

Lexical Change and Language Contact:

Francoprovençal in Italy and Canada¹

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¹ Fieldwork in Faeto was supported by the Salvatori Research Grant for Italian Studies at the University of Pennsylvania in 1992, 1993, and 1994. Fieldwork in Toronto was supported by SSHRC SRG #410-2009-2330. I am grateful to the members of both communities, and for feedback at the Penn Linguistics Colloquium 1992, AAAL 2010-Atlanta, ACLA 2010-Montreal, the Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics at York University, the

Centre for Research in Language Contact, and the good people at the
Edinburgh Sociolinguistics Summer School 2010.

for SSS September 2010

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Abstract. To systematically develop our understanding of contact-induced language change, consistent methodology is needed across a variety of communities and contexts. As part of a broader project with that goal, I contrast lexical patterns in the homeland variety of Faetar, an endangered Francoprovençal dialect spoken in two villages in southern Italy, and in Toronto, one of its largest émigré communities. While lexical change due to borrowing has been in progress for some time in Faetar, cross-generational and diatopic comparisons suggest that its lexicon is currently stable. Results are accompanied by a discussion of their adherence to and distinctions from numerous claims in the literature.

Key words: Lexical change, Language contact, Faetar, Francoprovençal, Heritage language, Toronto, Italy

Running title: Lexical Change and Language Contact in Faetar

Word count: 5,123

INTRODUCTION

It is commonly claimed that the lexicon is the most volatile part of language and most likely to undergo change due to superstrate influence in a language contact situation (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 50). Even in cases of language maintenance, there may be much lexical borrowing and moderate to heavy structural borrowing. It is often noted that first lexical features are borrowed, then, under long term cultural pressure, structural features (phonological, morphological, and syntactic) may also be borrowed (*ibid* 37, van Coetsem 1988: 26). Chambers (1992: 667) concurs, although his work analyzes contact between dialects of one language rather than between two languages. His first principle of dialect acquisition is that 'lexical replacement is acquired faster than pronunciation and phonological variants.'

However, it is difficult to know exactly how such claims are calculated. How does one compare the amount or rate of lexical borrowing to other types of transfer? What are the units of comparison? How are we to take into account the fact that a lexicon is so much larger than a phonological inventory or a set of syntactic structures or features? If no one documents the timing of the first instance of such transfers, synchronic evidence does not readily yield answers to the question of relative timing of different changes. Hampering progress in this respect is the fact that the majority of studies of convergence (or contact-induced language change) have been in the area of morpho-syntax. As the review of the

literature below will illustrate, there has not been much sociolinguistic work on contact effects in the lexicon.

To more systematically address these and a variety of other questions about contact-induced language change, the Heritage Language Variation and Change in Toronto Project (*HLVC*) has been developed. Its goal is to develop a multilingual corpus of naturally-occurring speech in lesser-studied languages. This allows us to examine linguistic variation and change across languages, across locales (homeland vs. transplanted area), and across speakers (different ages, from three generations, with varying ethnic orientations). This collection of high-quality recordings of naturally-occurring speech in six languages, with time-aligned transcriptions, is being digitally archived and is available to researchers interested in collaboration (Nagy 2009; forthcoming).

An overview of Faetar

The six languages include Faetar, which is the focus of this paper. Faetar is an endangered Romance variety spoken by fewer than 1,000 people in two mountaintop villages in southern Italy (Apulia): Faeto and Celle di St. Vito. Faetar (a term I use as shorthand for 'Faetar and Cellese' because my own research is in Faeto) is a dialect of Francoprovençal (FP). FP has almost entirely died out in its homeland in France, but due to a migration from France some 600 years ago, survives in these two isolated Italian villages. Later resettlement has allowed it to also survive in several émigré pockets in North America. Perhaps the largest of these pockets is in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), where some speakers estimate there are more than 2,000 people whose ancestors come from Celle. It is

certainly still fluently spoken by at least the 20 people who have so far been recorded for this project. Descriptions of the variety are in Nagy and Heap (1998); Nagy (1994a; 1994b; 1996; 2000; 2001; Nagy and Reynolds (1997).

The grammar of Faetar remains distinct from surrounding Italian dialects. For example, Faetar has a negation marker [pa] which follows the highest verb, while Italian has the marker *non* which precedes it. Italian is a pro-drop language, while Faetar is conspicuous in having double subject pronouns possible and at least one subject pronoun required in many contexts (Nagy and Heap 1998). The verbal suffixes, the plural morphemes on nouns, and the determiners are all quite distinct from the corresponding Italian forms (Nagy 2000).

Evidence of structural borrowing from Italian into Faetar is seen in the existence of geminate consonants, a distinctive phonological structure of Italian, in Faetar. Since Faetar is a descendant of Francoprovençal, a language without contrastive phonological length in its consonantal system, this pattern must be attributed to language contact. This borrowing is a change which has not yet reached completion: lexically marked geminates have been borrowed, but the morphosyntactically triggered geminates of Italian have not been (Nagy 1994a). According to the authors cited above, structural change presupposes lexical influence.

It is that lexical influence which I explore in this paper. In Faeto, native speakers of Faetar frequently claim that the younger generation has lost almost all native vocabulary due to Italian superstrate influence, and that, for this reason, Faetar is on the verge of disappearing. Many speakers believe that the version of

Faetar currently spoken is not 'a real language,' but a bastardization, and cite numerous Italian vocabulary items which have infiltrated the system. Here are translations of several comments from Faetar speakers, mostly older ones [my translations]:

There is ... the phenomenon of the gradual loss (especially in the younger generations) of the most archaic vocabulary and phonetic and morphological structures which are most typical of our language, because these are too far from today's predominant reality: the Italian mass-media. There is the phenomenon of Italianization of our Francoprovençal, that is, the addition of the inflections and colorings from Italian (Castielli 1991: 11).

