Chiac- An Example of Dialect Change and Language Transfer in Acadian French

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ABSTRACT

The principal goal of this thesis is to determine whether *Chiac*, a dialect of Acadian French spoken in Moncton, New Brunswick, forms a dialect in its own right, or is simply a stage in the evolution of the traditional Acadian dialect of the surrounding area. The basic difference between *Chiac* and the traditional dialect of the region is the amount of anglicisation found in each. The Acadians were a very isolated people over a whole century, longer in some cases, and as a result their language has retained many features of the seventeenth century French that their ancestors spoke. Over the past century more and more Acadians have been moving to the urban centres in New Brunswick, to be surrounded by anglophones. Living in cities that are over sixty percent English, as Moncton was once, the Acadians cannot avoid some interference of English in their French. In the case of *Chiac*, anglicisation accounts for at least twenty-five percent of the dialect, and probably more.

In order to determine whether or not the changes to the urban dialect are enough for it to be considered a separate dialect from the rural speech, nineteen informants were asked to participate in tape-recorded interviews. Four were unilingual and from rural areas, three were bilingual and from rural areas, and twelve were bilingual and from the greater Moncton area.

The informants were asked to read a passage from a newspaper or to answer questions that would elicit certain sounds in the responses so that the phonological features of each speech type could be examined for instances of change. After being asked to describe pictures or to name objects in the room, the informants were asked to discuss any topic of interest to them. The results of these parts of the interviews were examined for any regular changes or instances of language transference. There were morphological, lexical, semantic and syntactic changes and transference that seemed to occur mainly according to age and level of bilingualism.

The results of the interviews in general showed a marked difference in speech habits between the rural and the urban informants.The fact that the urban speakers, particularly the younger ones, had lost some of the features of the Acadian dialect and gained some from English and from Standard and Quebec French makes a good case for *Chiac* being considered as a separate dialect from the traditional speech of the region.

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CONTENTS

TABLES

FIGURES

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

> Certaines expressions dont on se sert, en Acadie, font sourire les Canadiens et les "Français de France." Nos gens n'aiment pas qu'on se moque d'eux. Plutôt que de s'exposer à la risée des étrangers, ils se tairont, *ou parleront anglais*; ou bien, s'ils parlent français, leur français, ce sera avec gêne, presque en rougissant.[1]

It is probably this attitude towards Acadian French and the Acadians' reaction to this attitude that have been the most important contributing factors in the development of *Chiac*, the urban Acadian dialect spoken in Moncton, New Brunswick.[2] The Acadian dialect of the south-eastern region of New Brunswick (see Fig. 1, Chapter 2) has undergone some rather rapid changes over the past century; and particularly over the past thirty years.

The development of *Chiac* has taken place over a number of years, and can be attributed in part to events in the history of the Acadian people. Since the beginning of my research into this subject I have become increasingly aware that there are many people who, not having grown up in the

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1 Pascal Poirier, *Le parler franco-acadien et ses origines*, (Quebec, Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire), 1928, p. 7. [italics mine]

2 The term *Chiac* has never been well-defined in terms of whether it refers to the dialect of the entire south-eastern region of New Brunswick, or to the highly-anglicised dialect of the greater Moncton area and Shediac. (This is principally because there has been very little written about it at all.) For the purposes of this thesis, *Chiac* will be defined as the Moncton dialect, and the traditional Acadian dialect of the region will be referred to as AF.

Maritimes, know very little of the Acadian people in general, to say nothing of their history. For this reason the following chapter is devoted to an overview of the history of the Acadian people and their language.

With the aid of data gathered from interviews with nineteen speakers from Moncton and the surrounding villages and towns, the speech of rural, unilingual Acadians was compared with that of rural, bilingual speakers and in turn with the speech of bilingual Moncton residents. [3] The informants were divided into groups based on factors such as education levels, age, residence, and so on. The results of the interviews were then examined for any patterns of consistent change of phonological, morphological, lexical or syntactic features across any group. The principal goal of this study is to determine whether *Chiac* has become, or is becoming, a dialect in its own right, or if it is simply a stage in the traditional dialect's evolution by way of massive transferences from English. It is to be hoped that the data collected will help to provide some clues about the future of this dialect (or these dialects) as both *Chiac* and the traditional dialect are in danger of extinction, giving way to either English or Standard French.

There is very little information available about *Chiac*, apart from a National Film Board documentary, *L'Eloge du chiac*,[4] and an editorial in

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[3] The term "bilingual" is used rather loosely here; it refers to any person who has at least enough competence in the second language to function in such pursuits as shopping.

[4] Michel Brault, 1969.

[5] "Le shiac", unsigned editorial in *L'Evangeline*, 4 February, 1970. cited in Louise Péronnet, *Modalites Nominales et Verbales dans le Parler Franco-Acadien du sud-est du Nouveau Brunswick* M.A. Thesis, Université Laval, 1972.

the now-defunct *L'Evangeline*[5]. These held opposing views on the subject of this dialect; the film showed a junior high school teacher discussing *Chiac* with her students who spoke it and were proud to do so, while the writer of the editorial deplored the use of this "bastardized" dialect and would rather not know about it. The second of these is by far the most common attitude toward *Chiac*. The recent interest in Acadian speech has given the traditional dialect a little more respectability in the eyes of other francophones, although many of the speakers still apologize for their bad French, and *Chiac* appears to have become the more stigmatized dialect in the region.

It is probably the common view of *Chiac* as simply a bastardized form of the original dialect that has kept anyone from making any serious study of this dialect used by at least twenty-five percent of the Acadians in the region. A number of studies of Acadian speech in the region have been carried out over the last sixty years, in the interest of preserving, or at least recording, the traditional Acadian dialect. The most recent study of Acadian French in the south-east region is that of Louise Péronnet (see footnote 5). This is a thorough study of the morphology and syntax of some aspects of the dialect, using data collected from four informants and three extra informants for verification. One noteworthy feature of this study is the actual mention of *Chiac* in the definition section of the introductory chapter; she defines it as the anglicised dialect ("parler") of Moncton to distinguish it from the traditional dialect that she is concerned with. Other studies dealing with the Acadian dialect of this region are:

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6 _____ Studia Phonetica 7, (Montreal, Didier), 1973.

Vincent Lucci's *Phonologie de L'Acadien*[6], an exhaustive study of the phonological features of the Acadian dialect around the Moncton region. This does not include Moncton as the speech there has become too anglicised. Lucci uses the data collected from six informants, all over seventy-five years of age; and in the case of one informant, his children (Lucci does not say how many children or how old they are).

Pascal Poirier's *Le parler franco-acadien et ses origines* (see footnote 1). This study, self-proclaimed as an effort to rehabilitate the Acadian speech of the region, is primarily lexical. It also contains occasional references to morphological and syntactic features of this dialect. His chapter on anglicisms is very helpful when comparing those loanwords that have been in the language for many years with those that have recently entered it.

Geneviève Massignon's *Les Parlers Français d'Acadie, Enquête Linguistique*[7]. This study, in two volumes, is an exhaustive lexical study of all Acadian dialects in the Maritimes. Each lexical item is given with its etymology and the corresponding terms in Standard French, provincial French, and Quebec French. This study was useful for comparing the speech of the older informants with the traditional forms of Acadian French.

There are other studies available dealing with Acadian French, but they are concerned with the dialects of other regions. There is a considerable amount of variation from one regional dialect to the next. For example the dialect of the North Shore of New Brunswick, *Cayen*, differs from the south-eastern dialect and from *Brayon*, the dialect of the Republic of Mada-

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7 _____(Paris, Klincksiek), 1962.

waska[8]. Because of the differences in dialect, studies of other regional Acadian dialects were not considered in this thesis, particularly as Massignon covers all dialects, and Lucci compares his results with those of other dialects. The differences between *Chiac* and the traditional dialect are such that additional comparisons with other dialects would confuse the original comparisons at this point.

This study has a purpose within its main purpose, that is to attempt to prove that the urban, anglicised *Chiac* can be studied and presented as the speech of one group (as Lucci says cannot be done). There is a certain amount of variation of speech habits from one speaker to the next within this dialect, and this is to be expected. All dialects in all languages vary to some extent, and divisions of closely related dialects are rarely clearly defined. In the case of *Chiac* and the traditional dialect of the region there is some overlapping of speaker types but there is not a great deal more variation than with any other dialect, as I hope to show in this thesis.

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8 There are parts of Madawaska county in each of New Brunswick, Quebec, and Maine. They decided to join together and form a Republic (unofficially) and now have their own flag and anthem.

Chapter II

THE HISTORY OF THE ACADIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

2.1 Introduction

The origins and the unique history of the Acadian people have resulted in the development of a cultural identity and a dialect of French that are markedly different from those in Quebec and other francophone areas of Canada, or what is generally thought of as "Canadian French". There are a number of factors that have contributed to this separate development. Some of these include the origins of the speakers, a lack of contact between Acadians and other French-speaking peoples, isolation of one group of Acadians from the next, and the attitudes of anglophones and other francophones towards the Acadians and their language. All of these factors and a number of others are rooted in the history of Acadia and have had such an influence on the present language situation that any study not giving at least some attention to this history would be seriously incomplete.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general overview of the settlement and population of Acadia and a more detailed account of the history of the south-eastern region of New Brunswick.

2.2 The Early Acadian Settlements: 1605 - 1713 (see Fig. 1).

The first established settlement in Acadia was at Port-Royal (now Annapolis, NS), founded in 1605 by Champlain three years before the establishment of Quebec. This early settlement had a short life as a French colony; in 1613 it was attacked and burned along with St.-Sauveur (a new settlement established by Jesuits in present- day Maine)[9] and taken over by the British. The inhabitants of the new settlement returned to France, but some of the Port-Royal settlers like Charles de Biencourt, Claude La Tour, and other merchants and traders remained in Acadia to keep trade with France alive.

In 1621 Acadia was granted to the Scottish poet, Sir William Alexander, under the name of Nova Scotia.[10] Alexander did not put this grant to use until 1629 when he brought a group of Scottish colonists to resettle Port-Royal. Three years later the "Treaty of St.-Germain-En-Laye"[11] restored Acadia to France and the Scots were deported; this event marks the beginning of the real settlement of Acadia.

Isaac de Razilly, the new governor of Acadia, left France in 1632 accompanied by his brother, Claude, and an associate, Charles de Menou d'Aulnay. They set out in three ships with three hundred "*hommes d'é-*

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9 Jean Daigle,ed., *Acadia, 1604-1763, An Historical Synthesis*, in *The Acadians of the Maritimes :Thematic Studies.*, (Moncton, Centre d'études acadiennes,1982), p.20.

10 Ibid., p.21.

11 I find it rather curious that all sources used for this chapter refer to the Treaty of St.-Germain except for James Hannay (*History of New Brunswick*, St. John, John A. Bowes, 1909) who refers to the 1632 treaty as the "Treaty of Suza" (p.8).

lite"[12] and Razilly established a new settlement at La Hève, on the Atlantic coast of the Acadian peninsula (Nova Scotia) as he considered it better for trade purposes than Port-Royal. At the same time, d'Aulnay was setting to work rebuilding Port-Royal and moved many of the La Hève settlers there after Razilly's death in 1635. A few Métis couples chose to remain at La Hève but the majority of settlers preferred the better farmland around Port-Royal.

By 1650 there were some forty-five to fifty European families in the Port-Royal-La Hève region and numerous traders and woodsmen living throughout Acadia. Most immigrants after this period were ex-soldiers and unmarried workers who stayed on and married into Acadian families; thus the original fifty or so are considered to be Acadia's founding families.[13] From research by Geneviève Massignon (see note 4) and Pascal Poirier[14], it is clear that many of these original settlers came from the west-central part of France, from around the regions of Poitou, Berry, Saintonge, and Angoumois. This is one of the reasons for the differences between the Acadians and the settlers of Quebec; according to Louise Péronnet[15], the French of Quebec originate more from the north and north-west parts of

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12 *La Gazette de Renaudot*, July 16, 1632, p. 232, cited in Geneviève Massignon, *Les Parlers Français d'Acadie, Enquête linguistique* Tome 1, (Paris, Klinckseik, 1962), p.18.

13 Muriel K. Roy, *Settlement and Population Growth in Acadia*, in *The Acadians of the Maritimes*, pp.131-133.

14 Pascal Poirier, *Le parler franco-acadien et ses origines*, (Quebec, Imprimerie franciscaine missionaire, 1928).

15 Louise Péronnet, *Modalités nominales et verbales dans le parler franco-acadien du Sud-Est du Nouveau Brunswick*, (M.A. thesis, Université Laval, Quebec, 1972), p.11.

France (see Fig. 2).

Between 1654 and 1667, the Nova Scotia part of Acadia was once again under British government; the take-over was achieved by Sedgewick in 1654, and restoration to France in 1667 was by the Treaty of Breda. Because they were under British rule, not much is known about the settlers during that period except that few of them left their homes. Much more information about settlement and movement is available for the period following the treaty of 1667 because the French government began a series of censuses in 1671.

Régis Brun[16] gives the number of persons living in Acadia at the time of the first census as 440. According to Hannay, this figure cannot be considered entirely accurate as the census had no records of persons living in areas of what is now New Brunswick and evidence from correspondence and journals shows that there was some settlement on the north shore and the Miramichi.[17] In the fifteen years between the first and second censuses, the population of Acadia doubled itself; in 1686 there were 932 persons living in Acadia.[18] The next fifteen years did not show as large a population increase as the first; the number of Acadians given for the census of 1701 is 1,163. The population of Acadia increased steadily over the following fifty years, reaching an approximate total of 13,000 persons at the time of the

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16 Régis Brun, *De Grand-Pré à Kouchibougouac, L'histoire d'un peuple exploité*, (Moncton, Les Editions d'Acadie, 1982), p.11.

17 Hannay, p.19.

18 Brun, p.11.

19 Brun, p.11.

Great Disruption in 1755.[19]

2.3 The "French Neutrals", 1713-1755.

After resisting attacks on numerous occasions by the British and by New Englanders from 1667 on, the Acadians suffered their final take-over at the hands of the British in 1713. By this time there were almost 3,000 persons living in Acadia. There were large settlements at Port-Royal and La Hève, and smaller settlements had begun to form at places like Beaubassin and Les Mines in Nova Scotia, and along the St. John and Miramichi rivers and the north shore in New Brunswick. After the take-over, the British occupied the Port-Royal region, causing a certain amount of migration of the settlers; a few returned to France, but most of those who moved helped to increase the numbers in the newer settlements. The French government tried to persuade many of the Acadians to move to Cape Breton, which was still a French possession, but they preferred to keep their homes where the climate and lands were better for farming.

