, had contact with M1 only when I was present.

The possibility of M1's having "acquired" certain linguistic abilities from me, the researcher, is equally remote. My role as the researcher was such that I was "corrected" several times by M1 when I "mispronounced" certain words, and even towards the end of the fieldwork suggestions were being made by informants as to how I could "learn" Spanish. As much as possible, I attempted to take into account and adjust the language I used there to match linguistic ability of particular informants.

Of course, it is very unlikely that M1 could have "acquired" certain structures which he had not previously known without repeated and prolonged exposure to them.
The interview situation and techniques simply did not provide such exposure. But perhaps the best evidence that M1 actually had "recovered" linguistic skill is demonstrated by the fact that towards the end of the fieldwork he was sporadically producing structures which neither he, the researcher, nor other informants had EVER produced before. For example, in the last few months of fieldwork M1 produced the past subjunctive forms quisiera 'I/he/she/you would like' and cantara 'I/he/she/you would sing' which had never before been produced and had not been used by other informants (see below).

Finally, M1's own statements about his increasing ability to express himself in the Brule dialect suggest that he realized that he was "recovering" or that he had remembered something that he had previously known. For example, statements such as the following were not at all uncommon: "All them words [are] coming back to me now", and "When I lay in bed at night I remember all kind[s] of things." The production of the quisiera form mentioned caused M1 to remark with delight "You see, I'm using the language the proper way now" (see also below).

The most tangible evidence of M1's language recovery is his overall increase in fluency. At the beginning of fieldwork in July of 1991 it was only with great difficulty that M1 recalled even common words and phrases. When asked a question he generally answered with one or two sentences. By May of 1992, however, M1 was able to
sustain extended narration in the present or past tenses. A comparison of stories narrated at the beginning of fieldwork with those recorded towards the end are provided below. Before presenting such data, however, I will undertake the more difficult task of showing precisely how M1's linguistic ability in the Brule dialect changed during this period. Such differences in usage are discussed in the following sections. The date on which a particular utterance was recorded is listed in an attempt to show the progression of M1's linguistic recovery.

The purpose of this discussion is to outline linguistic TRENDS. There was generally a period of fluctuation between appropriate and inappropriate usage of the various elements discussed below, and some sporadic cases of inappropriate usage were recorded even up until the last month of fieldwork. The change in M1's linguistic ability is demonstrated by an increase in appropriate usage rather by the complete eradication of that which is inappropriate.

5.3.6.1 Pronominal Usage

At the beginning of fieldwork M1 failed to use various pronouns (subject, reflexive, direct object, indirect object) appropriately. As time passed, however, his ability to use these appropriately increased. At the beginning of this study, he avoided using certain pronouns, and when he did use these, he often used them incorrectly. The following dated stories about hunting
illustrate how M1 went from avoiding direct object pro-
nouns to using them regularly.

Yo fui y tiré un penco, y pelé el penco y yo gizé el penco [yo fwi i ti•'re um 'pq•ko i p•le el 'pq•ko i gi•'ze el 'pq•ko] 'I went and I shot a rabbit and I skinned the rabbit and I cooked the rabbit.' (Standard Spanish Yo fui y tiré un conejo y lo pelé y lo guisé). (9-28-91)

Yo coltá lo pehcao po pieza y echá [los] adento la nieve [yo kol•'ta lo peh•'ka•o po 'py•sa i e•'ta a•'den•to la 'nye•'ve] 'I am going to cut the fish into pieces and throw it in the snow [ice].' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a cortar los pescados en pedazos y ponerlos en la nieve). (11-15-91)

Yo y mi amigo fue casá aldilla y cuano yo fui a casa yo fui ahead con toa la aldilla and la colte y la eché dento'l pote y yo lo guize [yo i mi a•'mi•go fwe ka•'sa al•'di•ya i 'kwa•no yo fwi a 'ka•'sa yo fwi a' hed kon to•a la al•'di•ya en lah kol•'te i la e•'te 'den•tol 'po•te i lo gi•'ze] 'I and my friend went to hunt squirrels and when I went home I went ahead with all the squirrels and I cut them up, and I put them in the pot and I cooked them.' (Standard Spanish Mi amigo y yo fuimos a cazar ardillas y cuando fui a casa fui adelante con todas las ardillas y las corté y las puse en el pote y las guisé). (3-21-92)

Yo voy cogé un gran penco y adi la casa y pelálo y coltálo, y etálo en la ueta de glace. Yo voy etá'1 penco adento la ueta de nieve pa guardálo [yo vo ko•'he un grá 'pq•ko i a•'di la 'ka•'sa y pe•'la•'lo i kol•'ta•'lo i e•'ca•'lo en la 'we•'ta de glas yo voy e•'čal 'pq•ko a•'den•to la 'we•'ta de nye•'ve pa wa•' da•'lo] 'I am going to catch a big rabbit and I am going to the house and skin it and cut it up and put it in the icebox. I am going to put the rabbit in the icebox to keep it.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a coger un conejo grande voy a la casa para pelarlo y cortarlo y echarlo en el refrigerador para guardarlo). (5-18-92)
Even when Ml did use certain pronouns in the early stages of fieldwork, such usage was often inappropriate. In one of the examples above (3-21-92) Ml uses the masculine singular direct object pronoun lo to refer to the feminine plural noun las ardillas. Examples such as these were not uncommon in the early stages of fieldwork:

Recogían valba y LO vendían ['rekō’hi’an ‘val’ba i lo ven’di’an] 'They gathered Spanish moss and sold it' (Standard Spanish Recogían musgo y lo vendían) (8-05-91).

In another case, rather than use the Standard Spanish possessive adjective in su casa and su sombrero 'her house' and 'her hat', Ml incorrectly used the subject pronoun: ella casa ['e’ya ‘ka’sa], literally 'she house', (and ella sombrero ['e’ya som’‘bre’ro] 'she hat' (8-05-92). However, such inappropriate use of the subject pronoun as a possessive adjective soon gave way to the periphrastic construction NOUN + DE + NOUN which was normally used to show possession as in La casa [de] ella [la ‘ka’sa ‘e’ya] (9-16-92).

5.3.6.2 Morphology and Syntax

As discussed above, Lipski (1985:970) noted that vestigial Spanish speakers often exhibit morphological instability, with the most common surface manifestation being the third person singular verb form. Ml's inappropriate use of the third person verb form decreased with time (although it did occur sporadically even in the last months of this study). Although inappropriate use of
third person forms did occur with other verbs, it was most noticeable in the first few months of fieldwork in the preterite of the verb IR where third person singular fue was used almost exclusively.

Ayea yo fue (fui) a Winn Dixie [a•'ye*a yo fwe a wen 'dêk*si] 'Yesterday I went to Winn Dixie.' (7-28-91)

Yo no fue (fui) un mal niño [yo no fwe un mal 'niño] 'I wasn't a bad boy.' (8-05-91).

Yo fue (fui) a la villa ayé [yo fwe a la 'vi*ya a•'ye] 'I went to town yesterday.' (9-16-91).

After about a month and a half, the first person singular preterit form fui began to appear with increasing frequency and was sometimes used appropriately in the same sentence where fue was used incorrectly. It is important to note that until this time the form fui was only recorded once. As shown below, after about nine months, fui was used appropriately in most cases. Some dated examples which show this progression are:

Etá un bonito día. Yo fui a la misa y yo fue (fui) [a] comé (comer) [e•'ta um bo•'ni*to 'di*a yo fwi a la 'mi*sa i yo fwe ko•'me] 'It is a pretty day. I went to mass and I went to eat.' (9-16-91)

Yo fui el domingo a la misa [yo fwi el do•'mi*n*go a la 'mi*sa] 'I went to mass on Sunday.' (3-21-92)

Yo fui con mi papá pehcá (a pescar) [yo fwi kô mi pa•'pa peh*'ka] 'I went fishing with my dad.' (3-21-92)

Yo fui a casa [yo fwi a 'ka*sa] 'I went home.' (3-21-92)
One particularly interesting aspect of Ml's language use that was especially notable in the early months of fieldwork was the deletion of the verb IR in the periphrastic future construction IR + A + INFINITIVE. As mentioned above, Ml had reanalyzed this construction so that Yo voy a dir 'I am going to go' had become Yo adi. The deletion of ir from the periphrastic future was very common during the first two months of the study after which the form adi was sometimes accompanied the infinitive form, as in:

Yo comé mañana po la noche [yo ko'me ma'ña'na po la 'no'ce] 'I am going to eat tomorrow night.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a comer mañana por la noche). (08-05-91)

Yo adi a la butica, yo comprá un sombrero [yo a'di a la bu'ti'ka yo kom'pra un som'brer'o] 'I am going to the store, I am going to buy a hat.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a ir a la tienda, voy a comprar un sombrero). (09-16-91)

Yo vucana jamón [yo vu'ka'na ha'mo] 'I am going to smoke ham.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a curar al humo el jamón). (09-16-91)

Yo adi casá al monte, yo matá un venao, yo matá un penco [yo a'di ka'sal 'mon'te yo ma'ta un ve'na o yo ma'ta um 'pen'ko] 'I am going hunting in the woods, I will kill a deer, I will kill a rabbit.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy al bosque para casar, yo voy a matar un venado, voy a matar un conejo). (9-16-91)

Yo adi vé mi hermana [yo a'di ve'mi her'mana] 'I am going to see my sister.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a ver a mi hermana). (11-15-91)

Yo adi a la butica, yo comprá cinco vistio [yo a'di a la bu'ti'ka yo kom'pra si'n'ko vi's'ti'o] 'I am...
going to the store, I am going to buy five suits.'
(Standard Spanish Yo voy a la tienda, voy a comprar cinco trajes). (11-15-91)

Yo colta lo pehca po pieza [yo kol'ta lo peh'ka o po 'pye'sa] 'I am going to cut the fish into pieces.'
(Standard Spanish Yo voy a cortar los pescados en pedazos. (11-15-91)

Beginning in November, standard usage of the construction IR + A + INFINITIVE began to replace the bare infinitive (although the latter was used sporadically in later interviews). In some later cases, the preposition a is even used.

