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Cross-Linguistic Influences in a Bilingual Community: Evidence for the Parasitic Model of the Bilingual Mental Lexicon

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Abstract

This is a quantitative study of the effects of inter-generational contact between a majority language (Spanish) and a heritage language (Veneto). Specifically, we are studying the effects of the Spanish verbal syntax, referred to as a *syntactic frame*, on the *syntactic frame* of Veneto verbs. Data was gathered from a total of 69 participants, 35 older speakers and 34 younger speakers, through translation activities. The results were then codified and analyzed in two separate analyses studying variation across speakers and the degree of cross-linguistic influence (CLI) according to age groups. Variation among speakers is ubiquitous and at the same time demonstrates subtle patterns of language maintenance, shift, and loss at the lexical level. T-tests demonstrate that the differences in the degree of CLI of both groups is statistically different and that older speakers maintain a more classical version of Veneto lexicon whereas the younger speakers produce a variety of Veneto with higher rates of lexical and frame borrowing from Spanish. The implications of this study include providing evidence that the cognitive processes of progressive language attrition are parallel to cognitive processes present among second language learners (parasitism in L2 learning), but in opposite directions.

OVERVIEW

Language is in constant change, as evidenced by the field of historical linguistics. Such is the case among monolingual as well as bilingual/multilingual communities. In monolingual communities, linguistic change might come about due to child language acquisition, since children do not simply copy the input they receive; in a sense they reinvent their native language(s), basing themselves on biological constraints, or perhaps Universal Grammar and the input in their environment. Change may also come about due to speaker innovations and divergence from linguistic norms.

The situation of change in a bilingual context is more complex, however. Change due to language acquisition could come about in different ways depending on the dynamics of the two languages. For example, some degree of cross-linguistic influence may occur normally during simultaneous bilingual language acquisition (see Döpke, 2000). However, in cases of community bilingualism in minority languages, the status of the minority language versus the dominant language is key (see Fishman, 2001a and b). It is possibly due to cases of contact and bilingualism that the minority language will not be passed on completely to the children. This leads to incomplete acquisition of the family or immigrant language. In cases in which there is a shift of language use across domains, there are typically fewer opportunities to use the minority language, and the subsequent reduction in functions of language may lead to speakers “forgetting”

linguistic norms. In cases of attrition, this is especially the case, as individual members of the speech community forget their language.

It is interesting to notice that certain linguistic phenomena that occur as processes of forgetting (either due to language shift or attrition) are also present during the learning of an additional language. Therefore, it is important to see whether a psycholinguistic process that is common among L2 learners is also occurring as a mechanism of minority language change.

The bilingual group that has been studied is a community of Veneto and Spanish speakers found in Chipilo, Puebla, a rural and primarily agricultural town approximately 12 kilometers from Puebla, Puebla. Using MacKay (1991, 1992, and 1999) as evidence that Chipilo is undergoing increased contact with the Spanish language, a valid assumption is that convergence toward Spanish is occurring, and that this may be evidenced as changes to the Veneto lexicon.

The primary motivation for this study was to describe lexical changes in a language which has received very little attention from linguists: Veneto. A secondary motivation was to study the Spanish-Veneto language pair. By doing so, the researcher continued previous linguistic studies in this community and studied the dynamics between Spanish as a majority language and Veneto, a non-indigenous minority language. A second goal of this investigation was to ascertain the extent to which a model of the bilingual mental lexicon (the Parasitic Model) that had been applied exclusively to explain the inter-lexical influence of incipient bilinguals can be used to explain linguistic phenomena occurring in a situation of community bilingualism.

The study itself was primarily quantitative in nature and involved interactive sessions carried out among four groups of bilingual speakers distributed according to age and contact with Spanish. To elicit linguistic data during these sessions, the researcher used the technique of oral translations. The analysis called for the coding of linguistic data to uncover the presence and degree of a parasitic relationship between syntactic frames.

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Chapter 1

Literature Review

1.1 Bilingualism

Contrary to the belief system of many non-linguists in the predominately monolingual West, between one third and one half of the world's population is bilingual, making the study of multilingualism and language contact particularly interesting and rich. Moreover, the study of bilingualism, bilingual individuals, and bilingual communities is crucial for the development of linguistic theory because it challenges the notion of the "ideal speaker-listener" who belongs to a "homogenous language community and who knows the language perfectly" (Chomsky 1965: 4, cited in Brown, 1996: 2). Bringing another language into a community, household, and therefore an individual mind draws into question the concept of a bilingual ideal speaker-listener due to the lack of linguistic homogeneity. But more importantly, as will be seen throughout this study, is the question of a bilingual speaker-listener who knows (each) language perfectly and who can be "recognized as a native speaker in either of his languages" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989: p. 132; see also Bloomfield, 1933). As will be seen throughout this study, the ideal of perfection is not always so straightforward.

One of the first questions that is raised when studying bilingualism is its definition. Although an intuitive definition of it as the native ability in two or more languages may satisfy non-linguists, there is a continuing discussion among linguists regarding bilingualism, especially at the level of individual speakers due to the multidimensionality of bilingualism (Hamers and Blanc, 1989).

To begin with, Hamers and Blanc distinguish between ‘bilinguality’, which refers to the psychological state of an individual with access to two or more languages, and ‘bilingualism’, which includes not only individual bilinguality but also the state of a community in which languages are in contact and available for use and in which there are bilingual speakers. Romaine (1995(1989)) describes a range of perspectives and definitions of bilingualism by linguists. Li (2000) goes further by publishing a long list of measurements and characteristics that can be used to define individual or societal bilingualism. The author therefore suggests that bilingualism be considered a “relative term” (Li, 2000: p. 7).

According to Weinreich (1974(1953)), bilingualism is the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual. In this sense, bilingualism is defined within the context of language usage, as in cases of multilingual communities in Africa in which several languages are used by the same individual on a daily basis. Often the question at hand is not whether one language in particular or each individual language in a bi- or multilingual community can serve as a means of communication for all discourse contexts, but rather that of what language or code is necessary or appropriate for communication depending on person, place, and topic. (See section 1.3 for a discussion of diglossia).

In some cases the age of the speaker is considered a factor in determining bilingual competence, especially in cases in which a second language was learned after the ‘critical period’ (see Johnson and Newport, 1989 or Long, 2000 for a more detailed discussion). Mackey (2000) suggests that the bilingualism of people who learn two languages as children may be different than that of people who become bilingual as

adults. The same author also points out the fragility of childhood bilingualism as children may change mother tongues in a very short time period (see also Wong Fillmore's (1991, 2000) description of L1 language loss among immigrant children). Therefore, bilingualism can be *additive* (learning an L2 while maintaining an L1) or *subtractive* (learning an L2 at the expense of the L1).