Life was more peaceful for the Acadians after the Treaty of Utrecht had ceded their lands to Britain; they lived much as they always had with the exception of the problem of swearing allegiance to the English Crown. The Acadians refused to swear allegiance unless it was a conditional oath, the most important condition being that they not be required to take up arms against France in the event of war. In 1730, they were permitted to take the conditional oath verbally.

> However,[Governor] Philipps did not send the French version of the oath on which the following verbal promise had been notarized back to England: *...that the inhabitants, when they*

> *have sworn hereto, will not be obliged to take up arms against France or against the Savages, and the said Inhabitants have further promised that they will not take up arms against the King of England or against its [sic] government.*[20]

The neutrality of the Acadians did not pose many problems for the British until war was declared between England and France in 1754. Although the Acadians had shown no signs of fighting for either side, the English became increasingly uneasy about the situation. The fact that the Acadian population was growing so fast was a source of added discomfort for the British. By 1754, they had decided that the Acadians posed a threat to their possession of the territory and so, in 1755, they rounded up as many of the Acadians as they could and deported them.

In the five years immediately preceding this deportation, the deteriorating relations between the Acadians and the British authorities had caused many of the Acadians to move away from the Acadian peninsula, which was definitely British territory, and into areas in present-day New Brunswick, which was not so clearly a British possession under the terms of the treaty,[21] and to Île Saint-Jean (P.E.I.). The first deportation took place mainly from the Acadian peninsula and an estimated 6,000 people were sent to other British colonies in North America. 1,100 deportees destined for Virginia were refused entry and sent to England as prisoners of war where they remained until the treaty of 1763, by which time only 866 were still

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20 Daigle, pp.37,38. [Italics author's]

21 The Treaty of Utrecht ceded Acadia to France without ever clearly defining the boundaries; France argued until 1758 that the New Brunswick area was not included as part of Acadia and therefore, not British.

22 Roy, p.153.

living.[22]

These 866 were among those repatriated to France and eventually taken in by the state of Louisiana where a large colony of Acadians ,or "Cajuns", formed over the years following the deportation.[23] Many of those Acadians returning from the southern states settled in Louisiana as the journey back to Acadia was simply too long and the chances of not being able to get their land back on their return were too high. Louisiana was particularly attractive at the time because land was available, the climate was much more favourable for farming and living than that in the Canadian Maritimes, and it was still very much a French territory, even after 1762 by which time it belonged to Spain.[24]

A small number of Acadians managed to escape deportation by hiding in the woods and living with the Indians,while others escaped to Quebec, Île Saint-Jean and Île Royale (Cape Breton). Those who fled to the Îles Saint-Jean and Royale were unfortunate in their choice; three years after the first deportation came the fall of Louisbourg and the deportation of all Acadians in those two areas. By 1762, many of those who had managed to escape deportation had been found and were sent back to France, and many were kept in Halifax as prisoners of war until they were later put to work as farm labourers and domestics.[25] As a result of the two major deportations and a number of smaller ones, over 10,000 Acadians were scattered over North America and Europe by 1763.

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[23] Roy, p.157.

[24] Roy, footnote 90, p.157.

[25] Roy, p.154.

2.4

The resettlement of Acadia: 1763-1871.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the war between France and England and led to the massive colonisation of the Maritimes by New Englanders and European settlers. Within a short time many of the earlier Acadian settlements were occupied by these European settlers and by Loyalists, American settlers loyal to the British Crown who were forced to leave their homes in the American colonies during and after the War of Independence and were given lands in Canada for their loyalty to the Crown. While this resettlement was taking place, the British authorities agreed to allow the displaced Acadians to return to their homeland on condition that they swear an unconditional oath of allegiance and that they settle only in small groups. As the French had lost all claim to lands in Canada, the Acadians were in no position to refuse these conditions if they wished to return.

The first returning Acadians came from the closer New England states, then British provinces, and from Quebec. Many of them found that they could not live on their old properties as the land was now occupied by resettled New Englanders who were not particularly fond of the Acadians. The Acadians began to make their way to regions that were more remote from the capital and from other settlements. In Nova Scotia, settlement was concentrated principally in the southern part of the peninsula and in Cape Breton; the southern part of Nova Scotia eventually became known as the "French Shore". According to Muriel Roy,[26] a pastoral visit to the Maritime provinces by Monsignor Denaut in 1803 yielded a report that there

[26] Roy, p.160.

were almost 4,000 Acadians living in the province at that time, most of them returnees from New England. In Prince Edward Island, there were some thirty Acadian families who had escaped deportation by 1763. These were joined by returning deportees, and settlements were established in most parts of the island that were not too heavily settled by the English. Mgr. Denaut's report on the Acadian population in the Maritimes shows that there were 687 persons of French origin living in PEI in 1803.[27]

In 1784, Nova Scotia was divided into two provinces for administrative purposes. Since that time, the second province, New Brunswick, has become the home of more Acadians than any other province or state in North America, partly because there were more areas left unsettled by the British and also because New Brunswick is between the other Maritime provinces and New England or Quebec. There was less occupation of Acadian lands by Loyalists in New Brunswick than in the other provinces; the new settlers were concentrated more in the south-west and central parts of the province than in the northern and eastern parts that had previously been settled by the Acadians. The returning deportees settled along the north shore from Miscou to Campbellton, in the north-west at Madawaska, in the north-east from Bouctouche to Shippagan, and around the village of Memramcook in the south-eastern counties of Kent and Westmorland. By 1803 there were approximately 3,700 Acadians living throughout New Brunswick.[28]

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[27] Roy, p.163.

[28] Roy, p.164.

The years between 1763 and 1863 were years of quiet resettlement and growth of the Acadian communities in the Maritimes; the Acadian people kept to themselves as much as possible, as they had wanted to before the "Great Disruption". For many years during the century of resettlement, the Acadians were so isolated from each other that they did not know whether relatives had returned or not, where they were living, and even whether or not they were still alive. Displaced Acadians were returning almost constantly over the forty or fifty years following 1763, and many of the settlements established over those years are the ones that remain today.

By the time of Confederation in 1867, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had been separate provinces for over eighty years and entered Confederation as such; thus they were counted as part of the national census in 1871. The results of this census show that there were 32,833 persons of French origin in Nova Scotia (8,5% of the total population), and 44,907 persons of French origin in New Brunswick (15.7% of the total population).[29] Between 1803 and 1871 the Acadian populations of both provinces had grown at an extremely rapid rate; within seventy years the Acadian population of each province alone had reached four times that of all of Acadia in 1755, a total that had taken 150 years to achieve.

After 1871 the Acadian populations in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island did not continue to grow at such a rate. They levelled off around the turn of the century and have remained steady since then. New Brunswick, on the other hand, has an Acadian population that has grown from 44,907, or 15.7% of the 79,339 total in 1871; to 251,070, or 37.4% of the 696,403

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29 Roy, p167.

total of 1981.[30] making New Brunswick second only to Quebec in the number of persons of French ethnic origin today. This large concentration of francophones also makes New Brunswick a safer place for the preservation of language and culture than the other Acadian lands.

2.5 The Acadians of South-Eastern New Brunswick.

The beginning of the resettlement of the south-eastern region of New Brunswick in 1764 took place around the village of Memramcook, which had been settled before the Deportation. Settlements spread out from there to Grande-Digue and Cocagne in Kent county and later to Shediac, Barachois, Cap-Pelé and Shemogue in Westmorland county(see Fig. 3). Most of the Acadian communities in this region were rural, but Shediac eventually became the centre of business for the Acadians and was also one of the largest towns in the region. At first, the city of Moncton was avoided by the Acadians as a place for resettlement because it was one of the centres of massive colonisation efforts by the British. It was settled first by German colonists (many of these were from Pennsylvania), followed by a large number of Irish, a few English and a small number of assorted other nationalities. The few Acadians who had escaped deportation and remained in the Moncton area became assimilated at an alarming rate; they changed their names and, in many cases, spoke little or no French within a generation or two.

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30 Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1981.

Shediac and Memramcook were the two most important centres in terms of the history of the region following the Disruption; Shediac was the home of the first French language newspaper in the province, *Le Moniteur Acadien*, published by Israël Landry for the first time on July 8, 1867 and Memramcook was the home of the first college for Acadians, the Collège St.-Joseph (1864) that later became the Université de Moncton. The dates of these events reflect the fact that it was almost one hundred years after the return of the Acadians to the region that they began to emerge from their state of isolation.

It is unlikely that the language of the people of this region remained unchanged during their exile in the New England states; in an almost exclusively English environment at least some of the Acadians would have had to learn some English. Their use of English would probably have increased as they encountered more anglophones after their return to their homeland. The fact that the south-eastern region has been surrounded by English towns and villages almost since the beginning of the Acadians' return means that it would have been difficult for the Acadians to avoid a certain amount of contact with the English. There were a number of important elements needed to ensure the preservation of the language and culture of the Acadians in the region, but these were unfortunately lacking from the beginning. These elements include: good French education for all Acadian students, more French clergy, and a less anti-French attitude on the part of the English in the area. The problem of English-French relations did not come to a head until later.

2.6 Education Problems in the South-East

The first major problem of schooling for Acadians came as a result of a law passed by the Nova Scotia government in 1766 while New Brunswick was still a part of that province; this law allowed citizens to build schools, subject to authorization, but the law excluded Catholics and consequently almost all Acadians.[31] With the separation of the provinces in 1784, the New Brunswick government adopted a less prejudiced attitude toward education, giving Catholics the right to build and attend schools; the problem was now money. The small amount of funds allocated to schools in each county meant that there could not be many schools in any district., Those schools that were established were not only unable to teach in two languages, they were not well equipped for teaching in English.

Before 1815, most Acadian children received little or no education beyond the catechism that the overworked travelling missionaries taught them. There was little improvement in the situation until 1825 when the first parish school in the south-east was opened in Memramcook for those who could afford to pay fees and could afford to let their children take the time away from work. The passing of the Parish Schools Act in 1858 improved the situation for some of those who had not been able to attend school for financial reasons. It gave a certain amount of government support to the parish schools, enabling them to take a small number of extra students who otherwise could not attend. The Common School Act of 1871 was intended to remedy the problem of inability to pay school fees; it was to

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31 Alexandre J. Savoie, *Education in Acadia: 1604 to 1970* in *The Acadians of the Maritimes*, p.392.

provide free education to all students regardless of race, creed, or colour. The one important consideration lacking in the Common Schools Act was that of language, as it made no mention of the French language as a medium of instruction. That year there were thirty Acadian teachers in Westmorland county teaching in one-room schools or their own homes, only four of whom had teaching licenses. The Common Schools Act was intended to make the need for these small schools obsolete, but its actual result was to lessen the amount of education that Acadian children received, because they had to learn in English.

The establishment of the Collège St.-Joseph was a step forward for Acadian education, but very few children received a good enough primary education in French or English to reach the secondary school level, especially after 1871. The establishment of convents in the region was another helpful influence. Two convents were founded in the south-east region in the 1870's, one at Memramcook and one at Bouctouche. The French-speaking nuns were instrumental in coaching Acadians in English and other subjects so that they could attend the English Normal School in Fredericton to become teachers. It was unfortunate that the convents could not take in more students than they did, but at least Acadian teachers were being trained, albeit in English.

The public schools in south-eastern New Brunswick were avoided by Acadians for many years because they could not cope with the language problems. It was in the early 1900's that the school situation began to improve slightly, following the movement of many Acadians from smaller

rural villages to Moncton for better business opportunities. They realised that their children would have to learn English to succeed in the city, but they did not want the children to lose their own language in the process. By 1907 there were enough Moncton residents of Acadian origin to petition the school board to have students taught in French to the fourth grade. This was allowed until 1909 when it was amended to allow French as the language of instruction in grade one, with English compulsory until grade eight.[32]

The need for bilingual education for all grades did not even begin to be satisfied until the 1940's, after it was found that New Brunswick had the highest illiteracy rate in Canada, primarily because of the high illiteracy rate of the Acadians. Over the next twenty years, courses in French were introduced into the public school curricula and the teaching diplomas issued by the Collège St.-Joseph were recognized as valid by the Board of education. The work of the *Association acadienne d'éducation*, formed in 1936, eventually made it possible for the history and the language of the Acadian students to be taught to them in public schools. In 1959 the Acadians in Moncton once again petitioned the local school board, this time for a French-language high school. This petition originally provoked a great deal of opposition on the part of the anglophone population; but four years later plans were being made to build Ecole Vanier, New Brunswick's first

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32 John Edward Belliveau, *The Monctonians*, vol. 2, (Hantsport, NS, Lancelot Press, 1982), pp.46-51.

33 Edmund A. Aunger, *In Search of Political Stability*, A Comparative Study of New Brunswick and Northern Ireland, (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), p.69.

French-language high school.[33] Over the past thirty years, many of the public schools built in the south-eastern region have French as their language of instruction.

The struggle for French education has long been evident in the changing dialect of the area; those who went to school to get ahead in life lost much of their language in the earlier days, and those who could not afford schooling in French and could not keep up in English still speak the dialect of their ancestors with a trace of interference from English.

2.7 The Problem of Religion

For almost a century after their return from exile, the Acadians in Westmorland and Kent counties had almost no ordained clergy. There was a very small group of priests from France acting as missionaries during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and a few priests who arrived from Quebec from time to time. These missionaries frequently had to cover vast territories and the south- east was visited less frequently than the other regions, owing to its greater distance from Quebec. For many years, the performance of religious ceremonies fell to village patriarchs in the absence of clergymen. The first permanent resident clergy in the region were Irish or Scottish with one or two exceptions in Memramcook and Shediac, making it necessary for the Acadians to speak and understand English if they wished to go to church close to home. In many cases they did not go to church and kept up the old practice of using laymen.