Vamo di. Vamo di. You and me gon' go12 ['va'mo di 'va'mo di...'] 'We are going, We are going, you and me are going to go.' (Standard Spanish Vamos a ir, Vamos a ir,...) (11-15-91)

él va di hoy [él va 'di oi] 'He is going today.'
(Standard Spanish Él va a ir hoy). (12-2-91)

Voy a ta contento cuano voy a camina redo la villla encore ['vo ya ta kon'ten'to 'kwa'no 'vo ya ka'mi'na re' do la 'vi'ya s'ko] 'I am going to be happy when I walk around town again.' (Standard Spanish Yo voy a estar contento cuando pueda caminar por la ciudad otra vez). (2-11-92)

Vamo comé contigo ['va'mo ko'me kon'ti'go] 'We are going to eat with you.' (Standard Spanish Vamos a comer contigo). (3-21-92)

Yo voy a vete oto día [yo 'vo ya 'va'te 'o to 'di'a] 'I am going to see you another day.' (Standard Spanish Voy a verte otro día). (3-30-92)

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'12 It should be noted that this was one of only three cases where JM used the first person singular nosotros verb forms.
Yo voy a arreglar el papel para que te cases. (4-13-92)

The periphrastic future is not the only case where M1 appears to have recovered syntactic ability. While M1 never fully recovered use of the subjunctive mood, he did show a progression towards appropriate use of such structures, and by the end of the fieldwork period he had begun to produce a few subjunctive forms (including some past subjunctives). As mentioned above, it is extremely unlikely that these subjunctive forms could have been "acquired" from the researcher or other informants, since they occurred so infrequently (and in the case of the past subjunctive M1 was the only one who used these forms). At the beginning of the fieldwork period, M1's attempts to use the subjunctive were few, and in these he generally used the preposition para 'for' and an infinitive. This construction matches English FOR-TO complements rather than the finite subordinate clauses with subjunctive forms of Standard Spanish.

La mujer le está diciendo que vaya a trabajar. (8-13-91)

Yo te dije que no lo olvidarás. (8-13-91)
Le dije a la mujer que hiciera café. (Standard Spanish Le dije a la mujer que hiciera café). (2-28-92)

Thus, for the first several months of this study, M1 produced no subjunctive forms. He also used the preposition para and an infinitive in cases where the subjunctive was required rather than a subordinate clause introduced by the relative pronoun que as in Standard Spanish. After the final example shown above there was only one more case where M1 used the PARA + INFINITIVE construction to signal subjunctive. By the end of this study M1 was producing a few subjunctive forms and was using the standard subjunctive pattern of MAIN CLAUSE + QUE + SUBORDINATE CLAUSE (even though he often used the indicative rather than the subjunctive in the subordinate clause).

Yo dije que yo quisiera nunca vé una cosa ajena encore. (Standard Spanish Yo dije que nunca quisiera (quería) ver algo así otra vez). (2-28-92)

Yo quiero que tú trae la mujé. (Standard Spanish Yo quiero que traigas a tu mujer). (3-05-92)

Yo quería que tú cantara ayé. (Standard Spanish Yo quería que tú cantaras ayer). (3-05-92)

Yo quiero que tú me yúa. (Standard Spanish Yo quiero que tu me ayudes). (3-21-92)
Yo quiero que tú vengas pronto ['kye'ro ke tu 'vye'ne 'pron'to] 'I want you to come back soon.'
(Standard Spanish Yo quiero que vuelvas pronto).
(3-30-92)

Yo le dije a la mujer que yo quería que ella guizara
gallina y arroz [yo le 'di'se a la mu're ke yo ke'ri'a ke 'e'ya 'gi'za ga'yi'na i a'ro] 'I told my wife that I wanted her to cook chicken and rice.'
(Standard Spanish Yo le dije a mi mujer que yo quería que guisara arroz con pollo). (3-30-92)

Yo quisiera que tú jaces mejores ['kye'ra ke tu 'ha'se me'ho] 'I would like for you to get better'
(Standard Spanish Yo quiero (quisiera) que te mejores (mejoraras)). (3-30-92)

Perhaps the most interesting example of linguistic recovery involves M1's initial confusion with, and subsequent recovery of, the imperfect/progressive aspects. Briefly, in Standard Spanish the gerund is used in conjunction with the verb estar 'to be' to form the present progressive (ESTAR + PRESENT PARTICIPLE). Thus Estoy hablando would mean 'I am speaking' and estaba hablando could mean 'I/he/she/you was/were speaking'. The so-called "imperfect tense" is used to show verbal aspect (perfective or imperfective action, repeated or continuing action in the past); thus, the imperfect form yo hablaba would mean 'I was speaking' OR 'I used to speak' (repeatedly, habitually). At the beginning of fieldwork M1 often responded to questions which would have required the

11 After producing this form JM proudly remarked "You see I'm using the language the proper way now."
imperfect tense with the gerund form as shown in the following examples.

CH: ¿Qué hacían sus padres en el invierno? (What did your parents do in the winter?)
M1: Oh wugano o trabajando [o wu'ga'no o tra'ba'han'do] 'Oh HE used to play or work.' (8-05-91)

CH: ¿Qué hacían ustedes en las fiestas? (What did you [plural] do at parties?)
M1: Well bailando, cantando, wugando guitarra [bai'lan'do kan'tan'do wu'gan'do gi'tar'a] 'Well I used to dance sing, play the guitar.' (9-16-91)

CH: ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacían ustedes? (What type of work did you [plural] do?)
M1: Oh coltano cana, trabajando en el campo [o kol'ta'no 'ka'ña tra'ba'han'do en el 'kam'po] 'Oh I used to cut (sugar), cane, I used to work in the fields.' (10-28-91)

CH: ¿Cuando usted era joven cazaban ustedes para comer?
M1: Si casando [si ka'san'do] 'Yes, I hunted.' (10-28-91)

It seems that in these cases there was some confusion in M1's underlying awareness of the appropriate usage of imperfect and progressive tenses. He understood that both could be used to signal continuing action (yo estaba hablando = yo hablaba 'I was speaking'), but overgeneralized the use of the gerund to also include repeated or

For an explanation of JM's use of the first person and third person singular rather than the expected third person singular see the section above which deals with reduction of stylistic options.
habitual past actions. Thus, for M1 at this stage *yo cantando* ('I speaking') = *yo cantaba* 'I used to speak'.

The reader will note that three of the cases cited above would have required M1 to answer using a first person singular *nosotros* 'we' verb form. The fact that the *nosotros* 'we' verb forms are seldom used in Brule Spanish may have contributed to the inappropriate use of the gerund form for the imperfect in these cases. In fact, in some interviews where M1 demonstrated appropriate usage of the imperfect tense, he often used the *yo* 'I' form of the imperfect where the *nosotros* 'we' form was needed.

CH: ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacían sus padres? (What kind of work did your parents do?)
M1: O, él trabajaba en el campo [o el traˈbaˈxaˈba neˈl 'kaɾpo] 'Oh HE worked in the field.' (9-16-91)

CH: Ustedes trabajaban, ¿verdad? (You [plural] used to work, right?)
M1: Sí yo trabajaba de chiquito. Pa siete año yo taba traˈbaˈxaˈbaˈde kiˈto pa 'syˈte 'año yo 'taˈba traˈbaˈhanˈdo] 'Yes I worked as a child. By the age of seven I was working.' (9-16-91)

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the inappropriate use of the first person singular cannot be attributed solely to a lack of understanding of the questions requiring the *nosotros* form. In the example below, M1's codeswitching from English demonstrated that he not only understood that the question required a 'we' answer, but
that he also understood that it required an answer which conveyed the imperfect meaning 'used to'. However, in the same interview, he again uses the gerund inappropriately in order to answer the very next question.

CH: ¿Qué hacían ustedes para la Navidad? (What did you [plural] used to do for Christmas?)
M1: Oh well, we used to cantá (to sing), comé (to eat) (Standard Spanish cantar and comer).
(10-14-91)

CH: ¿Y qué tipo de comida hacía tu mamá?
M1: Oh well [lo] que tenía, ella guisando gallina, jamón o [lo] que tenía en la casa [lo ke te'ni 'a 'e'ya gi'zán'do ga'yi'na ha'mon o ke te'ni'a] 'Oh well whatever she had she used to cook chicken, ham or whatever she had in the house.' (10-14-91)

At this stage in the "revivification" of M1's ability in the Brule dialect he demonstrated confusion as to the appropriate use of the imperfect and the gerund. His awareness that both the imperfect tense and the gerund can be used to signal continuing action led him to assume incorrectly that the two forms could be used to show habitual or repeated past action. In some cases, as in the second case above, both forms were found in the same interview (and in some cases in the same utterance). Note the confusion demonstrated by M1 in the second case below where he first uses the imperfect appropriately but then hesitates and "corrects" himself by using the gerund.

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Yo comía la cena, y dihpueh wugaba lah calta y muzica y jablando [yo ko'mi'a la 'se'na i dihp'we wu'ga'ba lah 'kal'ta i mu'zi'ka i ha'blan'do] 'I used to eat supper, then I would play cards and music and I would talk.' (Standard Spanish Yo comía la cena, y después jugaba a las cartas y tocaba música y hablaba). (2-28-92)

Lo sábado día a la butica, a la misa, and yo wugaba ...ah wugano...yo wugano pelota, wugano canica [lo 'sa'ba'do 'di'a la bu'ti'ka a la 'mi'sa en yo wu'ga'ba a wu'ga'no yo wu'ga'no pe'lo'ta wu'ga'no ka'ni'ka] 'On Saturdays I used to go to the store, to mass, and I used to play ball and I used to play marbles.' (Standard Spanish Los sábados iba a la tienda, a la misa, y yo jugaba a pelota, jugaba a las canicas). (3-30-92)

M1's appropriate use of the imperfect tense increased during the course of fieldwork (although inappropriate usage was noted even in the last months). In the extended conversation below (from 4-27-92) I asked M1 many of the same questions as in the above examples, but inappropriate use of the gerund is less frequent (although he sometimes still fails to use the required nosotros 'we' verb form even when he apparently understands the question).

