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Red Lake Falls, Minnesota: A sociolinguistic survey

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**RED LAKE FALLS, MINNESOTA:
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY**

James Kapper

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Red Lake Falls is a small farming community located at the confluence of the Red Lake and Clearwater rivers, in the valley of the Red River of the North in northwestern Minnesota. The area was first settled in the nineteenth century by speakers of French who were later joined by other immigrant groups, principally Germans and Scandinavians.

Despite the varied ancestry of the area's population, and a time span of more than a century for the mechanism of the American "melting pot" to have done its work, a relatively large number of people in the area still use the French language in their homes and describe themselves and their communities as "French."

The background of the community and the survival of the language pose sociolinguistic questions concerning the status of the language in the community, the users of the language, and the situations in which it is used. The center of this study is a survey which will provide a basis for describing the linguistic community in terms of these sociolinguistic concerns.

Chapter I of this study is a discussion of the various phenomena likely to be covered in such a survey. A discussion of the methodology and development of the survey (which is reproduced in Appendix A) is contained in Chapter II. Chapter III is a brief description of Red Lake Falls, with notes on historical background. Data gathered by the survey are discussed in Chapter IV with conclusions and questions for further research presented in Chapter V. Appendix B contains a few Red Lake Falls French texts with translation and discussion.

The goal of studies like this one was discussed by Einar Haugen (1972a), who acknowledges descriptive linguistics as the basis of sociolinguistics while rejecting the traditional descriptivist's "monolithic" approach to language. Haugen emphasizes the significance of the relationship between the language and society, and defines the goal of sociolinguistics as being the description of the social and psychological situations of particular languages and the effects of these situations on languages and their users.

With this goal, sociolinguistic studies take on an interdisciplinary character, rooted as they are in descriptive linguistics yet embodying some of the concerns of sociology, psychology, history, ethnography, and other fields. This sociolinguistic study of Red Lake Falls reflects Haugen's concerns as

he stated them in basic form in his nine "ecological" questions for the study of individual languages:

1. What is the classification of the language in relation to other languages?
2. Who are the users of the language?
3. What are its domains of use?
4. What internal varieties does the language show?
5. What concurrent languages are employed by its users?
6. What are its written traditions?
7. To what degree has its written form been standardized?
8. What kind of institutional support has it won?
9. What are the attitudes of its users towards the language in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification?

The most important aspect of Haugen's ecological questions is not that each has been asked singly but that they are taken as being interrelated and descriptive of a system. As a study of a small French-speaking linguistic community existing within a larger English-speaking one, this study takes questions two and three, "Who are the users of the language?" and "What are its domains of use?" as its central issues. These have been expanded to include questions of change in patterns of language use. Who were the users of the language fifty or 100 years ago when the community began to develop? How have the domains of language use changed during this time? The changing influences in the factors mentioned in Haugen's other questions will also be considered in relation to these issues.

Joshua Fishman (1972a) has also emphasized the importance of non-linguistic elements in sociolinguistic studies. His point of view and methodology are basically sociological in nature, emphasizing the importance of describing the ways language reflects cultural regularities. Fishman (1972b) develops this further by dividing the sociology of language (the term he prefers to sociolinguistics [1972c]) into two categories: "descriptive sociology of language," which seeks to describe language usage norms for particular speech communities; and "dynamic sociology of language," which seeks to account for "differential changes in the social organization of language use and behavior toward language."

This study's concern with a particular speech community and the changes that have taken place within it places it within Fishman's "descriptive sociology of language" category. The survey in this study has been designed to indicate what social factors in the community of Red Lake Falls have influenced the language and its use. It is intended to provide a basis for a further investigation with a more descriptive, quantitative approach.

The most obvious questions faced by the study are related to bilingualism, language shift and maintenance, and phenomena related to language contact. Haugen (1972b, 1972c) discusses the importance of a linguistic description of these phenomena. However, this survey will place more emphasis on discovering the social and psychological attitudes they reflect than on describing their effects on the language. A thorough description of the languages in use at Red Lake Falls has not been undertaken.

Fishman (1972d) relates the study of individual bilingualism with societal bilingualism (diglossa). Diglossa is said to exist in

societies which recognize two or more functionally different languages, each expressing a distinct set of behavioral attitudes and values. Both sets of values are accepted into the community and seen as culturally legitimate.

Diglossa exists with bilingualism where social roles are compartmentalized. Diglossa without bilingualism occurs where there are two separate speech communities due to political or class structures. Bilingualism without diglossa is a product of individual linguistic versatility.

The implications of individual bilingualism for the speech community as a whole are demonstrated in Susan Ervin-Tripp's (1973) psychologically oriented discussion of the phenomenon. She maintains that language learning occurs with social learning in both native language and second language acquisition. Ervin-Tripp shows how socialization takes place through identification with a model, leading to the adoption of a new role. This would imply that a study of individuals in a bilingual community would reveal correlations between the degree of fluency in the languages involved and certain social variables indicative of participation in the given cultures. Further, she shows that not only are the individuals' attitudes changed by learning a second language but that communities undergoing language shift, where widespread bilingualism is a necessary factor, would also be forced into cultural change as well. Social values reflected in the dominant language would be adopted into the culture by virtue of their being present in the "new" language. Surveys of language change, therefore, must incorporate some means of determining cultural changes as well.

Language shift and its relation to bilingualism in American immigrant communities are discussed by Anwar S. Dil and Timothy J. Curry (1981). They make the point that bilingualism need not lead to mother-tongue shift and that the causes of societal bilingualism and shift are not necessarily the same. Their study, based on demographic data from censuses, shows a strong correlation between greater linguistic and ethnic diversity among immigrant populations and a decreased resistance to the acquisition of English. Other figures show the economic advantages of learning English for first generation immigrants in an urban-industrial setting, as well as the advantage of their children's improved scholastic performance.

Fishman (1966) examines language loyalty and maintenance efforts by Franco-Americans in New England. The group studied by Fishman immigrated to the United States at the turn of the century; however, there have been French settlements in New England since much earlier times. In 1960 there were over a million native speakers of French in the U.S., mostly concentrated in New England. Fishman attributes the survival of their language to a network of interlocking religious, educational, cultural, and fraternal organizations, and continuing immigration from Canada. In the past fifty years education in French, the Franco-American press, and organizations which played an early role in preserving the French language have all lost influence. The present generation of Franco-Americans, according to Fishman, has begun abandoning many ethnic traditions as well as the French language, following a general feeling within the group that their dialect was inferior to standard French or Quebecoise.

The group studied by Fishman is similar to the Red Lake Falls group in terms of place of origin and time of immigration. The

forebears of both communities arrived in the late nineteenth century from eastern Canada. Differences in settling--one group settled largely in industrial communities, the other on farms--and the amount of continuing immigration from Canada and other contact with French Canadians probably have caused differences in language and language use in the communities. Determining the extent of these linguistic differences is outside the immediate scope of this study. However, some of the sociolinguistic similarities between the Red Lake Falls community and other French communities will be explored here.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Early research at Red Lake Falls consisted of a series of impromptu interviews exploring various topics including personal background, local and family history, and language habits and attitudes. Sometimes language data were recorded during these conversations, depending on the willingness of the person being interviewed. The purpose at this stage was to acquire familiarity with the dialect and to look for patterns in the habits of language use of individuals and within families.

As more information on the French language and people of Red Lake Falls was gathered, a need developed for a formal survey which could serve as an instrument for gathering and organizing sociolinguistic data. The survey which evolved from these interviews, and which is the center of this study, therefore has two purposes: 1) to provide data for characterizing the French community at Red Lake Falls in terms of present and past patterns of language use, and 2) to provide a foundation for further interviews in a more precise sociolinguistic study.

Instead of being a detailed statistical study, the survey is qualitative in its approach. This is due primarily to the preliminary nature of the project and the size of the population sample available for study. Red Lake Falls, the largest of the towns originally settled by the French in that part of Minnesota, was chosen as the location of the survey partly because of the concentration of the population. However, taking into account the limits of time, the financial resources available for conducting a survey, and the availability of persons willing to participate, the estimated number of subjects was thirty to fifty. Although this is a small sample, care was taken to make the selection reasonably representative in terms of the ages, amount of time in the community, and educational background of the people participating in the survey.

Sociolinguistic studies like Labov's (1972) and Wolfram's and Fasold's (1974) have emphasized the importance of empirical methods and quantitative, statistical studies. The major difference between their work and the present study is that those were detailed studies of larger populations examining the correlations between a wide range of social variables and a specific set of linguistic variables. This study is designed to provide preliminary information indicating what social and linguistic variables may exist within a speech community of a more limited size. The survey and interviews also provide information on participants' behavior and attitude towards their language, which will be useful in setting questions for a more detailed analysis of the community.

The methodology of sociolinguistic surveys aimed at describing language situations and measuring sociolinguistic changes is discussed by Stanley Lieberman (1981), who recommends several elementary procedures for improving the accuracy of such surveys. Several of his procedures were relevant to the preparation of this study:

1. The use of retrospective questions for obtaining age specific data
2. Cross tabulating the language characteristics of parents with those of their children
3. Consideration of migration into and out of the area being studied

Retrospective questions relating to language use are included in the survey for the purpose of contrasting current and past linguistic patterns, both within and between generations. These questions provide information which permits later use of statistical measures in analyzing the speech community.

Questions on the survey also allow for the cross tabulation of parents' and children's language characteristics. Lieberman (1981:269) says that "not only does the surveyor want to obtain a cross-tabulation between parents' and children's mother tongues but also additional characteristics which distinguish those bilinguals who pass on an acquired language from those who do not." A series of open-ended questions is included in section D of the survey, and these are followed up in later interviews for the purpose of discovering what those distinguishing characteristics or attitudes may be.

Cross-generational data are obtained in two ways: from a series of questions about the languages used by the parents and grandparents of those surveyed, and by interviewing the children and grandchildren (where possible) of older respondents.

In designing this survey, effort has been made to insure that historical factors influencing language change, such as migration patterns or the presence of other ethnic groups, will show up in the data through questions of genealogy and in more specific conversations during follow-up interviews. It is recognized that a survey occurring at one point in time cannot completely gauge the process or directly identify causes of language shift, but, as Lieberman has suggested, the problems associated with such surveys, particularly those which are based on a small sample of the population, can be minimized.