Other linguists use competence in a person's L1 and L2 (or L3) as a measure of an individual's bilingualism. Some such as Haugen (1953, cited in Romaine, 1995) allow for an individual to have a superficial knowledge of a second language in order to be considered bilingual, while others such as Bloomfield insist that an individual must demonstrate "native-like control" of both languages (1933: 56, cited in Romaine, 1995: 11) to be considered so. Usually this discussion of bilingual competence is applied when determining the linguistic competence of an L2 learner. Certain terms such as 'balanced bilingual', 'incipient bilingual', and 'passive bilingual', among many others, are used to describe the degree of monolingualism versus bilingualism of speakers along a proficiency continuum.

However, if linguistic competence is used to label a person as bilingual, then what can be said of the linguistic competence of bilinguals who have limited linguistic competence in a language undergoing attrition or death or of "passive bilinguals" (bilinguals who comprehend an L2 but who cannot produce it)? Dorian (1982, cited in Romaine) describes 'semi-speakers' of Gaelic who, despite linguistic limitations, nevertheless demonstrate such keen communicative competence that communication in the minority language is uninterrupted.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to contribute to the definitions of bilingualism, it is important to keep in mind the multiple dimensions that can and should be considered when studying bilingual individuals. Most pertinent in the discussion of this research is the concept of bilingual competence with respect to the continuum of proficiencies ranging from “native-like control” and knowing the language(s) perfectly to ‘semi-speakers’, now considered an out of date term, with limited grammatical competence. A second important factor directly related to that of competence is that of language contact and the role of cross-linguistic influence in bilingualism, which will be discussed in the following section.

1.1.1 Language contact and cross-linguistic influence

Language contact can be viewed from a number of different perspectives. Odlin (1989: 6) speaks of contact situations in which there is a “meeting of speakers who do not all share the same language and who need to communicate”. In other words, language contact can be seen as a societal phemononon. Of course, this definition can also be seen as a continuum which ranges from situations in which there are very few bilingual speakers, to a situation in which only the speakers of one language (usually a language viewed as having less prestige, or a minority language) speak both languages, to situations in which the majority of speakers are bilingual in both languages. Another continuum of language contact is that of pidgins and creoles. Pidgins come about in situations of language contact between two or more languages in which there are very few fluent bilingual speakers and a need for inter-group

communication. Creoles come about when the pidgin is used with such frequency that children begin to acquire nativelike competence in it.

Contact can also be seen from the point of view of bilinguality, in other words, from the point of view of individuals who have two or more languages at their disposal. Contact, therefore, can be studied from a psycholinguistic point of view. Moreover, language contact at the psychological level can be integrated into language contact at the social level when societal bilingualism and contact are viewed as the cumulative effect of the individual bilingual abilities in the minds of each speaker.

Often the literature on language contact is accompanied with information on cross-linguistic influence. This is a blanket term proposed by Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman (1986) that includes the concepts of transfer and interference and is used to describe how knowledge of one language affects knowledge of another, especially in cases of language learning. This term can refer to differences between monolingual and bilingual speech (Weinreich, 1974 (1953)) or can be used to describe instances in which elements of one language are found in another. These elements range from lexical items to grammatical features. Most linguists studying cross-linguistic influence accept that there is a hierarchy of ease of borrowing in which lexical features are easily borrowed while syntax is the hardest to borrow (Romaine, 1995: 64).

However, syntactic borrowing is neither impossible nor undocumented. Gumperz and Wilson (2000 (1971)) report a high degree of syntactic convergence between the four languages spoken in Kupwar, India after centuries of contact. The syntax of these languages manifests itself in such a way that seemingly only the lexicon differentiates each language, and is evidence of the effects of contact and creolization over centuries.

The authors also explain that while historical linguists attempt to explain the origins of foreign elements in one language or another, and while scholars of bilingualism and language contact often look only at the results of these phenomena, there has been little discussion regarding the mechanisms of these linguistic changes (218). Of relevance for this discussion is an integration of the collective external language used at a social/community level with internal language competence at the psychological level of each individual speaker. The creolization described in Gumperz and Wilson (2000 (1971)) is a result of the accumulation of cross-linguistic influence across generations. In other words, the linguistic features which were introduced into the community's four languages centuries ago are now part of each language's grammar as well as the competence of the native speakers of these same languages. The importance of this discussion is to provide a foundation to the claims that languages in contact can have effects on one another that go beyond mere lexical borrowing; in this case, it was the syntax that was affected more than any other linguistic feature.

The following sections will further delve into the psycholinguistic mechanisms for the presence of certain foreign elements in an L2 (or in this case, a heritage language) and for the process of language change.

1.2 Psycholinguistic aspects of bilingualism

In order to comprehend bilingualism from a psycholinguistic perspective, it is necessary to discuss the ways in which both languages are represented and what mechanisms are used to store and retrieve language-specific information. In the case of this research project, cross-linguistic influence as demonstrated by the presence of

linguistic features in the L1 from the L2 source will be described. For this project, cross-linguistic influence at the lexical level, now referred to as cross-lexical influence or CLI, will be studied in greater depth. The next section will discuss the hypothesized architecture of the bilingual mental lexicon, thereby giving an explanation of CLI at the levels of the underlying concept of a word and at the level of the word itself. Additionally, in subsequent sections, a description of the Parasitic Model (Hall and Ecke, 2003; Hall, 2002; Hall and Schultz, 1994) of the mental lexicon, the theoretical framework adopted here, will be included.

1.2.1 The mental lexicon

The mental lexicon is the component of memory which stores representations of all the words a person has at his or her disposal. From studies on monolingual subjects, psycholinguists have proposed that words are interconnected semantically (Singleton, 1999). This means that a word such as *nurse* is connected to the related word *doctor*, as evidenced through lexical recognition experiments involving priming. This interconnective model of the lexicon normally serves as a methodological and theoretical starting point for studies of the bilingual mental lexicon.