The number of Acadian priests began to increase after the Collège St.-Joseph was in operation; this helped the rural parishes a great deal but caused some difficulty in the larger centres. The best example is Moncton, where there were an almost equal number of Irish and French Catholics sharing a church until the early nineteenth century. There were almost constant arguments between the Irish and the French, clergy and parishioners,usually over trivial differences in practices.[34] The Irish parishioners were often more than slightly anti-French and even after the French had their own churches were creating problems, for example joining in the protest over bilingual schooling carried out by the Orange Lodge during the 1930's and 1940's. Once their churches were established in the region, the Acadians outside Moncton had a much easier time preserving their culture and language, but some damage had already been done with years of worship in another language. The Catholic faith has always been strong among the Acadians, and using another language in the practice of keeping the faith could not help but leave its mark on their own language.

The Acadians in New Brunswick and elsewhere spent many years as second-class citizens; as Catholics they did not have the right to build schools until 1784, or the right to vote until 1810, and the right to hold a seat in the Legislative Assembly did not come until 1830 in New Brunswick. If they wished to hold jobs that would let them achieve any measure of success in business or politics they had to be able to speak English, at least in the south-eastern region. When Moncton became the "headquarters" of most of the Acadian organizations after the "awakening" of the collective

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[34] Belliveau, pp.49-51.

Acadian consciousness, many of the first Acadians to move into the city became totally anglicised and the later ones suffered a great deal of anglicisation.

In the smaller rural villages that make up Kent county and part of Westmorland county, there has been less contact with the English from the beginning of the Acadians' return than there has been in Moncton and Shediac (although more than in the northern regions). The language in the smaller communities has remained much more as it was in the eighteenth century because the people have remained more isolated. They generally have not seen any need to attend school in English or work in English, so until French schools were established education was a low priority and many of the Acadians in these communities until recently had very little schooling, primary or secondary.

The movement of so many of the Acadians from rural to urban life since the early 1900's has had a marked effect on the city of Moncton. In the late 1800's there were almost no Acadians to speak of in the greater Moncton area; Acadians today make up over 47% of the population of Moncton. As mentioned earlier, the original move to the city caused a high degree of anglicism in the language, but as the population of French origin grew there was a move toward French usage in education and business. There has often been opposition on the part of the anglophone population to the growing "Frenchness" of the city, and thus it is only in the past ten to twenty years that francophones have been relatively free to use their own language for work and school. By the time of the so-called "language wars" of the

1950's and 60's, many of the Acadians had already lost much of their language after years of needing English to get ahead. The increase of French in the schools shed new light on the number of anglicisms that had crept into the language. One result of this has been the teaching of a more Standard French to Acadians in school, and consequently the loss of much of the traditional Acadian dialect of the region. There are, as a result of events in the history of the region, three stages of the regional dialect all existing at the same time. These are the traditional Acadian dialect of the region, the anglicised urban dialect known as Chiac, and the standard French now used in schools and many business and government settings. It will probably become a more homogeneous dialect within the next fifty years as a result of better education and communication, but which stage of this dialect will be predominant at this point remains to be seen.

Figure 1: Early Acadian Settlement

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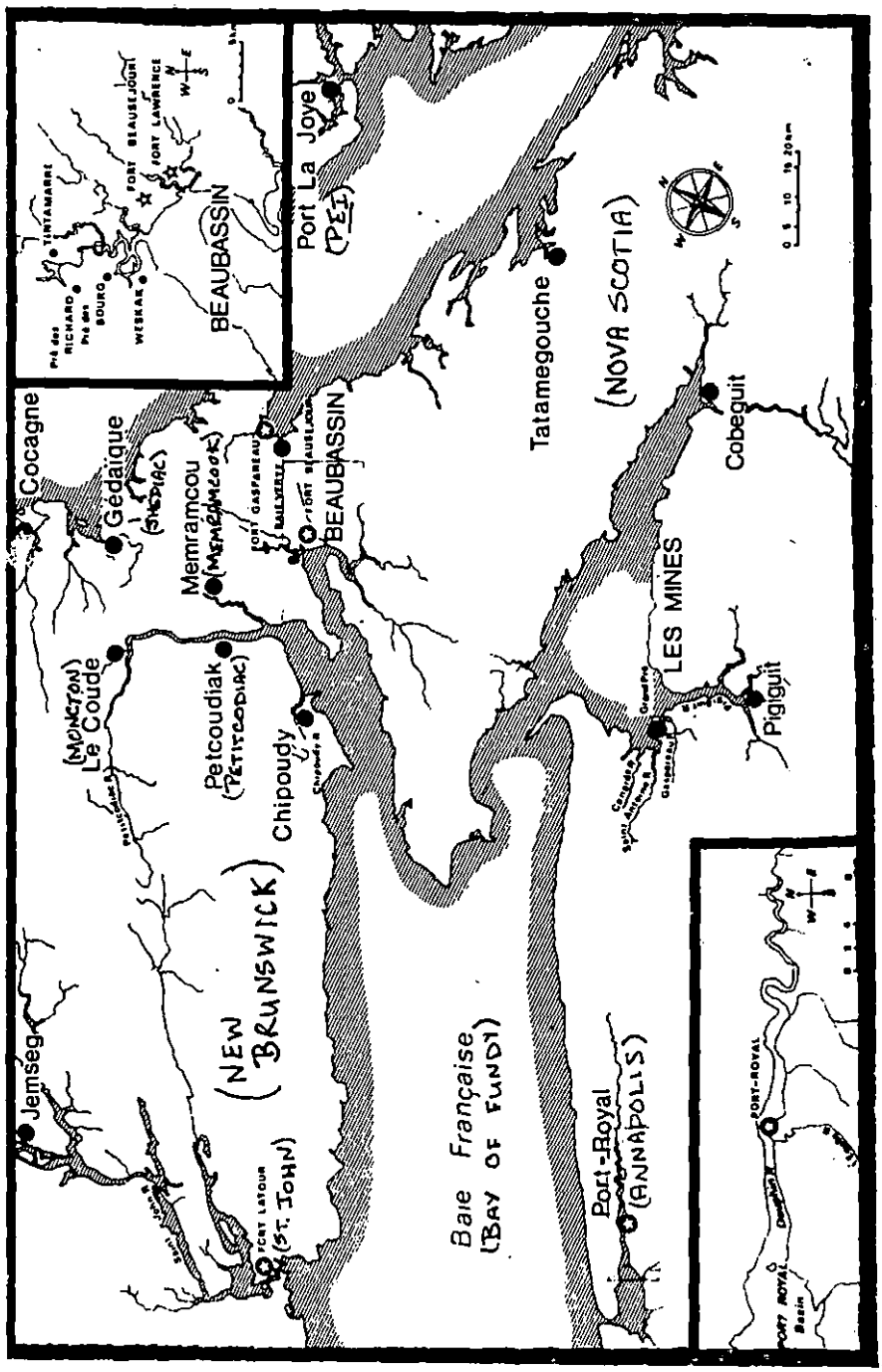
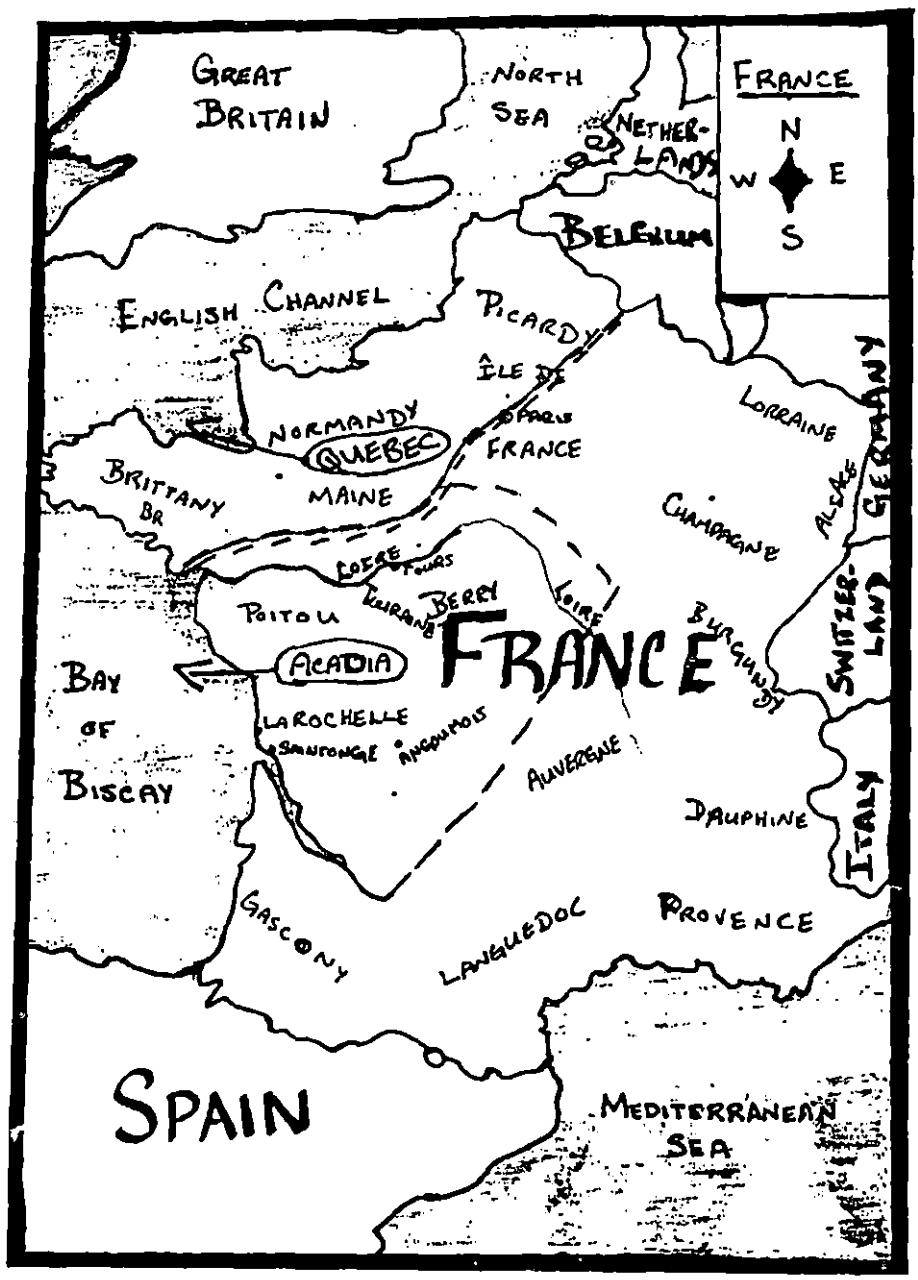


35 Adapted from map by Michel J.-C. Cyr in Roy,p.158.

Figure 2: Origins of the Quebec and Acadian settlers.

36



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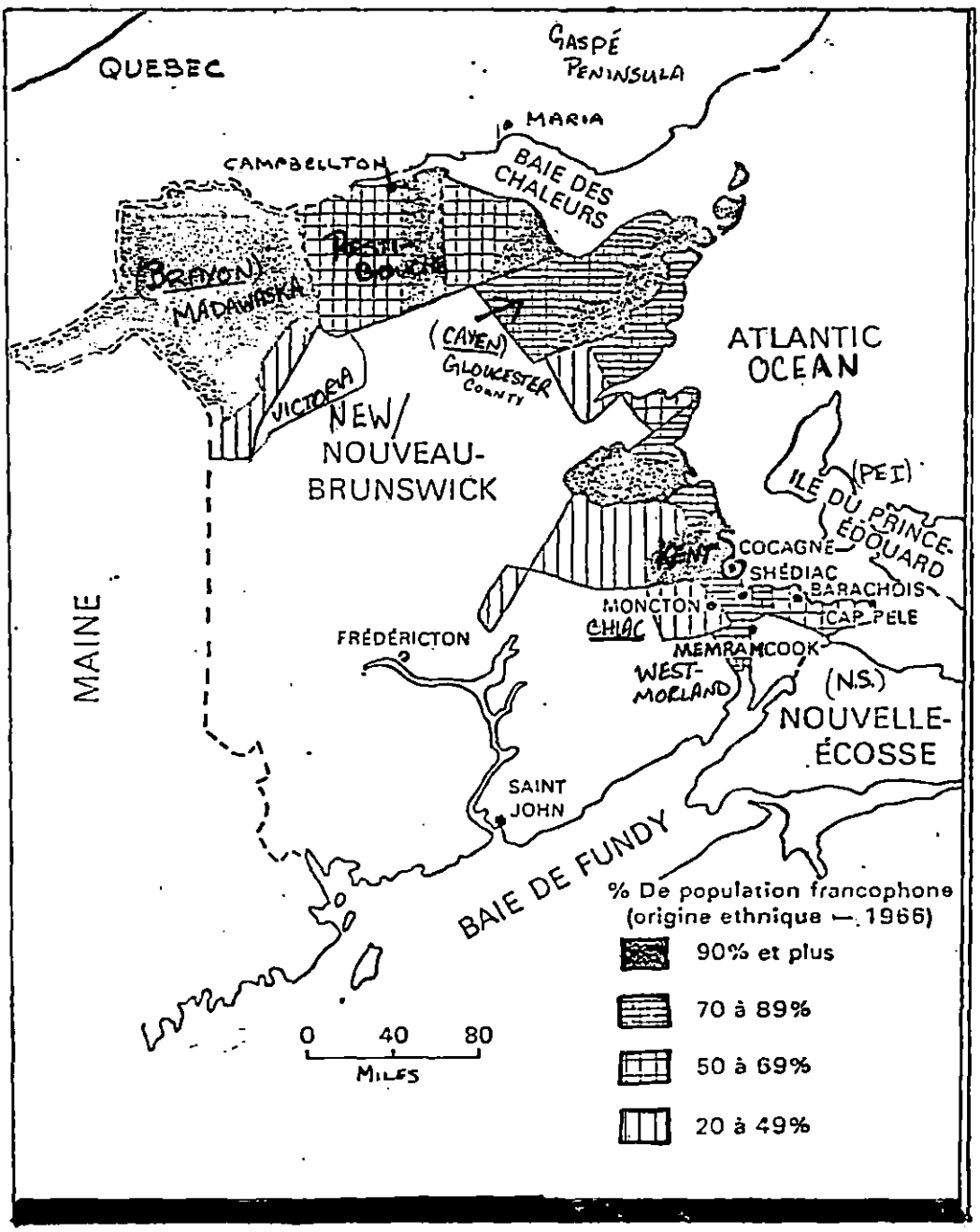
36 These divisions show where the majority of settlers in each region originated, there are small numbers from other regions in each case.