CH: ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hacían ustedes cuando eras niño?
M1: ¿Nuevo? Oh well yo trabajá en el campo con la piocha o cortando caña o recogiendo valba ['nwe'vo yo tra'ba'ha nel 'kam'po kon la 'pyo'c'za o kol'tan'do 'ka'ña o re'ko'hye'no val'ba] '(When I was) a child? Oh well, I worked in the field with a hoe cutting cane or gathering moss.'

CH: ¿Y para qué usaban la valba?
M1: Well uzaban alba ajena pa hacé un "collar" like for mules [u'za'ban 'val'ba a'he'na pa ha'se un] 'They used moss like that to make a collar like for mules.'

CH: ¿Y qué hacían sus padres?
M1: Mi padre también trabajaba en el campo, también día al monte recogía valba, y pechando [mi 'pa:'re ta:'myen tra:'ba:'ha nel 'kam'po, ta:'myen 'di'al 'mon'te re'ko:'he 'val'ba i peh:'kan'do] 'My father also worked in the field, he also went to the forest to gather moss, and he used to fish.'

CH: ¿Y qué hacían ustedes para la Navidad?

M1: Christmas? Well we used to jace guna cosa, guizaba gallina, penco, aldilla [ha:'se 'gu'na 'ko'sa gi'za'ba ga'yi'na 'pæ'ko, al 'di'ya] 'We used to make something, (I/he/she/you?) used to cook chicken, rabbits, squirrels.'

CH: ¿Y ustedes cazaban las ardillas?

M1: No, yo taba mucho (muy) chico but mi padre día a cazá [no yo 'ta'ba 'mu'co 'či'ko bAt mi 'pa:'re 'di'a ka:'sa] 'No I was very small, but my father used to go hunting.'

CH: ¿Y en el invierno ustedes no podían trabajar afuera?

M1: O si, trabajá tol tiempo, dian coltá leña, vendiendo leña [o si tra'ba:'ha tol 'tye'm'po 'di'an kol'ta 'le'ña ven'dyen' do 'le'ña] 'Oh yes, they used to cut firewood and they used to sell firewood.'

CH: ¿Y qué hacían los niños para Halloween?

M1: Wugán en la corao y used to go hide themselves escondiéndose [wu'gan en la ko'ra'o es'kon 'ye'nos'e] 'They used to go play in the yard and used to go hide themselves.'

The conversation above provides evidence that towards the end of the fieldwork, M1 had begun to use the imperfect tense appropriately in many cases and that his inappropriate use of the gerund had begun to decrease. Again, inappropriate usage of the gerund was not eradicated completely from M1's speech, but its use was reduced in favor of the imperfect.

5.3.6.3 Overall Fluency

While it is necessary to point out the specific linguistic aspects that were "recovered" during this...
study, the best picture of this recovery process can perhaps be obtained by comparing some of his narratives recorded at the beginning of this study with those recorded towards the end. M1 happily agreed to take part in whatever linguistic tasks that I requested, but he especially enjoyed telling stories about events of his own life. His willingness to tell the same story more than once provided me with the opportunity to collect some of the same stories at the beginning and at the end of the study. The following is a comparison of the same stories recorded at different points during the fieldwork.
Story about falling into the well (earlier version)
9-30-91

Cuano yo taba chiquito me cayi en un pozo and yo fue tres veces...mi mare le preuneto "¿Onde ta Jack?" y mi hermana...my sister told her "He fell in the well" and I done went down three times already and cuando vine pa riba encore ella me cogio po lo pelo but me dicen que una pelsona que va en agua ajena por tres veces al bottom and then come back up supposed to be dead.

['kwa'no yo 'ta'ba či'ki'to me ka'yi en um po'so] [and]
[yo fwe tre vye vye mi 'ma're le pre 'un to 'o'ne ta
{Jack} i mi al.'ma'na...] {my sister told her he fell in the well and I done went down three times already and
['kwa'no 'vi'na pa 'ri'ba či'ko 'e'ya me ko'hyo po lo
'pe'lo] but {me 'di'sen ke 'u'na pel'so'na ke va en 'a'wa
'he'na po tre ve al} bottom and then come back up supposed to be dead.

When I was small I fell in a well. I went down three times...my mother asked her "Where is Jack" and my sister told her "He fell in the well", and I done went down three times already and when I came up again she grabbed me by the hair but they say that a person that goes in water like that for three times to the bottom and then come back up supposed to be dead.

(later version)
5-18-92

Mi hermana taba gritando "Mira el rabo pelado" y I didn't see the well down there (laughing) yo no vi el pozo y me cayi en el poso y tres veces fui pa riba y abajo en el agua como staba muelto. Mi mare vino alli y me cogio po lo pelo y me levantó y me echó arriba la tierra. Yo no sé si staba muelto o qué but yo taba chico alli.

[mi el 'ma'na ta'ba gri'ta'no 'mi'ral 'ra'o po'la'o i]
and I didn't see the well down there [yo no vi el 'po'so i
me ka'i en el 'po'so i tre ve fwi pa 'ri'ba i pa 'ba'ho
en el 'a'wa 'ko'no 'sta'ba 'mwal'to mi 'ma're 'vi'no ai i
me ko'hyo po lo 'pe'lo i me le'van'to i me či'co a'ri'
ba la 'tye'ra yo no se si 'sta'ba 'mwal'to o ke] but [yo
'ta'ba 'či'ko ai].

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My sister was screaming "Look at the possum" and I didn't see the well down there and I fell in the well and three times I went up and down in the water like I was dead. My mother came and grabbed me by the hair and lifted me up and put me on the ground. I don't know if I was dead or what but I was little then.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between the two stories above is that in the first Ml resorted to English more often than in the second. While both stories are of approximately the same length, 78 words (9-30-91) and 71 words (5-18-92), Ml uses English 36% of the time in the earlier story and only 10% of the time in the later one. Note also that the incorrect use of the third person preterite of ir, used in the first story (yo fue), is corrected to fui in the second. The second story also has more "natural" narrative structure than the first. For example, in the first story Ml provides no background or setting for the story and does not given the reason for his having fallen into the well. In the second he sets up the action by telling that he was distracted by his sister's screams and did not see the well. Also, in the first story Ml says Mi mare le preguntó "Onde ta Jack?" (My mother asked her "Where is Jack?") before ever mentioning who it was who was being asked this question. One might draw similar conclusions from the two versions of the following story.
Yo fue po el bujero negro, lo llama, en el cielo and ah cuano yo partí de eta plasa aki de la...cuano yo llegué a la riba del cielo había gente jablando y la lú, la lú azul, and dise "Esti hombre... Esti hombre...ranchalo encore y mándalo al mundo encore." (9-30-91)

I went through the black hole I call it in the sky and ah when I left this place here from the...when I arrived at the shore of heaven there were people talking and the light, the blue light and it said "This man...this man... fix him and send him back to the earth again."

(later version)
5-18-92

Una noche taba cohtá (acostado) en la cama y me fui en un dormí duro...duro means hard you know...y taba frió como un piasso nieve. Mi mujer me tocó, taba dijiendome "Le-vántate!." Yo taba como muelto y fui po el bujero...parece un bujero negro, y el viento taba soplando y cuano llegué áí una lú de azul y blanco y gente hablando dicen "Ranchalo encore y mándalo pa el mundo encore. Ranchalo, este hombre no ta muelto. Mándalo pa trah al mundo." (5-18-92)
One night I was lying in bed and I went into a hard sleep... "duro" means hard you know... and I was as cold as a piece of snow (ice). My wife touched me and she was telling me "Get up!." I was like dead and I went through the hole... it was like a black hole, and the wind was blowing and when I arrived there was a blue and white light and people saying "Fix him again and send him back to the earth. Fix him, this man is not dead. Send him back to earth."

The story above provides even more striking evidence of M1's language recovery. Unlike in the "well" stories, there is a marked difference in the length of the two "black hole" stories above with the first version having 46 words and the second 70 words. Again, yo fue from the first story is replaced by me fui or fui in the second. As was the case in the "well" stories, M1 provides more background information in the later story than in the earlier one giving details about what was happening before the "experience", how he felt, and what his wife was doing. He also gives a more detailed description of the "black hole" itself.

It is impossible to demonstrate on paper how much M1's overall fluency and ability to express himself in the Brule dialect increased during the period of this study. As stated previously, at the beginning of this study it was only with great difficulty that M1 was able to recall many common lexical items. He was able to produce only short sentences and could not come close to sustaining the kind of narration shown in the second "black hole" story above. Thus, the stories presented and the preceding...
discussion do substantially support the claim that a formerly fluent informant may indeed "recover" certain linguistic abilities, and that these informants may not necessarily be destined to "become, irreparably, semi-speakers" (Dressler 1981:14).

This brings up one final point which must be made here with regard to the "recovery" of linguistic ability. It is unreasonable to assume that an informant can "recover" that which he or she has never acquired in the first place. Thus, while this researcher claims that semi-speakers can indeed recover lost ability (at least to a certain degree), it must be understood that no claim is made about a semi-speaker's ability to control linguistic elements that he or she has NEVER ACQUIRED. In other words, if a semi-speaker was never fluent in the language, or if he or she never controlled certain structures, then he or she will quite obviously by definition not be able to "recover" such abilities. It is perhaps these speakers (or their continuing inability to appropriately use certain structures) which have led some scholars to make claims as to the "irreparable" nature of language loss.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has documented the specific lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic traits which characterize the Brule dialect of Spanish and make it unique. Nevertheless, the comparison presented in this chapter of these same characteristics with those of the
Canary Island dialects and of the St. Bernard Parish variety firmly establishes the relationship of these dialects.