Faetar isn't spoken like it used to be. It's more a bastardization now.
(Speaker M77, Tape 18A)

Only an imperfect form of the language is learned now. (Speaker, F80,
Tape 17B)

Our Faetar is already a bit Italianized. We don't speak a real Provençal. Even my parents don't really speak it. They never did... They don't teach the children, so they make mistakes... so now we have a different language. (Speaker F32A, Tape 10a)

I examine such claims in light of the data gathered in this investigation and show that lexical change, although a real phenomenon, is not occurring in the drastic manner that community members describe.

Factors affecting lexical change

I first review several factors which have been reported to affect linguistic change and discuss which of these have been shown to affect lexical change. The social factors include age, sex, social class, network membership, and linguistic attitude. One other factor to be considered is the time-point in the change process.

Age has regularly been cited as a significant factor in detecting linguistic change. Many sociolinguistic analyses adopt the Apparent Time Construct (Bailey *et al.* 1991) and interpret different rates of usage by speakers of different ages as evidence of a change in progress: the younger generations have a more advanced form of the variable (*cf.* Labov 1966, Wolfram 1969, Sankoff and Cedergren 1971, Edwards 1992) than the older generations, reflecting the stage of the language as they were setting their linguistic patterns. These studies all report on structural, not lexical, changes.

Chambers (1992), one of few quantitative studies of lexical variables, shows that younger speakers acquire new lexical forms and pronunciations at a higher rate than older speakers, at least at the beginning of a change. Age as a factor in lexical and structural acquisition is also addressed by Bayard (1989: 27), who states, 'it seems self-evident that old as well as young speakers can adopt innovations [...] particularly in lexis and pronunciation of certain lexical items.'

Sex of the speaker is a second factor which has frequently served to provide synchronic evidence of linguistic change. Numerous works show that, in general, men are more conservative in incipient linguistic change, while women are more innovative (*cf.* Labov 1990, Chambers and Hardwick 1985, Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 97). However, in established change, men may use more of the innovative forms than women (Thibault 1983, Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 72). None of these studies investigate lexical change. One study of lexical change that shows that females are slightly more conservative in their usage of "new" lexical forms is Bayard (1989: 32).

Although social class (as calculated by occupation and income) has repeatedly been shown to be a significant factor in sociolinguistic analyses (*cf.* Labov 1972: 57-65), the usual distinctions according to social class do not account for variation found in lexical change processes. Bayard's 1984-85 study shows no correlation of the degree of lexical change to the socioeconomic factor (Bayard 1989: 32). Meyerhoff (1993: 241), investigating lexical change in English spoken in Porirua, New Zealand, also did not find social class to be a significant factor.

To contextualize the analysis of social factors discussed above, the two communities must first be described.

Description of the speech community: Faeto and Celle St. Vito

The contact situation between Faetar and regional southern Italian (Pugliese) has existed for some 700 years, since a group of Francoprovençal speakers moved from a region east of Lyon, France, to found Faeto and Celle, two villages in the

Apulian mountains in the province of Foggia (see details in Nagy 1996: Chapter 3). They have maintained their Francoprovençal language, Faetar, and virtually everyone living in Faeto and Celle speaks this variety on a daily basis, although all but the oldest are bilingual in Italian (Valente 1973: 39, Ercolino 1989).

Women, in particular, have been leaving the village to avoid marrying into the farming lifestyle, leaving behind a large group of unmarried men and older couples, and, as a result, very few children in the town. The village is isolated, situated near the top of a mountain, over an hour's drive from any city or train station. This, coupled with local pride in the unique language spoken there, helps preserve the language. Indications of the support for Faetar and Faeto's cultural background can be seen in several institutions: an annual tour of the local choir performing songs including several in Faetar; a well-maintained local museum of ancient farm and household implements, labeled with Faetar terms; the publication of quarterly journal *Il Provenzale* and numerous books which include sections written in Faetar with Italian translations; festivals celebrating local products; an annual school project involving transcribing stories in Faetar and competing in a Francoprovençal competition in Val d'Aosta; and the existence of a Sportello Linguistico which collects recordings of local speakers. However, this pride in the language does not keep its speakers from fearing the death of their language. This fear, in fact, encourages the documentation of the language and occasional movements to make Faetar the teaching language in the local elementary school. The publication of a dictionary (Minichelli 1994) and

grammar (Nagy 2000) makes this legally feasible under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of 1992.

Description of the speech community: the Greater Toronto Area

Outpost communities where Faetar is still spoken are found at least in northern Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Canada, and the United States. During my fieldwork in Faeto in the 1990's, people mentioned relatives who had moved to Toronto or its suburbs Woodbridge and Etobicoke. From some of these people, with whom I have made contact in the past year, I have learned that the GTA hosts one of the largest émigré populations from Faeto and especially Celle. Some speakers claim that there are over 2,000 émigrés (and their family members) in the GTA. I have located approximately 20 fluent Faetar speakers in the GTA, all of whom are bilingual in English, and many of whom also speak Italian. There is one social organization whose membership consists of these ex-pats, the Lega Cellese, and a recent book detailing their local culture (Martino 2000). From the information I have been able to gather on this little-documented community, it seems that emigration from Faeto and Celle took place between ~1950 and ~1975 (*ibid.* 74-7, 131), resulting in two generations of Faetar speakers in the GTA today. Members of these two generations continue to speak Faetar at home and, on occasion, at social gatherings. There is, for example, an annual picnic of the Lega Cellese where the variety may be heard. According to my observations at one such event, there does not seem to be transmission of Faetar on to the third generation. I have not come across members of the third generation who have two Faetar parents, however, and they might be an exception to this generalization.