Figure 3: Acadian regions of New Brunswick

37



37 Adapted from Figure 2, in Vincent Lucci, Phonologie de l'Acadien, Studia Phonetica 7, (Montreal, Didier), 1973, p.17.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction.

> On rencontre dans le parler francophone urbain de Moncton tous les degrés possibles d'anglicisation. Il semblerait donc difficile de présenter ce parler anglicisé comme celui d'un groupe. Nous avons préféré le Francais d'une région rurale, ..., qui représente toujours une proportion importante de l'élement francophone.[38]

The preference for rural Acadian speech over urban anglicised *Chiac* expressed in Lucci's statement seems to be typical of most studies of Acadian dialects, or at least of those encountered in the course of the present research. Part of the purpose of this study is to present some of the more consistent incidences of anglicism present in the Moncton dialect in contrast with the traditional Acadian dialect of the region, in an effort to determine whether or not the Moncton dialect is becoming more dominant. Preference has not been given to rural informants here as a number of studies have already dealt with this speech, but a small number were needed to compare the traditional Acadian dialect in previous studies with that spoken today, as well as with urban dialect.

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38 Vincent Lucci, *Phonologie de l'Acadien*, (Studia Phonetica 7, Montreal, Didier, 1973), p.15.

In this chapter, the details of informant selection and background will be presented, along with the methods used to interview the informants. The background information on informants will be presented in the form of a general survey of traits in this chapter, with more detailed information available in Appendix A.

3.2 Selection of Informants and Summary of Characteristics

Thirty-five francophones from Moncton and other parts of the south-east region were originally contacted for this study, in the hope that at least fifteen would be available and suitable to participate. Of the original thirty-five, eight did not wish to participate at all. This was to be expected for a small number, considering the negative attitude with which many Acadians regard this dialect; some went so far as to say that they did not wish people to know about the way they speak. Five others had lived for too many years in other regions, or had been born in other regions and moved to Moncton recently. Although the differences in dialect between Acadian regions in New Brunswick, or even between New Brunswick and some regions of Quebec are not great, they are enough to make it necessary to exclude any speakers who have been influenced by these dialects to a great extent. This means that any speaker not brought up in the Westmorland-Kent region, or any speaker living away from that region for more than two years could not be considered as an informant.[39] Twenty-one informants

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[39] Two years seems to be the maximum time for a speaker to live in another region without a great deal of influence from the other dialect, according to my own observations and those of informants and friends in the region.

were eventually interviewed and of those, nineteen interviews were of use for this study. Two informants were reluctant to use their regional dialect and alternated between very formal, standard French (formal speech is rare in the Acadian dialect of the region) and English. This continued through two to three hours of contact in each case and the attempt to elicit *Chiac* was eventually abandoned.

The remaining nineteen informants had all been born and raised in the south-east region, six from small villages in Westmorland and Kent counties, one from the town of Shediac, and twelve from the greater Moncton area (which here includes the town of Dieppe). Three older, rural informants (all over seventy years of age) were contacted through the Villa Providence extended care facility in Shediac; these three all came from different areas in the south-east: from Grande-Digue in Kent county, and from Shemogue and Memramcook in Westmorland county. The other informants were either already known to me and were contacted by phone and asked to participate, or were contacted by those who were participating in the interviews. The six already known to me were, without exception, from the Moncton-Dieppe area; they in turn contacted the other six from Moncton, the one from Shediac, and three more rural informants from Cap-Pelé, Cocagne, and Barachois (in addition to those who could not be used).

All informants were asked to supply some background information about their ages, places of birth and residence, languages used in the home and at work or school, and the languages of their parents, other family members and spouses. They were also asked what level of education they had

reached and their present and past occupations. From the information supplied, it is possible to make a general summary of the division of informants into groups based on the above factors. These groups serve to determine which of the above factors influence the change in dialect in the region, and which of these factors seem to influence language transference consistently.

The characteristics of these informants will be summarized in both textual and tabular form, the tables to follow the text.

There were three basic groups or types of informants based on the division of urban and rural informants; all urban informants could be considered bilingual and formed one group (Type I), while the rural informants were either unilingual or bilingual and so formed two types themselves (bilingual = Type II, unilingual = Type III). Within this basic division, there were twelve Type I informants, three Type II informants and four Type III informants. Any moves that informants had made were usually from a rural area to an urban one (Moncton or Shediac) within the region. One of the informants who had moved from a rural area to Moncton was classed as Type II as the move was within two months of the interview. Two others had made the same move, but had been living in Moncton for over five years and so were classed as Type I. There were only three other informants who had moved at any time in their lives; they were the three at the Villa Providence. Two of these were Type III informants and had made only that move (less than one year before the interviews) and the third was a Type II informant who had spent one year in an anglophone nursing home in Sackville, N.B.

The age of informants ranged from seventy-nine years to fifteen years, with the oldest informants originating outside the Moncton area as noted earlier. Type I informants were between eighteen and sixty-seven years of age, Type II from fifteen to seventy-six, and Type III from thirty-two to seventy-nine:

Table 1: Informant Ages

Type	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
I	3	5	2	2
II	2	0	0	1
III	0	1	1	2

There was considerable variation in languages used in the home, at work and in other situations among the Types I and II informants. Six informants used French both in the home and at work, but were capable of functioning well in English in most other situations; two used English at work and French in the home and other settings; three used French in the home and at school, but held part-time jobs requiring them to speak English; three used both French and English at home and work; and one used English at home and French at school. The following table does not show the Type III informants as they speak French in all situations.

The Type III informants all had unilingual parents, and one had a spouse who spoke a little English but this did not seem to have influenced the informant's speech. The Type II informants also all had unilingual

Table 2: Home and Work Language

Type	Language	Home	Work/School	Other
I	French	8	7	12
	English	1	2 (+3)	12
	Both	3	3	N/A
II	French	3	2	3
	English	0	1	3

parents and two were married (to bilingual Acadians). The parents of Type I informants were varied in mother tongue and origin. Seven had two bilingual parents of French origin and the three of these who were married had bilingual spouses; two had one bilingual parent of French origin and one unilingual French parent; neither was married. The remaining three informants in this group all had one bilingual parent; but in one case the unilingual parent was an anglophone, and in the other two cases the bilingual parents were of English origin and the unilingual parent was a francophone. Only one of this last group was married, to a bilingual Acadian.

The level of education of the informants varied from no formal education in one case to post-graduate study at the University of Moncton in another. Three informants remained in school for all the primary grades (one through eight), one had a grade six education, one grade three, and, as noted, one did not attend school at all. Most of these were older informants of Types II and III who did not have the chance to go through the early school years in their own language. Five of the other informants finished grade ten or

eleven, three had completed high school, two had gone to post-secondary education at community college(CC), two were attending university(U) at the time of the interviews, and one had been granted a degree some years previously.

Table 3: Informant Education and Types

Type	Gr.0-5	Gr.6-8	Gr.9-11	Gr.12	CC/U
I	0	1	4	2	5
II	0	1	1	1	0
III	2	2	0	0	0

The occupations of the informants varied according to educational levels; although one was unemployed at the time he was interviewed and four were retired, the differences in occupation account for some of the differences in language as almost all the informants worked in some capacity and many needed to use Emglish.

Of the four retired informants, two had farmed until they moved to the nursing home, one had owned and run a service station that he later sold to his son, and the fourth took care of brothers and sisters and their children until she moved to the nursing home (where her older brother also lives). Five of the informants were students, two at the university level, two in the eleventh grade, and one in the ninth grade. All these students were attending French-language schools and three, as noted earlier, held part-time jobs requiring a knowledge of English. The informant who was unem-

ployed at the time of the interview was a secretary (in better times) to francophone employers only. The remaining nine informants included two sales clerks, one homemaker, an accountant, a janitor, an auto mechanic, two office workers (clerks), and a hotel switchboard operator.

3.3 Methods of Interviews

All interviews were conducted in four parts over a period of two weeks (each). The four parts were divided as follows: personal information was elicited in question form, then informants were asked either to read a passage or to answer questions requiring certain words in their answers for the purpose of examining phonological characteristics of the dialect(s); a series of pictures was then shown to each informant for description, and objects in the room were pointed out and informants asked to name them. Finally,informants were asked questions that would in most cases lead to a conversation. The interviews were not completely uniform as there were some informants who could not read easily (or at all), and one could not see well enough to describe pictures.

There were approximately six to eight hours of contact with each informant, one to two hours of which were tape-recorded and later transcribed, in some cases it was possible to partially transcribe the interview if the informants were slow speakers. With the exception of the Type III (unilingual) informants, questions were asked in both English and French in different sections. In this way, it was easier to elicit *Chiac* eventually, if there was any hesitation at the outset.

The passages most informants were asked to read were columns from a recent edition of a French-language newspaper, and for those who found the print size difficult, a copy was printed by hand in large letters (see Appendix B for sample). The questions asked to elicit specific sounds were of a "fill-in-the-blank" type. (Examples of these questions can be found in Appendix B.) The conversational parts of the interviews varied a great deal in subject matter; some informants discussed their families and work, some talked about books or movies that they had enjoyed, some wished to discuss the news, and so on. The conversation sections were probably the most informative parts of these interviews in terms of demonstrating the influence of English on the language of the region, as the informants tended to be more relaxed and consequently used their everyday language much more freely.

3.4 Methods of Analysis

The results of all interviews were examined for the phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic properties of both the traditional Acadian dialect and *Chiac*. The first step after transcription of all the tapes was to make a complete phonemic inventory from all the tapes. This was then divided into phonemes common to both Acadian and Standard French (AF and SF hereafter), phonemes unique to AF, and any sounds influenced by contact with English. The next step was to look for any consistent addition or loss of sounds by any group of speakers ,or all of them. For this step, the results of Vincent Lucci's *Phonologie de l'Acadien* were compared with those

of the informants for this study, notably the Type III informants, in order to determine how much change (if any) has occurred in the intervening years. In the case of consistent loss or addition of features not occurring within one type of informants but across two or three, it was necessary to examine the other factors (age, education, etc.) to determine whether or not any pattern of change emerged according to those factors.

In the case of morphological results, the steps were not followed in quite the same way. Within the phonology of the dialect, there are a number of features that depend upon morphological influences, for example, the occurrence of the Maritime English /a/ only in verbs based on English roots. For this reason, the morphology and phonology of the dialects are examined together in one chapter.

The lexical and syntactic results were treated in much the same way as morphology and phonology; all transcriptions were examined for features unique to AF or consistent instances of transference from English. Consistency within types was first examined, then across types according to other factors. The results of Louise Péronnet's *Modalités Nominales et Verbales ...* and Geneviève Massignon's *Les Parlers Français d'Acadie* were used for comparison of lexical and syntactic traits of the traditional Acadian dialect with the rural AF of the Type III informants and the *Chiac* of the Types I and II informants.

If any loss, addition or transference occurred across any one type or in connection with an informant characteristic that was well-represented, it could be considered as evidence of change to the dialect. Any sounds that

were unstable or glosses that alternated consistently could be considered as transitional.

The last step for each category (phonological, etc.) was to examine all instances of change (this includes transference) together, according to the determining factor(s) to see if any pattern emerged (e.g. all change according to level of education).

Chapter IV

MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGE AND TRANSFERENCE

4.1 Phonemic Inventory of all Tapes

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4.1.1 Vowels, Semi-vowels and Diphthongs

41

[i].... high front unrounded, as in "vie" (SF/AF)

[ɪ].... high front unrounded lax, as in English "pit" (AF,E/C)

[y].... high front rounded, as in "tu" (SF/AF)

[u].... high back rounded, as in "vous" (SF/AF)

[ʊ].... high back rounded lax, as in English "put" (AF,E/C)

[e].... closed mid front unrounded,as in "café" (SF/AF)

[ɛ].... open mid front unrounded, as in "belle" (SF/AF)

[ə].... mid central rounded lax, as in "le" (SF/AF)

[ɛ̃].... mid front unrounded nasal, as in "vin" (SF/AF)

[o].... mid back rounded, as in "dos" (SF/AF)

[õ].... mid to low back rounded nasal, as in "son" (SF/AF)

[ø].... closed mid front rounded, as in "feu" (SF/AF)

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40 The notations appearing after examples show whether these sounds are common to Standard French (SF) and Acadian French (AF), more typical of AF, or English sounds found in Chiac (E/C).

41 All vowels are tense unless otherwise noted.

[œ].... open mid front rounded, as in "fleur" (SF/AF)

[œ̃].... mid front rounded nasal, as in "brun" (SF/AF)

[a].... low central unrounded , as in "patte" (SF/AF)

[ɑ].... low back unrounded,as in "pâte" (AF)

[æ].... low to mid front unrounded lax, as in English "back"

[ɑ̃].... low central to back unrounded nasal, as in "vent" (SF/AF)

Semi-vowels:

[j].... unrounded palatal, as in "yeux" (SF/AF)

[w].... rounded labiovelar, as in "oui" (SF/AF)

[ɥ].... rounded palatal, as in "huit" (SF/AF)

Diphthongs:

[aɛ]... low to mid front unrounded, as in "reine" (AF) (C/E)

[ɑu]... low back unrounded to high back lax rounded, as in "pas" (AF)

4.1.2 Consonants

The consonants p,b,m,f,v,t,d,n,s,z,l,k,g have the same value as in the Standard French phonological system.[42]

[r].... voiced alveolar trill, as in "revenir" (AF)

[ʃ].... voiceless palatal fricative, as in "chaise" (SF/AF)

[ʒ].... voiced palatal fricative, as in "jeu" (SF/AF)

[ɲ].... voiced palatal nasal, as in "digne" (SF/AF)

[ŋ].... voiced velar nasal, as in English "sing" (SF/AF,C/E)

[h].... voiceless glottal fricative, as in English "hill" (AF,C/E)

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[42] Vincent Lucci, *Phonologie de l'Acadien*, p.24.