In the area of lexicon, for example, it was seen that Brule Spanish is closely related to the St. Bernard and Canary dialects as evidenced by the use of items such as nuevo 'young man', venta 'lunch', and dir 'to go'. However, lexical items such as penco 'rabbit', rabo pelado 'opossum', and criche 'cricket', demonstrates the uniqueness of the Brule dialect.

The research presented in this chapter strengthens some claims made in earlier studies, while raising questions about others. For example, the evidence presented supports Lipski's claim that the second person plural vosotros forms disappeared early from Canary Island dialects. However, the present research does not support Lipski's claim that the existence of lexical items such as caimán 'alligator' and macaco 'monkey' in the St. Bernard dialect represents evidence of subsequent maritime contacts between this and other Spanish dialects. The fact that the lexical item guagua 'bus' was not recognized by even the oldest Ascension Parish informants also makes Lipski's postulation of a Canary Island origin somewhat questionable.

The investigation of the phonological characteristics of the Brule dialect also highlighted some elements that it shares with the Canary and St. Bernard dialects as well
as some which are unique to the Brule dialect. It was shown that certain phonological processes such as aphaeresis of non-tonic, word-initial /a/ and /e/, reduction of post-vocalic /s/, intervocalic /d/, and word-final /r/, nasalization of vowels, and liquid migration, though present in all three of the dialects mentioned above, have progressed much farther in the Brule dialect. The comparison of data collected earlier by MacCurdy (1959) with those collected in the present study showed that many of these processes have undergone rapid extension in the Brule dialect itself since the late 1950's. It was also shown that what is generally known as "aspiration" or the pronunciation of word-initial /h/ (which has been lost in corresponding forms in most other dialects) is more common in the Brule dialect than in the other dialects under discussion. It was noted that, unlike the other processes mentioned above, this represents a more conservative trait of the Brule dialect. The behavior of /s/ in various linguistic environments highlights the similarities between Brule Spanish, Dominican Spanish and St. Bernard Spanish.

It was also demonstrated in Chapter 5 that, contrary to what some have claimed, the morphological and syntactic systems of a language are not immune to change by the processes associated with language death. Many of the syntactic and morphological examples presented here parallel those collected by other language death researchers.
Modifications of the pronominal system are common in Brule Spanish. For example, the redundant use of subject pronouns or the substitution of these for prepositional pronouns, object pronouns and possessive adjectives, is not unusual in this dialect. Many Brule speakers also exhibit confusion with regard to gender and number distinctions, and prepositional usage.

Examples of syntactic modifications in Brule Spanish include extreme reduction in the tense/aspect/mood system, the existential use of tener, confusion in the employment of ser and estar, and the use of declarative word order in certain questions. Two examples of such reduction which do not appear commonly in other Spanish dialects are: (1) the use of the adverb arriba to translate the English particle 'on' and, (2) the consistent preposing of certain adjectives. The first of these forces us to revise Lipski's statement that the expression para atrás 'back' is the only case in which Spanish dialects use a Spanish word to translate an English verbal particle.

The constructions involving para atrás and arriba are, of course, not the only cases where another language has influenced the Brule dialect. In fact, in all areas of this dialect there is evidence of change that was induced by language contact. Lexical items such as cuilta 'quilt', banco 'river bank' and poizon [pwaˈzɔ] 'poison' are but a few examples that demonstrate the influence of French and English on the Brule dialect. Use of the
phoneme /ś/ in some words represents probable French influence on the Brule phonological system, which was likely abetted later by English influence. Evidence was also presented in this chapter which clearly demonstrates a loss of formal stylistic options in the Brule dialect. It was shown that the formal usted and ustedes forms have all but disappeared from Brule Spanish, and that this has caused some speakers to devise various strategies to compensate for this loss. As pointed out in this chapter, some speakers have identified French as being the language of formality and politeness even to the point that some of those who recognize the usted forms insist that they are French. The identification of French as the language for formality and politeness can be largely attributed to the fact that the Acadian residents of Ascension Parish ranked above the Brule dwellers in social status.

This chapter has also shown that some speakers can, in some cases, "recover" certain linguistic abilities over a period of time. Such abilities might be considered "irreparably" lost by researchers conducting interviews over a shorter period of time. One informant in this study demonstrated recovery in his use of certain morphological distinctions which were quite atrophied, including the subjunctive mood, the imperfect and gerund, and certain pronouns. This informant also exhibited an overall increase in fluency.
In conclusion, the research reported in this chapter has documented various aspects of the Brule dialect which reflect its Canary Island origins and its relationship to the other Louisiana Isleño dialect of St. Bernard Parish. It has also shown how various linguistic processes have brought about changes in the Brule dialect which make it unlike any other dialect of Spanish in the world. Finally, evidence has been presented in this chapter which strengthens some and refutes other earlier claims made by researchers with regard to Hispanic dialectology and the field of language-death research.
6.1 Introduction

In previous chapters I have described the phenomenon of language death, the specific linguistic processes associated with it, and the operation of these particularly with regard to the Brule dialect. It has been shown that these processes have played a role in bringing this dialect to the point of linguistic extinction. Nevertheless, such a discussion still seems somehow incomplete without some reference to the social factors that have contributed to the death of this dialect. When one considers that not all minority languages disappear when they come in contact with another more "dominant" language, the question arises as to why some languages "die" while others do not. Rephrasing this question might make an answer somewhat less elusive.

Denison (1977:13) cautions that using expressions such as "dead" and "dying" when discussing language death phenomena "tends to make us insensitive to the fact that we are dealing with rather bold anthropomorphic metaphors." He points out that such metaphors about language are no worse than many others used by linguists (such as those derived from computer technology, for example), but warns that "to lose sight of the dangers of self-mystification inherent in metaphors of any kind is undesirable."
Exactly the same idea is reflected in the following statement by Woolard (1989:359):

When we deal with linguistic data as aggregate data, detached from the speakers and instances of speaking, we often anthropomorphize languages as the principal actors of the sociolinguistic drama. This leads to forceful and powerfully suggestive generalizations cast in agentivizing metaphors: 'languages that are flexible and can adapt may survive longer', or 'the more powerful language drives out the weaker.'

The statements cited above suggest that much more might be discovered about the process of language death if the focus were shifted from the "behavior" of dying languages to the behavior of speakers of those languages. It is only through investigation of the social, cultural, and political environment that the factors leading to language "death" are understood.

6.2 Community Attitudes

The idea that speaker (or community) attitudes can play a role in language maintenance or shift was discussed briefly in the preceding pages. As pointed out in Chapter 4, attitudes of language loyalty are a major factor in the creation of what might be called the "assimilation-resistant" speaker. One might well wonder why a given speaker might have feelings of "loyalty" to something so abstract as a language. To understand such feelings one has only to consider the long recognized interconnectedness of language and culture (see Hymes 1974a, Bright 1964). In her investigation of indirection in Tojolab'al women's speech, Brody (1991:79) points out the
inseparability of language and its social, physical, interpersonal, and cultural context. She demonstrates how language is used by these speakers to express solidarity and individuality, and to examine others' evaluation of cultural values. Language loyalty, then, is a reflection of how a speaker or group of speakers feels about the composite of everything that makes up the culture that is connected with that language. As Fishman (1971:1) points out, language represents far more to a speaker than simply a way to express meaning:

Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses, and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as of the societal goals and the large scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community.

It is evident that language loyalty is a reflection of pride in one's culture and heritage which represents ethnic consciousness and speech group cohesiveness. However, as pointed out in Chapter 1, the language death researcher most often encounters a situation in which the speakers express little loyalty to the dying language. The community's view of a language might be characterized by purely practical concerns (see Mithun 1990:1) by indifference (Miller 1971:119-120), or by very strong negative attitudes towards the dying language (Tsitsipis 1983:293). Denison (1977:14) notes that "in questions of linguistic identity the attitude of the speakers is of prime importance." Gal (1989:315) suggests that language shift is
"linked to the symbolic values constructed for the language by minority speakers responding to their position in the community."

The pervasiveness of the language-death phenomenon in language contact situations throughout the world is reflected in Dorian's (1986:561) statement that the "deliberate non-transmission of the ancestral language to young children is a theme repeated with dreary frequency." This same "deliberate" choice not to teach children the dying language is reflected in several statements by Brule informants. Some informants who are classified as rememberers reported that their parents discouraged use of the dying language in the home. Such attitudes are well represented in the following two statements by M5:

CH: You always spoke to your brothers and sisters in English?
M5: Yeah, we come up in English. But the old folks I remember mama 'n 'em raisin' hell with the grandparents "No don't talk to them in that! Talk to them in English. They gon soon be startin' to school." As if that had anything to do with the price of eggs you see. So the grandparents kind of shunned it.
M5: Ma Ma and Pa Pa used to be talking among themselves and she would say "Ay Dios Mio" and then she would catch herself but it would already be too late once the young mind already absorbed that's it, it's too late.

Edwards (1985:50-51) also mentions the common lack of transmission of ancestral languages from parents to children, and maintains that "the reasons behind
non-transmission are not related to some personal repudiation of the language but rather to pragmatic assessments of the likely utility of competing varieties." The sections below which deal with the social stigma attached to speaking a dying language show that there may indeed be a "personal repudiation" of a stigmatized variety of language. As important as it is to understand that the attitudes of speakers or of a community play a role in language maintenance or shift, such statements about attitudes only lead to more questions. As pointed out earlier, not all contact languages "die", and not all "die" at the same rate or in exactly the same way. Paulston (1986:497) maintains that while most ethnic groups within a nation do shift, "they will vary in their degree of ethnic maintenance and in the rate of shift."