METHODS

44 speakers, distributed as in Table 1, were asked to describe a sequence of pictures from a children's story book (Amery and Cartwright 1987), naming common objects and then describing scenes containing these items. A subset of this task, involving the last 26 items in the task, is examined here. Participants were informed that the purpose of the task was to help the investigator learn their language (in Faeto) or to see what differences exist in how different speakers speaker Faetar (in the GTA). Thus, as much as possible, Faetar, rather than Italian terms, were to be produced. The speaker group in Faeto consisted of 2 to 3 males and 2 to 3 females in each of six age groups, ranging in age from 8 to 87, and distributed throughout the range of occupations of the villagers. In the GTA, the speakers range in age from 29 to 92, and are either first- or second-generation. The average age of the first generation is 78 and of the second is 43. Although I have met a few third generation members of the community, they are quite young and do not speak enough Faetar to complete this task.

[Table 1 about here]

Each speaker was approached in a context in which they were relaxed, and, when possible, already engaged in talking Faetar with other members of the community. When they had agreed to the task, a tape recorder was produced 'to help the investigator remember all the words.' Speakers were prompted to name each item in isolation first, and then, in as much detail as possible, describe each scene. The investigator, a native English speaker, used a mixture of Faetar and

Italian to communicate with the speakers, but did not produce the names of any of the items being elicited.

DATA

Tables 2-4 list the 26 words, divided by source language. Table 2 contains the nine words for which there are currently both Francoprovençal-source and Italian-source variants in use in the language.² Column 1 shows the Faetar variants with Italian cognates and column 3 shows the Faetar variants with Francoprovençal cognates, taken from Duraffour's (1969) FP dictionary.³ Table 3 lists the thirteen words for which there are currently only Italian-source forms,⁴ and Table 4 displays the four words for which only a Francoprovençal-source variants currently exist. Thus, Table 3 gives clear cases of borrowing while Table 2 is ambiguous and Table 4 is the balance of non-borrowed items.

[Tables 2, 3, 4 about here]

The cases where the forms elicited resemble Italian words are not instances of code-switching. There is no motivation for a speaker to use Italian terms in this context where they have been specifically requested to provide Faetar terms to help a language learner. If they are truly bilingual, speakers can choose the words from the appropriate language. If they are not, the question of code-switching is moot. A more compelling argument against code-switching is that code-switching is characterized by a set of grammatical rules that covary, providing clear indication of which language is being used. There are numerous differences in the grammars of Faetar and Italian (a subset is in the Introduction. In no case is there evidence of Italian grammar surrounding the utterance of an

Italian-like word. This is in clear contrast to numerous cases of code-switching that occur elsewhere in the data, when speakers address the investigator in Italian to explain something that they felt could not be handled in Faetar in that context. Variants uttered in such asides were excluded from this analysis.

DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE OUTCOMES

The factor which is predicted to be most salient in describing the distribution of lexical variation is age. There are a number of reasons to expect younger speakers in Faeto to use more Italian-source forms and older speakers to use more Francoprovençal-source forms. Younger speakers either are currently engaged in, or will soon face, the process of finding a job and a spouse, tasks where they will have a broader range of opportunities if they speak Italian. Older speakers who learned Italian under the same pressures are unlikely to still be in Faeto. Rather, they are likely to have moved away and not be a part of this sample. Additionally, younger speakers' linguistic habits have been formed under the influence of television, more years of education in Italian, and the greater mobility of modern times. Thus, they are exposed to considerably more standard Italian than their predecessors. If a process of lexical replacement is taking place, the younger generation should be a step ahead of the previous generation.

For these reasons, the distribution of lexical choice is predicted to be as shown in Figure 1. This is the type of monotonic relation between age and use of a given variant undergoing change in sociolinguistic research since Labov (1966). In all of the following graphs, the bars represent language indices for each speaker group. White bars represent the *Francoprovençal index*: the ratio of

Francoprovençal-source words to the total number of responses given by that group of speakers. That is, they represent the degree of Faetar maintenance. Black bars represent the *Italian index*, the ratio of Italian-source words to the number of responses given. Larger black bars indicate more influence from Italian. If not otherwise specified, the indices are the combined values for the nine words for which the lexical choices varied.

[Figure 1 about here]

A distribution of this type is also reported by members of the speech community, who worry that the younger generation isn't learning Faetar properly, due to Italian influence. However, as we will see, there is a significant difference between the results of this investigation and the views of these speakers.

Figure 1 also illustrates the predicted outcome of women having progressed further in the switch to Italian. Because women have less material capital (in the patriarchal culture of southern Italy), they are expected to make more use of the symbolic capital represented in their language (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 98). On the practical side, women would be more likely to learn Italian, as, with that tool, they have the option of marrying and working outside of the community, while the men are required to stay on the family farms, similar to the findings reported in Gal (1978) for bilingual communities on the Austro-Hungarian border. More generally, women are seen to use more prestige forms than men (Trudgill 1972: 179), which in this case, means Italian. Exactly this distribution was found for a phonological variable investigated in the same community, using the same data. Figure 2 (adapted from Nagy and Reynolds

1997: 48) shows the distribution for this analysis of the rate of deletion of post-tonic vowels, according to age and sex of the speakers. A rapid change is evident for the females, but not the males.

[Figure 2 about here]

A third prediction is that members of the higher socioeconomic classes would use more Italian-source forms. The sample from the higher socioeconomic class includes a number of speakers who work outside of Faeto and hold jobs which are conducted in Italian, which further motivates this assumption. (Social class is not examined in the GTA data as the sample is too small. Furthermore Martino 2000: 200 notes that among the first generation, 'there were no Italian-Canadian professionals, except one or two ... teachers').

ANALYSIS

All speakers produced both Francoprovençal-source and Italian-source words. There are no speakers which radically skew the overall distribution-- no speakers whose index values are extreme outliers. The average indices for all speakers combined are: Francoprovençal: 0.49, Italian 0.41. That is, for the words exhibiting lexical variation, 49% of the forms selected, for all speakers and all nine words combined, were words of Francoprovençal origin. 41% of the words chosen were of Italian origin. The remaining 10% includes words for which the source language is unclear or where a given speaker produced words from both language sources. Thus, while at this first level of interpretation, we had some reason to believe the pessimistic predictions of the people of Faeto – already half of the referents examined (13 of 26) are produced solely using Italian-source

words. From the list of nine variable-source words, 41-51% of responses have an Italian-source, depending on how the ambiguous words (possibly of either FP- or Italian source) are interpreted.