[ts]... voiceless palatalized dental stop, as in "tu" (AF)

[dz]... voiced palatalized dental stop, as in "lundi" (AF)

[tʃ]... voiceless palatal affricate,as in English "chair" (AF,C/E)

[dʒ]... voiced palatal affricate, as in English "job" (AF,C/E)

[θ].... voiceless interdental fricative, as in "think" (C/E)

[ð].... voiced interdental fricative, as in "the" (C/E)

4.2

Phonological Changes

4.2.1 Vowels

One of the features of AF that distinguish it from SF is the existence of lax high vowels. The original laxing rule, which becomes apparent in the speech of Type III informants and is discussed by Lucci[43], is:

V[+high,+tense] > V[+high,-tense]/ C____C[-voice].

Examples: /isɪt/ - "ici", /tɪp/ - "type", /vɪt/ - "vite", /polɪs/ - "police", and /bʊk/ - "boucle", /a bʊt/ - "à bout" (tired), /kuʃ/ - "couche" (first and third person sing.,"coucher").

This rule has been expanded by all but three informants (Type III) to include voiced stops, for example:

/flɛksɪb/ - "flexible", /dɪg/ - "[Grande]-Digue", /tsɪg/ - "tigre", /kʊd/ - "coudre", and /vɪd/ - "vide".

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43 Lucci, pp.25-28.

Although there is not enough evidence to be sure of a regular change, the laxing rule appears to be undergoing further expansion by Type I speakers, so that laxing seems to be able to take place in some open, unstressed syllables, as in:

/dzɪf'sɪl/ /dzɪfɪsɪl/ - "difficile", /dzɪrɪʒ/ - "dirige" and, /mɪnʊt/ - "minute".

These examples occurred in the speech of eight of the Type I informants and could be attributed to vowel harmony. One counterexample, /dzɪne/ "diner" appeared, but only in one response from one informant. The common factors of informants who have this rule are age and bilingualism. All eight informants were under forty years of age and spoke English easily, which suggests that the contact with English could be influencing this rule change.

In the speech of the Type III informants and the older Type I and II informants, the lax vowel /ɛ/ is consistently realized as /a/ when followed by a consonant cluster beginning with /r/.

Examples: /farm/ - "[la] ferme", /darnjɛr/ - "dernière", /arb/ - "herbe", /vart/ - "verte" (but /vɛr/ - "vert"), and /sartɛ̃/ - "certain". The realization of /ɛ/ as /a/ in this position is gradually disappearing in the *Chiac* area. The responses and conversation of Type I informants showed this form consistently in only two informants; the others alternated between the two forms. This rule also applies to word-initial /ɛ/ not followed by /r/; as in: /al/ - "elle", and /ase/ - "essaye". In this position the rule was followed by all informants of all Types, which shows that the distribution of /ɛ/ described by Lucci[44], that /ɛ/ never appears in word-initial position, is

[44] Lucci, p.46

still followed in this case. The change in medial position indicates that *Chiac* speakers are now beginning to make changes that have occurred over the past three centuries in SF. According to Victor Barbeau,[45] the /ɛ/ was always realized as /a/ in this position in seventeenth century French.

There were very few changes to the AF vowels that Lucci describes; most seem to have followed the pattern of distribution that he found. There remain two exceptions to this. The first is a rule of diphthongization, and the second is the addition of the English vowel /æ/.

The diphthongization rule accompanies the lengthening of the vowels /ɛ/ and /ɑ/ to form /aɛ/ and /ɑu/ respectively. This is a feature of Old and Middle French[46] that is still retained to a great extent in the French of Quebec[47], but is not common in the speech of older Acadians. Lucci notes the lengthening of these vowels in the following evironments:

/ɛ/ > [+ long]/C___C, C___$C.[48]

/ɑ/ > [+ long]/C___$, $___C.

In the case of the first vowel, the lengthening rule is not absolute for closed, stressed syllables as the following examples show:

/mɛtr/ - /mɛ:tr/, "mettre" - "maître"

/fɛt/ - /fɛ:t/, "faite" - "fête",

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45 Victor Barbeau, *Le Français du Canada*, (Quebec, Librairie Garneau, 1970), p. 17.

46 J. P. Vinay, Le Français en Amérique Du Nord, *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Volume 10, part 1., p. 352.

47 Lucci, p. 64

48 $ is used to mark a syllable boundary.

thus the long form is considered to be a separate phoneme. In the speech of all informants who received completely French education, and particularly the group under 24 years of age, the long forms are diphthongized, as in the following examples:

/la raɛn/ - "la reine", /maɛr/ - "mère", /waɛr/ - "voir" (SF /wa/ alternates between /wɛ:/ and /wɑ/ in AF),

/pɑuse/ - "passé", /vɑuz/ - "vase", /ɑuʒ/ - "âge".

Lucci mentions the tendency to diphthongize /ɑ/ before /ʒ/ as a rare occurrence, and notes no other diphthongizations in his corpus which included only older, rural informants' speech. The fact that the younger Acadians use this rule would seem to indicate that the influence of Quebec French is becoming stronger in Acadian dialects, and it also suggests that some of the education is in a form of French from Quebec.

The addition of the English sound /æ/ is the last change in the vowel system of AF. This vowel was recorded only in the speech of those Type I informants who had a great deal of transference in their speech. It is most noticeable in the word "back", which is often used in conjunction with verbs containing the "re-" prefix, as in "revenir back". This type of expression exists in the speech of all bilingual informants and one young unilingual informant, but the vowel in "back" is realized as /ɛ/ in forty percent of the occurrences, and /æ/ in sixty percent. The same percentage is true of the first vowel in "Bathurst": 40% /batərs/ and 60% /bætərs/ /bæθərst/. In the second group, stress also changes to the English pattern; it moves from second to first syllable.

4.2.2 Consonants

> Contrairement au phénomène général dans le parler populaire <<canadien>>, /t/ (tout comme /d/) n'est pas palatalisé devant /i/ à Moncton, dans le cadre syllabique consonne + voyelle. Dans la région de Montréal au contraire, les réalisations ['tsir] "tire" ['dzir] "dire" sont caractéristiques.[49]

This statement is true of the older informants in my group, as it was true of Lucci's informants, who were all over seventy years of age. All of the informants under sixty years of age had at least one or two instances of palatalisation of /t/ and /d/ in their speech. The informants who were still in the education system consistently palatalised these two consonants when they preceded high front and central vowels.

Examples: /tsy/ - "tu", /dzyr/ - "dur", /pətsɪt/ - "petite", /vɑ̃drədzi/ - "vendredi", and /bɑutsɪs/ - "batisses".

This change is another instance of the influence of Quebec French through schools, television and radio, but it does not seem to have caused any change in the traditional Acadian palatalisation of /t/ and /d/ before /j/. All informants palatalised these consonants and dropped the /j/ in words such as "radio" (when it was not pronounced as in English), "acadien", "tiens", and "diable", as follows: /radʒo/, /akadʒɛ̃/, /tʃɛ̃/, /dʒɑb/.

The following two consonants also undergo a change in the speech of bilingual informants with high incidences of transference; in word- initial position followed by a mid or low vowel, /t/ and /p/ are often aspirated as in English. This is accompanied by a change from the dental to the alveolar point of articulation in the case of /t/.

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49 Lucci, p. 88.

Examples: [tʰɛrɪb] - "terrible", [tʰõ] - "ton", [pʰãs] - "pense", [pʰarej] - "pareil", and [pʰʊblɪk] - "publique".

This transference rarely occurs in careful speech, as in the question-answer part of the interviews, but in the conversational, rapid speech of ten of the fifteen Type I and II informants it occurred with some regularity. It followed English expressions consistently, but its occurrence elsewhere was unstable.

In rural Acadian speech, the phoneme /k/ has traditionally undergone a rule of palatalisation, and in some cases becomes the affricate /tʃ/. Lucci gives the following rules:

/k/ > /k/[+palatal]/____V[-back], /k/ > /tʃ/ /____V[-back], /____V[+palatal,-round]

The exception to the [-back] rule is /e/; /k/ never palatalizes before /e/. Examples of the second rule are:

/tʃyrjø/ - "curieux", /tʃɥizɪn/ - "cuisine", /tʃẽz/ - "quinze".

The palatalization rule was retained in all informants of all types, but to a lesser degree than in traditional AF. The affrication of /k/, on the other hand, was present in the speech of only three informants, all rural and all unilingual. Lucci notes that, while younger, urban speakers do not seem to have this rule, they will often use it when speaking to those who do. He gives no examples or numbers of instances where he has heard it; and my own results did not show one instance of urban informants using this rule. For this reason it seems safe to conclude that this phenomenon is disappearing rapidly, if it has not already completely disappeared.

In words with penultimate syllables ending in stops followed by /l/ or /r/; the final syllable is dropped. This rule is almost absolute for all informants, but two exceptions that occurred consistently in the speech of seven Type I informants give reason to suspect that a change may be beginning. The usual pattern is shown in the following examples:

/ɑʊb/ - "arbre", /ot/ - "autre", /kapɑb/ - "capable", and /sɛ̃p/ - "simple". The two exceptions recorded were /kupəl/ - "couple" and, probably by analogy, /sufəl/ - "souffle". This epenthesis is probably influenced by contact with English, in which the /l/ would be syllabic.

The last instance of consonant change recorded was the addition of the English interdental fricatives, /θ/ and /ð/. These never appear in any other than English words but they are a fixed feature of the speech of five of the bilingual speakers in Type I. These five were of the group that use English at work or in the home. Other speakers could produce these sounds in careful speech; but in rapid speech these sounds were realized as /t/ and /d/ respectively.

The phonological system of Chiac retains the features of traditional Acadian speech, apart from the above changes. There are indications that more changes to the dialect are beginning to take place, as there were a number of features of Quebec and Standard French occurring throughout the interviews. These features, for example the addition of /v/ to the form /waɛr/ - "voir", making it /vwaɛr/ were recorded only in one or two instances each. This low frequency of occurrence makes it impossible to predict change, but the fact that it occurs at all suggests that a move could be made in that direction.

4.2.3 Influences of Phonological Change

There appear to be two main common factors influencing change in the above examples. These are age and level of bilingualism. Age is the determining factor in the following cases: the expansion of the high vowel laxing rule by younger informants, the rule raising /a/ to /ɛ/ before a consonant cluster (/r+/) is used mainly by younger informants (although rural vs. urban is a factor here also), the diphthongization of long vowels occurs most frequently in the speech of those under twenty-four (of French educational backgrounds), as does the palatalisation of /t/ and /d/. The palatalisation of /k/ seems to have remained stable, but age was a definite factor in the loss of the affrication of this consonant as only three of the older informants retained it. In the changes involving the addition of English sounds to the French phonological system, the level of bilingualism was the most common factor. The addition of /æ/, /θ/, and /ð/ and the aspiration of /p/ and /t/ all occur in the speech of those informants who have occasion to use English frequently, at work or at home. Those who do not use it as frequently generally use French phonological patterns in the pronunciation of English words and expressions.

4.3 Morphological Change and Transference

The most striking examples of morphological change are the changes to person and number markers used in traditional AF, which seem to have occurred quite suddenly. The following paradigm shows the traditional Acadian person and number markers used by informants in the 65+ age group, and also by younger, rural informants:

Table 4: AF person, number markers.

Person	Singular	Plural
first	je...-Ø	je...-ons
second	tu...-Ø(-s)	vous...-ez
third (m)	i(l)...-Ø	i,ils,iz...-ons
third (f)	alle...-Ø	alles,iz...-ons

Examples of these markers in use are:

"J'avons pas de grande maison, nous autres."

"Ils mangeons toujours."

"J'sons dix-huit, dans ma famille."

These are the markers that differ from those in SF. In the standard paradigm, the first person plural pronoun is "nous", while third person plural is marked by Ø. The standard paradigm was used by all Type I informants under sixty-five (11), and by two of the Type II informants. There were a small number of cases of alternation between the AF and SF forms amongst the 45-64 age group, but those in the younger used the standard form without any deviation.

The transference of English verb forms does not affect either of these paradigms; the root is transferred and compounded with the French person and number markers. All instances of verb transference seem to take this form and are conjugated according to the French system as in:

je, tu, il park; nous parkons, vous parkez, ils park(ent).

j'ai, t'as, il a parké; nous avons, vous avez, ils ons parké.[50]

[50] The orthographic form "-ons" is used by Péronnet, Poirier, Lucci, and

The more archaic forms do not often occur in these compounds as the informants who use them do not have a great deal of English.

There are a number of instances of change in the use of the substantive "quelques" with "un couple de" , as in "un couple de kilometres d'ici" for "d'ici quelques kilometres". This is a result of English contact over time and occurs in the speech of most informants regardless of level of bilingualism or age. It is noted in Péronnet's study as a regular occurrence[51], but Massignon and Poirier do not record any such occurrences. In the responses of the youngest informants, those under twenty-four, a number of occurrences of the form "bunch" for "couple" were recorded. This transference alternated between "a bunch of" and "un bunch de", depending on the language of the following noun, as in "a bunch of grapes", or "un bunch d'Anglais".

The changes noted here have age of informants as their most common determining factor, as with the phonological changes. There are fewer instances of consistent change and transference in morphology as it concerns the combination of morphemes than there are in transference of complete lexical items. This will be shown in the following chapters on lexical and syntactic transference; further examples of some of the transferences shown here will also appear.

Massignon throughout their studies.

51 Péronnet, p. 51.

Chapter V

LEXICO-SYNTACTIC TRANSFERENCE

5.1 Introduction

The examples of transference discussed in this chapter will be divided into those that have been in AF for long enough to have become part of the language, and those that are more recent and occur consistently only in *Chiac*. This will be further divided into nouns and verbs. All examples that occurred in the conversational part of the interviews will be illustrated by one of the sentences used by informants. These will be shown first as they were transcribed, and then as they appear in standard written form (English glosses will be provided where necessary).

5.2 Loanwords in the Traditional Acadian Dialect.

There have been many loanwords borrowed from English by Acadian dialects; principally because many of the Acadians since the resettlement in the eighteenth century have worked with, or for, the English. The majority of the work-related loanwords that entered the language during the earlier part of Acadian resettlement came from the logging industry. Many Acadians went to work with the logging crews in the forests around the Miramichi river (North and North-west of Westmorland and Kent). The Acadians had always been a farming and fishing people and had little or no experi-

ence with the logging industry. For this reason they did not have the vocabulary that went with the work, so they borrowed the terms from the English. Pascal Poirier[52], gives a number of examples of the loans that remained from the era when logging was the most lucrative industry in the province. Some of these are still in use today but have changed their contexts. The following are examples given by Poirier that occurred in the speech of the informants for this study.[53]

/lə bɑs/ - "le bâce". This term, which came from the English "boss", was originally used for the boss in a logging camp. It is now used to refer to the boss in any situation, just as it is in English. An example of this in use is:
/...ʒetɛ ɑse tɑrdzɪf ... dzi mɪnut chak fwɑ mɛ mõ bɑs na ʒamɛ ʒame jɛ̃ dzi.../ - "...j'étais assez tardif,... dix minutes chaque fois, mais mon bâce n'a jamais jamais rien dit..."
A similar loan is "foreman", which has been extended in much the same way. The first of these terms was found in the speech of all informants, and the second occurred in the speech of twelve informants.