In order to understand how or why a speaker or community develops certain "attitudes" towards a dying language several other interrelated factors must be investigated.

6.3 Prestige

One of the most commonly cited reasons for language change is that of "prestige." Many researchers have suggested that the language or dialect most lacking in prestige will be the one which ultimately loses out in language contact situations. For example, Hock (1988:409) believes that prestige is the most important factor in determining which lexical items will be borrowed. Moravcsik (1978:109) states that "nothing can be borrowed
from a language which is not regarded as prestigious by speakers of the borrowing language." Nelde (1986:481) concludes that the desire to progress to a socially superior status group will lead to language shift or conflict, and that "the linguistic and cultural alienation of the lower and middle classes...seems to be inevitable as long as their linguistic group lacks equal status."

It is not difficult to understand how the speaker of a dying dialect that is considered less prestigious might be motivated to learn the dominant language. Kuter (1989:79) notes that speakers of Breton were considered "backward" and "savage" by nineteenth-century city dwellers in Brittany. He records (p. 79) that such feelings were reflected in a popular saying "Les pommes de terre pour le cochons, les épluchures pour les Bretons" ('Potatoes for the pigs, the peelings for the Bretons'). Kuter (p. 79) says that "getting rid of the backward peasant world meant for rural Breton peasants that one got rid of the 'old ways'" and that rejection of the old ways "included the rejection of the Breton language."

The attitudes of the Anglo and Cajun residents of Ascension Parish towards the Brule dwellers were comparable to the way many French citizens felt about Breton speakers. Some examples which give insight into the social status of Brule dwellers were provided in Chapter 3. It was noted that the Brule dwellers ranked below Anglo and Cajun residents in status, and that the
prejudice which stigmatized them existed well into this century. In fact, the social stigma attached to living in the Brule (or being a descendant of Brule dwellers) remains even today, and has led many more affluent community members to move into Donaldsonville (Hawley 1976:23). Abandoned houses and stores are now a common sight in what used to be the Brule communities. Hawley (1976:31) records that the prevailing community attitudes towards the Brule dwellers and their language are reflected in the following statement by a local priest: "They are ignorant people. I hate having to preach to them in that dreadful patois. I was educated in France and I will not stoop to preaching in dialect." The social stigma attached to living in the Brule, not surprisingly, created a situation in which Brule Spanish was considered the least prestigious of the three major languages of Ascension Parish (Acadian French, Brule Spanish, and English). The following statements by M5 demonstrate the keen awareness on the part of the Brule residents of their social status and their feelings about how they were viewed by the community at large.

M5: Yeah I remember in the older days some of the neighbors used to tell their children "Don't go around those Spanish people! You're going to get that Spanish itch!" 'Till today I haven't found out what Spanish itch is. Every now and then I get a rash or something, but the French people and the Germanic people all get the same rash you know. So it was, there was a lot of ignorance.
M5: To speak Spanish was to let the people know that you come from a dirt poor environment and all kinds of obnoxious beliefs.

CH: Did the French people think they were better than the Spanish people?
M5: Yeah, simply because the Spanish had become a minority. They were often looked upon, they looked upon us contemptuously as dogs in a lot of cases until enough time passed and they strictly could see right.

While the situation has certainly improved to some extent, there is some doubt as to whether many Ascension Parish residents are able to "see right" even today. Hawley (1976:33) notes that one elderly Acadian-French woman referred to the Brule dwellers as a "bunch of guis-guis (rustics, hicks)." The difference in the prestige ranking of the two languages is evidenced by Hawley's (p. 27) finding that most Brule residents who do speak French prefer to speak to Acadians in English since it "puts them on the same level."

Although most would agree that prestige does play a role in language maintenance and shift, some researchers have pointed out potential weaknesses in claims based on the prestige factor which, as it turns out, is actually a rather nebulous concept. Fishman (1972:134) suggests that "language prestige is not a unit tag or trait that can be associated with a given language under all circumstances." He (1972:136) further notes that "it is not some mystically invariant prestige of a language variety that need concern us, but rather the highly variant fates and
fortunes of its speakers." Denison (1977:16) points out that there are cases, such as Norman French in England and Frankish in France, where the more prestigious language has been the one to "succumb". The following statement by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:44) represents perhaps the most convincing argument against indiscriminate reliance on prestige in explaining cases of language shift:

The most obvious flaw in the prestige claim is that it can hardly be true for cases of interference through shift when the shifting group is a true substratum (rather than an adstratum or superstratum). In such cases the dominance relationship is clear, and the interference features are sure to be nonprestigious, if not definitely stigmatized.

One final weakness of the "prestige" claim has to do with the fact that what is considered "prestigious" by a given culture is determined by the culture itself. Samarin (1966:199) provides a very interesting case of prestige influence in which certain African tribes view as prestigious anything that does not characterize their own dialect. As Samarin (1966:199) points out, this situation is not so unusual as it might seem at first glance:

The Sango prestige configuration, while being idiosyn­cratic in some of its details, is not without parallel elsewhere. The most obvious one is the relation of non or substandard idioms to standard languages. Here too speakers of the non-standard forms seek to shed their localisms, leading to hypercorrections.

When one compares this situation with that of that of some Mexican-American groups (especially younger males) who consider it prestigious to use a private in-group language or caló, it becomes obvious that "prestige" is a
culturally determined concept. Unlike the Sango case above, the use of Mexican caló is considered by many to represent an attempt by Chicano youth to maintain their self-identity and their separateness from a sometimes hostile foreign culture (see Webb 1982:121). In this case it is a particular segment of a culture which defines for itself what is prestigious. Labov (1980:282) has pointed out the that "we must be ready to recognize that such local prestige which appears primarily in behavior and rarely in overt actions, is powerful enough to reverse the normal flow of influence." Thus, it would seem that the idea of prestige need not be connected to a particular language, but may in fact be linked even to the perception of a certain segment of a culture (see also Trudgill 1974; Wardhaugh 1986:155-186).

It is evident that the investigator who wishes to understand what motivated a particular language shift, must look beyond abstract concepts such as "prestige." While there is nothing inherently wrong with using such terminology, the researcher must realize that prestige is a culturally determined concept, and that what is "prestigious" is determined by a variety of factors. If one accepts Weinreich's (1953:79) definition of "prestige" as being equated with the opportunity for social advance in the dominant culture, the focus becomes somewhat clearer. Nevertheless, questions remain as to which elements of the dominant culture play role in promoting language shift in
terminal language communities. The following sections will investigate several of these factors with regard to the Brule dialect.

6.4 Education

One very important factor in the death of the Brule dialect has been the influence exercised by the educational system. In the early part of this century many children were forbidden to speak any language except English in the schools. The influence of the educational system is reflected in Paulston's (1986:499) statement that "the major social institution facilitating L2 learning in a situation which favors language shift is without a doubt public schooling." This same idea is reflected in the following statement by Edwards (1982:27):

...schools represent the most important point of contact between speakers of different language varieties. In particular, the school encourages and reflects Standard English practices and, consequently, the way in which it deals with those whose dialect is nonstandard may be of some relevance—both during the school years and afterwards.

The idea that having knowledge of one language interferes with the learning of another is not uncommon. In her study of Cape Breton Gaelic, Mertz (1989:110) states that the struggle against this "one language theory" has been in vain, and that "this metalinguistic belief, that Gaelic speaking is an obstacle to speaking correct English (and to the opportunity for advancement through education in general), is still prevalent today."
The influence of the public schools on speakers of the Isleno dialects was substantial. Din (1988:196) believes that schools in St. Bernard Parish have long emphasized a knowledge of English over Spanish and have contributed to the assimilation of Islenos into mainstream American culture. He (p. 196) records one Isleno parent's lament that: "The schools made the kids lose their pride in the language." Both Din (1988:196) and Hawley (1976:26) suggest that education has historically been considered unimportant by Islenos in both communities. However, Hawley (p. 26) does note that this situation is changing since younger generations view education as a way to escape "the dull confines of Brule life." Lipski (1990:10) states that the stigma attached to the Islenos of St. Bernard Parish was "reinforced by the linguistic attitudes of schoolteachers--as remnants of culturally marginalized 'swamp people'." In fact, "attitudes" were not the only means used to reinforce the idea that English should be the only language spoken. Many older residents of St. Bernard Parish report having been beaten for using the minority language (Kammer 1941:64, Segura 1968:48). The attitudes held by many in the Ascension Parish educational system towards speakers of minority languages are reflected in the following insightful statement by M5:
CH: Why do you think people stopped speaking Spanish?
M5: Well simply because it was frowned upon. I remember in the early days some of the teachers and some of our statements and our laws maintain that English had to be taught in the schools and anyone who spoke anything else was considered barbaric and even idiotic if they spoke it. Now the same damn fools are trying to promote it in colleges, the same dialect you know, at thousands of dollars of taxpayer's expense on account of they just couldn't see the light back then. But, whoever was in charge if membership has its privilege that's the way it was...What happened [is that] the schools influenced the children. It was considered backward to speak Spanish or French or something foreign.

This statement by M5 helps to explain why parents might have discouraged the use of the Brule dialect by grandparents when speaking to children who were about to begin school (see quote by M5 in the section above which deals with community and speaker attitudes). Thus, as is the case in many minority language situations, the schools in Ascension Parish played a deliberate and active role in bringing about the death of the Brule dialect.