Examining the distribution by social factors gives a different picture, however. In Figure 3, the speakers from Faeto are split into four age groups, and divided by sex. In this distribution, we see the pattern discussed in section 1: the men of the middle generation (age 21-40) use more Francoprovençal-source words than any other group. However, there is no evidence of an overall downward trend with age, nor is there an appreciable sex difference. These lexical data pattern quite differently from the phonological variable shown in Figure 2.

[Figure 3 about here]

We turn next to the age breakdown in individual words, examining just the data from Faeto. A number of different patterns emerge. Three words exhibit the expected age-graded pattern: 'grandpa' (see Figure 4) nearly mirrors the expected distribution shown in Figure 1, with older speakers, particularly the males, favoring the Francoprovençal form and younger speakers balanced between the Francoprovençal and Italian variants. The variants for 'table' are predominantly Italian-source, with just a few of the older speakers producing only Francoprovençal-source forms (see Figure 5). This suggests that the switch to the Italian variant is nearing completion for this word. In contrast, the data for 'fork' indicates an incipient change. Nearly all the speakers produced Francoprovençal variants, with Italian forms appearing more in the younger speakers (see Figure 6). One word presents a puzzling picture: the 'horse' variants have exactly the

opposite distribution of expected: older speakers favor the Italian variants and younger speakers the Francoprovençal variants (see Figure 7). However, this item has both Francoprovençal and Italian cognates, making the index assignment difficult. The variant [tʃuwá] may be derived from the Francoprovençal [ʃuva] or from Italian [tʃutʃ]; Faetar [dʒumént] may be derived from Francoprovençal [zumà] or Italian [dʒuméntə].

[Figures 4, 5, 6 and 7 about here]

The data for the other five variable words ('airplane,' 'plate,' 'grandma,' 'hat,' and 'knife') do not exhibit a monotonic age-related pattern, and the other 17 words investigated show no lexical variation whatsoever. Thus, no overall pattern is evident when the data for all words are combined. Yet, when the words are examined individually, evidence alights that some words are, indeed, currently undergoing a process of change, while others are stable, either having already undergone a switch to Italian, or retaining Francoprovençal forms.

Next, we consider the problem which plagues all variation studies conducted at a single time point: does the data show a change in progress, or is it evidence of stable age-grading? Strong support for the assumption that age differentiation can indicate an ongoing linguistic change is found in Bailey *et al.* (1991). This assumption is bolstered when age-stratification is accompanied by evidence of sex-differentiated and social class-differentiated responses (Labov 1981, 1992). Accordingly, these other social factors are examined.

As a rough indicator of social class, I use place and type of occupation. The occupations are shown in Table 5, dividing speakers into three groups. The

mean Francoprovençal and Italian indices are given for each of the groups.

(Occupation is unknown for 11 speakers.)

[Table 5 about here]

The upper-class speakers show the *least* evidence of Italian influence in their Faetar speech and the lowest class shows the most. These results can be explained as follows. The upper class speakers, those with most education and most experience outside of the Faetar speech community, are likely to be cognizant of which words used in Faetar are of Italian origin. Thus, they are capable of avoiding such forms in a task where there are specifically being asked to produce "real Faetar" forms. Further analysis of naturally occurring speech is necessary to determine whether this surprising pattern is real or an artifact of the elicitation procedure. If there really is such a pattern, it might be to local pride, which causes those most able to use Italian forms to refrain from doing so.

The final factor which can be examined in this data set is the sex of the speakers. As Figure 3 shows, there is no consistent distinction between the two sexes. However, in the responses for individual words, we see differences in the language choices between males and females. For example, in 'airplane', there is a clear split in the middle age group: all the women use the Italian-source form and all the men use the Francoprovençal-source form. The distribution is biased in the same direction for the younger speakers, but the division is not as stark. The same split can be seen in the middle age group for 'grandma', but Italian-source words are overwhelmingly used by both sexes in the other two age groups. In these cases

the middle age group of men have, by far, the highest Francoprovençal indices, showing a conservatism in their language use.

The difference in language use between men and women can be seen in other words as well. The only speakers to produce the Italian-source variant for 'plate' were female. Similarly, for 'hat,' women have a much higher Italian index than men. This distribution supports the claim that it is men who harbor a degree of covert prestige regarding Faetar, and particularly maintain the use of [ʃapéj] a Francoprovençal word which is salient in a much-sung folk song about Faeto.

(Lyrics appear in Castielli 1975.)

The GTA sample is too small to permit systematic examination of any social factors besides age and sex. And there is an important confound: the average age of the first generation sampled is 78, while for the second generation, it is 43. Given the immigration history for this group, this overlap between age and language acquisition in Faeto vs. Canada cannot be eliminated. One clear pattern that emerges, nevertheless, is the lack of age effect in the GTA data.

Table 6 illustrates the similarity of the distribution between Italian- and FP-source words for younger and older speakers. The p-value greater than 0.05 indicates that the difference between the two age groups' distributions is likely due to chance. A lack of a difference between males and females is similarly illustrated in Table 7.

[Tables 6 and 7 about here]

We can also examine the influence of English on the HL variety of Faetar. (There is no sign of any English vocabulary in the homeland data.) A very small

number of words were produced in English: of 24 words elicited from the 14 speakers, a total of six English-like forms were produced. Interestingly, five of these six came from the older generation. (However, there is no significant difference in the distribution between the two generations, $p = 2.17$ by Fisher's Exact Test.) This is surprising given the many reports of Italian, or English-influenced Italian vocabulary (Giovanardi and Riccardo 2003), and the "accretion of a wide number and variety of anglicisms" noted in the GTA by Martino (2000: 192). He specifically notes the following words, whose referents were elicited in this task and whose English forms were not produced: *lu car*, *lu street*, *lu bus* (*ibid.*).