If words are in some way connected to other words with similar meanings in monolinguals, how are translation equivalents connected? Weinreich (1974(1953)) proposes the following models for describing the bilingual mental lexicon. The first is that of a coordinate system in which there is no overlap between the L1 and L2 lexicons and each lexical entry has is own conceptual meaning. A compound system, on the

other hand, has one underlying conceptual representation connected to both the L1 and L2 lexical entries. Individuals with a subordinate system demonstrates access their L2 lexicon indirectly through the L1, with only the L1 having a direct connection to the underlying conceptual representation. The three models can be shown in the following way, in which the ovals represent the underlying concept of the lexical entry:

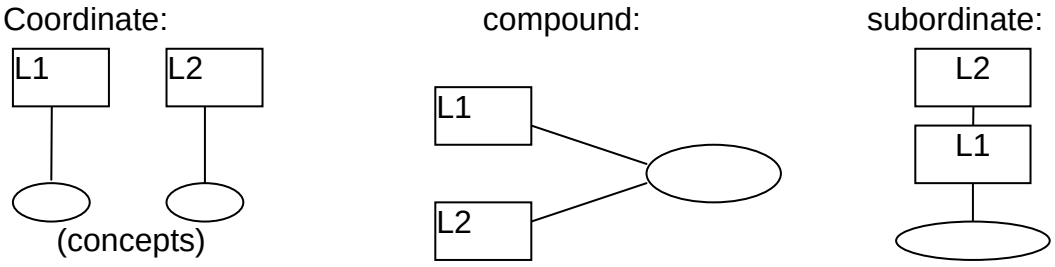

Figure 1: Possible organizations of the bilingual mental lexicon

It is interesting to note that if a bilingual person's lexicons are organized according to the coordinate model, it would be impossible to perform a translation or find a translation equivalent because meanings are represented twice with no links or overlaps. On the other hand, the L2 of a subordinate bilingual would be completely dependent on his or her L1, leading to a parasitic link discussed in the following section. Based on an earlier model by Potter, So, Von Eckhardt, and Feldman (1984), Kroll and Stewart (1994) propose the Revised Hierarchical Model of a learner's mental lexicon as shown below.

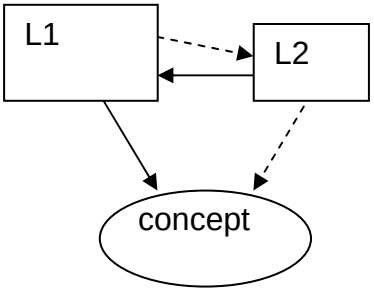

Figure 2: The Revised Hierarchical Model

This model is based on Weinreich's models but is also an attempt at describing more accurately the relationships between a person's two mental lexicons without placing the individual into a discrete group. Furthermore, it is necessary to point out that there is the possibility of an individual having mixed representations in his or her lexicon (de Groot, 1993). This means that while certain L2 words may be accessed directly from the underlying meaning, as in the compound model, other lexical items may be accessed in a coordinate or subordinate fashion.

In the Revised Hierarchical Model, the L1, or the person's dominant lexicon, is larger and shows stronger connections with the concepts, as demonstrated visually in figure 2 with a solid arrow. The L2 on the other hand is smaller and shows a weaker link to these same concepts, as shown by a dashed arrow. In this sense, the model is a revision of the compound model. But it also shows the connection between the lexical entries, thereby conserving certain aspects of the subordinate model.

1.2.2 The Parasitic Model

Up until now, we have considered only the relationship between whole lexicons of bilingual individuals. At this point, it is necessary to go into more detail of the connections between individual lexical items in the L1 and L2, and, more specifically, what a word is from a psycholinguistic perspective. A word, according to Jackendoff, (2002), consists of two linguistic elements: the phonological or orthographic representation of a word and the syntactic frame, and a third extra-linguistic element: the underlying concept. While lexical entries and their underlying concept are included in models of mental lexicons, this third piece of information, a word's syntactic frame, is important because it contains idiosyncratic grammatical information such as gender for nouns or reflexivity for verbs. In other words, it contains syntactic information which goes beyond basic knowledge of parts of speech and gives specific information about how a word must be used in an utterance. A graphic representation of this is provided by the Triad Model (Hall, 1992), as follows:

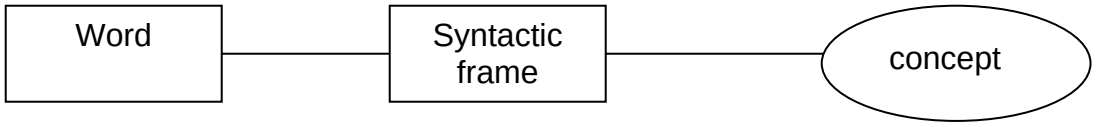

Figure 3: The Triad Model

Considering what we know about the connections within a monolingual's mental lexicon as well as the connections between the two lexicons of a bilingual speaker, Hall and collaborators' model can be seen as supplementary to the other models by demonstrating lexical connections of an L2 learner through the following diagram. In

other words, as can be seen in Figure 4, when an L2 word is learned, it is linked in a subordinate way to the underlying concept either via the form, in case of cognates (Hall, 2002) or the frame (Hall and Schultz, 1994).

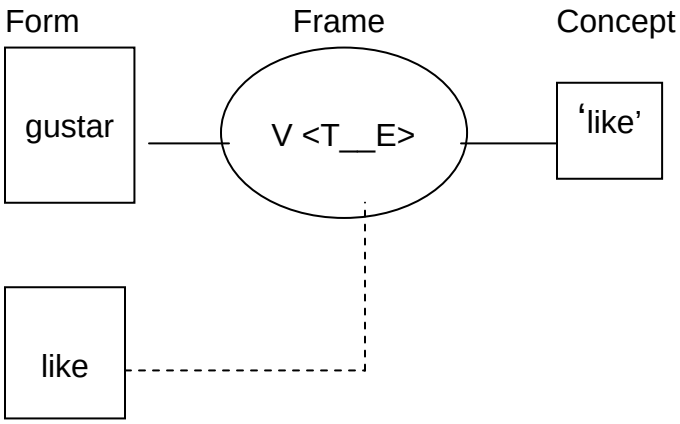

Figure 4: Cross-linguistic influence at the frame level (Hall and Schultz, 1994); T= theme, E= experiencer

Since the syntactic frames for *gustar* and *like* are not the same (Spanish marks the experiencer as the object while English marks the experiencer as the subject), using the above figure, we can visualize the psycholinguistic process underlying this specific L2 error as seen in the following example.

(1) * Acapulco likes me.

Of course, the Parasitic Model is not limited to explaining L2 learner errors. On the contrary, the Parasitic Model should be seen as the representation of the mental processes involved in L2 vocabulary learning in general and the links between an L2 and an L1 should be seen as a cognitive process that facilitates learning, despite the

occasional mistake. When there are differences in the syntactic frame of the L1 word and its translation equivalent, the Triad Model can explain syntactic aspects of negative transfer during vocabulary learning. The Triad Model, according to Hall and Ecke (2003) is actually an automatic default mechanism.

1.2.3 Parasitism in a bilingual community

Up until this point in the discussion of cross-linguistic influence at the lexical level, the discussion has been directed toward explaining L2 vocabulary learning, primarily in situations of classroom teaching without a large natural discourse community of speakers of the target language to support and facilitate L2 acquisition. Again, this is one of the greatest differences between bilingualism that comes about in cases of societal bilingualism and bilingualism that occurs due to the conscious addition of another language as a foreign language learner.