The survey (see Appendix A) is divided into four parts. Section A, "personal data," provides information on the individual's background in the community. This information on basic social factors such as age, sex, place of birth, family size, present residence, and education, when compared with the data on the language habits of

individuals and families, may reveal patterns of language use for the community as a whole. Another factor believed to affect language use, affiliation with particular ethnic and religious organizations, is covered in section A, questions eight and nine. Question eight also provides an indirect way to measure the individual's involvement with his/her church.

The last question in section A is a means of determining the individual's identification with a particular ethnic group. Subjects are asked to select from a list those terms that describe which ethnic group(s) they belong to. This question is related to other questions on the survey which deal with attitudes toward language and other ethnic traditions.

Section B covers family history. Genealogical data in this section include places of birth of parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents, as well as specific information on other residences of the parents of the respondents. Questions eleven and seventeen request the source of the information and are intended to gauge the accuracy of the responses. The remaining questions in section B are intended to provide information on mother-tongue shift in individual families. Questions eighteen through twenty ask participants to list the languages spoken by their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. Again, the source for the information is provided as a check for accuracy.

Responses to the questions in section B show the history of language use and shift within families and, by extension, within the larger community. In addition, they show individuals' degree of familiarity with their family history and awareness of their linguistic heritage.

Patterns of migration in past generations, both within, and to and from the community, will also be indicated by this section.

Section C contains questions concerning the language-related behavior of individuals and family groups.

Questions related to language acquisition in this section require the participants to list their first and second languages, and approximate age and situation at the time of acquiring the second. These questions are important in follow-up interviews because individuals in the community usually have vivid memories of their motivation and other circumstances surrounding their acquisition of English. Bilinguals were also asked to rate their own competence in speaking, understanding, reading, and writing English and French on a five point-scale. There was no provision made for an objective test to rate the respondents' competence in any of these areas. More important to this survey is how speakers feel about their ability to communicate in English and French.

Questions twenty-two and twenty-four, relating to languages studied in school or used in connection with religious activities, are designed to discover evidence of institutional influences on language use. These questions were also followed up in later interviews to obtain more details and related information.

In the area of language use, question thirty-two asks participants to estimate the frequency of their use of the French language in different social contexts in order to provide data on current patterns of language use for the community. Retrospective questions are also included to show changes in community-wide patterns and in the habits of the individual over a period of time. Another

specific question of language use concerns code switching. Respondents are asked to list situations when switching from one language to another occurs and to speculate on what the reasons for switching might be. The wording of the question is open-ended in order to gather as much information as possible. When practical, these questions are followed up by observation.

The respondent's perception of changes in his/her language habits is the subject of question twenty-eight. Like some previous questions, this one is meant to be a beginning point for discussion of how and why patterns of language use in the community have changed.

Questions thirty-one and thirty-two ask respondents to note how frequently they hear people in their families use French. The family is divided into age groupings, and answers are given in terms of a five-point scale. The questions are constructed to show the frequency of the use of French in communication between generations as well as within each generation.

Section D, the "attitude survey," is designed to provide clues to individuals' attitudes toward the French-Canadian culture and language at Red Lake Falls. The four open-ended questions cover a broad range of topics, and, while the responses may be assessed subjectively, they are more important as a "springboard" to a further, more detailed interview. In a sense, these questions act as a catalyst in the interview, with conversations on these topics stimulating the discussion of other memories and ideas along the same lines.

Other questions in the survey are built around a set of assumptions and hypotheses about language and language behavior in general, and about Red Lake Falls French in particular. In contrast, the open questions in section D will be more likely to reveal new information and to bring previously unnoticed or unforeseen questions to light.

The questionnaire was tested in a small pilot study in Grand Forks, North Dakota. Survey participants were volunteers from L'Assemblée Française de Grande Fourche, a French-Canadian ethnic organization in Grand Forks, North Dakota. The purpose of this pilot study was to test the questionnaire as a survey instrument. As a result minor changes were made in the survey format, and a few questions were altered. The genealogy questions in the family history section seemed to pose a major stumbling block for those completing the questionnaire. Despite the Grand Forks respondents' lack of information, the section was left in its original form and didn't pose as much of a problem in Red Lake Falls.

Two other questions did present problems in Red Lake Falls. Question four was interpreted by some people to apply only to siblings still living, whereas the intent of the question was to determine the total number of children in the respondent's family and the total number, living or dead, of older and younger siblings. Question twenty-eight is ambiguous. The question should read, "Is the language you usually speak now a different language from the one you usually spoke when you were younger?" These problems became apparent very early in the interview process and were corrected by the interviewer administering the survey during the course of each individual or group interview.

In the field two methods were used in administering the survey. On an individual basis the survey was treated as an interview, the questions being read from the form by the interviewer, who also

recorded the responses. This was by far the best method because it provided the most complete information. Fewer questions were skipped, and if the subject of the interview digressed from the main point with additional relevant information, the interviewer could make adequate note of it. In general, people were willing to say a lot more about a subject than they were to write about it. An additional advantage of this method was the personal element added by the interviewer. Since subjects were talking to a person instead of writing for a nameless "someone" who had written a survey somewhere, they were more willing to provide details and to cooperate in recording language data.

A different method was used in administering the survey to groups. Survey forms were distributed, instructions and the two ambiguous questions were explained, and the respondents were then on their own in filling out the questionnaire. The interviewer checked each form for completeness and requested responses to skipped questions. A problem with administering the survey in this way was its length and the number of blanks to be filled in. This was intimidating to some people, and respondents in groups were more likely to skip questions. Factors influencing this may have been the age or level of education of survey participants.

Typically, follow-up questions were the same for both group interviews and individual. Additional information on second language acquisition and use was usually collected. Respondents often volunteered more information on family history and "the way things were" in the community and at home when they were growing up. With groups, conversations on those topics were usually spontaneous.

Language data were collected in a variety of ways. A few groups were told ahead of time that they should expect to speak French, and French conversation was encouraged during the course of the interviews and the following conversations. The tape recorder was left running with the consent of the participants who, in time, got used to its presence. Another approach that worked well was for the interviewer to play songs or jokes recorded in previous interviews. This was usually enough encouragement for the subject to donate something from his own repertoire, or to at least converse in French. Material recorded was transcribed from the tape and, in the case of stories and songs especially, checked for accuracy with a native speaker.

Interview subjects at Red Lake Falls were recruited through the use of social networks. Use of this system of referrals is discussed by Lesley Milroy (1980). A social network is best described as a group of "acquaintances," "friends," or "friends of friends." "It is a mechanism for exchanging goods and services, imposing obligations and conferring rights." Using the mechanism of the social network places the fieldworker in the position of being both an insider and an outsider. Each person interviewed is asked to recommend the interviewer to someone else. Thus, many more doors were opened, and in less time, than would otherwise have been the case. The first group interview at Red Lake Falls exemplifies the use of this technique. An older woman in the community agreed to cooperate in the survey and invited four of her friends to her house to participate in the survey and to pass the evening in conversation. The interview was successful, and each person present recommended six to ten additional subjects. People in this second group always agreed to an interview when the name of the person who made the recommendation was mentioned.

Almost all of the interviews at Red Lake Falls were arranged in this way. This accounts, in part, for the inclusion of relatively few people under the age of fifty in the sample; the older people who were interviewed had few younger people in their social networks.

When younger people were recommended, they were also more likely to decline to be interviewed on the basis that they were too busy or simply did not want to bother. Usually they expressed a concern that they really could not contribute to the survey because they did not speak French or know much about it. People in this category were more likely to agree to an interview if the recommendation had been made by an older relative or peer than they were when recommended by an acquaintance or friend of their parents or grandparents.

Labov (1972) also devotes some discussion to the methodological problems of observing language in its social context. He says the most systematic data for linguistic analysis are obtained when speakers are paying the least amount of attention to monitoring their own speech. The presence of one observer adds to the formality of a situation, and means must be found to direct the speaker's attention away from this constraint. One way to accomplish this is to observe speakers in a normal peer group over a period of time. Another is to involve the speaker in discussion of a topic which recreates strong emotions. Milroy (1980) also notes the importance of collecting examples of vernacular speech as a data base for linguistic analysis and notes that such data are more easily collected from self-recruited groups. These techniques were employed to a degree in recording additional linguistic data during interviews.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY

The area covered by the survey has as its center the city of Red Lake Falls and its immediate vicinity in western Red Lake County, including the rural area between Red Lake Falls and Huot, approximately five miles to the southwest.

French influence in this area can be viewed as occurring in two periods. The first began when French explorers first probed into the territory west of the Great Lakes in the late seventeenth century. By the 1730's trading posts had been established in northern Minnesota where French-Canadian fur traders had lived since as early as 1718 (Benoit 1975). These early traders were largely of French and Indian background, the semi-nomadic Métis.

The Métis tradition represents varying degrees of fusion of French-Canadian cultural and linguistic elements with those of the

Cree and Chippewa. Virgil Benoit describes the Métis way of life in the Red River Valley of the North:

Traditionally in the Red River area, the Métis moved collectively in such a way as to participate in four annual geocultural activities: 1. they trapped and traded in the wooded areas and along waterways; 2. they wintered in communities along the Red River and to the west-north-west in North Dakota; 3. they hunted the buffalo on the prairies; and, 4. they cultivated small plots in subsistence-like fashion in village-like centers. Their manner of living depended on their cultural habits, social preferences, and geographical location (Benoit, in preparation, p. 14).

The Métis were important to the fur trade as both traders in pelts, and as provisioners, supplying meat and pemmican.

In 1844 a trading station was established at Pembina which became an important link between the Red River settlement (at the site of Winnipeg, Manitoba) and St. Paul. Métis traders established regular trade routes and moved goods via the Red River oxcart. Later settlements were often established along these trade routes, often at locations selected by the Métis as in the case of Red Lake Falls (Red Lake Bicentennial Committee 1976). Trade along these routes continued until the 1860s; but, during this time, political and economic changes were taking place which would effect major changes in the Métis way of life.