/loge/ - "loguer". This verb has retained the same meaning, "to log" as it had when it was borrowed. It is still used today, but it alternates with the French form "bûcher", in both rapid and careful speech of all informants, particularly the younger ones.

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52 P. Poirier, *Le Parler Acadien et ses Origines*, (Quebec, Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire, 1928), pp. 263-268.

53 The written form of these words follow the spelling used by Poirier.

/kamp/ - "campe". " Camp" has retained the meaning in AF of a structure in the woods, usually a cabin. It is not to be confused with "le camping", meaning "to camp" or "campground(s)". The loan word "camp" in AF still means a logging camp in most cases, but the bilingual speakers use it to mean a cabin in the country that they go to in the summer. The same distinction is made by these speakers as by the English between a camp and a cottage. A cottage, which is pronounced in *Chiac* as it is in English, is a cabin by a lake or the sea used for summer holidays. There are examples of both of these in a sentence from the conversation part of an interview where an informant was explaining the difference between camps and cottages: /i a le dø un a yn kamp o kõtre ɕum a kuʃəbəgwɛk... u bɛ̃ ɛ̃kɑtədʒ a ʃɛdzjak sy la mar.../ - "Il y a les deux, on a une campe au contrée comme a Kouchibougouac... ou ben [bien] un cottage à Shediac sur [par] la mer..."

/draiv/ /draive/ - "draïve", "draïver".[54] The first of these words, the noun "drive" as in "log drive" was rarely used by informants; it is not a word in common use as it has retained its original meaning and none of the informants was involved in the logging industry. The second form, "to drive", was originally used in the same sense as the noun, that is, to drive the logs. This was soon extended to include "draïver un tim" (team of horses), which was used by all the informants to describe a picture of someone driving horses, although some of younger rural used the expression "draiver un wagon". In three cases, the meaning of this verb was expanded again to

54 Adjutor Rivard, in *Etudes sur les Parlers de France au Canada* (Quebec, Garneau, 1914), gives the forms "drav" and "draver" (p.156). He also cites the term "draveur", which did not occur at any time in my informants' speech.

include driving a car, as in:

/... ta amne ɛ̃ ʃar...bɛ̃ si tə draivre sa tə prɑ̃dre ɑ̃virɔ̃ kɛ̃z mɪnut/ - "... t'a amené un char?..., ben, si tu draiverai, ça te prendrai[55] environ quinze minutes." It was somewhat surprising that this use of the term was never recorded in the speech of Type I informants, suggesting a move away from the use of this loan in the urban dialect.

The logging terms that survive are only a few of the loans that have become so much a part of the language that the speakers do not recognize them as being English.[56] The following group of loanwords occurred over at least ten of the nineteen interviews and are classed as older loans because they frequently occurred in the speech of unilingual informants (Type III).

5.2.1 Nouns

/kæn/ - "can". This term occurred in all interviews when informants were shown a can of food and asked what they called it. An example from conversation is :

/i sõ de fajo me kɑ̃t un ɑ de fajo ɑ̃ kæn i sõ de fɑ́ɛv/ - "ils sont des fayots; [beans] mais quand on a des fayots en can, ils sont des fèves." This was in answer to a question about the different names for beans.

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55 This expression is an example of a type of syntactic transference known as a calque; it is a direct translation of the expression "take about fifteen minutes". The standard form in French would be "... ferai environ...".

56 There were a number of these that I did not recognize as English until I had listened to the tapes three or four times.

/not/ - "note" (one informant spelled this for me as "naute"). This was used by twelve informants when asked what one does if one borrows money and cannot pay it back immediately. The responses were usually: "on lui baille/donne une note"[57] or "signer une note". One of the younger informants used the term IOU, as in "on lui donne un IOU" (pronounced as in English).

/did/ /dɪd/ - "dide" (informant's spelling). This occurred ten times in reponse to a question about proof of ownership of property. The standard "titre de proprieté", is gradually being replaced by the shorter English term.

/junjən/ - "union". This term, pronounced as it is in English, is replacing the French "syndicat [ouvrier]", according to the responses of fourteen informants, including three of the Type III informants.

/wek/ - "ouéque" (informant's spelling). This term, "wake", is not one of the numerous loans found across the speech of all or even half of the informants; but it appeared consistently in the speech of all the informants over forty-five years of age. The younger informants gave the term "veillée d'un mort". The loan is used in much the same way in French as it is in English.

/nɛt/ - "net". This word was used to describe a picture of a fishing net in thirteen out of nineteen cases. Of the other five, four called it "un filet" and the last did not have a word at all.

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57 "bailler" is the Acadian form of "donner".

5.2.2 Verbs

/bɑdre/ - "bâdrer". This term, meaning "to bother", is not unique to the informants of the region in question here; every study of Canadian French that I have seen in the course of this research gives examples of this loan-word.

/travəle/ - "traveler". Eight of the nineteen informants used this form for "voyager" in all occurrences, another five alternated between the two forms, and the six youngest informants consistently used the French form. One informant did not understand me when I asked him if he had travelled much, using the form "Avez-vous beaucoup voyagé ?".

/kɑ̃ʂ̬əle/ - "canceller". This form was used consistently by seventeen informants instead of the French forms "annuler" and "contremander". It was used in conversation in the following sentence:
/on a kɑ̃ʂ̬əle tu no klɑus pur la s'mɛn a ʂ̬oz de la nɛʒ/ - "On a cancellé tous nos classes pour la semaine à cause de la neige."

/asue/ - "assouer". This verb, *"un beau verbe plastique français"*, according to Poirier,[58] means "to sue". It was used by fourteen of the nineteen informants in discussing New Brunswick's famous squatter, Jackie Vautour,[59] as in:

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58 Poirier, p.275.

59 The NB government had a number of years of trouble with M. Vautour, who lives in what is now Kouchibougouac National Park.

/ʃkrwɑu ki a asue lə guvarnəmɑ̃ setɛ sõ drwɑu dabite lɑu/ - "Je crois qu'il a assoué le gouvernement, c'était son droit d'habiter là."

These loans appear to be in relatively common use in AF, and any decrease in use occurs amongst the younger informants. This suggests that the difference in language and level of education may be the determining factor here. The younger informants were all educated in French through all grades (and university), and the use of *Chiac* is discouraged in the French education system. It seems rather ironic that these younger speakers, while avoiding the older loans, are using a great deal of English in their everyday speech.

5.3 Recent Loanwords in Chiac

The transference of English words into *Chiac* varies greatly from one speaker to the next in terms of number, pronunciation, and use in the recipient language. This section will examine first the loans that occur regularly in the speech of Types I and II informants, and then some examples that did not appear as frequently. These examples will be transcribed phonemically if they differ greatly from their usual pronunciation.

5.3.1 Nouns frequently borrowed.

"skirt".-- This form was something of a surprise to me. It was given as an example when I first heard of *Chiac*: "J'aime pas ta skirt; le hem est trop longue". I found it rather difficult to believe that such a simple word as "jupe" would be replaced, but "skirt" was used by twelve of the fifteen informants in Types I and II. "Hem", on the other hand, did not occur once.

"coat".-- This is almost universally used to refer to a winter coat, replacing "manteau" almost completely. It has the same meaning in French as in English, and the same rather fuzzy distinction exists between coat and jacket, or "jaʞquette".

/snɪkər/ - "sneakers".-- This word alternates with "running shoes" with the same frequency as in English; it seems to be a matter of personal preference as to which to use. These expressions were given when a pair of sneakers was shown to informants. Ten informants were asked if they could supply a French name for these items, and six responded with: "espadrilles", or "souliers de sport".

"zippeur".-- This term was used by all informants when shown a zipper, one response for a question about its use was: "ça zipper" (infinitive form).

"freckles".-- This form occurred in alternation with two French terms, "taches de rousseur" and "rousselures", in response to a very heavily freckled arm. The English word was used by the group of informants who were older than thirty, with the exception of two who used the SF "taches de rousseur'. The younger informants used "rousselures", which is common in Quebec,[60] and forms the base for "rousseler", "to freckle".

"haircut".-- Used by six informants, this expression has probably been borrowed simply because it is much shorter and simpler than its French counterpart: "to get a haircut" is noticeably easier to say in rapid speech than

60 Sinclair Robinson and Donald Smith, *Practical Handbook of Canadian French - Manuel Pratique du Français Canadien*, (Toronto, MacMillan of Canada, 1973), p.46.

"se faire couper les cheveux". The informants who used this form were varied in age and background, and did not seem to have any common determining factor.

"le bathtub".-- In addition to occurring in the speech of all but two of the Type I and II informants, this word occurred in the speech of one of the unilingual (Type I) informants when he was desribing the area he lives in at the nursing home:
/...e ija lə sal də bɛ̃ u un a lə twɑlɛt pi lə bætəb e pi.../ - "...et il y a le [sic] salle de bain, oú on a le [sic] toilette, puis le bathtub, et puis...".

"le toasteur".-- This form occurred with all informants at some point during the interviews. There was a tendency to use "grille-pain" when shown a picture, at least amongst the fifteen-to-twenty-four age group. When asked a question that would require some form of toaster, English or French, in the answer, "toasteur" was given every time in conversational speech.

"le micro-wave".-- This loan, as was the case with "toaster", was rarely used in careful speech. If it was brought up in conversation the English form was used four times out of five, as in:
/i sõ bɛ̃ ʃɑ̃sø øz ot iz õ ɛ̃ mɪkrowev ki sɛ̃stal o myr/ - "Ils sont bien chanceux, eux autres; ils ont un micro-wave qui s'installe au mur." This occurred with three informants under age twenty and one over thirty, all of whom work in English.

There were a large number of loanwords used that refer to parts of a car, or to types of vehicles, all used by all informants in the Type I group,

and by two of the Type II informants. The following are examples of some of these loans.

"un pick-up".-- This alternates with "a half-ton" in the speech of two of the informants ("half-ton" occurred once with the French article "un").

"un trocque" (informant's spelling).-- This form seems to have almost completely replaced "camion". There was only one instance of the standard French form of the word occurring, and that was as part of an explanation of the differences in vocabulary between one of the younger informants and her pen-pal in France. In addition to "truck", the words "semi" and "transport" occurred, referring to transport trucks.

"les seat-belt" (the "s" is rarely pronounced).-- This loan has become increasingly common since the seat-belt laws were passed in New Brunswick, along with the slogan "buckle-up!". The two expressions were not used in French at any time, and according to one informant, the only place these are used in French in the region is on road signs (billboards).

"speeding/parking ticket".-- These were recorded in English in each occurrence.[61] They occurred in conversation in six interviews and were in this form in all cases but one. The only response that differed from the rest was: "... il [the highway patrolman] m'a donné un ticket de speeding." This was the same informant who responded to "What do you say to someone who drives too slowly?" with "Hey, speed up là!"

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61 Robinson and Smith, p.66, give the Standard French form as "contravention" for "ticket". The popular speech form for SF is "papillon".

The other car-terms that are most used by informants are common throughout Canadian French, according to Barbeau, Robinson and Smith, and Rivard. Some of these are: "batterie", "brake", "dash", "bumper", "muffleur", "jack", "windshield", and "tire".

"iron".-- This term was recorded in the speech of four informants, replacing "fer à repasser". The informants who used this term were in the twenty-five to forty-five groups, but this may not be significant as it occurred only in conversation. The term "iron" was not brought up in most discussions; but the fact that the English word was used each time it arose could mean that it is relatively widely used, as in:
/al etɛ tɛlmɑ̃ faʃe al la frape avec ən aijərn/ - "Elle était tellement fâchée,... elle l'a frappé avec an iron!"

"foam".-- Used for soap foam or beer foam in place of standard "mousse". There were seven occurrences of this form in the responses of informants aged eighteen to twenty-six. There were also eight occurrences of "mousse" and two of "la broue" for this concept.

"jug", "pitcher".-- The first of these occurred only once, while the second occurred eleven times. This was expected, as "jug" is not a common word in English in the region; "pitcher" is used in almost all cases. There were seven occurrences of the standard "cruche", all occurring in the responses of Type I and II speakers.

"plane".-- This replaced "avion" in the rapid speech of six informants, five of whom had used "avion" to describe a picture of one, as did all the other informants. The informants who used the English form were again in the lower age groups (under 40).

"boat".-- This noun appears to alternate equally with "bateau"; two informants used both forms in one conversation and responses to a picture of a boat were almost equal: eight responded with "boat", and nine with "bateau". The choice of these forms seems to be arbitrary; informants did not form any particular groups for either response. An example of the two forms used in conversation is:

/i vnɛ de dɪgbi sy ɛ̃ bato la ... pi nuz etʃõ la atãd lə bot setɛ bɛ̃ slo/

- "Il venait de Digby [NS] sur un bateau là,...puis nous étions là [pour] attendre le boat, c'était ben slow."

5.3.2 Verbs

"parker".-- This is the verb that is most often used as an example of the type of French spoken in Moncton. There does not appear to be a French term for this in the Moncton dialect as it did not occur other than in this form in the speech of any informants. An example of this in use comes from one informant who was telling a visiting friend where to park until I moved my car: "Tu peut parker down the block là."

"shipper".-- The occurrences of this verb were in the conversation part of one of the interviews. The informant who used this verb was an office worker for a large furniture store, where much of the stock is shipped.

"checker".-- This verb was used by twelve informants when referring to what a gas station attendant does while the gas tank is being filled: "il doit checker l'huile". One of the informants who was still in school used it in reference to attendance-taking in the morning, as in:"il faut checker toujours que nous sommes là en cours."