However, there are instances in which languages used in bilingual communities share features with the language produced by students studying a foreign language in a classroom setting. This is because cross-linguistic influence can occur in any situation of language contact but the manifestation of it is mitigated by social factors. In other words, cross-linguistic influence may be an automatic process in situations of language contact if and when extra-linguistic conditions are right, such as in cases of language shift. (See section 4.3 for discussion).

When applied linguists study language learning they look at what is called interlanguage, or modifications to the L2 grammar that do not result in the “attainment of target language norms” and that are neither “fully nativelike nor targetlike” (Odlin, 1989:

113). In societal bilingualism, when looking at the competence continuum between 'balanced bilingual' and 'semi-speaker', certain features appear in the heritage language speech that do not appear 'fully nativelike' either. Linking language acquisition to language loss could lead to a more complete view of linguistic change. In fact, core authors in the field of language obsolescence such as Andersen (1989) make links between cross-linguistic phenomena that take place during second language acquisition (SLA) or learning and the cross-linguistic phenomena that occur within bilingual communities, especially those in which the minority language is being displaced. He therefore calls for those linguists studying cross-linguistic influence in situations of language attrition to draw upon knowledge gained from the study of cross-linguistic influence in the field of SLA. Therefore, I intend to first describe what has been discussed in these areas of study and make links between them as necessary. The following sections give a sociolinguistic explanation of the factors which lead to the 'balanced/semi-speaker' continuum during language shift and loss.

1.3 Language shift, attrition, and death

When one the communicative functions of one language overlaps or encroaches on the communicative functions of another language, a phenomenon called language shift occurs. If this encroachment is total and there is no longer transmission of the latter to younger generations, a situation called language death occurs.

There is a range of indicators of the extent of threat to individual minority languages. One cannot simply look at the number of speakers of the language, nor government or state support, to determine linguistic vitality. One must return to

sociolinguistic aspects- those of domains or functions, transmission of the language and attitudes- to try to explain why some languages die while others flourish, and why some ethnolinguistic communities face language shift while others are successful in maintaining their minority language.

The multilingual nature of many of the world's discourse communities leads to questions of a sociolingistic nature regarding language use and choice. Any language or variety is sufficiently complex and can potentially function as means of communication for any topic. However, choices in code are made based on several factors.

Holmes (1992) states that there are certain social factors that constrain language choice within multilinguistic communities. These factors are person, place, and topic, and are referred to as domains or functions of language. In order to illustrate this, one must consider that a healthy bilingual individual has at his or her disposal, and at all times, two languages. This speaker must evaluate the linguistic abilities of his or her interlocutor, since effective communication can be carried out only in a language that both individuals understand. Therefore, if the interlocutor is monolingual, the bilingual individual will need to use the language in common if communication is to take place (on the other hand, choosing the other language may be an effective end to communication). If the interlocutor is bilingual, there are more options; language A could be used to the exclusion of language B or vice-versa, person A could choose one language while person B chooses the other, or each speaker could switch between both languages. In this way, the domain of person, just like the domains of topic and place, constrains language choice.

Since individuals from multilingual communities can establish linguistic patterns vis-à-vis the above-mentioned domains, stable multilingualism can be manifested in a variety of ways. For example, when one language is used for certain domains to the exclusion of the other language(s) in the community's linguistic repertoire, a situation referred to as diglossia is created. This situation can lead to stability between the majority or high (H) code and the minority or low (L) code.

According to Fase, Jaspaert, & Kroon (1992), language shift also can occur in different ways: either interlinguistically (shifting toward the use of a non-heritage language outside of the community) or intralinguistically (shifting toward using a non-heritage language with other members of the same minority community). These authors state that when members of different linguistic communities come into contact, it is often the case that the speakers of the minority language are confronted with speakers of the majority language who do not speak the minority language. Decisions about minority and majority language use can overcome these barriers to effective communication, but in turn may have effects on the extent that language shift or maintenance take place. For example, according to Fase, Jaspaert, & Kroon's (1992) model, in cases of limited contact, the interlinguistic use of the majority language by minority language speakers may have little effect on a shift to the majority language. However, if contact increases, as in the case of extended contact between the two communities, shift to the majority language is made more possible. However, interlinguistic shift is not completely responsible for all language shift. One must take into account the linguistic code that is used intralinguistically.

The language used within a linguistic group need not change due to communicative needs. The question here is that of ethnic identity, cohesion of an ethnic group, covert and overt prestige felt toward the minority language and culture, and pressure to use the majority language at the expense of the minority one.

As mentioned above, a minority language can be maintained in a diglossic situation fulfilling the L functions of the community members. However, external forces can affect intralinguistic language shifts in the course of as little as two, three, or four generations. This is often the plight of the languages which are spoken by immigrant and indigenous groups who are under nearly irresistible forces (be they nationalistic/political or economic) to assimilate into the majority culture.

However, there are some fundamental stages that are commonly followed that may lead to a reduction of inter- and intralinguistic shift. The most important factor is that there is a discourse community which transmits the minority language to younger generations (Baker, 2000; Fishman, 2001a; 2001b). Intralinguistic shift leads to a preference within an ethnolinguistic group to use a non-heritage language. This in turn will cause following generations to either be passive bilinguals or will lead to language death. If native speakers are no longer reproducing the language within the community, its survival possibilities will be highly compromised.

When speakers of a minority or immigrant language do not or cannot use their language for a full range of communicative functions due to a shift toward using the majority language, the reduction of use of the L1 can lead to a reduction of linguistic

features of the same language. This attrition, according to Ecke (in press) refers to loss of language or language skill by healthy[1] individual speakers.

In the case of immigration, a great deal of research has been dedicated to the study of second language acquisition and the transfer of features of the L1 to the L2. According to Andersen (1989), while first generation immigrants typically have restricted access to the language of the community to which they have immigrated, second- and third- generation immigrants have restricted access to their family language. Thus we find patterns of heritage language loss in only two or three generations (see also Baker, 2000).

There is, however, evidence that language loss could occur in less time. Py (1986) goes beyond studying either the L2 language acquisition process of immigrants or the intergenerational loss of the family tongue. He states that a linguistic study of the first generation immigrants' L1 would shed light on transfer of the L2 to the L1 as well as attrition. The author makes the point that the language of a migrant may often undergo changes leading to a loss of linguistic competence. There are two external circumstances that lead to attrition: 1) a reduction in knowledge of linguistic norms and 2) a reduction in communicative situations in which the native language can be used. Regarding the first circumstance, the author states that divergence from the linguistic norm may not be accepted within a speech community; rather there is social pressure by other members of the speech community to converge linguistically. However in the case of migration, a speaker may no longer be part of such a network; in such cases there is no longer a speech community to give this type of social pressure to converge. This in turn leads to a breakdown in the norm.