The most striking effect to emerge from this study is the lack of effect. Figure 8 illustrates the very similar rate of use of FP-source words both between the younger and older speakers and between the homeland and heritage language communities. No significant difference (by Fisher's Exact Test) exists between the distributions of the two age groups or between the two communities. The very low rate of use of English-source words in these two communities is also illustrated.

[Figure 8 about here]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The patterns described above show that there has been a large degree of lexical borrowing from Italian into Faetar. Since, overall, the patterns with respect to age, social class and sex are quite different from those reported for previous sociolinguistic analyses, I conclude that lexical change does not necessarily

proceed in the same way as phonological change. It is not surprising that macro-level changes are different for lexical and structural variables, as people continue to regularly acquire lexical items much later in life than they acquire new phonological structures or elements, both in first and second language acquisition. They may, therefore, not be good tools for indicating social differences. The overall lack of significant differences across groups also indicates an ability to resist change due to language contact, a fact which is surprising in both the Italian-contact situation in Faeto and the English-contact situation in the GTA.

The age-graded patterns for certain words, and the sex and social class patterns which have been discussed, do support the claim that the language is in the process of change. I return to Chambers' (1992: 680) second principle, that change happens more rapidly at the beginning of the acquisition process than later. He proposes this at the micro-level, for individual speakers. I propose that the principle may be extended to the community as a whole: that there will be more evidence of change (because the change is occurring more rapidly) in the early parts of the contact situation. Because speakers of Faetar have had contact with Italian for a long time, the rate of borrowing may have slowed. If so, this explains why there are not marked overall differences between the younger and older speakers today: the change is simply proceeding too slowly at this point to be detected in a four-generation span.

This paper presents a description of a body of data which illustrates how a number of factors affect lexical borrowing from a standard language into a minority language. It has been shown that a considerable amount of lexical

borrowing has taken place, even in the most intimate regions of the lexicon: items found in the home and on the farm. Because common and entrenched terms are the last to be affected by language contact, I conclude that lexical borrowing is at a very advanced stage. This view is further supported by the distributions according to age, which do not show evidence of rapid shift, indicating that the change has been going on for some time. Thus, even though this study examines the language at only one point in time, we have learned a significant amount about diachronic processes of lexical change, as well as achieving a careful synchronic description of a language in the process of undergoing change due to language contact. The next stage of research will be to compare this trend to those in other heritage languages that form part of the HLVC Project to see how widespread these patterns are.

Notes

² Numbers in the rightmost column of Table 2 indicate the entry for the word in Duraffour (1969). The last four items are ones that native speakers claim are from Francoprovençal, but I have found no cognate or other evidence. For a word meaning 'airplane,' I am doubtful. However, speakers' beliefs about the source may well influence usage patterns. I am not convinced that the FP [bigorə] is a form from which [brókələ] could be derived, but I have found no more plausible source.

³ IPA symbols are used to represent all Faetar words, as there is no standard orthography for the language. For ease of comparison, I use IPA symbols for the Francoprovençal words as well.

⁴ The last three items have referents that are too modern to have a possible Francoprovençal source.

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Tables

Table 1: Speaker sample

	Females	Males	Total	Average age
Faeto	17	14	31	40
Toronto area-1 st generation	3	4	7	78
Toronto area-2 nd generation	4	3	7	43

Table 2: Mixed Italian-source and Francoprovençal-source responses

I-Faetar	Italian cognate	FP-Faetar	FP cognate	English	Entry #
táwolə	tavola	buféttə	bufe(t)	<i>table</i>	1880
tawolínə	tavolina	tab	tabla	" "	9386
fórkét	forchetta	brókələ	bigorə	<i>fork</i>	1226
tʃutʃ	ciuco	tʃuwá	ʃuva	<i>donkey</i> or	8764
dʒumént	giumenta	dʒumént	ʒumà	<i>horse</i>	4658
kapəlínə	cappello	kapəlínə	kupəlínə	<i>hat</i>	4785
		tʃappéj	ʃape	" "	8637
kutél	cutello	kuttéj	kute	<i>knife</i>	5634
arioplán	aereoplano	parékia	?	<i>airplane</i>	
nónnə	nonna	mówə	?	<i>grandma</i>	
piat	piatto	kartoléh	?	<i>plate</i>	
nónnə	nonno	biarán	?	<i>grandpa</i>	

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Table 3: Invariable responses with an Italian source

Faetar	Italian	English
tátzə	tazza	<i>cup</i>
pégɔrə	pecora	<i>sheep</i>
dʒəlɪnnə	gallina	<i>chicken</i>
tɾɛn	treno	<i>train</i>
dáddə	dado	<i>dice</i>
pantuóflə	pantofola	<i>slipper</i>
ʃkárpə	scarpe	<i>shoes</i>
vɛst	vestito	<i>dress</i>
dʒakkétə	giacchetta	<i>jacket</i>
kas, kaz	casa	<i>house</i>
(mágəɳə	macchina	<i>car</i>)
(bitʃikléttə	bicicletta	<i>bicycle</i>)
(kámɪə	camione	<i>truck</i>)

Table 4: Invariable responses with a Francoprovençal source

Faetar	Francoprovençal	English	Entry #
sɛdʒ	sɛʒ	<i>chair</i>	8783
kuʎijə	kuʎi	<i>spoon</i>	4995
vátʃə	vats, vaʃ	<i>cow</i>	9658
kaijúnna	?	<i>pig</i>	no entry

Table 5: Social categories of the speakers

Upper (N= 4)			Middle (N=10)			Lower (N= 6)		
spouse of car salesman in U.S.			barkeeper in Faeto			farmer in Faeto		
engineer in Faeto			tailor in Faeto			child of farmers in Faeto		
homemaker in Faeto			forest ranger, retired					
(spouse is bus driver)			construction worker, retired					
court employee in Foggia			teacher in Faeto					
			storekeeper in Faeto					
			student					
FP Index:	.51	\approx	.50	\approx	.46			
Italian Index:	.23	$<$.38	$<$.45			