"skipper".-- This was the response given to a question about missing classes in school. The informants who had not had much formal education did not have any particular term and generally used "manquer". All informants in the grade-eight-and-up category used "skipper" with two exceptions. The two exceptions were the students in grade eleven; they used a term that I had originally thought was only used in the Fredericton area: "to jig school". This is illustrated in: "Nous avons jiggé toute la semaine, puis un prof. nous a vus et nous a amenés au principal. C'était pas grave, he suspended us for a day."

While most English verbs appear to be adopted relatively easily with French conjugation, this sometimes leads to awkward combinations in French, and this is most often resolved by switching the entire verb phrase to English. The above examples of verb transference are some of those that are simply lifted from English and combined with the French system of conjugation. There are fewer instances of simple transference than there are instances of calques. These will be examined in the section on semantic transference, which also will include an examination of transference of phrases and word-order.

5.4 Syntactic and Semantic Transference

The transference of single lexical items such as those shown in the previous chapter is common to both *Chiac* and AF. Another common occurrence in both dialects is the use of calques, which are translations of words from the donor language into words that appear to be the same as existing words in the receiving language. This can also be done with phrases; an English phrase that has a counterpart in French will be translated word-for-word, yielding two French phrases that have essentially the same meaning. Examples of this type of borrowing will be provided in this chapter in the form that they take in French. The English form will be provided, along with the existing French word or phrase.[62] The other feature of *Chiac* to be examined here is perhaps the most striking feature of this dialect; that is the borrowing of complete phrases and even sentences. The sudden switching of languages in the middle of a sentence has some interesting effects on the syntax of the base language which will be examined here.

5.5 Calques: examples of semantic transference.

"réaliser".-- This term, used in the sense of "to understand" or in the sense of a revelation, replaces the standard "se rendre compte". The term "réaliser" was at one time limited to the sense of "materializing", (as it is used in Chapter 4 of this thesis) or "selling out". It is now used in the following way in most dialects of French:

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62 See sample sentence for "draïver" in Chapter 5.

"...j'ai réalisé qu'elle a caché tous mes cigarettes dans le bureau." -- "...I realized that she had hidden all my cigarettes in the bureau." The term "bureau" is another calque here; it refers to a desk in SF when one is speaking of furniture. This is a relatively common transference amongst the informants used for this study; it was used by twelve informants when a chest of drawers or dressing table was pointed out.

"charger".-- The original meaning of this in French was that of charging someone with a task of some sort, as in the diplomatic rank *chargé d'affaires* It is now also used in *Chiac* in the sense of charging something to an account in a store, as in: "Il a chargé environs deux milles pias' [piastres] à son compte." - "He has charged around two thousand dollars to his account. This was used by two informants and is also frequently used in stores in Moncton in place of the standard "porter sur un compte".

"loger".-- This verb was used by four informants (during discussions about Jackie Vautour again) in expressions such as: "loger une plainte" - "to lodge a complaint", or "loger un protêt" - "to lodge a protest". The standard form of this is "porter ..."; "loger" means "to lodge" as in board and lodgings in standard usage.

"matériel".-- When used in the sense of "building materials", or something of the sort, this noun is being used in its original sense. It becomes a calque when it is used to refer to fabric, or "tissu". This was used by two of the youngest informants and three of the forty-five to sixty-four group, and all were Type I informants. An example of this in use is: "On vend du matér-

iel chez Zellers, mais c'est presque toujours du polyestre." - "They sell material at Zellers, but it is almost always polyester."

"office".-- This was used in fourteen interviews in the physical sense, as the equivalent of SF "bureau" or "cabinet". Those informants who worked in offices referred to "mon office"; one of the students said "... elle m'a envoyé à l'office." ("... she sent me to the [principal's] office"); and others referred to "l'office du dentiste, docteur, etc.".

"retourner".-- This verb is rarely used in its standard form, meaning to come back or go back; the term "revenir back" serves that purpose in almost all cases. The verb "retourner" is used in the sense of giving something back, expressed in SF by "rapporter". In answer to a question about taking books back to the library, seventeen informants used the term "retourner".

"supporter".-- This verb carries only the meaning of tolerance in SF. It has acquired the wider meaning of the English verb in the speech of ten informants, especially in terms of financial support, which in Standard French is "faire vivre". The form for support as in holding up, "appuyer", occurred four times in the speech of the the older informants. One of the informants who were at the university told me that his parents were supporting him while he was studying: "Mes parents vont me supporter pendant mes études." (In this instance I did wonder if this took the SF or the AF meaning.)

"ignorer".-- The original meaning of this verb in French is "to be ignorant [of something]". In the speech of three informants the English meaning of not paying attention to something was added. An example of this in use is: "J'ai resté par le comptoir pendant vingt minutes, et la serveuse m'a complètement ignorée. Je savait qu'elle m'avait vue." - "I waited by the counter for twenty minutes, and the waitress completely ignored me. I knew that she had seen me." This calque is more common in SF than one formed from "ignore". This use of the verb forms a basis for the adjective "ignorant" being used to mean "rude" or "mean", as SF "rude".

"chasser".-- "The verb "chasser" in Standard French means "to hunt", but it did not originally have the meaning "to chase" that it does now. In SF the act of chasing is expressed by the verb "poursuivre", which occurred only once in descriptions of a picture of two children chasing each other. The calque form "chasser" did not always occur in the responses, there were three occurrences of a direct transference: "chaser". These were in the Type I twenty-five to forty-five group.

Calques appear to be common across all groups of speakers, unilingual or bilingual. It is quite likely that the speakers do not realise that they are using any English at all. The speakers who make determined efforts to avoid any kind of anglicism in their speech will frequently make use of calques where simple loanwords would be against their principles.

5.6 Phrasal Transference

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the transference of entire phrases and sentences is probably the most striking feature of *Chiac*. In the speech of informants who have had to use English at work or in the home, awkward phrases that would result from single item transferences are rare. The phrases that seem to hold the most difficulty for speakers with more limited English-speaking capabilities are noun phrases containing adjectives that take different positions in French and English. The best examples of this are colour terms that generally follow the noun in French, but would precede it in English. If one is describing a blue truck, the Standard French expression is "un camion bleu". This does not work in *Chiac*, as the noun used in almost all cases is English. Speakers who have little experience in switching from one language to the other will generally transfer only the English noun, keeping the order of noun and adjective that they would have in French. The resulting noun phrase sounds rather awkward: "un truck bleu", or at best, contrived. This type of transference was common amongst the Type II informants, and with two of the Type III informants who use English only when they meet anglophones, not at work or in the home. The informants who use English almost every day have a different way of handling phrases like the above example. They transfer the whole noun phrase, order included. The resulting form is: "un/a blue truck".

Another adjective that poses a problem for the more limited bilinguals is "neuf", "new". This is used much more frequently than "nouveau", and almost always follows the noun it modifies. This leads to such constructions

as: "J'ai cousu un skirt neuf", which in English would be: "I sewed a new skirt". The speakers who use both languages well have two ways of resolving this difficulty: the first is to transfer the noun phrase completely, as in the above example; the second is to transfer only the noun, but to use the adjective "nouveau", which can take the same position as the English adjective. These solutions would yield the following forms: "J'ai cousu un/a new skirt", and "J'ai cousu un/a nouveau skirt."

In the above examples of noun phrases, I have marked the articles as "un/a" ; this is because the occurrences of the French and English articles seem to be about equal in the speech of the highly competent bilinguals. There seems to be a general trend towards simplifying gender when loanwords are involved in a phrase. In almost every occurrence of loanwords in the speech of all informants, the article used is masculine. The example above shows a transference of gender from feminine, "une jupe", to masculine, "un skirt". This gender transference seems to be rather unstable at this point; "un skirt" takes back its original gender when a possessive adjective is used, as in the first example: "J'aime pas ta skirt...".

The transference of noun phrases can often lead to the transference of the other sentential elements, particularly the verb phrase, although this is frequently a separate occurrence. In a transitive sentence that has an English subject and uses cliticized objects, the speaker will often transfer the entire sentence from English. As an example of this type of transference, the phrase with the blue truck will be used again. Beginning with the sentence,

"Un camion bleu l'a frappé", the first change is made by limited bilinguals yielding: "Un truck bleu l'a frappé." This in turn undergoes the next change, made by the other speakers: "Un blue truck l'a frappé". This is the final step for some speakers, but there appear to be some who do not like mixing languages in one sentence; four speakers in the Type I group, all students, consistently transferred whole sentences, as in: "A blue truck hit him."

The final sentence in the above example is another example of word-order change occurring as a result of transference, the cliticised form of the direct object (l') having a different position in relation to the verb in the French form than it does in the English form. The transference of phrases and sentences results in some changes in order in almost every instance. It would seem that those speakers who change languages suddenly in a conversation would have to be thinking ahead to some extent, as the change does not involve only words. From the speech of the Type II informants and two of the Type I informants, it became almost immediately obvious that they were thinking in French; the loanwords they used have become a part of their language and their transferences are mainly limited to single lexical items. The remaining ten Type I informants, on the other hand, appeared to think in both languages much of the time. The transference of English phrases and sentences into their dialect of French seems to be a reflection on the language of thought at the time.

The types of speech patterns discussed above vary a great deal from one speaker to the next, and even within one speaker's usual speech habits.

This being the case, it is difficult to give an example of a paragraph of *Chiac* and make any statement about frequency of occurrence. The best possible way to illustrate the patterns of massive transference is to provide partial transcriptions of the conversational parts of the interviews. The following transcriptions are from interviews with one Type II informant, and one Type I informant. They will be given first as they were originally transcribed, and then in the form they take in standard written AF.

Informant no. 9, Age 16, Student (Type I).

/...i avɛ ɛ̃ ʒurne lɑu kɛlkɛ̃ puld də faiər alarm dɛr pi un ɛ tus ale dəhor sa fəzɛ ɑ̃virõ vɛ̃sɛ̃ mɪnut kun a rəste lɑu i avɛ de gɑu ki vnɛ də məŋtən hai lɑu ʒus æz ɪf de wɛn tə skul wɪð əs ju no e pi ɛ̃ d'no prɑf leza dmɑ̃de ski fɛ lɑu mɛ ɑ̃ frɑ̃ʃɛ e i kɑ̃prənɛ pɑu dzə tu alor i nuz a dmɑ̃de də le parle beʃoz i dəzn spik ɪŋglɪʃ. ɛ̃ dno gɑu ɛt ale le parle pi prɪdi sun tulmõd etɛ lɑu ɪt tərnd aut kil sõ apre də skipe de clɑus pi kɑ̃ nuz ot ɑ̃tɑ̃dzy sɑ i avɛ ʃɛ̃ ki deʃɪdɛ də dʒɪge osi ʒus kum sɑ mwɑu ʒavɛ pɑ a ʃoz dzy smɛn avɑ̃ ɛ̃nami e mwɑu nuz avõ jɪge pɑ̃dɑ̃ tut la smɛn pi ɛ̃ prɑf nuz a vy e nuz a amne au prɛ̃ʃɪpal setɛ pɑu bɛ̃ grɑv hi səspɛndəd əs for ə wik/

"... y avait un journée là, quelqu'un pulled the fire alarm there, puis on est tous allés dehors. Ca faisait environs vingt-cinq minutes qu'on a resté l79ą Y avait des gars qui venaient de Moncton High là jus' as if they went to school with us, you know. Un de nos profs les a demander ce qu'ils fait [sic] là, mais en français et ils comprenait pas du tout. Alors il [le prof] nous a

demandé de les parler because he doesn't speak English. Un de nos gars est allé les parler puis pretty soon tout le monde étaient là. It turned out qu'ils sont après de skipper des classes puis quand nous autres ont entendus ça, y avait cinq qui décidaient de jigger aussi, jus' comme ça. Moi, j'avais pas, à cause du semaine avant. Un ami et moi, nous avons jiggé pendant toute la semaine, puis un prof. nous a vus et nous a amenés au principal. C'était pas ben grave, he suspended us for a day."

Informant no. 5, age 73, Type II. /...mwɛ ʒe fyme kɑ̃ ʒetɛ plu ʒøn mɛ sœlmɑ̃ pur trwɑ mwɑ sa mfɛzɛ ase ase mal pi apre sɑ ʒe di no mor ʒɛm pas ɛt malad tuʒur ʒavɛ ɛ̃ ami ki fymɛ boku boku al aʃte de ɔ ɛigarɛt o kartən e al ma di õ dwa le garde o frɪdʒ æn dɛr dʒəs æʒ frɛʃ... yn fwɑ ʒetɛ a la nuvɛl ekus æt də rɪvər dʒɑn ɪn nova skoʃa e ʒe rɑ̃kõtre sət fam lɑ al vnɛ də lɑ̃ŋgltaɛr al fyme tujur ɕum sɪl nə purɛ ʒamɛ fyme ɑ̃kor ʒle di yn fwɑ ty va tə tye fyme kum sɑ mɛ al ma iɳore ... i ave yn fami ki abite neks dor ki parlɛ ɑ̃ŋglɛ ʒe apri boku dɑ̃ŋgle a lœ mɛzõ i avɛ ɛ̃ fis lɑ ki aprənɛ lə frɑ̃sɛ a lekul e sõ frɑ̃sɛ etɛ lə plu pir kə ʒe ʒamɛ ɑ̃tɑ̃dʌ i spok frɛntʃ kum ʒə parl lɑ̃ŋglɛ i kunɛ pɑ dy tu nut lɑ̃g/

"...Moi, j'ai fumé quand j'étais plus jeune, mais seulement pour trois mois. Ca me faisait assez, assez mal, puis après ça j'ai dit no more. J'aime pas être malade toujours. J'avais une amie qui fumait beaucoup beaucoup; elle achetait des cigarettes au carton et elle m'a dit 'On doit les garder au fridge, then they're just as fresh...'...Une fois j'étais à la Nouvelle Ecosse, ... at the River John in Nova Scotia, et j'ai rencontré une femme là. Elle venait de

l'Angleterre, et elle fumer comme si elle ne pourrait jamais fumer encore. Je l'ai dit une fois: 'Tu vas te tuer, fumer comme ça.' mais elle m'a ignorée. ... Y avait une famille qui habitait next door qui parlait anglais. J'ai appris beaucoup d'anglais à leur maison. Ils avaient un fils qui apprenait le français à l'école, et son français était le plus pire que j'ai jamais entendu. He spoke French comme je parle l'anglais; il connaissait pas du tout notre langue."