[1] A person without a brain lesion that might lead to language loss

For the following generations, there is usually a reduction in the communicative situations or domains in which the family language can be used. Thus there is a "quantitative diminution of the use of the native language … and an impoverishment in the verbal repertoire linked to a reduction in the variety of speech acts and discourse types realized through the native language" (Py, 1986: p. 166). These two situations, that of a reduction of knowledge of norms and of a reduction in domains, can lead to a situation in which the speaker might incorporate features of the L2 in his or her L1, leading to language change or eventual loss.

Py's research into L1 attrition demonstrates first of all the dynamic nature of linguistic competence, including competence in one's native language. In other words, competence is not static; it can change due to external factors. It also provides the theoretical foundation for the potential presence of cross-linguistic influence in any situation of contact. External social factors (ie. lack of pressure to adhere to linguistic norms, for example) provide a social atmosphere that allows the automatic cognitive process of cross-linguistic influence to occur, as opposed to a different social situation (such as a strong sense of group cohesion and pressure to maintain norms) which may slow this process.

Similar processes occur among other non-immigrant minority languages in contact with majority languages. According to Cambell and Muntzel (1989), in cases of gradual loss/shift in which there is a shift to the dominant language with an intermediate stage of bilingualism, there also tends to be a proficiency continuum among speakers of the minority language which corresponds to age. In this case, younger speakers have a greater proficiency in the majority language and often develop an incomplete

competence of the minority language. Therefore, both the degree of the original acquisition and the degree of disuse lead to certain patterns of the attriting language (Menn, 1989). In fact, Cambell and Muntzel (1989) describe a series of predictable changes such as phonological convergence to the majority language, overgeneralizations (both of unmarked features and of marked “exotic” ones), variability across speakers due to uncertain internalization of rules, and morphological and syntactic changes.

Andersen (1989) looks at L1 attrition from a different perspective, stating that the interlanguage processes that an L2 learner goes through look similar to to linguistic features of a language that is dying by undergoing shift. Growth (L2 learning/acquisition) and reduction (L1 attrition/loss) are constrained by the same cognitive processes:

> Language contraction is typically a phenomenon of second language development in that the weaker, contracting language is almost always a secondary language for the speaker, even though it may be the speaker’s original mother tongue (being the “first” acquired and the family language). It is for this reason that it is important to view language contraction from a second language perspective. (Andersen, 1989: 386)

This perspective is central to the investigation into whether specific cognitive processes that take place automatically among L2 learners also occur in cases of speakers of minority languages, and whether these processes are responsible for language change.

In this investigation, the specific area of study will concentrate on the bilingual mental lexicon of individuals in a bilingual community of immigrants in Chipilo, Mexico.

1.4 Veneto-Spanish contact and the Parasitic Model of the lexicon

The Chipilo community has been in contact with Spanish since slightly more than 500 people from the Veneto area of Italy, principally the town of Segusino, came to settle in Mexico in 1882. These 500 immigrants, who came in intact families, dedicated themselves initially to agriculture, which continues to be a central part of the Chipilo culture, building a small town out of previously inarable lands. Located approximately 12 kilometers from the state capital of Puebla, a city of two million Spanish speakers, Chipilo remained relatively isolated for the first 80 years of its existence. Since the 1960s Chipilo residents have had more contact with people from Puebla and with Spanish. Currently, Chipileños come into greater contact with Mexicans and the Spanish language due to television and radio, increased schooling (now often through high school or university, with these higher institutions located outside of Chipilo), intermarriage, and work.

According to MacKay (1992, 1999), initial contact with Spanish and Spanish speakers was limited, yet increased with the first generations of Chipileños born in Mexico. However, lately the town has faced increased levels of contact with the majority Spanish-speaking community. Furthermore, the homogeneity of the Chipileño community, which is discussed in MacKay, 1992, has been affected due to recent developments in the community have lead to more in-migration of Spanish monolinguals due to intermarriage, and some out-migration of Veneto speakers. The

language, therefore, is undergoing systematic changes to the lexicon and its phonology due to the contact of its bilingual speakers with monolingual Spanish speakers. Phonemic changes in Veneto were documented in MacKay (1983) and explained as a result of contact with the sound system of Spanish. Included in this 1983 work is a glossary with Spanish-Veneto translations. It is interesting to note that for a number of Spanish words, there are two translations into Veneto. The presence of doublets such as *zbentolar/abanikar* (Sp. 'abanicar', Eng. 'fan') indicates the ease with which Veneto can borrow verbs from Spanish and probably indicates a lexical change in process.

The incorporation of the Spanish word alongside the Veneto one indicates cross-lexical influence between the L2 (Spanish) and the L1 (Veneto). In this case, Spanish words are being lexicalized into Veneto, allowing for alternations of lexical items by Veneto speakers. While this shows evidence for linguistic change, more importantly it shows that the L1 and L2 are not hermetically sealed and leaves open the possibility of other types of cross-lexical influence.

The presence of doublets in which a Spanish loan word alternates with the classical Veneto form could demonstrate a code switch, but more importantly, it could indicate that Veneto is incorporating Spanish words into its lexicon. This, in turn, could have consequences at the syntactic level since, as mentioned in above sections, lexical entries also contain information about the word's syntactic frame. Information about a word's grammatical behavior (syntactic category, thematic role, gender) among other type of information is included in the lexical entry (Hall and Schultz, 1994). Since words, particularly verbs, behave differently cross-linguistically, a parasitic relationship between lexical entries of verbs could be one of the mechanisms of cross-linguistic

influence due to contact. But again, since social factors mitigate the degree of cross-linguistic influence in each situation of language contact, a parasitic relationship at the level of the lexicon will most likely show correlation with the factors such as age of speaker, use of each language, and degree of contact with the majority langage.

In the case of Chipileño Veneto, qualitative data gathered as background for this study indicate that a parasitic relationship between Veneto and Spanish could possibly be a consequence of the extended contact with Spanish and the ensuing bilingualism. The purpose for data gathering is to verify and quantify the incorporation of Spanish words into the Veneto lexicon, the use of the Spanish translation equivalent's syntactic frame with a Veneto word, and finally, changes in Veneto verbal syntax.

1.5 Overview of methodological precedents

Although using naturalistic language samples as data for analysis might provide a wealth of information about linguistic change in Veneto, this particular study is not about change in general. Rather, the goal is to obtain and analyze a specific kind of data, those of verbs that are undergoing syntactic frame change.