Table 6: Lack of difference by age in the GTA sample

	Italian words	FP words	Total	
younger	31	29	60	
older	23	35	58	p = 0.20 by Fisher's
Total	54	64	118	Exact Test, 2-tail

Table 7: Lack of difference by sex in the GTA sample

	Italian words	FP words	Total	
male	27	31	58	
female	27	33	60	p = 1.0 by Fisher's
Total	54	64	118	Exact Test, 2-tail

Figures

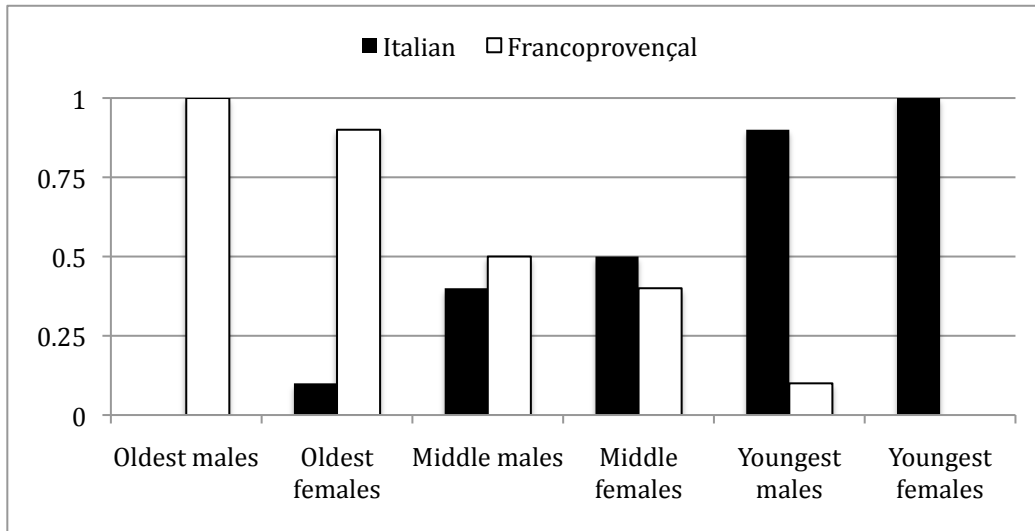


Figure 1: Predicted distribution according to age and sex

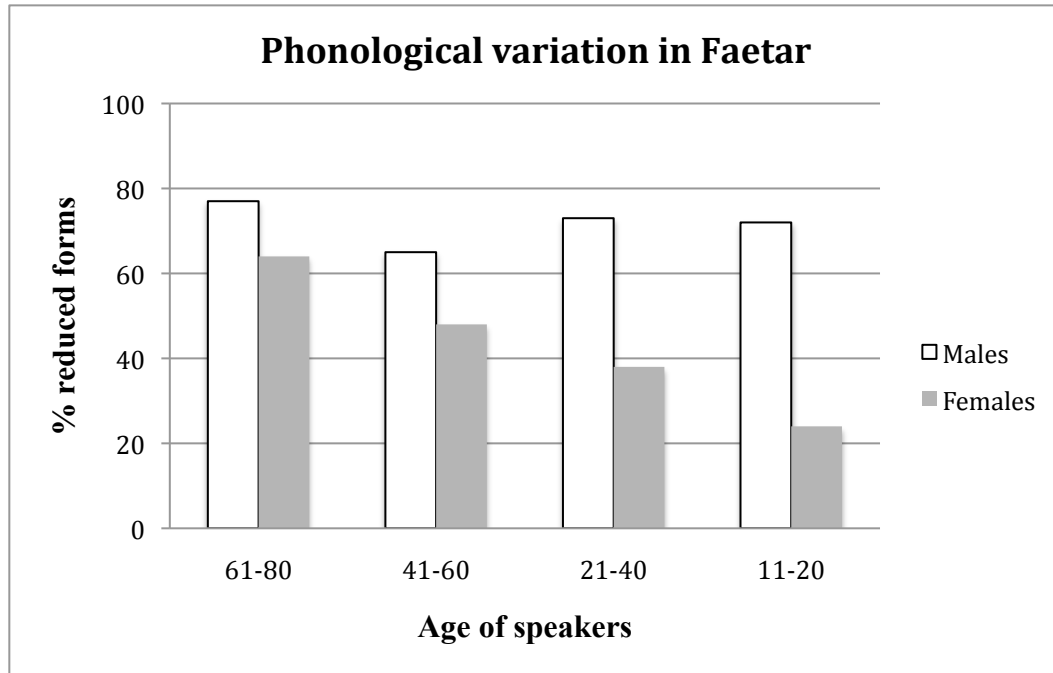


Figure 2: Distribution of deleted post-tonic vowels, by age and sex (N=624)