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

The examples of the results of interviews given in the preceding chapters are limited to those which show a general trend on the part of any particular group of speakers. This was done to show actual instances of regular change of any form from the original Acadian dialect to that spoken today, and from the current rural dialect to *Chiac*. There were a great many more variations in dialect than those used here as examples, but they frequently occurred only once or twice in conversation. This is not a unique feature of these dialects; all dialects are in a constant state of change and vary from one speaker to the next. The unique feature of the Acadian dialects is their lack of change over a century, followed by a relatively sudden wave of change to almost all aspects.

The examples used herein show quite clearly that age is the prime motivation for change, followed closely by the level of English competence. This divides the speakers in two ways; the Types I, II and III, and a second division within the first two types according to age. This accounts for the overlapping of Types I and II for certain features.

In the category of phonological and morphological change the loss of features of traditional AF largely follows a division of Types. For example, the loss of the /k/ palatalisation is almost universal in the speech of Types I and

II informants and this spreads to loss of /tj/ and /dj/ palatalisation in the younger informants. The change in the person and number markers also follows a type division initially, then an age division. The addition of rules existing in the French of Quebec appears to be introduced by the younger speakers and later spread to the older informants (in Types I and II), as in the laxing rule for high vowels and the diphthongisation rule. The addition of sounds from English was another feature that followed initial divisions of type, as with the example "J'ai revenu back".[63]

Lexical change and transference examples follow divisions of age in the case of older loanwords, as with the logging terms that occur only in the speech of older informants across all types. The age division is also important in the loss or denial of loanwords that have been in the language for a long time. This is an example of the effect of efforts to de-anglicise the urban dialects by using more standard forms of French in the education system. The more recent loanwords divide the speakers neatly into types, with some slight variations according to age. These loanwords were rarely, if ever, recorded in the speech of Type III informants, and were less common in the speech of Type II informants than that of Type I. In the case of semantic transference (calques), divisions were not as clear-cut as with the other types of transference. There was a tendency towards calques even in the responses of Type III informants.

The last type of transference examined, phrasal transference, was quite clearly divided according to the level of English competence of the speakers. This makes a clear separation of the Types I and II speakers. The examples

63 The auxiliary "avoir" is often used where SF would use "être"

given show that Type I speakers are much more likely to transfer a whole noun or verb phrase than they are likely to transfer only one element. It is not possible to predict where transference will occur in the speech of any informants, but it is evident from the interview transcripts that this does occur.

During the first three Type I informant interviews I was not sure whether the high incidence of transference was truly typical of *Chiac* at all times. After the third interview I was permitted to audit two classes at the Ecole Polyvalente Matthieu Martin in Dieppe, on the condition that I not use a tape recorder or give any names. The classes that I attended were carried out almost entirely in French of a very standard form; it was when classes ended that the students would immediately switch dialects. The minute a class ended, the standard French became *Chiac*, with as high an incidence of transference as in the previous interviews.

There was one other incident involving a complete dialect switch that had to remain unrecorded; that was the case of a young urban speaker visiting a Type I speaker in the nursing home in Shediac. While I was waiting to meet one of my informants, I overheard the young *Chiac* speaker talking to a friend that appeared to have driven him to the home. This young speaker's grandfather turned out to be the room-mate of my informant, so I was able to hear some of the discussion. This was carried out in traditional AF, with a few very minor alterations on the part of the grandson. Within five minutes of first hearing this person, I heard him switch from *Chiac* to AF. I found out later that he was a student at the school mentioned above,

which would mean he would have to be able to function in SF as well as the other two dialects.

The fact that some speakers of *Chiac* can also produce SF and AF means that this is definitely a separate dialect, and that many of those who speak it must be multi-dialectal. It seems peculiar to me that a dialect that demonstrates such versatility on the part of its speakers should be so stigmatized. Many of those who speak it are convinced that it is the worst dialect possible, as in the case of Sister M. who teaches in Moncton. When she heard from my mother that I was planning to make a study of this dialect she said, "...but we don't want people to know about that, it's terrible French." This doesn't even begin to describe the contempt for *Chiac* of many other francophones such as Pierre Godin, a journalist from Quebec, who called it a disaster:

> Au Madawaska et dans le Nord-Est, la concentration ethnique des Acadiens leur a permis de mieux conserver leur langue. Mais à Moncton, c'est un désastre - c'est là qu'on y parle le shiac...[64]

The above quote exemplifies the type of attitude that provoked the increased use of Standard French in schools, as a means of eradicating *Chiac*. It is unfortunate that the effect of this increase in SF has not only been failure to decrease the amount of anglicisation in the urban dialect; it has hastened the loss of the traditional AF of the region.

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64 Pierre Godin, *Les Révoltés d'Acadie*, (St. Laurent, Editions Québécoises), 1972, p. 120.

From the experiences I had auditing classes, it became obvious that *Chiac* is in no immediate danger of being replaced by SF, but AF could either be replaced by SF or *Chiac* in the near future. It is possible that *Chiac* may give way to SF or Quebec French at some time in the future, but for the present it is not only strong enough to stand up against the onslaught of SF; it is a much more logical choice of dialect in a bilingual city.

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Appendix A

INFORMANTS

A.1 Type III

Name: J. V. Age: 79 Occupation: Retired farmer

Current Residence: Villa Providence, Shediac

Birthplace: Grande-Digue Languages: French only

Parents' Languages: Both French only

Education: Grade 3, French and English

Name: A.L. Age: 74 Occupation: Retired farmer

Parents' Languages: Both French only

Education:None

Name: C.A. Age: 47 Occupation: Auto Mechanic

Current Residence: Barachois (for thirty years)

Birthplace:Cap-Pelé Languages: French only

Parents' Languages: Both French only

Education:Grade 8, French to grade 6, English to 8

A.2 Type II

Name: E.L. Age:73 Occupation: Retired

Current Residence: Villa Providence, Shediac

Birthplace: Shemogue Languages: French and English

Parents' Languages: Both French only

Education:Grade 8, French and English

Name: D.B. Age: 15 Occupation: Student

Current Residence: Dieppe (since age 14)

Birthplace: Little Shemogue

Languages: French and limited English

Parents' Languages: Both French only

Education: Grade 9 (current), French only

Name: R.L. Age: 23 Occupation: Sales Clerk

Current Residence: Cap-Pelé

Birthplace: Cap-Pelé Languages: French and English

Parents' Languages: Both French only

Education:Grade 12, French only

A.3 Type I

Name: B.L. Age: 18 Occupation: Student

Current Residence: Moncton Birthplace: Moncton

Languages: French- home and school, English- work

Parents' Languages: Both Bilingual, French origin

Education: 1 yr University

Name:B.A. Age: 16 Occupation: Student

Current Residence:Moncton Birthplace: Moncton

Languages: French- home and school, English- work

Parents' Languages: Both bilingual, French origin

Education: Grade 12 (current)

Name: C.L. Age: 16 Occupation: Student

Current Residence:Shediac Birthplace: Shediac

Languages: French home and school, English at work

Parents' Languages: Both bilingual, French origin

Education: Grade 11 (current)

Name: D.C. Age: 27 Occupation: Secretary

Current Residence: Moncton, since age 7

Birthplace: Haute-Aboujagane

Languages: French home and work, some English

Parents' Languages: Both bilingual, French origin

Education: Community college

Name: R.P. Age: 32 Occupation: Switchboard Operator.

Current Residence: Dieppe Birthplace: Dieppe

Languages: French and English, home and work

Parents' Languages: Mother- bilingual anglophone, Father- French.

Education: Grade 10, French primary, English secondary

Name: G.P. Age: 30 Occupation: Sales Clerk

Current Residence: Dieppe, since age 6

Birthplace: Memramcook

Languages: French at home, English and French at work

Parents' Languages: Both bilingual, French origin

Education: Grade 12, French only

Name: S.L. Age: 28 Occupation: Student

Current Residence: Moncton Birthplace: Moncton

Languages: English at home, French at University

Parents' Languages: Mother-bilingual French Father- English

Education: Post-Graduate, French entirely

Name: S.A. Age: 35 Occupation: Accountant

Current Residence: Moncton Birthplace: Moncton

Languages: French home and work, English at work

Parents' Languages: Both bilingual, French origin

Education: B.B.A., French only

Name: F.A. Age: 46 Occupation: Office clerk

Current Residence: Dieppe Birthplace: Moncton

Languages: French and English, home and work

Parents' Languages: Mother-French, Father- English bilingual

Education: Community College, French school, English college

Name: F.V. Age: 53 Occupation: Janitor

Current Residence: Moncton Birthplace: Moncton

Languages: French home and work, some English

Parents' Languages: Both French origin bilingual

Education: Grade 7, French

Name: E.A. Age: 65 Occupation: Office clerk

Current Residence: Dieppe Birthplace: Dieppe

Languages: French home and work, some English

Parents' Languages: Both French origin bilingual

Education: Grade 12, French to Gr.8, English to 12.

Name: V.C. Age: 67 Occupation: Service Station Prop. (retired)

Current Residence: Moncton Birthplace: Moncton

Languages: French and some English. Bilingual spouse

Parents' Languages: Both French origin bilingual

Appendix B

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

B.1 Questions for vowels

1. Le soir, on se couche dans un _____. (lit)
2. Ce qui n'est pas facile est _____. (difficile)
3. Si quelqu'un va trop lentement, on lui dit: "Va plus _____. (vite)
4. Le prix du Loto Atlantique est dix _____ dollars. (mille)
5. On habite près de la _____ de Fundy. (Baie)
6. Pour barrer la porte, on a besoin d'un _____. (clef)
7. Les Bébés boivent du _____. (lait)
8. La femme qui est un de vos parents est votre _____. (mére)
9. Si quelqu'un vous pose des questions indiscrètes,
   vous lui demandez de quoi il se _____. (mêle.)
10. Le contraire de loin est _____. (près)
11. Une petite prairie s'appelle un _____. (pré)
12. Le feminin de "le" est ____. (la)
13. Les gens ont des jambes, mes des animaux ont des _____. (pattes)
14. Notre pays s'appelle _____. (Canada)
15. Le capital de ce pays est _____. (Ottawa)
16. Quand votre char est en panne, vous le menez au _____. (garage)

17. Il a parlé d'un livre qu'il avait ____. (lu)
18. Quand l'air n'est pas pollu, c'est _____. (pur)
19. Un animal qui est moitié cheval, moitié âne est un _____. (mule)
20. Le numéro après "un" est _____. (deux)
21. Le contraire de beaucoup est _____. (peu)
22. Une poule pond des _____. (oeufs)
23. Mais quand on a seulement un, c'est un _____. (oeuf)
24. Quand personne est là avec vous, vous êtes _____. (seul)
25. Après jeudi on a _____. (vendredi)
26. Une journée se fait de vingt-quatres _____. (heures)
27. Si on est pas vieux, on est _____. (jeune)
28. La fille de vos parents est votre _____. (soeur)
29. Quelque chose qui est à ces personnes-là est _____ chose. (leur)
30. Après juillet on a _____. (août)
31. Avant de mettre un gâteau au four, il faut mettre la pâte dans un _____. (moule)
32. Près d'Edmunston il y a Grand-_____. (Sault)
33. Qu'est-ce qu'on appelle ce partie de la main(palm)_____. (paume)
34. Cette bague est fait d'_____. (or)
35. Eve a mangé une _____.(pomme)
36. Le contraire de bon est _____. (mal)
37. Trois fois par jour on doit brosser les _____. (dents)
38. Quelque chose qui n'est pas court est _____. (long)
39. Après dimanche on a _____. (lundi)

40. Le couleur de ma porte-feuilles est _____. (brun)
41. Le contraire de vide est _____. (plein)
42. Ta soeur est la _____ de vos parents. (fille)
43. On porte les souliers sur ses _____. (pieds)
44. Le miel est fait par les _____. (abeilles)
45. Fredericton est près d'ici; Toronto est _____. (loin)
46. Si c'est pas toi, et c'est pas lui, c'est _____. (moi)
47. Si on a un cadeau pour quelqu'un, on doit le _____ donner. (lui)
48. Quelqu'un qui ne dit pas la vérité _____. (ment)
49. Le dimanche, les gens _____ à la messe. (vont)
50. La vache est la femelle, est le boeuf est le _____. (mâle)

B.2 Questions for consonants

1. Les exercices de flexibilité rends le corps plus _____. (souple)
2. Le mardi gras on mange des _____. (crêpes)
3. La pièce où on se couche est la _____. (chambre)
4. Cette partie de l'oreille (lobe) est le _____. (lobe)
5. Si on court trop vite on arrive à bout de _____. (souffle)
6. Le contraire de grand est _____. (petite)
7. La compagnie Campbell's fait du _____. (soupe)
8. Dans le café on met du sucre et de la _____. (crème)
9. Les pissenlits et le verge d'or sont des mauvaises _____. (herbes)
10. Un homme dont la femme est morte est un _____. (veuf)

11. Le contraire de la mort est la _____. (vie)

12. En hiver, on ne porte pas les souliers dehors, on porte des _____. (bottes)

13. Le contraire de belle est _____. (laide)

14. Une propriété agricole est une _____. (ferme)

15. Une femme dont le mari est mort est une _____. (veuve)

16. Quand on a bu tout le café, la tasse est _____. (vide__

17. On tricote avec de la _____. (laine)

18. L'eau qui n'est pas salé est _____. (douce)

19. On se sert le café dans une _____. (tasse)

20. Ce qui reste d'un arbre après qu'on l'a coupé est la _____. (souche)

21. Le mari de ma tante et mon _____. (oncle)

22. Le màle de la chèvre est un _____. (bouc)

23. On achète un _____ d'oeufs. (douzaine)

24. Le couleur plus pale que le rouge est _____. (rose)

25. Au bout de doigt on a _____. (l'ongle)

26. Le couleur de sang est _____. (rouge)

27. Si vous êtes très fatigué, vous vous êtes rendu à _____. (bout)

28. On mesure la longueur de quelquechose avec un _____. (règle)

29. Le matin on a le déjeuner, a midi on a le _____. (diner)

30. Le couleur de charbon est _____. (noir)

31. On nettoie les dents avec une _____. (brosse)

32. Quelque chose rigide et difficile est très _____. (raide)

33. Halifax est le capital de la _____ _____. (Nouvelle Ecosse)

34. On prie au bon _____. (Dieu)

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