6.5 Economic Factors

Many researchers investigating language contact believe that the primary factor that brings about the death of a minority language has to do with economics. Giacalone Ramat (1983:500) notes that many decisions to shift languages "depend on industrial and commercial transformations of the relevant area." Economic transformations are, she (p. 500) says, "the social cause which has determined the death of many languages".
shift represents an attempt on the part of minority speakers, as Giacalone Ramat puts it, "to improve their conditions by starting out from that aspect which is, partially at least, dependent on their own will: language choice." Patterson (1977:45) makes what is perhaps the strongest statement about the influence of economic factors:

There is no a priori reason to believe that individuals always choose ethnic identification over other forms of identification. The primacy of economic factors over all others has been demonstrated.

Lipski (1990:10) notes that in the case of St. Bernard Parish, the opening of large petrochemical installations offered Isleños job opportunities such as they had never known before. He (p. 10) suggests that this changing job environment "furthered the ethnic fragmentation of the Isleño community and contributed to the rapid linguistic shift from Spanish to English."

The history of Ascension Parish also provides ample evidence that economics played a major role in bringing about the death of the Brule dialect. Hawley (1976:2) notes that with the arrival of the Acadians and Anglo-Americans, the largely illiterate Spanish "were unable to adapt successfully to the new socio-economic order." The following citation from Hawley (1976:29-30) provides useful insight into the power of economic influence and its effect on the Brule communities:
It will be remembered that the Spanish were driven from their fertile land on the natural levees of Bayou Lafourche [see Chapter 3] by expansion of sugar acreage in the early 1800s. After re-establishing themselves in the back swamps, the Spanish became dependent on the seasonal employment offered by the sugar concerns. While many manual and semi-skilled laborers were needed by the sugar industry from the 1840s to the 1920s, the brules and their societies grew and flourished in isolation. However, when mechanization became a fact of life in the 1920s and 1930s, many of the Spanish were forced out of work. Although some families were able to exist and keep their lands, others were forced out due to economic necessity.

Din (1988:169) notes that while Louisiana's population rose as a whole between 1920 and 1940, Ascension Parish lost 3,721 people largely because "the countryside could not provide sufficient employment." Many people migrated to larger cities in Louisiana such as New Orleans and Baton Rouge, but some moved to other states. As in the case of St. Bernard Parish, lack of economic opportunity was a major contributing factor in the fragmentation of the Brule community.

6.6 Military Service

The influence of military service on speakers of dying languages is reflected in Paulston's (1986:499) statement that "a social institution for adults which can contribute markedly to L2 learning is the Armed Forces." She (p. 499) cites the case of young Quechua speakers in Peru for whom military service has been the major means of learning the dominant language. The importance of military service in bringing about language shift is also noted by Kuter (1989:81) in the case of Breton speakers.
He notes (p. 81) that "military service was recognized by French officials as a 'civilizing' influence." Weber (1976:299) cites a military report from the late nineteenth century which detailed the "inestimable services" rendered by the military:

The young Bretons who don't know how to read, write or speak French when they get to their units are promptly civilized...lose the prejudices of their pays, abandon native superstitions and backward opinions; and when they return to the village they are sufficiently Frenchified to Frenchify their friends by their influence. (Quoted in Kuter 1989: 81)

The impact of military service on both Isleño communities is mentioned by Lipski and Din. In the case of the St. Bernard community, Lipski (1990:10) says that a considerable number of Isleño men served abroad or in other regions of the United States after being drafted into military service. These men, he (p. 10) says, "returned home with an expanded world view and a refined sense of cultural introspection that increased their sense of belonging to the American nation." Din (1988:177) makes the even stronger statement that the "most disruptive force to affect the Canary Islanders and their way of life in one hundred and sixty years of living in Louisiana was World War II."

One of my informants, M3, who served abroad in World War II expressed feelings which were likely shared by many Brule residents who had left Ascension Parish for the first time:
M3: We didn't know how ignorant we was. I remember one time when I was on the streets in Copenhagen. I saw this girl on the street and I said "Hey, come here! [ka myê]" and she said "What language is that you speakin'" and I said "It's English" and she said "Come here [ka myê], that ain't English." There she was, she spoke English better than we did.

When asked about how long ago people stopped using Spanish in the Donaldsonville area, M5 mentioned specifically the role played by the military in bringing about language shift in the Brule community. As was often the case, M5 provided a very eloquent, insightful (and humorous) assessment of the situation.

M5: It was that World War II era when they really started mixing. All those boys that started going overseas and getting transferred from one area of the country to the other. Well, you start becoming more and more self-conscious of being backward, feeling antiquated because they spoke a native tongue, you were supposed to speak American...But them GI's were ashamed of it, you know, so they started to shun it otherwise they would laugh at them, call them coonasses and stuff like that...But old leopards don't lose spots because I been all over the country and I don't never change my accent. Like the people on the East Coast, they speak like they got a fiddle or banjo in their mouths...I always did shun that because old leopards don't change their spots...But a lot of them pick it up. I see some of them service boys that's a prime example. They are talking like us right now and they go stay two and a half, three years in the military and you swear they got damn guitars for vocal cords...
The above description demonstrates that the influence of military service is strong enough to cause speakers to change even regional accents which might identify them as being a part of anything other than what they perceive as "mainstream" American culture. It is not difficult to imagine how this influence could cause a speaker to give up a minority language which is stigmatized even in the region where he or she grew up.

6.7 Exogamy

One major factor in determining whether or not a community will give up its use of a dying language has to do with how "closed" the ethnic enclave is to outsiders. Paulston (1986:499) notes that exogamy, or marrying outside the ethnic group, "obviously necessitates language shift for one partner, at least within the family" and that "this shift typically is in the direction of the socio-economically favored group." A more accurate characterization of the role of exogamy in language shift might be gained by changing the word "necessitates" to "encourages" in the above statement, but there is little doubt that marriage outside the ethnic group is a very important factor. Mougeon and Beniak's (1989:298) finding that 90.1 percent of French partners in French-English mixed couples use English as their habitual home language supports Paulston's claim that it is usually the more socio-economically favored language which is is chosen. Gal's (1984a) Oberwart study demonstrated that many
Hungarian women made a deliberate choice to marry men who spoke German (a higher status language than Hungarian). Such intermarriages are cited as a factor which has contributed to language shift in many communities (King 1989:140, Rouchdy 1989:95, Nelde 1986:481, Gal 1984a:302). Mougeon and Beniek (1989:307), in noting a high rate of exogamy among the major factors pushing Welland French in the direction of shift to English, maintain that this rate is "especially indicative of the lack of attachment of Welland francophones to their ethnic and cultural origins." It is evident that the rate of exogamy in a terminal language community cannot be viewed in isolation, but is instead related to other social, cultural and economic factors within the community.

The two Isleno communities differ in their practice of exogamy. Din (1988:199) says in lower St. Bernard Parish marrying within the group "has been the pattern in the majority of marriages" which he says "has no doubt helped to preserve the Islenos' customs and identity." Marriage outside the community was not at all uncommon, however, and Din (1988:102) himself points out that some St. Bernard residents did intermarry with "foreigners" from Spain, Ireland, France, Germany, Cuba, and Mexico. In Ascension Parish, however, intermarriage between the French and Spanish speaking residents has, according to Hawley (1976:21), been common since the last century:
In the latter part of the eighteenth century, many aspects of Spanish culture became 'gallicized'. The Spanish and Acadian-French lived in adjoining communities and attended the same church. There was substantial inter-ethnic marriage. Acadian-French census takers carried the process a step further—Antonio Acosta became Antoinne Lacoste; Bartolomo Hidalgo became Bartolle Idalgo; and Placentia became Plaisance.

There are other very practical reasons which brought about intermarriage between the Acadian-French and Spanish speaking residents of Ascension Parish. If one takes into account the fact that the immigration of Spanish speaking people ended with the period of Spanish rule, the explanation given below by M5 for such intermarriage is quite reasonable.

M5: There was just no more influx of Spanish to go around, not enough girls for Spanish boys to marry so they just started to intermarry. And some of them are carrying the names and can speak French fluently and don't even know that they are of Spanish ancestry.

The fact that the St. Bernard Isleños practiced endogamy for a longer period of time than their cousins in Ascension Parish might help to explain why widespread use of Spanish was maintained longer by the former group. Hawley (1976:27) makes the following statement about intermarriage in Ascension Parish: "In an actual situation where a Spanish man married an Acadian woman, although he spoke French, he preferred to converse with her in English." It seems quite likely, then, that
intermarriage between Brule speakers and Acadian-French speakers helped to bring about a reduction in the use of both minority languages.

6.8 Other Factors

Some other factors which are often found to play a role in language shift are discussed in this section. The importance of each of these factors in the terminal language situation will, of course, vary from community to community, but it is likely that all have some impact on the trend towards language shift in Ascension Parish.

Paulston (1986) gives an interesting comparison of language maintenance and shift in the Greek and Italian communities of Pittsburgh. While both communities have experienced some degree of language shift, the rate of shift has been greater for the Italian community. Paulston (1986:497-498) lists some factors which she suggests might have influenced the differential rates of language shift in these two communities. Among the factors she believes to have slowed language shift among the Greek population are: (1) knowledge of and access to a standardized, written language with cultural prestige and tradition, and (2) support from a social institution with formal instruction in the ethnic language. The fact that none of these elements were found to be present in the Italian community is used to explain why language shift has proceeded more rapidly in the Italian community. If one considers the situation in Ascension Parish in light
of this evidence, it is not surprising that the language was not able to survive. Most Brule residents did not have access to a standardized written form of Spanish, and even today many (including some of my informants) are literate in neither Spanish nor English.

The fact that Brule residents often shared their Catholic churches with their Acadian-French neighbors (see Hawley 1976:21) meant that this institution was not a resource for the preservation of their language. Indeed, as pointed out above, the French priests held the patois of the Brule dwellers in such contempt that they refused to use Spanish at all. As with the Italian community of Pittsburgh, there was no religious pressure for endogamy so long as the marriage took place within the Roman Catholic church.