Although Minnesota was organized as a territory in 1849 and achieved statehood in 1858, large tracts of land in the north were not open for settlement, being in the possession of the Pembina and Red Lake bands of Chippewa, who valued the land as a hunting ground (Bjornson 1969). It was not until 1863 that the United States government was successful in pressuring the Chippewa into signing a treaty ceding to the United States an area approximately 180 miles long and 127 miles wide, at a cost to the U.S. of \$510,000 (Red Lake Falls Bicentennial Committee 1976). This treaty opened approximately three million acres of land to settlement (Benoit 1975), and with the completion of initial surveys and the arrival of the railroad, the way was paved for a period of immigration and agricultural development which began early in the 1870s.

The economic changes concomitant with the arrival of large groups of permanent settlers and concurrent political changes in Minnesota and Canada caused the departure of many of the Métis from Minnesota. According to Benoit:

In an effort to maintain their way of life, many Métis moved west to Saskatchewan with such leaders as Louis Riel. After 1885 when Riel was executed for leading forces of resistance against the Canadian government, many of his followers returned to Manitoba and North Dakota, especially to the Turtle Mountains area (Benoit, in preparation: 17).

How many Métis remained in Minnesota is undetermined although historical records show that many did, such as Pierre Bottineau.

What is now Red Lake County was part of the land ceded by the Cree and Chippewa in 1863 and was settled in the late 1860s and early 1870s. "The west end of the county was originally settled by French-Canadians, and the east end by both Scandinavians and French . . ." (Boughton 1976). The man given credit for founding Red Lake Falls is the Métis voyageur and scout Pierre Bottineau. Bottineau was also one of the original settlers of St. Paul, and founder of the city of Osseo, Minnesota (Red Lake Falls Bicentennial Committee 1976). Bottineau chose the site of Red Lake Falls; was instrumental in bringing groups of French-Canadian settlers from St. Paul, Canada, and the East; and served in local government for several years. Founded in 1876, Red Lake Falls was incorporated as a village in 1881, and as a city in 1898.

The group of permanent settlers who began to arrive in the 1860s includes French-Canadians from eastern Canada who represent a second wave of French influence distinct from that of the early Métis influence in Red Lake Falls and northern Minnesota. In fact, the Métis presence was still felt, though to a lesser degree, because of social pressures accompanying the political and economic changes taking place since the 1840s. "It is in this period of social turmoil that one finds the roots of prejudices favoring a system of sociocultural institutions and values of a European nature as opposed to the customs and traditions of Indian and Métis life along the Red River" (Benoit, in preparation: 13).

Census figures for this period show the rapid population growth and large influx of immigrants. Polk County, which included Red Lake and Pennington counties, in 1880, had a total population of 11,460. Of that total 5,697 persons (48.7%) were "native born," and 5,736 (50.3%) were "foreign born." The 1890 census shows a 163% increase in total population, or 30,892 resident, 15,501 (50.17%) of whom were "native born" and 14,691 (49.83%) "foreign born." No figures are available on the specific national origins of immigrants in these groups. One segment of the population wasn't growing. The 1880 census counted 163 "civilized Indians." This number had decreased to sixteen in 1890.

After the turn of the century, immigration had slowed considerably. Statistics on the number of immigrants arriving in a given year are not available for individual counties, but the 1920 census gives figures for the entire state (see Table 1). There is no reason to assume that this pattern applies evenly to the whole state, but it does serve to indicate a general trend.

TABLE 1

Minnesota Migration Patterns before 1920

<u>Time of Immigration</u>	<u>Number of Male Immigrants</u>	<u>Number of Female Immigrants</u>	<u>% of Total 1920 Immigrant Population (486,795)</u>
1918-19	1,652	1,594	.66
1916-17	2,542	2,050	.94
1911-15	28,119	16,614	9.18
1906-10	32,514	19,521	10.68
1901-05	32,058	20,218	10.73
Before 1900	165,642	121,373	58.96

Data for 8.81% of the
total is not available.

(Bureau of the Census, 1920)

The first population figures for Red Lake County with its present boundaries come from the census of 1910. Red Lake County, in that year, had a total population of 6,564. Of these, 1,706 (26%) were "foreign born," 3,773 (57%) were "of foreign parentage," and 1,083 (17%) were "native born." Seven hundred and thirty-five persons (12% of the total 1910 population) were first generation French-Canadian immigrants, 1,269 (9.33%) had French-Canadian parents, 249 (3.79%) were born of French parents, and two were first generation French immigrants. The population of the city of Red Lake Falls at this time was 1,885.

The register of births for the city of Red Lake Falls gives some indication of the composition of the population in the community's early years. Unfortunately, the entire register was unavailable for examination at the time of this study. The first page of the register is reproduced in the Red Lake County Bicentennial Committee's history (1976) and records births during the first two years of the town's history, 1876 to 1878. Of the thirty-two children born, twenty-nine were described as "French." Two are listed as "three-fourths French" (one of these a grandchild of Pierre Bottineau), and one is "one-half French." Both parents of sixteen of the children were born in Canada, fourteen entries listed both parents as born in Minnesota, one had one parent from Canada and the other from Missouri, and one listed both parents as coming from Wisconsin. This listing gives the name LaBrie and describes the child as "one-half French". LaBrie is also the name of the couple from Canada and Missouri. Other families with common surnames have common places of origin as well.

What the census and township records show is that Red Lake Falls, in the beginning, was a predominantly French community whose first settlers were families already established in the United States for at least a generation. These original French-Canadian and Métis settlers were soon joined by a larger number of more recent immigrants from

Canada, and, shortly thereafter, Europeans. The largest number of immigrants arrived in the first twenty years of the town's existence although declining numbers of immigrants continued to arrive after the turn of the century. A further examination of the register of births and other township and church records is needed to provide more detail on the background of the early French settlers and the arrival of other immigrant groups.

Once they had arrived, immigrants did not always stay. For example, in the nearby community of Gentilly it is estimated that forty-nine families left the area between 1882 and 1889 (Benoit 1975). In this study, preliminary interviews with residents of Red Lake Falls on the subject of family history showed that many families had distant relatives in Washington State because relatives of their ancestors had moved on to that location. Furthermore, many French-Canadian immigrants had originally settled in New England before moving to Red Lake Falls.

Traditionally the Catholic church has played an important role in the lives of French-Canadians. In 1878 the parish of St. Joseph's was established in Red Lake Falls. Until that time French-speaking Catholics in the area had been served by a missionary priest. In 1883 the congregation split, and St. Mary's church was established. St. Joseph's was predominantly French and was served by French and Canadian religious orders until 1952 when the two congregations were joined. In 1929 membership in the parish was 250 families; in 1976 membership was 300 families (Red Lake Falls Bicentennial Committee 1976). The establishment of the Lutheran Church at Red Lake Falls in 1882, and the Presbyterian around 1890, probably coincides with increases in the populations of other immigrant groups.

After the initial period of settlement and growth Red Lake Falls' population has remained fairly stable. The smallest population for the city after this period was reported in 1930 as 1,386. Since then the population has steadily increased to its present estimated level of approximately 2,000. The economy of the area is still based on agriculture, with some light industry.

According to the 1980 census figures, the total population of Red Lake County is 5,471. Of this number, sixty-two persons (1.13% of the total population) are "foreign born" (see Table 2). All but seven of these are naturalized citizens. Thirty-nine of the sixty-two immigrants arrived sometime before 1950. More detail about the ages and specific years of immigration of these people is not available from census data.

TABLE 2

1980 Red Lake Falls Immigrant Population

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>Foreign-Born Persons (62)</u>
Germany	9
Italy	2
Sweden	4
Other European	13
USSR	3
Korea	2
Canada	29

(Bureau of the Census, 1980)

Information on the ancestry of residents of Red Lake County in 1980 is collected in Table 5. Of those reporting their ancestry, 3,304 claimed to belong to a single ancestry group while 1,922 claimed multiple ancestry groups. Ancestry was not specified by 245 persons.

Of the 5,004 persons over the age of five years counted in the 1980 census, 538 persons (9.83% of the total population) speak a language at home other than English. Specific information is shown in Table 3. No attempt is made in the census to ascertain the individuals' native language, degree of fluency in the other language, or frequency of its use. However, persons who speak a language other than English in their home were asked to rate their fluency in English (see Table 4).

TABLE 3

Languages Spoken in Red Lake County

<u>Language Spoken at Home</u>	<u>Persons 5-17 Years (1,362)</u>	<u>Persons 18 Years and Older (3,642)</u>
English Only	1,356	3,110
French	-	248
German	-	43
Italian	-	2
Polish	-	4
Spanish	-	6
Other	6	229

(Bureau of the Census, 1980)

TABLE 4

Fluency in English of Persons Speaking a Language
Other than English in the Home

Speak English Very Well	408
Speak English Well	101
Speak English Not Well or Not at All	29
5-13 Years Old	0
14-17 Years Old	0
18-24 Years Old	2
25 Years and Older	27

(Bureau of the Census, 1980)

The background and present composition of the population of Red Lake County pose a series of questions relating to the Red Lake Falls dialect of French. In particular, the Métis presence early in the history of the area can be expected to have had some influence on the language. It remains to be seen if there is any connection between Michif, the language of many Métis, and Red Lake Falls French.

A similar question could be asked about dialect difference within the group of French-speaking settlers. Did the dialects of settlers coming from such diverse areas as Missouri, Maine, and Quebec have many differences, and if so, how did these factors interact, and what was the effect of this interaction on the language?

The composition and distribution of the immigrant population, in both the past and present, have implication for this study in the area of language attitudes, patterns of language use, and mother-tongue retention. Some important observations here are the concentration of the French population in western Red Lake County, the maintenance of a separate parish by Catholic French-Canadians, the number of persons in the present population who claim only French ancestry, and the number of people who use French in their homes. "French" is the largest single ancestry group claimed in the 1980 census. The largest multiple ancestry group is made up of those claiming "German and Others" (see Table 5). The fact that there are more persons claiming to be of pure French ancestry than pure German, and fewer persons claiming mixed French descent than German, in connection with the above historical observation, implies four possible hypotheses: 1) that no significant attitude or other social factor accounts for this distribution of the population; 2) that the French were separated geographically or socially from other ethnic groups; 3) that the smaller population of other ethnic groups forced them to intermarry more than the French; and 4) that people tend to make claims about their ancestry based on reasons relating to status.