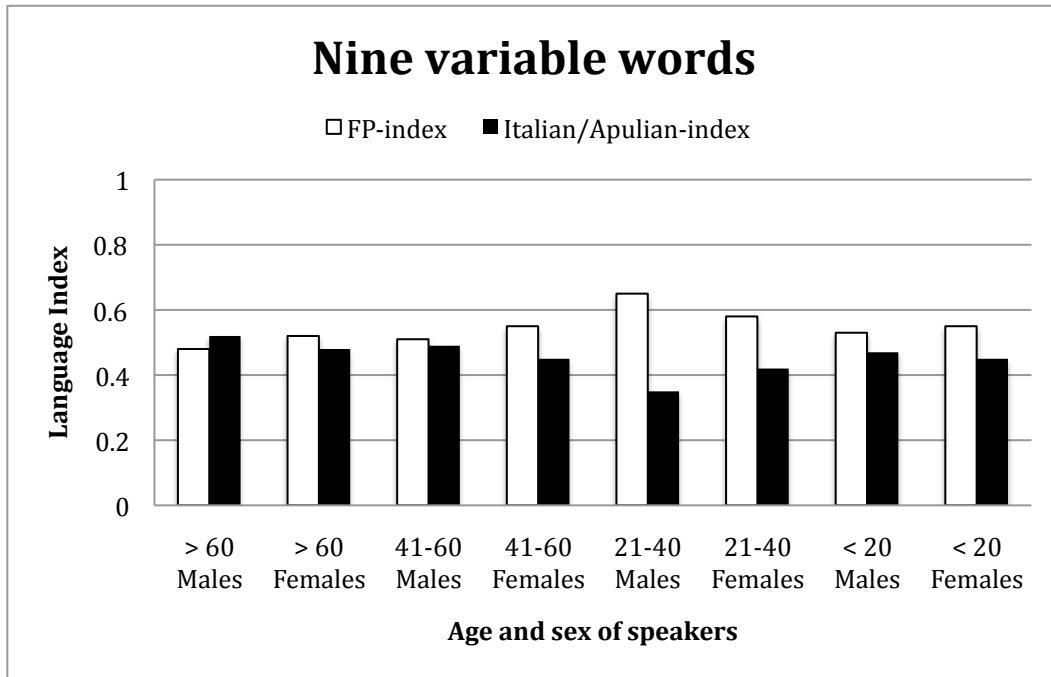


Figure 3: Language indices according to age and sex, for nine variable words

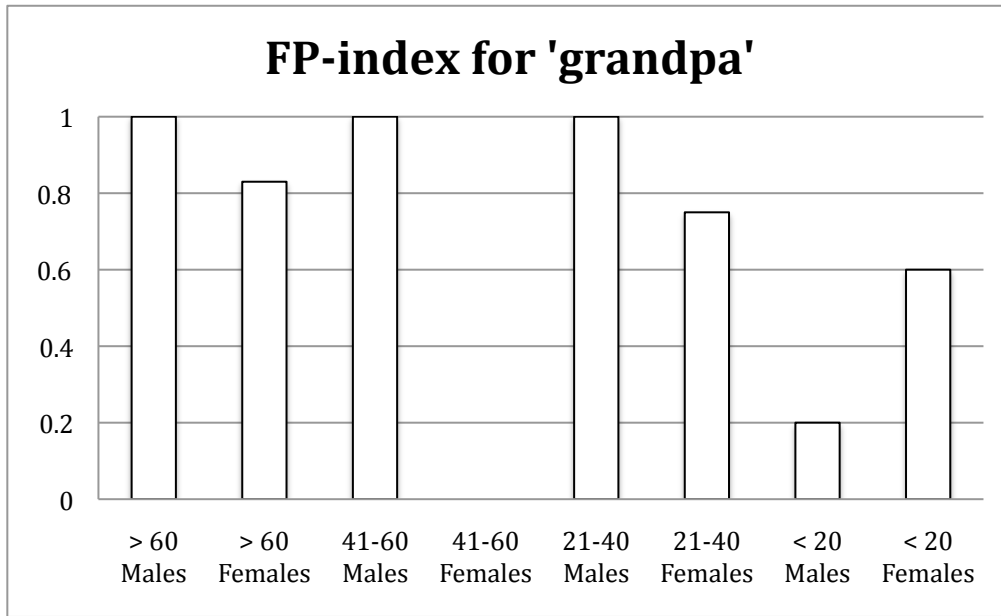


Figure 4: Francoprovençal indices for 'grandpa'

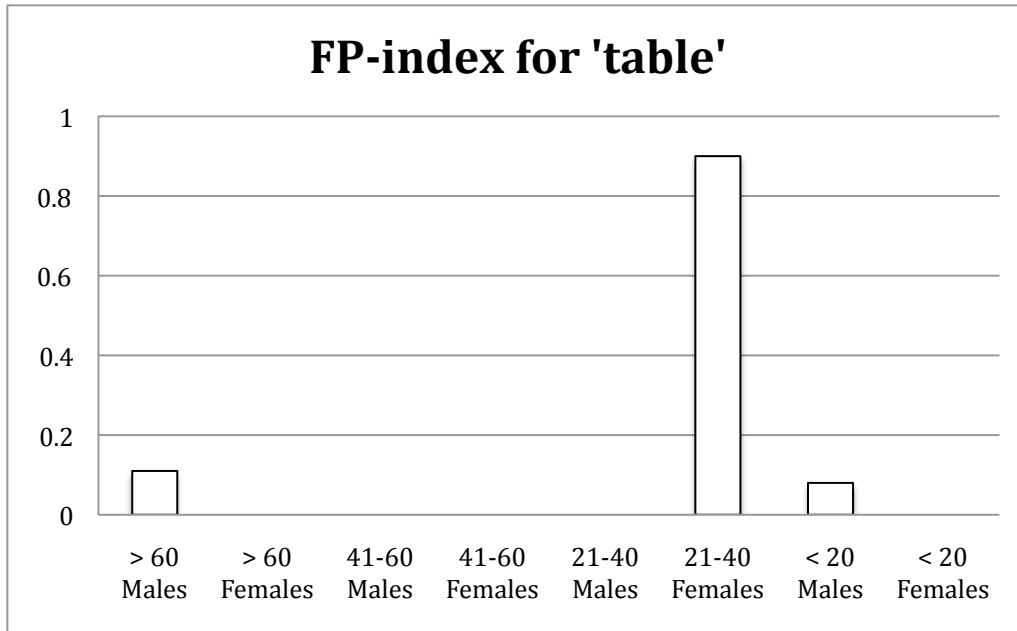


Figure 5: Francoprovençal indices for 'table'