When he did his research in the mid 1970's, Hawley (1976:26-27) made the following observations about the effects of television in the Brule community:

The universal use of television has undoubtably spread the use of English in the Brule community. Television is the most common form of recreation in the Brule today. During the day, unemployed and retired men watch soap operas and quiz shows with the women. A broken television set is an affair precipitating much consternation and commiseration.

This situation has hardly changed at all since the time of Hawley's research. The Brule residents' love for television is such that when I questioned informants as to the most convenient times for him to visit, generally the only request made was that I try to come before or after
the time for a certain soap opera. It is important to note that the advent of television had a profound impact which was not strictly limited to language use. Television drastically increased the Brule residents' knowledge of the world around them. No longer do they think of themselves as Spanish people living in a Spanish country (see Lipski 1987:320), but they realize that they are a part of a largely monolingual English-speaking nation in which those who speak their language are often looked down upon. It is certain that television also increased Brule residents' awareness of how many other more socially favored members of this society live. The impact of this awareness on their desire to assimilate and become a part of mainstream American culture cannot be underestimated.

It is impossible to list separately every factor that played some role in helping to bring about language shift in the Brule community. What is clear, however, is that each of these factors is somehow interconnected with the others so that they all operate together to bring about language shift. More importantly, as Edwards (1985:49) suggests, cases of language shift cannot be understood apart from their speakers:

Languages do not live or die at all...Yet they clearly do have an 'allotted life' which is granted not by the laws of nature, but by human society and culture. The fortunes of language are bound up with those of its users, and if languages decline or 'die' it is simply because the circumstances of its speakers have altered.

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6.9 The Future of the Brule dialect

It is likely that all the factors mentioned above have played some role in bringing about the death of the Brule dialect. The case of the Brule dialect parallels that of many other dying languages in that there appears to be a linguistic situation characterized by what Nelde (1986:470) called socioeconomically-conditioned "polarization." The lack of transmission of the Brule dialect can largely be attributed to residents making what Edwards (1985:71) describes as "a pragmatic decision in which another variety is seen as more important for the future."

Of course, the other factors mentioned (social stigma, pressure from the educational system, etc.) make it clear that language shift need not be solely "pragmatic" in nature, and that sometimes speakers may not "decide" (in the usual sense of the word) to give up their language, but may instead have such change imposed upon them.

The Brule residents are not the only ethnic group to feel the conformist pressure of American society which Steinberg (1981:326) maintains "provided only a weak structural basis for ethnic preservation." He points out that "the very circumstances under which ethnic groups entered American society virtually predestined them to a gradual but inexorable decline" (p. 326). Edwards (1985:65) suggests that attempts to reverse the decline of minority languages is usually unsuccessful "because the shrinking itself reflects larger trends which cannot be
significantly affected by linguistic action alone."
Indeed, one has only to consider the variety of factors listed above to understand the difficulty inherent in attempting to "preserve" or "revive" a dying language.

The Brule dialect is almost certain to be extinct within the next two decades. Unlike in St. Bernard Parish where ethnic and language revival efforts have included opening a museum, and conducting genealogy workshops and summer language classes (see Coles 1991:327), the Brule speakers exhibit little interest in such activities. In fact, as mentioned above, Brule speakers often deny that they can even speak their "broken" language. As early as the mid-1970's Hawley (1976:29) noted the "irreversible decline" of the quality of life in the Brules. Almost two decades later, the Brules are all but abandoned. The fact that the handful of Brule speakers who are still living did not pass the dialect on the their children (some of whom are in the sixties or seventies) has doomed this dialect to extinction.

6.10 Summary

This chapter has shown that language shift is a complex process brought about by a variety of interrelated factors. Some researchers point to speaker attitudes as the prime factor (Dension 1977:14), and others suggest that economic considerations far outweigh all others with language shift being largely a "pragmatic" decision on the part of speakers (Patterson 1977:45, Edwards 1985:50-51).
One must ask, given the overwhelming influence of institutions such as the public education system on the Brule speakers, if language shift is always a matter of "decision."

Claims which invoke "prestige" as an overriding factor in language shift suffer from the twin weaknesses of being unable to define precisely what exactly prestige is, and of not taking into account that what is considered "prestigious" is defined by a community, or in some cases, even by a certain segment of a community. There is little doubt that the social stigma attached to being "from the Brule" did play a role in the decline of the Brule dialect. Nevertheless, the fact that this dialect survived for two hundred years, during which time it was always considered "unprestigious", suggests that the "prestige" factor alone is not sufficient to explain its subsequent death.

The "opening" of the Brule communities, military service, and the advent of television all had a profound impact on the Brule residents. The increased awareness of the world around them led to the realization on the part of many Brule speakers that they were a part of a marginalized ethnic group within a larger and more prosperous American society. This expanded view of the world provided incentive for many Brule residents to give up "old ways" (including the Brule dialect) and, in many cases, to deny any connection with their cultural heritage.
After careful consideration it became obvious that the factors leading to language shift in the Brule community cannot really be examined separately. It is not difficult to see that factors such as speaker attitude, prestige, intermarriage, an expanded world view, and economic considerations are somehow intimately related. As is often the case when researchers seek to formulate linguistic theories, those looking for "single cause" explanations for language shift are destined to failure. Those language death researchers who lament the lack of a clearly defined causal mechanism for language shift and language death might be encouraged by Romaine's (1989:380) observation that: "If it's of any consolation to the specialist in language death, creolists have failed to identify anything unique in the social context which gives rise to creolization." It is unlikely that Romaine meant her words of encouragement to be taken as an excuse for researchers to stop trying to understand what brings about language shift. What is most important about Romaine's statement is that it at least hints at the possibility that the answer may not take the form of a "unique" factor.
CHAPTER 7-SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary goal of this dissertation has been the documentation of the lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of the Brule dialect. This documentation is intended to provide useful information for those conducting research in the areas of historical linguistics and Hispanic dialectology. By comparing and contrasting the Brule dialect with other Spanish dialects (including those of St. Bernard Parish and the Canary Islands) this dissertation provides information concerning its relationship to each of these. In addition to its relationship to other Spanish dialects, the specific changes which have taken place in the Brule dialect since its transportation to Louisiana are investigated here.

Additional information is offered here to scholars conducting research the areas of historical linguistics and Hispanic dialectology, as well as those studying language death phenomena. The specific linguistic changes exhibited by the Brule dialect, the discussion of stability of linguistic competence, and the investigation of sociocultural factors involved in language death, all contribute to a greater understanding of language death. A final goal of this study has been to address some of the special problems encountered in this study of the Brule dialect and how these were overcome.
It was noted in Chapter 2 that the language death researcher often faces difficulties with regard to defining community membership, locating and selecting informants, and dealing with negative community attitudes towards the dying language. It was pointed out that, in the case of this particular study, a local community member proved to be an invaluable asset to the present research. With regard to this research in Ascension Parish, the utility of both Labovian "conversational modules", which do not insist on a rigid preset range of topics, and direct elicitation methods was discussed. The advantages of conducting research for the present study through numerous interviews over a period of several months were also detailed.

Information about the sociocultural history of the Isleños from their early Canary Island origins to the present was provided in Chapter 3. It was shown that migration to the New World represented an attempt by the Canary Island inhabitants to escape conditions of disease, starvation, and persecution. After arriving in Louisiana they suffered many of the same hardships they had left behind. An influx of Acadian French (or Cajuns) towards the end of the eighteenth century and their subsequent intermarriage with the Canary Islanders caused some of the latter group to become "gallicized."

Also investigated in Chapter 3 were the socioeconomic conditions which brought about the creation of the
"brules" after the beginning of American domination. The stigma connected to living in the Brule was discussed, and evidence was presented which demonstrated the appallingly racist attitudes held by many Donaldsonville residents (and some "educated" historians) well into this century. The information provided in this chapter gives some insight as to why many former residents deny any connection with the Brule.

Chapter 4 was mainly devoted to a general discussion of the phenomenon of language death. In addition to defining language death, it described several common "types" of language death and a description of the typical semi-speaker. The profile of typical semi-speaker characteristics included (1) reduction of language use and form, (2) age-graded proficiency continuum, (3) lop-sided competence/performance ratio, and (4) close connection to a first or second generation female figure (other than the mother). I found that these characteristics also fit and can be used to describe most semi-speakers in Ascension Parish. There is evidence of an age-graded proficiency continuum, but the correlation between speaker age and proficiency level is not a perfect one. The present findings in Ascension Parish firmly support the idea that a semi-speaker's passive competence greatly exceeds his or her active competence. The fact that some semi-speakers exhibit a reluctance to give up the dying language or
dialect in the face of enormous pressure to do so was also noted in Chapter 4.

The fact that most dying languages undergo some amount of reduction in all linguistic areas was noted in Chapter 4. While researchers disagree as to the exact mechanisms which bring about such reduction, these changes are often noted in the areas of lexicon, morphology, phonology, and syntax. In the area of lexicon, for example, many semi-speakers exhibit a reduction in the number of lexical items available to them and these often match the domains of recent experience. It was shown that this proved to be true in Ascension Parish as did Elmendorf's (1974:414) suggestion that semi-speakers often make explicit comment on such decline. Also discussed were some of the ways in which semi-speakers compensate for reduction in the area of lexicon including borrowing, paraphrase and circumlocution, and examples of the use of such strategies by Brule speakers. The phonetic alteration of borrowed words was also discussed, and it was shown that Brule speakers may or may not alter phonetically words that are borrowed into the Brule dialect.

The nature of phonological reduction in dying languages was also discussed in Chapter 4. It was noted that semi-speakers generally exhibit fewer phonological distinctions than speakers of "healthy" varieties of the same language, and that markedness may play a role in determining which oppositions are lost in a dying language.
It was suggested that markedness might be used to explain the fact that the distinction between /r/ and /ɹ/ is being lost in the Brule dialect.