TABLE 5

Red Lake County Residents Claiming Single
and Multiple Ancestry

<u>Single Ancestry Group</u>		<u>Multiple Ancestry Group</u>	
French	1,001	French and Others	877
Norwegian	938		
German	847	German and Others	1,062
Other	233		
Irish	92	Irish and Others	294
Swedish	86		
Polish	33	Polish and Others	39
English	28	English and Others	161
Dutch	25		
Scottish	13		
Italian	5		
Russian	3		

(Bureau of the Census, 1980)

Some 1980 census data have a direct bearing on the discussion of mother-tongue retention at Red Lake Falls. Of the 538 persons who use another language in their homes (see Table 3), 248 (46%) use French. German speakers constitute the next largest group of forty-three (7.9%). The ratio of persons claiming any French ancestry to those claiming any German is .98/1. The ratio of those who use French to those who use German is 5.76/1. The assumption is made here, although the questions of ancestry and language use are unrelated in the census, that those who use French are of French descent, and those who use German are of German descent. In this small midwestern farming community it seems unlikely that a "foreign" language would be used in the home, so these languages were probably learned within the family. The questions are, therefore, "Why are so many more people likely to speak French than German?" or, "Why do more persons of French ancestry retain their language than persons in other ethnic groups?" The survey seeks to provide clues for identifying the mechanisms of support within the French-speaking community at Red Lake Falls, and the weaknesses in communication with surrounding communities that allow this smaller linguistic community to exist within a larger, English-speaking one.

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY RESULTS

The survey was conducted in June of 1984. Thirty-four people, twenty-three female and eleven male, completed the survey and participated in follow-up interviews. Survey participants ranged in age from eleven to ninety-two years (see Table 6). All survey participants currently live in the immediate vicinity of Red Lake Falls, either in town or within seven miles. Some participants have lived at the same address for as long as eighty-two years; others, usually those retired from farming, have moved into town in recent years. Two of the survey participants were born in Canada; the remaining thirty-two were born in Red Lake, Polk, and Pennington counties. All have lived most of their lives in the Red Lake Falls area.

TABLE 6

Age Distribution of Participants
(34 total)

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number Surveyed</u>
5-19 Yrs.	2
20-39 Yrs.	1
40-59 Yrs.	8
60-79 Yrs.	16
Over 79 Yrs.	7

For the purposes of this survey the population is divided into four categories: first generation, those persons of foreign birth; second generation, children of immigrants; third generation, grandchildren of immigrants; and fourth generation, great-grandchildren of immigrants. Table 7 shows the four classifications broken down by age group. Persons in the second generation category may have one parent born in the United States, as is the case for one-third of those in this category. Third and fourth generations have at least one-half of their grandparents or great-grandparents listed as "foreign-born." Both individuals in the first generation classification arrived in the Red Lake Falls area with their parents, one at the age of five, the other at eleven.

TABLE 7

Classification and Age Groups
of Survey Sample (33 total)

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Classification</u>			
	<u>1st Gen.</u>	<u>2nd Gen.</u>	<u>3rd Gen.</u>	<u>4th Gen.</u>
5-19 Yrs.	-	-	-	2
20-39 Yrs.	-	-	-	1
40-59 Yrs.	-	1	4	2
60-79 Yrs.	1	8	7	-
over 79 Yrs.	1	6	-	-

Participants in the survey were asked to select from a list the ethnic terms they use to describe themselves (see Table 8). This question was included partially so the sample could be controlled, but also as an indication of the individual's identification with a particular ethnic group.

TABLE 8

Ancestry (34 total)

French	17
American	5
French-Canadian	2
American and French	7
American and French-Canadian	1
French and German	1
French, French-Canadian, and American	1

Terms were selected with about even frequency in all age groups and classifications with one notable exception. The five who selected only "American" were members of the third and fourth generation. In follow-up interviews these people indicated that they were aware of their French-Canadian ancestry. No one gave a specific reason for making the choice, or indicated a conscious decision not to be associated with any ethnic group. The question appears to be not only one of ancestry but of language use as well. Those who chose only "American" spoke French "very little" or "not at all." Furthermore, they indicated that, even though they may have some ability to speak or understand it, they do not make any attempt to use the language.

Those in the third and fourth generation who chose "French" or "French-Canadian" with or without "American" can either speak some French, and occasionally do, or have at least a few phrases, or in one subject's terms, "buzz words," which they use on occasion.

The self-reported data on linguistic performance of five people is not enough evidence to form the basis of generalizations which extend to the entire community; however, other observations and material gathered during interviews support the above suggestion that ethnic identification is linked to use of the language. Historically, the term "French," as used in the Red Lake Falls area, has not been limited to describing the people from France. It includes French-Canadians and their descendants (as in the register of births), in other words, people who could be expected to speak French. Furthermore, when an older person taking part in the study was asked to recommend someone who could tell stories or speak the language, the response was often something like, "Oh, _____ can help you. He's a real Frenchman." The informant did not mean the man had come from France, only that he had a good command of the language. The same people also referred, on occasion, to people who speak English as "English people" or "English," even when they were talking about a group of Scandinavians or Germans.

The implication of these observations is that the French language has a function in the community of identifying its members. How this relates to other social factors within the community, particularly those associated with the cultural identity of the group such as language maintenance or the borrowing of "foreign" cultural elements, should be established through more detailed study.

English is the predominant language at Red Lake Falls; however, twenty-four (70%) of the thirty-nine people surveyed listed French as their first language. Survey questions relating to patterns of language use and acquisition provide information for characterizing the French community as being a speech community that has undergone mother-tongue shift rather than a stable bilingual community.

Since mother-tongue shift, by definition, occurs between two generations, dramatic changes in patterns of language acquisition might be expected. Relatively rapid shifts have been documented in Finnish (Karttunen 1977) and Norwegian (Haugen 1972c) immigrant populations. Table 9, however, shows an apparently gradual shift. This gradual shift could be explained by the fact that immigration continued in this area for an extended period, and families have therefore been in the area for varying amounts of time. Tables 10 and 11 provide further information on this point.

TABLE 9

Native Language Acquisition by Generations

<u>Generation</u>	<u>English as First Language</u>	<u>French as First Language</u>
1st (2)	0	(2) 100%
2nd (15)	(1) 7%	(14) 93%
3rd (11)	(4) 36%	(7) 64%
4th (5)	(4) 80%	(1) 20%

TABLE 10

Native Language Acquisition by Age Groups

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>English as First Language</u>	<u>French a First Language</u>
Over 79 Yrs. (7)	0	(7) 100%
60-79 Yrs. (16)	(1) 6%	(15) 94%
50-59 Yrs. (2)	0	(2) 100%
40-49 Yrs. (6)	(6) 100%	0
Under 40 Yrs. (3)	(3) 100%	0

TABLE 11

Comparison of Native Languages by Age and
Generational Groupings

<u>Generation</u>	<u>% over Age 50</u>	<u>% Native French Speakers</u>
1st Gen.	100%	100%
2nd Gen.	89%	89%
3rd Gen.	72%	64%
4th Gen.	20%	20%

(For purposes of this comparison, the 40-59 year category is divided.)

The tables show that no one in the survey under the age of fifty years had acquired French as a native language, and only one person over the age of fifty years had acquired English as a native language, a woman sixty-four years old, in the third generation. Although it seems very unlikely that a change would be so abrupt, and there may be other, older offspring of French-speaking parents who acquired English as a first language, information gained from an interview with the woman (subject #21) and her mother (subject #2) shows that her case may indeed be atypical for the Red Lake Falls community.

Subject #2's mother was born in Canada and raised near Red Lake Falls. Her father was born and raised in a community in southern Minnesota. He spoke French and English fluently, preferring English. When subject #2 started school, the family switched from the use of French in the home to English. Subject #2 recalls how difficult it was for her to learn English at this time, and for this reason, knowing that eventually her children would be required to learn English, she taught them, including subject #21, English as their first language. Another reason is revealed in her response to question number thirty, where she rates her ability to speak French as "very little."

Information on the past habits of language use of individuals gathered as a response to question twenty-seven, which asked survey participants to indicate the language usually used in certain situations, shows a pattern of bilingualism with English gradually becoming more and more predominant until a complete shift in mother tongue occurred approximately fifty to fifty-five years ago (see Table 12).

TABLE 12

Language Usually Spoken in Past Situations, by Age Group

<u>Situation</u>	<u>Persons over 79 Years</u>		<u>Persons 60 to 79 Years</u>		<u>Persons 50 to 59 Years</u>	
	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>
With Friends	60%	40%	43%	57%	0%	100%
To Older Siblings in School	60%	40%	56%	44%	0%	100%
To Younger Siblings Not in School	100%	0%	60%	40%	0%	100%
To Relatives	100%	0%	86%	14%	50%	50%

All survey participants over fifty years old said French was the main language used in their homes when they were children, with the exception of subject #21, discussed above.

None of the people surveyed who are under the age of fifty listed French for any of the choices, even though many of them do have some knowledge of the language. All of the groups reported that English was the language they used in school with the exception of one Canadian-born woman who was educated in Montreal. In fact, most said that English was the only language they were allowed to use in school, both in class and during recesses.

In explaining their choice of language used with friends, people were often careful to explain that French usually was spoken "with French friends and English with English." One eighty-four-year-old man explains that he spoke English with his German friends. There were several German families in his area although "not many people associated with the Germans." The changes between the oldest and second oldest group in the number of people using English with friends may reflect four possible trends: a rising number of non-French speaking immigrants in the area and the attendant need for English as a lingua franca; a trend for people to associate more with other ethnic groups already present in the area; a greater acceptance of the English language by the French; or, the most likely, a combination of these factors. Distinguishing between these factors is not as easy as it would seem because, unfortunately, the amount of contact between ethnic groups in the area during the early period of the history of Red Lake County is not easily documented. Early census figures, for example, do not distinguish between various immigrant groups.

There is virtually no change between the two older groups in the number of people who used French with older siblings while they were

growing up. People in both groups often remarked that they used French at home and English away from home with this group. On the other hand, a large change occurred in the use of English with younger siblings not yet in school, which, in connection with the increased amount of English being spoken with relatives by the second oldest group, probably implies a greater acceptance of English by the French as a group. Apparently the younger children in this situation learned French as their first language and were being given a "head start" on their English for school by older brothers and sisters.

In discussing their reasons for changing from French to English, survey participants usually mentioned two in particular: the increased number of people in the area who didn't speak French, and the gradually lessening influence of relatives who had insisted on the family's speaking French.