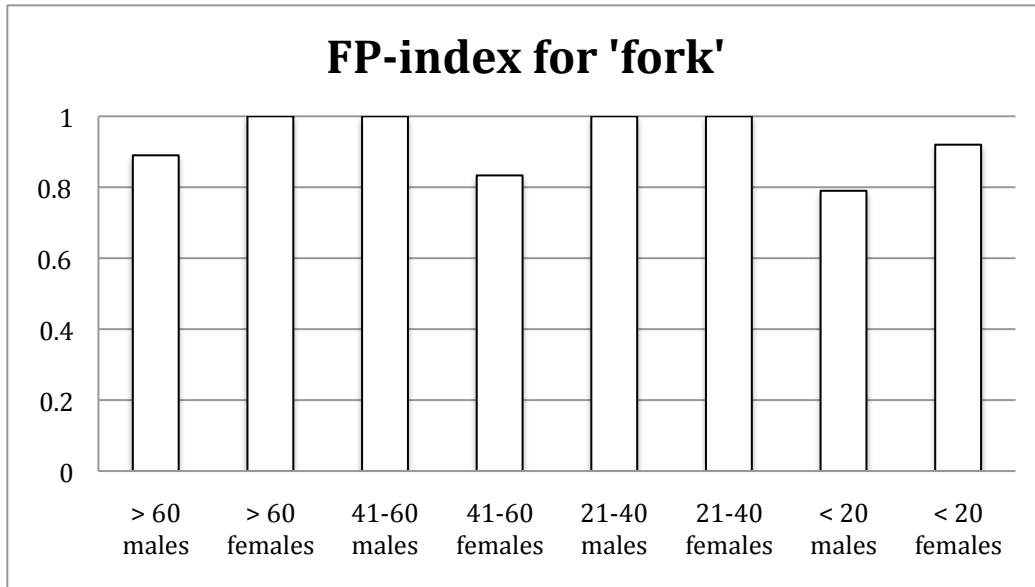


Figure 6: Francoprovençal indices for 'fork'

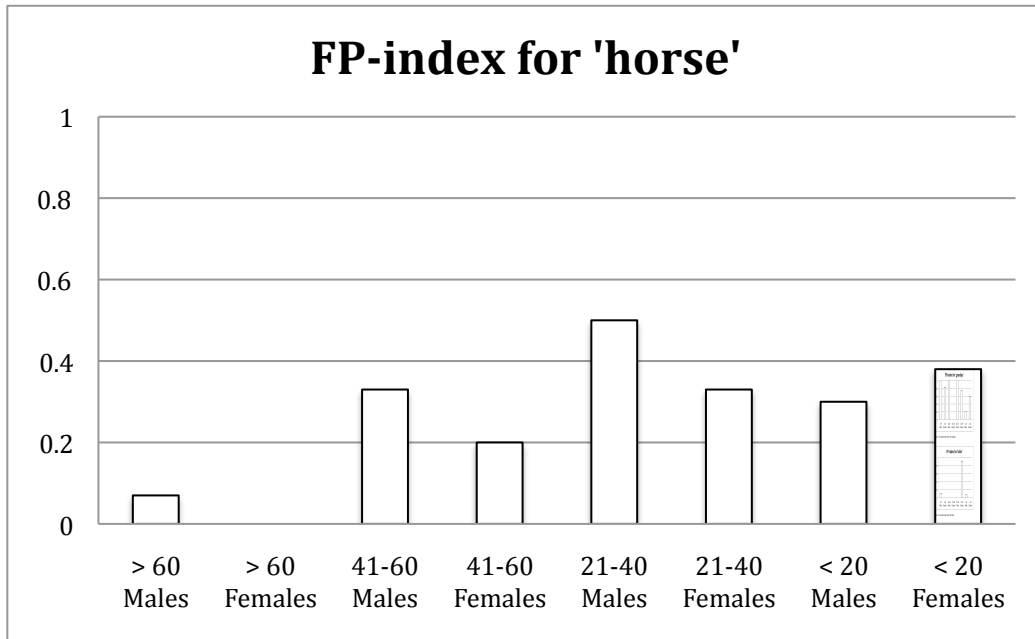


Figure 7: Francoprovençal indices for 'horse'

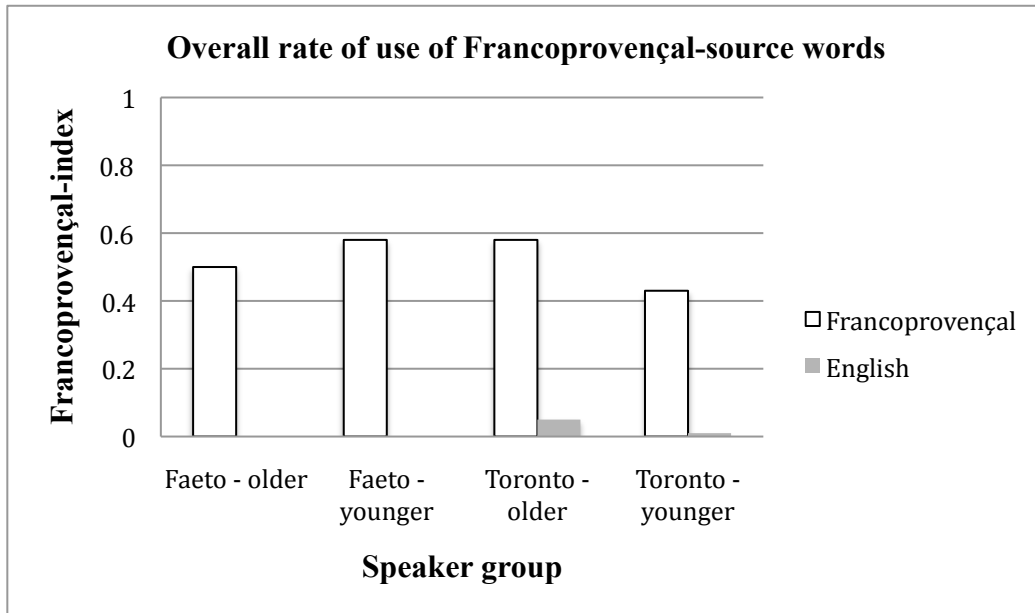


Figure 8: FP-indices for two communities, by age. The low rate of usage of English words is shown in grey.