The fact that most dying languages also exhibit greater variability than "healthier" varieties was discussed in Chapter 4, as was the difficulty of determining what causes one distinction to be lost and another to be preserved. It was concluded that it is probably unwise to look for "single causes" for such linguistic phenomena. With regard to the reduction of morphological, syntactic and stylistic resources such as pronominal modification, loss of tense/mood distinctions, replacement of synthetic constructions with analytical ones, loss of formal registers, etc., it was pointed out that language universals, markedness, and transfer from the dominant language might all play a role in such reduction. One additional consideration which seems to be of importance in explaining this variability is the fact that such variation does not seem to be salient to many speakers of dying languages.

The idea that many formerly fluent speakers irretrievably "lose" certain linguistic skills which they once controlled is investigated in Chapter 4. This chapter points out the problems associated with attempting to explain a semi-speaker's ability to produce language at a given time by referring narrowly to the Chomskyan concepts of "competence" and "performance."

In Chapter 5 I deal specifically with the linguistic features of the Brule dialect. Based on the specific lexical, phonological, syntactic, and stylistic characteristics of the Brule dialect, claims are made with regard to (1) the origins of the Brule dialect and its relationship to other Spanish dialects (2) linguistic change in this dialect, (3) linguistic variability in the Brule community, and (4) stability of linguistic competence. The sociocultural factors which helped to bring about the death of the Brule dialect in Ascension Parish are also investigated.

In the area of lexicon, the Brule dialect retains various Canarian elements which are not found to the same extent in other modern dialects of Spanish such as dir 'to go', and ajena so, thus'. As is the case with many minority languages, Brule Spanish includes many lexical items borrowed from both Acadian French and English. Words such as craba 'crab', peu près 'about, approximately', bus 'bus' and cuilta 'quilt' demonstrate the infiltration of lexical items from both French and English. The preponderance of lexical items such as yenta 'lunch', nuevo 'young boy' and bujero 'pond' firmly establish the connection between the Brule dialect and the dialects of St. Bernard Parish and the Canary Islands. Despite the firm connection with these dialects, Brule expressions such as penco 'rabbit', rabo pelado 'opossum' and limeta 'match' highlight the uniqueness of this dialect.
Lipski's (1990:81) claim that the recognition by St. Bernard residents of words such as jaiba 'crab', matungo 'tomcat', tegurón 'shark', and macaco 'monkey' is evidence of contact between St. Bernard residents and speakers of other Caribbean dialects would seem to be somewhat problematic in light of the present findings in Ascension Parish. The fact that Brule residents do not recognize the words jaiba, matungo, or tegurón (Standard Spanish tiburón 'shark') would seem to support such a claim, since there is no evidence for contact between these speakers and speakers of other Spanish dialects. On the other hand, the fact that Brule speakers do recognize caimán and macaco which would seem to refute the possibility that their incorporation into St. Bernard Spanish resulted from maritime contacts with Cuban speakers. I offered a third possibility—that such words may have come into the two Isleño dialects in the four year period during which many Canary Islanders en route to Louisiana were forced to reside in Cuba.

Lipski's claim (1990:74) that the word guagua 'bus' originated in the Canary Islands is also weakened by the fact that even the oldest Brule residents did not recognize this word, although it is known in St. Bernard. While this certainly does not rule out the possibility of a Canary Island origin for this word, such a claim does seem somewhat more questionable in light of this evidence.
Brule phonology also provides clear evidence of its relationship with other Canary Islands dialects and, like the lexicon, it also establishes the unique character of Brule Spanish. In general, most of the phonological processes operating in the Brule dialect are also found in both the St. Bernard and Canary Island dialects, but these have extended much further in Ascension Parish. For example, the nasalization of stressed word-final vowels, aphaeresis of word-initial /a/ and /e/, deletion of intervocalic /d/, deletion of syllable-final /s/, liquid migration (of [r] to [l]), and neutralization of /r/ and /ɹ/ are all found to some extent in the St. Bernard and Canary Island dialects, but the progression of these changes is much more advanced in the Brule dialect. This provides support for the claim that phonological change may progress more rapidly in dying languages than in "healthier" language communities. The best evidence of this rapid progression is provided by real-time comparisons of the processes of liquid migration and vowel nasalization in the Brule community. A comparison of the data collected in this study with those recorded by MacCurdy clearly shows how rapidly these changes have advanced in the intervening time since his 1959 study. As noted in Chapter 5, however, the pronunciation of word-initial /h/ (corresponding to [ɦ] in most other dialects) would seem to represent a conservative trait in the Brule dialect.
With regard to the areas of morphology and syntax, Brule Spanish parallels many other dying languages in its preference for the analytical 'future' construction IR + A + INFINITIVE. Morphological usage is characterized by a very high degree of variability among speakers and in the speech of individuals. Competing forms such as comprende/comprende 'He/she/you understand(s)', día/iría, I/you/he/she went' and po/pueo 'I can' are but a few examples which demonstrate this variability. However, some linguistic processes have led to the leveling of certain forms in the Brule dialect. For example, forms such as sentó corresponding to Standard Spanish forms sentada 'seated', sentar 'to sit', and sentaba 'I/you/he/she used to sit' are used by some speakers; and, some speakers use third person singular forms exclusively for some verbs (yo pue 'I can', tú pue 'you can', él pue 'he can'). Thus, both increased variability and reduction of allomorphy were found to be common in the Brule dialect.

In addition to the modifications in verbal morphology, the Brule dialect exhibits instability and modification in gender and number assignment, in the pronominal system, and in prepositional usage.

In the area of syntax the Brule dialect exhibits extreme reduction in the tense/aspect/mood system. While there is sporadic use of other tenses, the present, pret­erit, and imperfect indicative are the only ones frequently used by most speakers. Loss of underlying awareness of
the distinction between the verbs *ser* and *estar*, the existential use of the verb *tener*, and declarative word order in questions are common in the Brule dialect. One modification in the Brule dialect which distinguishes it from other dialects of Spanish involves the consistent prenominal placement of the adjectives *bonito*, *mal*, *chiquito*, *gran*, and *fea*. As was suggested, the tendency for prenominal placement of these adjectives may reflect Acadian French influence.

As is the case in other linguistic areas, Brule syntax exhibits evidence of transfer from English and French. Lipski (1991:91) thought that use of the expression *para atrás* to translate the English verbal particle 'back' was the only common case where Spanish has used an adverbial combination to translate such forms. As shown in Chapter 5, however, the use of *arriba* to translate the English particle 'on' is common in the speech of some Brule informants. This finding would seem to require a modification of Lipski's (1991:91) claim that "when English does penetrate Spanish syntax, only the root verb, never the particle or adverb, is translated."

Evidence of significant stylistic shrinkage in the Brule dialect is recorded in Chapter 5. Brule informants do not use the formal subject pronoun *usted* or its corresponding forms. In fact, some informants identified this pronoun as being French rather than Spanish. One interesting finding of this study was that Brule speakers
sometimes use French expressions when attempting to show politeness or formality.

The final section of Chapter 5 deals with the stabil­ity of linguistic competence and the "recovery" of lin­guistic skill. In this section it was shown that over the ten month period of this study, informant M1 was able to "recover" linguistic abilities which he did not control at the beginning of the study. During the course of the present study M1's nonstandard use of certain pronouns decreased significantly as did his use of third person singular verb forms for all persons. During the same period of time, there was a gradual progression towards use of the periphrastic IR + A + INFINITIVE construction which more closely resembled standard usage. While the subjunctive mood had begun to appear only sporadically, by the end of this study M1 was using almost exclusively the construction MAIN CLAUSE + QUE + SUBORDINATE CLAUSE in cases where the subjunctive would have been required in Standard Spanish (though he also often used indicative where the subjunctive would be expected). This construc­tion, which reflects Standard Spanish usage, largely replaced that of PARA + INFINITIVE, which was common in earlier periods of this study. Although a few cases of inappropriate usage were recorded even during the last months of this study, M1's nonstandard use of the gerund for the imperfect tense also decreased dramatically. In addition to the "reco­very" of the specific linguisitic
structures mentioned above, M1 demonstrated a significant increase in overall fluency rate.

The significant social, economic, cultural, and historical factors which led to language shift in the Brule community are investigated in Chapter 6. It was shown that, as is often the case in terminal language communities, factors such as prestige, social stigma, military service, exogamy, and economic opportunity all played a role in contributing to language shift in the Brule community. However, Chapter 6 also pointed out how closely related each of these factors is to the other, and that no unique factor has been found which can be labeled as the overriding causal factor in this case of language shift.

It is hoped that this study will provide valuable information for scholars conducting research in language death, Hispanic dialectology, historical linguistics, and sociolinguistics. The fact that the Brule dialect faces almost certain extinction within the next few years highlights the urgent need to record its unique characteristics. Failure to make some record of this unique dialect would represent much more than an academic loss. Given the inseparable nature of a language and its culture, the tragedy of not documenting the Brule dialect is obvious. By preserving some record of the Brule dialect, this study also preserves a part of the Brule cultural heritage.
For future generations of Brule descendants (and others) this must be considered at least as important as any other academic contribution.
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Charles Edward Holloway was born in Delhi, Louisiana on September 3, 1959, the son of Charles A. Holloway and Norma Townsend Holloway. He grew up in Monroe, Louisiana and attended public schools in Ouachita Parish. After graduating from Ouachita Parish High School he entered Northeast Louisiana University in Monroe. He received a Bachelor of Business Administration degree in 1982 with a double major in Spanish and Accounting. After working as an accountant for five years he accepted a teaching position at Neville High School in Monroe where he taught accounting, Spanish and French. In 1988 he entered the Master of Arts program in Spanish at Louisiana State University. After receiving the Master of Arts in 1990 he enrolled in the doctoral program in Linguistics. He is a candidate for the Ph.D degree in the Spring of 1993.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

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Major Professor and Chairman

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EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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