The use of a series of Oral Elicitation Tasks as described by Kasper (1999) might be seen as an option to the naturalistic approach by instead eliciting situationally appropriate responses in the target language. This method involves the presentation of a situation in the target language and a prompt for the informant to finish it. However, feasibility restraints have forced the abandonment of this option.

Therefore, the technique used to collect data is based on work done in the field of anthropological and descriptive field linguistics, documented by Gudschinsky (1967),

and involves the construction of translation equivalents from the field worker's bilingual advisors in order to elicit translations from informants in the community. Gudschinsky also writes emphatically about the importance of audio recording the interactions between the fieldworker and her informants in order to allow the researcher a chance to study and analyze the language after the communicative event has taken place. Any transcription of the recordings or subsequent analysis should, as this author states, preferably be done the same day as the recording or soon afterwards.

The use of social networks as discussed by Milroy (1980) can allow an unknown researcher a way in to an ethnic community. In a tight-knit, semi-isolated community such as Chipilo, the use of social connection and networks will lead to participants being more forthcoming and open with researchers regarding linguistic information. Using networks allowes greater access to participants in a quick and unobtrusive way, resulting in a friendly rapport with the participants, which is in turn important for leaving the door open to further studies in the community.

1.6 Research Strategy

The following assumptions are made:

1. A variety of the Veneto spoken in Chipilo is being maintained and spoken by the younger speakers,
2. Convergence toward the use of Spanish phonological and lexical structures as documented by MacKay (1983) is continuing.

Based on the review of literature and the theoretical framework of this study, the following hypotheses are put forth:

1. The language contact situation and the ensuing bilingualism of the members of the Chipilo community have effects on the lexical architecture of Veneto, as seen in the use of Spanish syntactic frames of translation equivalents.
2. The degree of change due to cross-lexical influence in the lexicons of Veneto speakers will correlate first with the factors such as age, and second, with the degree of contact with Spanish. The younger the speaker and the more contact with Spanish, the greater the cross-lexical influence.

Using this literature review as the theoretical framework, the rest of the thesis will proceed as follows. Chapter two will outline the methodology used in the elaboration of the material, the procedure used to approach participants and apply the material, and procedure used to code the data. In addition, a description of the pilot study is included. Chapter 3 presents the results of two analyses which describe the use of Veneto forms and frames across participants. Chapter 4 gives the interpretation, explanation, and synthesis of both analyses as well as support for both hypotheses. This chapter also includes implications, limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

Methodology

This chapter explains the methodology used for data collection and coding. A detailed explanation of stimuli is included along with descriptions of the project participants and the procedure. Twenty-four verbal stimuli in sentential contexts were randomly distributed among distractors and presented orally to sixty-nine bilingual participants for a translation task. A brief questionnaire asking each participant to describe aspects of his or her bilingualism was applied following the elicitation process. Based on age and contact scores derived from the questionnaire, participants were assigned to groups for the analysis. A description of the piloting process can be found in the second half of the chapter.

2.1 Data collection methodology

2.1.1 Participants

Sixty-nine bilingual speakers of Veneto and Spanish participated in the study: 35 older speakers ranging in age from 58 to 85 and 34 younger speakers ranging in age from nine to 20. All participants were approached by the investigator by taking advantage of the dense social networks in the bilingual community (see Milroy, 1980, for details on the use of social networks for data elicitation). Almost every participant who was interviewed provided the researcher with possibilities for future interviews.

Age of potential interviewees was the major factor in selecting participants, as the researcher was interested in finding either older or younger speakers of Veneto.

2.1.2 Advisors

Two bilingual advisors participated in the design of the current study and the elaboration of stimuli. The first advisor, an undergraduate student of Language and Literature in his final year, is a member of the Chipileño community trained in linguistic theory but is a non-native speaker of Veneto. The second advisor lacks training as a linguist but is both a member of the community and a native speaker of Veneto. Both have carried out ethnographic observations of the use of Veneto in the community as part of a continuing personal project. These observations, which served as an initial foundation for this study, include observations of lexical changes in Veneto which range from the borrowing of cultural and core Spanish terms (Myers-Scotton, 1993,) as well as changes in syntactic frame of verbs.

2.1.3 Materials

2.1.3.1 Questionnaire

A short questionnaire was adapted from Hall and Smith (unpublished) and was translated to Spanish by the researcher. This questionnaire was further adapted for the younger and older interviewees. The purpose of this questionnaire was to collect sociolinguistic information about each informant which would allow distribution into groups. Questions uncovered two types of information about each speaker: 1) the level

of bilingualism and 2) the degree of contact with Spanish. A copy of both questionnaires can be found in Appendix 1.

2.1.3.2 Stimuli

A list of verbs that differ from their Spanish translation equivalents in syntactic frame and were suspected to be undergoing syntactic frame changes was constructed with the help of the bilingual advisors. This was done primarily by using the Veneto-Spanish dictionary elaborated by MacKay (2002) which contains partial information about the syntactic frame of Veneto words (for nouns: gender; for verbs: reflexivity; use of prepositional complements for phrasal verbs only). Information obtained from this source was supplemented and/or tentatively confirmed by ethnographic observations made by advisors.

The dictionary was estimated to contain approximately 1700 verbs, based on the average number of verbs found on several randomly selected pages multiplied by number of pages in the dictionary. However, not all 1700 verbs would be appropriate for study. The first step of the process of selecting specific verbs consisted of an evaluation of culturally-bound verbs. Chipilo began as an agricultural town, and although it remains primarily so today, antiquated and terminologically specific verbs that would most likely be known only by the older speakers and not by the younger ones were not included. Although the loss of these words may be interesting from anthropological or ethnographic standpoints, this is beyond the reach of this project.