Sometimes the main reason a person spoke French was to be able to communicate with older relatives, or because conservative parents insisted that the French language be spoken at home. When the child left home, or the older relatives died, there was a decreased need, or opportunity, to speak French. The latter is the situation in the case of a man seventy-three years old who says his main language was French until seven years ago when his father died. The necessity of maintaining French for communication with older family members shows up in the fifty-fifty split between English and French in this category among the fifty to fifty-nine years old group (see Table 12). This is the only category other than "in the home" in which French was usually used by any members of this age group.

Education was also an important factor in the shift from the French mother tongue to English. The school setting provided the child's contact with the English language as well as contacts with children of other ethnic groups. Although this study has no direct way of measuring the relationship between fluency in French and English and the number of years spent in school, it seems likely that there is a correlation between the amount of education an individual had and the likelihood of his/her teaching English to his/her children as a first language. Table 13 shows the mean number of years in school for members of each age group.

TABLE 13

Education Level by Age Group

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number Surveyed Who Attended College</u>	<u>Avg. Number of Years in School for Non-College</u>
Over 79 Yrs.	3	6.6
60-79 Yrs.	0	7.8
40-59 Yrs.	2	11
Under 40 Yrs.	2	8*

*Non-college participants under 40 who are still in school.

The church has been proposed as a strong influence for language maintenance among the Franco-American communities of New England (Fishman 1966). Survey data and information from interviews seem to indicate a connection between the church and language maintenance, or shift, at Red Lake Falls. Whether changes in the local parishes influenced the situation in the community or only reflect it cannot be determined by this survey.

Of the thirty-four persons surveyed, thirty-two attend church. All thirty-two are Roman Catholic. Table 14 shows frequency of church attendance in order to demonstrate individual involvement with the church as a possible indirect indication of the church's potential as an influence or mirror of linguistic behavior.

TABLE 14

Church Attendance among Catholics Surveyed

<u>Number of Individuals (32*)</u>	<u>Number of Masses Attended per Month</u>
9	1-4
16	5-6
2	6-10
3	11-13
1	16-20

*One person, surveyed but not represented in these figures, was a priest.

None of the thirty-two Catholics surveyed reported the contemporary use of French in connection with religious services. Twenty-two of them reported that at one time French was regularly used at the church they attended. Several elaborated in interviews, saying that as recently as thirty years ago one of the Sunday masses at St. Joseph's, in Red Lake Falls, was in French. This would have been up to the time the parishes of St. Joseph's and St. Mary's were reunited. Another interview subject gives the year 1938 as being the last year French was used at St. Peter's church in Gentilly. This time period for the decreasing use of French in the mass coincides with the decreasing acquisition of French as a native tongue.

In order to describe current patterns of language use by individuals in the community, survey participants were asked to indicate how frequently French is used by various age groups in their families (see Table 15).

TABLE 15

Current Frequency of Use of French among Age Groups

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Frequency</u>				
	<u>Always</u>	<u>Over 1/2 Time</u>	<u>1/2 Time</u>	<u>Less than 1/2 Time</u>	<u>Never</u>
20-40 Yrs.				11%	89%
40-60 Yrs.				59%	41%
Over 60 Yrs.	3%	7%	19%	58%	13%
Between Those 40 to 60 and Those over 60			15%	63%	22%
Between Those 20-40 and Those over 60				8%	92%

(All other categories in question thirty-one were 100% "never.")

Question thirty-two of the survey asks individuals to report how frequently they use French in a variety of situations. People under forty years of age reported that they never use French in the situations listed. Tables 16, 17, and 18 summarize the responses of the remaining age groups. Not all of the people who reported speaking French in these situations are native French speakers. There was no apparent connection between a speaker's generation and his/her reported use of the French language.

TABLE 16

Use of French in Selected Situations by
Those over Seventy-Nine Years Old

<u>Situation</u>	<u>Frequency</u>				
	<u>Always</u>	<u>Over 1/2 Time</u>	<u>1/2 Time</u>	<u>Less than 1/2 Time</u>	<u>Never</u>
At Parties with Friends		14%		28%	58%
Elsewhere with Friends			28%	58%	14%
With Relatives		33%	17%	33%	17%
At Family Gatherings		40%		40%	20%

TABLE 17

Use of French in Selected Situations by
Those Sixty to Seventy-Nine Years Old

<u>Situation</u>	<u>Frequency</u>				
	<u>Always</u>	<u>Over 1/2 Time</u>	<u>1/2 Time</u>	<u>Less than 1/2 Time</u>	<u>Never</u>
At Parties with Friends		12 1/2%	12 1/2%	25%	50%
Elsewhere with Friends			13%	56%	31%
With Relatives		6%	25%	63%	6%
At Family Gatherings			20%	33%	47%

TABLE 18

Use of French in Selected Situations by
Those Forty to Fifty-Nine Years Old

	Frequency				
<u>Situation</u>	<u>Always</u>	<u>Over 1/2 Time</u>	<u>1/2 Time</u>	<u>Less than 1/2 Time</u>	<u>Never</u>
At Parties with Friends				37%	63%
Elsewhere with Friends				37%	63%
With Relatives				63%	37%
At Family Gatherings				63%	37%

Those surveyed were also asked on the questionnaire, and in the interview, to list other situations when they might speak French. No other situations were named.

Survey participants were also asked to rate their competence in the use of French and English. This information examined by age groups (see Tables 19, 20, 21, and 22) has implications for the analysis of both current and past patterns of language use.

TABLE 19

Linguistic Performance of Those over Seventy-Nine Years Old

<u>Function</u>	<u>Skill Level</u>				
	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>Not At All</u>
Understand French	86%	14%			
Speak French	72%	14%	14%		
Read French		16%	28%	28%	28%
Write French	16%			27%	57%
Understand English	86%	14%			
Speak English	71%	29%			
Read English	57%	43%			
Write English	57%	43%			

TABLE 20

Linguistic Performance of
Those Sixty to Seventy-Nine Years Old

<u>Function</u>	<u>Skill Level</u>				
	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>Not At All</u>
Understand French	67%	23%	10%		
Speak French	56%	31%	13%		
Read French	7%		13%	40%	40%
Write French	7%	7%	7%	7%	72%
Understand English	75%	19%	6%		
Speak English	67%	23%	10%		
Read English	57%	37%		1%	5%
Write English	42%	44%		7%	7%

TABLE 21

Linguistic Performance of
Those Forty to Fifty-Nine Years Old

<u>Function</u>	<u>Skill Level</u>				
	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>Not At All</u>
Understand French	38%	25%	12%	25%	
Speak French	11%		28%	50%	11%
Read French	13%		13%	13%	61%
Write French	12 1/2%			12 1/2%	75%
Understand English	88%		12%		
Speak English	88%	12%			
Read English	88%	12%			
Write English	88%		12%		

TABLE 22

Linguistic Performance of Those under Forty Years Old

<u>Function</u>	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>Not At All</u>
Understand French			33 1/3%	33 1/3%	33 1/3%
Speak French			34%		66%
Read French			34%		66%
Write French					100%
Understand English	100%				
Speak English	100%				
Read English	100%				
Write English	100%				

Current patterns in the use of French in Red Lake Falls are a result of the interaction of various factors including the habits of French speakers who continue to use the language in the same situations they always have. For example, some people speak French with some friends and English with others--even when those others

speak French--for no other reason than habit. Lesser social pressures, such as the need to be polite, are also factors. It is considered very rude to speak French in the presence of anyone who may not understand it. For these reasons it is possible for two French speakers to know each other for many years and for neither one to realize that the other speaks French. Other social and psychological factors may include the possible "group identification" functions of use of the language, and individual attitudes toward the status of the language. Many people feel that it is somehow inferior to European or Canadian French. Fluency also plays an important role in establishing social patterns. Even though a speaker may not be fluent, there are still times when he/she will use French.

Another aspect of the patterns of language behavior considered in this study is code switching. The older speakers in the survey, also the most fluent group, tended to code switch more than younger, less fluent groups (see Table 23).

TABLE 23

Code Switching by Age Groups

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Reported Switching</u>	
	<u>From French to English</u>	<u>From English to French</u>
Over 79 Yrs.	100%	100%
69-79 Yrs.	81%	0%
40-59 Yrs.	33%	33%
Under 40 Yrs.	33%	0%

A limited amount of code switching was observed and the topic was discussed in interviews. Reasons the subjects gave to explain code switching are that some things "sound better" to them in one language or the other, and that "you can't always say what you want in French." There was no pattern in the topics people mentioned as being likely to cause them to change languages. Speakers who are fluent apparently code switch for effect, to make a joke in one language or to take advantage of certain nuances of meaning or sound. Speakers who are not fluent switch back to their native language to express their basic meaning. This accounts for the one-way switching in those under forty. In either case the speakers are making maximum use of the systems available to them.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Indications from the survey data are that the French community at Red Lake Falls existed as a relatively stable bilingual community from the time of its establishment in the early 1870s until the mid-1930s. During this sixty-year period, French-speaking parents continued to pass French on to their children as a mother tongue. Also during this period, the use of English was increasing in the community.

Factors responsible for the increasing tendency for French residents of the community to speak English include a decreasing number of new French immigrants, the presence of a relatively large population of non-francophone settlers, decreasing contact with the French language spoken in Canada and other areas of the United States, and, probably the largest single influence, public education in English. Since the establishment of Red Lake Falls the first language children were taught to read and write had been English. At the end of sixty years the French at Red Lake Falls were probably completely separated from the written traditions of their language, and from the support for language maintenance such traditions provide.

Institutional support from the Catholic Church was also removed at this time when French was no longer a part of religious services. Catechism in French was also replaced by the Baltimore Catechism in English.

The end result of the interaction of these factors was a seemingly abrupt period of mother tongue shift which took place in the 1930s. Although the survey data seem to indicate that there was a clear point in time when children of native French-speaking parents acquired English instead of French as a native language, use of French outside the home had apparently been on the decline for some time before this. By this time the only real reason to speak French was to communicate with older, monolingual relatives.

The indications of linguistic conservatism shown by the survey data for speakers of French, and their parents and grandparents, are supported by indirect evidence from census data which indicates that the French had a greater tendency to retain their language than other ethnic groups in the area. This is also a characteristic of French groups studied elsewhere in the United States (Fishman 1966). Other evidence in the survey implies that the language has an important function in establishing ethnic identity. This function of the language probably accounts for the linguistic conservatism at Red Lake Falls.

Responses to the attitude section of the survey indicate that people perceive virtually no difference between the French and other ethnic groups in the area. Older participants indicate that they have watched the differences disappear with time. This implies not the merging of diverse traditions but the disappearance of a cultural identity. The identifying traits of the French ethnic group mentioned

by people responding to these questions were food and language. While many of the younger people surveyed proclaimed a dislike for pea soup and blood sausage, respondents to question number thirty-six were unanimous in saying they enjoyed hearing French spoken, even though they might not completely understand it. Sadly, the resources for preserving the language so that this will be possible beyond the near future are rapidly disappearing, the most fluent speakers of the language having reached their seventies and eighties.

In responding to question thirty-six, one seventy-six-year-old man said he was "proud to be French" and liked to hear the language, but strongly felt that "groups shouldn't try to be different from each other. You take the best parts from each group and use it to build something new, and that's what America did." Another man who also liked hearing the language used did not think it was a good idea to teach children French because "it mixes a kid up to learn both languages." Others, expressing a feeling of loss, said they regret not teaching their children French. Some have even tried, without much success, to teach their grandchildren the language, the difficulty, as they see it, being that they do not have enough contact with the children to be able to teach them more than a few words.

Concerning the linguistic description of Red Lake Falls French, only very broad generalizations can be made from the data gathered as part of the survey. The texts in Appendix B are perhaps more interesting as cultural artifacts than linguistic data, representing, as they do, somewhat formal speech. Phonological variations exist between speakers, and within individual speech styles, but study of a larger body of data is necessary to determine which, if any, of the variations are of social significance.

The general attitude of French speakers at Red Lake Falls toward their language is that it is somehow debased in relation to "the real French" (standard European French). People often comment that it is "mixed up with English" or "broken." These last comments may be references to English loan words or code switching. Very little switching was observed, but some vernacular speech was recorded in which English connectives (and, but) were inserted into French sentences.

Vernacular speech is difficult to elicit for several reasons. People are reluctant to speak French in the presence of someone who they think does not understand it. On the other hand, if the researcher speaks a French dialect other than the one of the area, people are also reluctant to talk, either out of a fear of not being understood or out of a fear of a negative reaction to their language. More time than was available for this study is needed to overcome the barrier that these reactions create for the elicitation of data.

Along with a larger body of linguistic data the study of a larger population in future research might provide data for accurate statistical assessment of the language situations discussed in Chapter IV. Including other ethnic groups in the survey as well would allow the comparison of patterns of language retention and use in diverse groups, and provide a more detailed assessment of the sociolinguistic environment of the area.

APPENDIX A

LANGUAGE SURVEY

A. PERSONAL DATA

1. Name: _____ Date: __/__/__
2. Age: _____ Male _____
Female _____
3. What is the highest grade or degree you completed in school? _____
4. How many older brothers do you have? _____ Sisters? _____
How many younger brothers do you have? _____ Sisters? _____
5. Residence: _____

- How long have you lived at that address? _____
6. Where were you born? _____
7. Where else have you lived? _____
For how long (all together)? _____
8. Do you attend church? yes _____ no _____
If yes, approximately how many times a month? _____
Which church? _____
9. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations? yes _____ no _____
If yes, which ones? _____
10. Which of the following terms would you use to describe yourself? (More than one may apply.)
American _____ French-Canadian _____ French _____ German _____
Canadian _____ Franco-American _____ Métis _____ Norwegian _____
Native American _____ Other (specify) _____

B. FAMILY HISTORY

In section B answer as specifically as possible. If you aren't sure of a city, name the state/province or country, if possible. If you don't know the answer to a question leave it blank. Sources for information may be things like observation, assumption, word-of-mouth, etc.

11. Have you, or has anyone you know of, traced your "family tree?" yes _____ no _____
If yes, approximately how far back? _____
12. Where was your mother born? _____
13. Where was your father born? _____
14. Did either of your parents live outside the Red Lake Falls area? yes _____ no _____
If yes, where? _____
For how long? _____
15. Where were your grandparents born?
mother's father: _____
mother's mother: _____
father's father: _____
father's mother: _____
16. Where were your great-grandparents born?
mother's father's mother: _____
mother's father's father: _____
mother's mother's mother: _____
mother's mother's father: _____
father's father's mother: _____
father's father's father: _____
father's mother's mother: _____
father's mother's father: _____
17. What is your source for this information? _____
18. What language(s) did your parents speak?
mother's "first" language: _____
other (specify): _____

father's "first" language: _____
 other (specify): _____

19. What language(s) did your grandparents speak?

mother's father's "first" language: _____
 other (specify): _____

mother's mother's "first" language: _____
 other (specify): _____

father's father's "first" language: _____
 other (specify): _____

father's mother's "first" language: _____
 other (specify): _____

20. What language(s) did your great-grandparents speak?

father's family: _____

mother's family: _____

21. What is your source for this information? _____

C. LANGUAGE HABITS

22. Have you ever studied a language other than English in school? yes ___ no ___

If yes, what language? _____

Why? ___ required

___ personal interest

___ parents' idea

___ already familiar with the language

___ other (specify) _____

23. Are you able to: YES NO
- understand French _____
- speak French _____
- read French _____
- write French _____

24. Is French used in the services at the church you attend?
 yes ___ no ___ only on special occasions (explain) _____

Was French spoken in the church you attended when you were younger? yes, regularly ___ no, never ___ on the same occasions as above ___ don't remember ___

25. What was the first language you learned to speak as a child? English ___ French ___ other (specify) _____

If French is your first language, how old were you when you learned English? _____ Where did you learn to speak English? _____

26. What was the first language you learned to read and write?
 English ___ French ___ other (specify) _____ none ___

27. When you were growing up, what languages did you usually speak in the following situations? (check one)

	<u>French</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>other (specify)</u>
at home:	_____	_____	_____
at school:	_____	_____	_____
with friends:	_____	_____	_____
to older brothers and sisters in school:	_____	_____	_____
to younger brothers and sisters not in school:	_____	_____	_____
to relatives:	_____	_____	_____

28. Is the language you usually speak now different from the language you usually spoke when you were younger?
 yes ___ no ___

If yes, approximately when did you switch? _____

Was there a reason for changing that you were aware of? (If so please explain briefly.) _____

29. Do you ever begin a conversation in French then switch to English? yes ___ no ___

Switch to French from English? yes ___ no ___

Is there a reason that you are aware of? (If so, please explain briefly.) _____

30. How well are you able to:

	very well	well	some	very little	not at all
understand French	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
speak French	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
read French	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
write French	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
understand English	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
speak English	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
read English	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
write English	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

31. If a language other than English is known in your family what is the language? _____

How frequently is it used in the following groups?

	always	over $\frac{1}{2}$ the time	$\frac{1}{2}$ time	less than $\frac{1}{2}$ time	never
among children (5-20)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
among young adults (20-40)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
among middle aged adults (40-60)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
among elderly (over 60)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
between elderly and middle aged	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
between elderly and young adult	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
between elderly and children	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
between middle aged and young adults	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
between middle aged and children	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
between young adults and children	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

32. How often do you use French in the following situations?

	always	over $\frac{1}{2}$ the time	$\frac{1}{2}$ time	less than $\frac{1}{2}$ time	never
at parties with friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
elsewhere with friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
with relatives	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
at family gatherings	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
other (specify) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

33. In your family do people ever talk in French to other people who answer them in English? yes___no___

A. Some older people speak French to some younger people who answer in English:

always___usually___ $\frac{1}{2}$ time___seldom___never___

B. Some younger people speak French to some older people who answer them in English:

always___usually___ $\frac{1}{2}$ time___seldom___never___

Has either of these situations ever existed in your family? yes___no___

If yes, was it situation A or B? _____

D. ATTITUDE SURVEY

If your family is of French or Canadian origin please take a few minutes to briefly answer these questions. Use the back side of these pages if you need more space.

34. What are the things in your family that are 'typically' French-Canadian?

35. Are French-Canadians different from other nationalities in the area? How?
36. Do you like to hear French (even though you might not understand it)? Would you like to study French yourself, or have your children or grandchildren learn it? Why, or why not?
37. Who speaks (spoke) the better French in your family, men, women, neither? What members of the family still speak French? Did you speak French more with your mother (grandmother) or your father (grandfather)?

APPENDIX B

The stories and songs in this appendix were recorded and later transcribed using standard French orthography with some slight modifications made to accommodate the most obvious phonological variations found in Red Lake Falls French. In the case of Text #1 the international phonetic alphabet was used. When possible, transcriptions were verified with the source, or in some cases, with other native speakers. These transcriptions are presented here with English translations.

Red Lake Falls French is not usually written. Those few people who indicated in the survey that they have some knowledge of written French, rarely, if ever, use that skill, although a few of the older residents occasionally correspond with relatives in Canada. No examples of written forms were available for study. Because of the above factors, and the situation of Red Lake Falls French in relation to English, there is no standard orthography which accurately represents the language.

To apply the standards of the orthography of Parisian French to this unwritten dialect, which has been probably separated from standard European French since the seventeenth century, is misleading though in some ways useful. First, it places the reader in familiar territory, so to speak; and, second, until the phonological and syntactic structures of Red Lake Falls French are more completely understood, looking at the dialect

in this way provides points for comparison and contrast useful for describing the language.

In effect, with the texts transcribed in what is more or less standard French orthography, Red Lake Falls French has been represented as if the phonological component or the language were European French. (This may be checked against the phonetic transcription in the first text.) The sentence structure, however, is that of Red Lake Falls. Colloquialisms and items of Canadian or apparently local origin have been retained. Some of these points of usage may be unknown or ungrammatical in Parisian French.

The first text presented in this collection is a personal experience story related by a woman eighty-four years old. The story is typical of its kind, which most of the French speakers in Red Lake Falls can tell. This type of story is also the kind most often offered in an interview.