The Spanish equivalents of the verbs that remained were studied closely in order to determine the syntactic frame. The focus of this step was to find Spanish verbs that

either differed in prepositional complement or differed in reflexivity from the Veneto word. These two frame aspects were chosen because it was easier to work with the non-linguist advisor if the syntactic frame was more easily intuited and transparent, especially since the input from the native speaker was relied on more during this stage of stimuli selection than that of the Spanish-dominant linguistically-trained advisor.[1]

The process of narrowing down verbs yielded a list of approximately 400 verbs in Spanish. Working with the primary advisor, the meanings and syntactic frames of all 400 words were carefully studied. Nuances of the Veneto and Spanish translation equivalents were studied for two reasons. Firstly, a bilingual dictionary gives a definition of a word via its translation equivalent, but often it is only through use that the underlying concept of each word is understood. This is especially true for abstract words, which verbs tend to be. Secondly, it was important to ensure that the use of even a contextualized Spanish verb could not elicit a large number of corresponding Veneto verbs, since the goal was to elicit and study specific Veneto verbs. Many more possible verbs were eliminated based on these criteria. Syntactic frames of the remaining Veneto verbs were obtained and contrasted with the syntactic frames of the Spanish equivalent. One final elimination was made based wholly on the intuition of one advisor (see 4.5 for a discussion) that phrasal verbs such as *caier do* (Sp. 'caerse', Eng. 'fall down'), though they contrasted with the Spanish equivalent's syntactic frame, would not yield strong CLI results[2]. By identifying verbs whose syntactic frames differed from Spanish, a list of 24 verbs that could potentially be affected by inter-lexical

[1] The reasons that the Veneto-dominant advisor was used almost exclusively in this process were to receive a) native-speaker judgements on grammar, b) native-speaker judgements on lexical meaning, and c) input on actual use of verbs in the community.

[2] Cross-lexical influence at the frame level

influence was elaborated. Table 1 contains the list of verbs that were studied. The list contains the Spanish translation equivalent form and frame, followed by the Veneto form and traditional frame. Based on the contrast between the Spanish and Veneto frames, a hypothesized Veneto frame was hypothesized. This hypothesized frame was coded for the change that could logically take place. Accordingly, there are six types of changes (See table 1).

AP	Added Preposition
DP	Different Preposition
NR	No Reflexivity
AR	Added Reflexivity
DN	Different Preposition, No Reflexivity
DA	Different Preposition, Added Reflexivity

Table 1 Coding key

	Spanish stimuli		Veneto			
	form	frame	form	Traditional frame	Hypothesized innovated frame	code
1	Aprender	V, [__ a]	inparar	V, [__]	V, [__ a]	AP
2	Empezar	V, [__ a]	scominzar	V, [__]	V, [__ a]	AP
3	Hablar	V, [__ en]	parlar	V, [__]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]	AP
4	Insistir	V, [__ en]	insister	V, [__]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]	AP
5	Fiar	V, [__ de]	infidar	V, [__ in]	V, [__ de/da]	DP
6	Jugar	V, [__ a]	dugar	V, [__]	V, [__ a]	DP
7	Oler	V, [__ a]	nasar	V, [__ da]	V, [__ a]	DP
8	Preguntar	V, [__ por]	domandar	V, [__ de]	V, [__ par]	DP
9	Saber	V, [__ a]	saber	V, [__ da]	V, [__ a]	DP
10	Tropezar	V, [__ con]	ingambarar	V, [__ par]	V, [__ co]	DP
11	Recargar	V, [__ en]; V, [+refl.]	puyar	V, [__ su par]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ (su) in/inte/ente]	DA
12	Atrever	V, [__ a]; V, [+refl.]	osar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ a]; V, [+refl.]	DA
13	Cansar	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	stracar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ de/da]; V, [+refl.]	DA
14	Encontrar	V, [__ con]; V, [+refl.]	catar	V, [__ para]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ co]; V, [+refl.]	DA
15	Fijar	V, [__ en]; V, [+refl.]	infisar	V, [__ de]; V [-refl.]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]; V, [+refl.]	DA
16	Pelear	V, [__ con]; V, [+refl.]	brancar	V, [__ par]	V, [__ co]; V, [+refl.]	DA
17	Soñar	V, [__ con]; V, [-refl.]	insuniar	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	V, [__ co]; V, [-refl.]	DN
18	Caber	V, [-refl.]	logar	V, [+refl.]	V, [-refl.]	NR
19	Descansar	V, [-refl.]	destracar	V, [+refl.]	V, [-refl.]	NR
20	Necesitar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	ocorer	V, [__]; V, [+refl.]	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	NR
21	Irse	V, [+refl.]	ndar	V, [__]	V, [+refl.]	AR
22	Levantar	V, [+refl.]	levar	V, [__ su]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__]; V, [+refl.]	AR
23	Parecer	V, [+refl.]	someiar	V, [-refl.]	V, [+refl.]	AR
24	Reir	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	rider	V, [__ de]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ de/da]; V, [+refl.]	AR

Table 2 Spanish-Veneto stimuli list with frames

For each verb in the list, a sentence with the Spanish translation equivalent was designed. These sentences included not only the verb in question, but also its preposition(s) or a complement, according to the syntactic frame in question. These sentences were written collaboratively by the researcher and the bilingual advisors. Suggestions for possible sentences as well as modifications were based on 1) providing sufficient context to the sentences to minimize ambiguity in meaning, concentrating especially on providing appropriate context for the verb, 2) considering appropriate social use of the language and, 3) the articulation of the verb and its complement. Sentence validity was confirmed through back-translation and some sentences underwent further modification after pilot results. These sentences had an average of 5.2 words. In addition, an equivalent number of distractor sentences was elaborated. These sentences contained an average of 6.3 words and often included verbs that were of interest to the advisors but was not in the scope of this present study. The purpose of including these distractors was to ensure that informants would be unaware of the specific objective and focus of the study. Stimuli were then randomized along with the distractors. Minor changes in ordering were made to avoid over-grouping of verbs with similar frames and stimuli sentences. A copy of this list of sentences can be found in Appendix 2.

Finally, taking into consideration the mental fatigue involved in doing oral translation tasks, especially for those who have not received formal training, it was necessary to ensure that any one verb would have an equal opportunity to be found at the beginning, middle, or end of the task. Therefore, the 48 randomized sentences

were divided into four groups. The order of each group of 12 sentences changed as the data collection proceeded.

2.2 Procedure

Access to informants was gained principally through being introduced into the community as a "friend of a friend" (Milroy, 1980). As Chipilo is a tight-knit community, sessions with each informant provided opportunities to meet new potential informants. All sessions were therefore conducted in a fairly impromptu fashion, since pre-selection of participants was not deemed necessary.

The researcher insisted that all sessions be carried out in a one-on-one fashion. Since these were done in people's homes or places of work, sessions were often briefly interrupted by family members or visitors. During interruptions, the session was momentarily suspended.

The first part of each session involved filling out the language history questionnaire. This was usually done by the researcher, especially during sessions with older interviewees or the very young, who were unaccustomed to filling out questionnaires.

The second part of each session involved administering the oral stimuli. Informants were instructed that they would hear sentences in Spanish which they had to translate to Veneto. As this part of the interview was being audio recorded, informants were also instructed to speak into the microphone. The translation activity typically lasted between five and ten minutes. The time needed to fill out the questionnaire and do the translation activity lasted no longer that half an hour.