These personal stories have a polished sound to them, a degree of formality in their structure and the manner in which they are delivered which indicates that they have been often repeated. Some interview subjects have explained that these are the only kinds of stories they tell. There seems to be a general feeling in the community, among older residents especially, that it is important to be able to tell an entertaining story of some kind. Elements common in this kind of story are also basic to other kinds as well; unusual or humorous events, circumstances revealing or arising because of some character trait in an

individual, and, a well timed and well deserved sarcastic comment for a "punchline." The characteristic that sets the stories apart from others is their personal nature. Although they often involve experiences common to the background of all the members of the community, they are related by each individual in his/her own way and with his/her own insights.

Text #1

1. a lãnz də sæŋk ɔn zete pardzy dǎən bwoo
A l'age de cinq ans j'étais perdue dans le bois.
At the age of five I was lost in a woods.
2. zo vulja swiv ma suər por æle a lɛkɔl
Je voulais suivre ma soeur pour aller à l'école.
I wanted to follow my sister in order to go to school.
3. mee ze truue pardzy mon pɛr e mamer
Mais je m'ai trouvée perdue. Mon père et ma mère,
But I found myself lost. My father and mother
4. e mɔ̃ truue tarɔn apɾe midzi zete fətsige
ils m'ont trouvée tard dans l'après-midi. J'étais fatiguée
found me later in the afternoon. I was tired
5. mee ze brooje zo məvwija ale alɛkɔl dǎndəmən
mais j'ai braillé; je voulais aller à l'école. Le lendmain
but I cried; I wanted to go to school. The following
6. matæn mon pɛr ijdzi a mamer hæbij lǎ
matin, mon père il dit à ma mère, "Habille-la;
morning, my father said to my mother, "Dress her;
7. ɔnwijlǎ a lɛkɔl bjɛn zete a lɛkɔl
envoie-la à l'école." Bien, j'étais à l'école.
send her to school." So I went to school.
8. mee la matɾes vwila aməfer asir ɔn fɛz
Mais la maîtresse a voulu à me faire asseoir sur une chaise
But the teacher wanted to make me sit in a chair
9. ɛrɛsee trankɪl mee mwe kəmdrezon zɔneta pɔ
et rester tranquille. Mais moi, comme de raison, je n'étais pas
and be still. But I, of course, wasn't

10. kəpab dəreɛe trankɪl eʒe kurəɔje dān ləkəl
capable de rester tranquille. Et j'ai courroyé dans l'école.
able to sit still. And I ran around in the school.
11. la matres adzi bǎ̃ dɔmæn matæn restʃevuu
La maîtresse a dit, "Ben! Demain matin restez chez-vous
The teacher said, "So! Tomorrow morning stay home
12. sɪtsuvə kurəɔje ʒɔ̃ mee mwe ʒe brooʒe pi
si tu veux courroyer." Ah, mais moi j'ai braillé puis,
if you want to run around." Oh how I bawled because
13. ʒə vuɛʒejalɛ alɛkəl landmæn ʒə vaa alɛkəl
je voulais y aller à l'école. Le lendemain je vais à l'école.
I wanted to go to school. The next day I went to school.
14. la matres adzi bjǐ̃̃ tuerɜvɲu
La maîtresse a dit, "Bien, tu es revenue.
The teacher said, "Oh, so you came back.
15. fotsumekət kəm kɔstekɔtta mɛr
Faut que tu m'écoutes comme c'est tu écoutes ta mère."
You have to listen to me like you listen to your mother."
16. ʒə vɔkɔtstueɛɛz asɔɔʃɛz la
"Je veux que tu t'assises dans cette chaise-là."
"I want you to sit in that chair there."
17. bjǐ̃̃ restla tɔtla zuurne pi ʒe dzi bǎ̃n
"Bien, reste-là toute la journée." Pis, j'ai dit, "Bien,
"Stay there all day." Then I said, "But,
18. ʒə nepa kəpabl areɛɛ asi trankɪl tɔɔt lazuurne
je n'ai pas capable rester assise tranquille toute la journée."
I can't sit so still all day."
19. ʒə fokə ʒə kurɔn wi bjǐ̃̃ ɛ adzi se kɔre
"Je faut que je courroie." "Bien," elle dit, "c'est correcte,
"I have to run around." "Well," she said, "that's true,
20. vɔ dahɔr kurɔn tʃɔ̃tsu vɔ me ətsurvʒɛn
va dehors. Courroie tout que tu veux, mais que tu reviennes
go outside. Run around all you want, but when you come back
21. asitwe mɔdanɛdlvuraz afeɛr
assieds-toi. M'en vais te donner de l'ouvrage à faire."
sit down. I'm going to give you some work to do."
22. ɛbjǐ̃̃ ɛamɔdɛnn dekɔɪɔn dəkulɔɛr
Eh bien, elle m'a donné des crayons de couleur,
So then she gave me some crayons,

23. æn tsɪpapije ebjẽn zepɔ̃sɛn laresɔn
 un petit papier, eh bien, j'ai passé le restant
 a little paper, and I spent the rest
24. də æpre midzi a ɛkrɪ ævɛk se krɪɔn
 de l'après-midi à écrire avec ces crayons.
 of the afternoon writing with the crayons.
25. pi zedzi bãn marsi zɔ mɔnva ʃenuu
 Pis, j'ai dit, "Bien, merci, je m'en vais chez nous,
 Then I said, "Thank you, I'm going home now,
26. mee zɔ vjendrepɔ ebjẽn ze pɔ ʁtɔrne
 mais je ne reviendrai pas." Eh bien, je n'ai pas retournée.
 but I'm not coming back." And I never went back.

Texts two through four are examples of a different kind of story told in the community. These are more a part of local lore and are more widely known in the community than the personal stories. People are more likely to tell the same ones in the same way. More like jokes than stories, these examples also have the same basic elements mentioned in the discussion of personal stories. Some examples contain some of the conventions of the fairytales and other traditional stories told in other North American French communities; for example, the character "Petit Jean" in text number four; or the opening line of number three, "Il avait un jeune couple là pis c'était ben pauvre." (Compared with the openings of numerous stories in the collection of French folktales from Missouri by Thomas and Thomas (1981) "C'est bon d'vous dzire, eune fouès, c'étaient ein vieux pis eune vielle . . . pis i'sontaient pauv's. . . .") Despite these apparent similarities, no one was found among those participating in the survey who said they remembered hearing "fairytales" or "ghost stories" of any kind.

Texts two and three are from the same source, a woman sixty-seven years old. The joke in number four is known in Red Lake Falls but was related by an individual who learned French outside the community and may not be a typical example of Red Lake Falls French.

Text #2

1. On était pour avoir de la visite du Canada
Some people were going to have company from Canada
2. et pis quand la visite est arrivée il
and when the company came they
3. était supposé amener leur grandmère.
were supposed to bring along their grandmother.
4. Mais, la grandmère elle n'a pas venue et pis
But, the grandmother didn't come and when
5. quand ils sont arrivés les gens ont dit, "Mais
they arrived the people said, "But
6. devous que est la grandmère?"
where is your grandmother?"
7. La grandmère a achetée..."
"Grandmother bought..."
8. "Quoi? La grandmère a achetée?"
"What? Your grandmother bought one?" [had a baby]
9. "Ben oui! M'en a achetée un capot de poil
"Yes! She bought a fur cloak
10. pour venir avec nous autre, et puis, avant
to come with us, then, before
11. de partir elle a tombée malade."
it was time to leave she got sick."
12. Ben il dit, "Elle va tu vivre?"
So he said, "Is she going to live?"

13. "Ah oui!" il dit. "Elle va vivre parce qu'elle est
"Oh yes!" he said. "She'll live because she's
14. bien trop mauvaise pour mourir."
too mean to die."

Text #3

1. Il avait un jeune couple là pis c'était ben pauvre
There was a young couple and they were very poor
2. parce-que le vieux était trop paresseux pour travailler.
because the husband was too lazy to work.
3. Et pis quand la vieille demandait dequoi il disait toujours,
And every time the wife asked for something he always said,
4. "Demain matin, on ira demain matin."
"Tomorrow morning, we'll get it tomorrow morning."
5. "Ben, il faut de grocerie là mon vieux." "Ah ben,
"We have to go to the grocery." "Oh well,
6. on ira demain matin." C'était toujours demain matin.
we'll get it tomorrow morning." Always tomorrow morning.
7. Ça fait qu'un soir ils sont couchés pis elle dit aux enfants
So, one evening, when they were in bed, she told the children,
8. "Demain matin on ne se lèvera pas. On n'a rien à manger
"Tomorrow don't get up. There's nothing to eat
9. dans la maison." On n'est pas pour se lever. On va rester
in the house." So they didn't get up. They stayed
10. couché. Pis le vieux s'est levé la vieille faisait à croire
in bed. When the husband got up, the wife pretended
11. qu'elle dormait. Pis le vieux descendu en bas. Pis, au bout
to sleep. The man went downstairs. After
12. d'une escousse il a dit, "Lève-toi la vielle, lève-toi." Pis,
a while he said, "Get up wife! Get up!" But
13. elle a pas répondu. D'un coup il crie encore, "Lève-toi,
she didn't answer. Shortly he cried again, "Get up
14. la vielle." "Pourquoi? "Ben," il dit, "C'est le temps de
wife!" "Why?" "Because it's time to

15. déjeuner." Pis elle dit aux enfants, "On va descendue là.
eat." She said to the children, "Go on down.
16. On va tout assoir à table en pensant que le vieux a fait
Sit at the table. Pretend he's made
17. le déjeuner." Pis ils sont descendus. Pis ils sont assis
lunch." So they went down and they sat
18. à table. Pis le vieux a dit, "Mais qu'est-ce que
at the table. When their father came down he said "What
19. vous faites là?" Elle dit, "On attend pour notre déjeuner."
are you doing there?" The woman said, "Waiting for our lunch."

Text #4

1. Le curé était en train de visiter avec
The curie was making a visit with
2. la mère du petit Johnny. Et puis, le
little Johnny's mother. And so,
3. petit John, il est arrivé dans la maison.
little John, he came into the house.
4. Puis ils sont en plein hiver il font
Since it was full winter it was
5. ben frette. Et puis, naturellement, il
very cold. And, naturally, he
6. était dehors et il s'était habillé
was outdoors so he was dressed
7. avec deux paires de coulottes. Quand il
in two pairs of pants. When he
8. arrive dans la maison il a fait comme
came into the house he did as he
9. du coutume; il a ôté sa première paire
usually did; he took off his first pair
10. de coulottes. Il l'a posée sur les clous
of pants. He hung them on a nail
11. près de la porte. Et puis, pendu aux
next to the door. Hanging on

12. mêmes clous était une petite statue
the same nail was a small statue
13. du petit Jésus. Ça fait que quand
of little Jesus. It happened that when
14. il a ôté sa paire de coulottes, il a
he hung up his pair of pants, he
15. caché la statue du petit Jésus, et la
hid the statue of little Jesus. The
16. mère a parlé au curé et puis a voulu,
mother was talking to the curie and wanted
17. montrer que son fils était bien sage.
to show what a model son she had.
18. Et elle a dit à Johnny, "Ote tes coulottes
And she said to Johnny, "Take down your pants
19. de là pour que le curé puisse voir
over there so that the curie can see
20. ton petit Jésus."
your little Jesus."

The songs in texts five through seven are from the same source, an eighty-year-old woman who said she learned them from her mother. A version of number seven is still sung in Canada.

Number eight was recorded by an eighty-four-year old man. The song poses problems for translation because of some possibly archaic references (for example cous-cous d'un loup, pistoles) and because of its numerous plays on words and use of nonsense. (How much of the latter was in the original song and how much came to be added inadvertently as parts of the song were forgotten and changed over the years is unknown.) The man who recorded the song, in explaining two of the puns, says that planche de tanche is a carpenter's term for "tongue

and groove" construction, and that pain d'épice tout garnis de saucisses refers to uncured boards of knotted pine covered with sap.

The song fragment in text nine is from a seventy-year-old woman who says this is part of a song her father used to sing. She doesn't know what language, other than French, the song is composed in, or the meaning of the non-French words, although she feels certain that "it's an Indian song."

Speakers of Michif and Ojibway have failed to recognize any of the non-French words in the song; however, a Lakhota speaker from the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota has pointed out several similarities between the language in the final part of the song and her Lakhota dialect. [tum.nigatee] is similar to temni meaning "to sweat," and also mní, "water."* A more striking similarity is the word [wɪ.ʃtee], which is like wašte in both its sound and distribution. Wašte is "good" or, as a response to a statement, "I agree" or "you know."

Text #5

1. C'était la jeune Rosalie qu'il s'en allait à la confesse.
It happened that young Rosalie went to make her confession.
2. Mais son amant qui la voyait venir y joue t'un tour,
But her lover, who saw her coming, played a joke,
3. par adresse. (Bien frontement y'a mis d'un surplis
with skill. (With daring, he put on a surplis
4. et dans le confessional il s'est mis.) [repeats]
and let himself into the confessional.)
5. Mon père je suis ici devant vous avec un
Father, I am here before you with a
6. air bien répondante, je me confesse à vos
very repentent feeling, I confess myself at your

7. genoux d'avoir été longtemps absente, (j'ai
knees to have been long absent [from confession], I have
8. parlé mal contre mon prochain et j'ai eu
spoken evil against my neighbor and I have
9. tort avec des saints.) [repeats]
wronged myself with the saints.
10. Mon père je m'accuse d'avoir péché, j'ai
Father, I accuse myself of sinning, I have
11. souvent fait la paresseuse, mais par avant
often been a gossip, and, before
12. de repartir j'ai t'un petit mot à vous dire
leaving now I have one small thing to tell you.
13. (Si vous voulez véritablement m'écouter un
If you really want to, listen to me
14. petit moment.) [repeats]
a moment.
15. Mon père j'ai t'un petit cavalier, qu'il me rend
Father I have a lover who has made me
16. vraiment amoureuse. Il m'entretien z'entre
truly love him. He holds me in his
17. ses bras, des mots d'amour, mais par adresse.
arms, his words are of love, but cunning.
18. (Il a goûté z'à mon malheur qui on a
(He has relished the unhappiness which
19. coûté cher à mon coeur.) [repeats]
has greatly troubled my heart.)
20. Ma belle retournez-vous en paix car'z
My lovely, go in peace because
21. vous vivrez toujours de même. (Car c'est
you always will live the same way. (Because it is
22. moi-même qu'il est ici, voudriez vous me
I, that one, who is here. Will you
23. prendre pour marie?) [repeats]
take me as a husband?)
24. Messieurs [je] dis vous véritablement,
Sirs, I tell you truly,

25. c'est z'y vous même qui me confesse.
It's you here who confess me.
26. Je m'accusais d'avoir tout dit.
I acted as if I told it all.
27. Grand Dieu d'honneur j'ai eu l'adresse
Great God of honor! I had the cleverness
28. (d'avoir caché un petit péché, peut-être
(to have hidden a small sin or perhaps
29. qu'il aurait tout gâté.) [repeats]
it would have spoiled everything!

Text #6

1. En me revenant de France j'ai passé par
Coming back from France I passed through
2. St. Malo. J'étais arrêté dans une barse
St. Malo. I stopped in a tavern
3. pour y boire du vin nouveau.
to drink some new wine.
4. (refrain) (C'est à boire à boire mesdames, c'est
Oh to drink, to drink, my ladies,
5. à boire qu'il nous faut.)
we must drink.
6. J'étais arrêté dans une barse pour y boire
I stopped in a tavern to drink
7. du vin nouveau. J'ai en demandé t'une
some new wine. I ordered a
8. chapine, elle me donne z'un rire t'un pot.
pint, she gave me the tankard and smiled.
- (refrain)
9. J'ai en demandé t'une chapine, elle me
I ordered a pint, she
10. donne z'un rire t'un pot, et quand c'a
gave me the tankard and smiled, and when it
11. venu pour payer elle m'a fait payer la peau.
came time to pay she made me pay with my skin.

(refrain)

12. Quand c'est venu pour payer elle m'a fait
When it came time to pay she made me

13. payer la peau. Elle m'a fait vendre mes
pay with my skin. She made me sell my

14. coulottes, ma casquette et mon manteau.
pants, my hat, and my coat.

(refrain)

15. Elle m'a fait vendre mes coulottes, ma
She made me sell my pants, my

16. casquette, et mon manteau. Et quand c'a
hat, and my coat. And when the time

17. venu pour partir elle m'a fait monter en haut.
came to leave she made me go upstairs.

(refrain)

18. Quand c'est venu pour partir elle m'a
When the time came to leave she

19. fait monter en haut, et la bonne femme
made me go upstairs, and the old crone

20. qui est par derrière qu'il dit "cache ton
who was in the back said "[time to go] hide your
petit oiseau."
little bird."

(refrain)

Text #7

1. I took the road mon petit panier sur mon bras.
with my little basket on my arm

2. On my road I met le fils d'un avocat.
a lawyer's son

3. (refrain) Oh Dear I love you ah oui à ma manière
oh yes, in my own way

4. Oh Dear I love you oh non vous m'aimez pas.
oh no, you don't love me

5. On my road I met le fils d'un avocat.
a lawyer's son
6. He asked me what I had dedans ce panier-là
in the basket there

(refrain)
7. He asked me what I had dedans ce panier-là
in the basket there
8. I told him it was some apples "mais vous n'en vouliez y pas."
but you wouldn't want any.

(refrain)
9. I told him it was some apples "mais vous n'en vouliez y pas."
but you wouldn't want any
10. "I'll take a dozen mon père vous les paiera."
my father will pay you

(refrain)
11. "I'll take a dozen mon père vous les paiera."
my father will pay you
12. Go into the other room le bon homme il est là.
the old man is in there

(refrain)
13. I went into the other room le bon homme il n'y était pas.
the old man wasn't in there
14. So I went upstairs le bon homme il était là.
the old man was there

(refrain)
15. I went upstairs le bon homme il était là.
the old man was there
16. I asked him for my money il m'a dit qu'il n'avait pas.
he told me he didn't have any

(refrain)

17. I asked him for my money il m'a dit qu'il n'avait pas.
he told me he didn't have any
18. I told him to go to hell le maudit avocat.
the damned lawyer.
- (refrain)
19. I told him to go to hell le maudit avocat.
the damned lawyer
20. I'll sell some more apples mais vous en n'auriez pas
but you won't have any of them.
- (refrain)

Text #8

1. Dans le pays de l'Angleterre
In the country of England
2. Dans la vieille d'où je viens
In the old times, where I come from
3. J'ai vu dans le désert
I saw, in a clearing
4. Des cou-cous d'un loup
Some naughty wolves
5. Tout habillés en forme de bataille
All dressed-up and in battle form
6. Des rouges et pis des coyés
In red and spots.
7. Que ce pays est drôle!
What a funny country that is!
8. Tout du long du bois
All along the woods
9. La bouteille a du vin
The bottle has some wine.

10. Et dedans ce pays-là
And in that country,
11. Que ce pays-là est drôle,
What a funny country!
12. On dort à profond, someille
We sleep soundly
13. sans que personne nous réveille
Without anyone waking us,
14. Et ne rien que chanter
And doing nothing but singing
15. On gagne de bel argent
We make good money
16. Et à jouer on gagne des "pistoies"
And win pistoles gambling
17. Que ce pays est drôle!
What a funny country!
18. Tout du long du bois
All along the woods
19. la bouteille a du vin
The bottle has some wine.

20. Et dedans ce pays-là
And in that country
21. Que ce pays-là est drôle!
What a funny country!
22. Les maisons sont faites de planche de tanche
The houses are made of fish
23. Pour les ceux qui veulent en prendre
For those who want to take some
24. Les couvertures de jambon
The roofing of ham

25. Les murs de pain d'epice
The walls of gingerbread
26. Tout garnis de saucisses
All covered with sausages
27. Que ce pays est drôle!
What a funny country!
28. Tout du long du bois
All along the woods
29. La bouteille a de vin
The bottle has some wine.

Text #9

1. Il avait un petit sauvage
There was an Indian boy
2. tout noir tout barbouillé wɪʃtʰee
all black and dirty-faced
3. Il était à la rivière
He went to the river
4. c'était pour se débarbouiller wɪʃtʰee
to wash his face
5. /tuumɪnigatee watʰee wɪʃtʰee
6. /mɪnigee watee watee mɪnige wɪʃtʰee/

NOTES

*In the Oglala dialect m.nit'a' is "drown" as in wa'ta wa m.nit'a'.
 "ship/a/it drowns" (Beckwith 1930: 420).

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