2.2.1 Data coding procedure

Recordings were studied as data collection proceeded. Using the stimuli list in Table 1 as support, a spreadsheet was made noting for each participant the form of the verb used, the frame of the verb, and observations about the form and frame. These observations consisted of categorizing each elicited verb translation as borrowed from Spanish or as having a classical Veneto or innovated frame

2.2.2 Questionnaire coding procedure

As mentioned earlier, two different questionnaires were administered according to the age of the participant. The purpose of the questionnaires was to have an objective way of determining the degree of contact each participant has with Spanish. Since the questionnaire included questions about the individual's language acquisition and linguistic abilities in addition to domains, not all answers to the questionnaire were used to calculate the contact score. Answers to individual questions about domains were scored as +1 when there was a tendency to use more Veneto and +2 when the tendency was to use more Spanish. Although participants were asked to make clear choices between these options, some insisted that they used as much Spanish as Veneto for some domains; in these instances a score of +1.5 was given. Answers to questions about frequency of language use were scored on a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 indicating a higher frequency use of Veneto and 4 indicating a higher frequency use of Spanish. Raw scores were divided by the highest possible score and converted to a contact score.

Questions about language use at work were reserved for older speakers, although some of the older adolescents were employed part time. Adults fell into three basic categories regarding work: 1) housewives, having never worked outside of the home or stable; 2) retired workers, having worked previously in Chipilo, Cholula, or elsewhere; and 3) currently employed. Raw scores were again divided by the highest possible score and converted to a contact score, but due to work status, the adults' scoring procedure was slightly different from that of the adolescents. Housewives had no additional points added to their score. Retirees or people who were still employed had additional points added to their raw score based on whether they were employed in Chipilo, whether Veneto was the language used at work, and the amount of time spent working outside the home. These raw score were also converted to contact scores. For an example of how scores were calculated, see appendix 3.

2.2.3 Participant assignment procedure

Participants were assigned twice to groups; the first distribution based solely on age, allowing the researcher to compare all 69 speakers. A second distribution of participants was based on the contact score from the language history questionnaire, providing the researcher with a more objective standard for determining degree of contact with Spanish. Originally, it was hoped that not only would there be two clear groups according to age, but also that the people in both age groups could be easily assigned to the subgroups of +/- contact. However, it was found that for both older and younger speakers there was a continuum between less contact and more contact, meaning that there was no clear cut-off point in the middle to divide either group.

Instead, the polar extremes for both groups were used for comparison. The cut-off points were arbitrary in a sense, but effort was made to consider clusters of scores so that individuals with almost identical scores were grouped together instead of being separated.

In the case of the younger speakers, the contact scores ranged between .407 to .944 (out of a possible range of .370 to 1.000), whereas among older speakers the scores ranged from .384 to .725 (out of a possible range of .357 to 1.000). Eight younger speakers with scores from .407 to .463 were compared to eight younger speakers with scores from .610 to .944; from the older group, seven speakers with scores ranging from .384 to .393 were compared to nine speakers whose scores ranged from.496 to .725. The distribution of these informants is given in Table 2.

	Less contact with Spanish	More contact with Spanish
Younger than 20	8	8
Older than 54	7	9

Table 2 Distribution of bilingual informants according to contact

2.3 Pilot study

The pilot was carried out to resolve questions about the methodology that would be used. Initially, two tasks were proposed: an oral translation task and an oral elicitation task, similar to an oral elicitation task (OET). Later, a written task was also considered. The purpose of piloting these three instruments was to ascertain which

would yield the best elicitation rate of the target Veneto verb and its complement, and to make any necessary modifications to the procedure.

2.3.1 Pilot study participants

Five participants, distributed across three generations of the same family, were chosen for the pilot. The participants represented different age groups as well as different educational levels and contact with Spanish. The general breakdown of the five is as follows:

Age	Less contact with Spanish	More contact with Spanish
20's	1	1
40's	1	0
60'2	2	0

Table 3 Distribution of bilingual informants for pilot

2.3.2 Pilot study materials

Three data collection techniques were elaborated: translations, oral elicitation tasks, and a written task. All instruments used as a guide the list of Veneto verbs that are hypothesized to be undergoing innovations.

First, a list of 31 sentences was designed with the Spanish translation equivalents of verbs that are hypothesized to be undergoing a shift to the Spanish syntactic frame. These sentences included not only the verb in question, but also its preposition(s) or a complement, according to the syntactic frame in question. Suggestions for possible sentences were made through collaboration between the researcher and one of the bilingual advisors. For the pilot, these sentences were randomly ordered, yet no distractor sentences were incorporated. (See appendix 4).

Second, an Oral Elicitation Task was elaborated. These tasks consisted of a list of 24 multiple-component situations with a linear logic between the beginning and middle, and an open end to be provided by the informant. These were written to reflect social situations endemic to Chipilo, translated to Veneto, and audiotaped with the voice of the second informant, a native speaker of Veneto. (See appendix 5).

The third instrument used written language instead of oral language. Words in the same thirty-one sentences used in the oral translation activity were randomized and the verb's prepositions and reflexive pronouns were removed. These prepositions and reflexive pronouns were included in a list at the head of the activity to be used as needed to complete the sentences while the participants wrote out these sentences. (See appendix 6).

2.3.3 Pilot study procedure

Piloting the above materials took place during two different sessions, one for the translation and oral elicitation tasks, and a second for the scrambling task, a month later. Not all informants participated in all tasks. Each session took place at the home of the participant and the only people present during the sessions were the participant and the investigator. However, since they were carried out in participants' homes, sessions were often briefly interrupted. During each interruption, the session was suspended momentarily.

The translation exercises lasted approximately five minutes and the oral elicitation task exercises lasted approximately 15 minutes. Both activities were audio taped. For the translation task, participants were told that they would hear a sentence

in Spanish and they should immediately give the translation equivalent in Veneto. For the OET part of the session, participants were told that they would hear a truncated situation in Veneto and that they would have to supply an appropriate ending.

The written task was carried out at a later date. Verb particles in 31 sentences were removed and the remaining words were scrambled by the researcher. These scrambled sentences were then presented to the participants. Participants were asked to unscramble the words, inserting words presented in a word list as necessary. Furthermore, as Veneto has no established written system, a hispanicized orthography was used in order to facilitate reading comprehension.

In order to gather data on language history, the researcher asked questions regarding parents, age, education level, and general contact with Spanish. The notes taken during this session served as the basis for the distribution of the participants as seen in Table 1.

2.3.4 Pilot study results and discussion

The translation task elicited responses for all of the sentences. As can be seen in table 4, the translation task elicited the target verb with a precision varying between 70% and 77% of the responses. Furthermore, for those responses that did not elicit the target verb, between 6 and 10% of the responses involved a borrowed Spanish verb. While the borrowing of Spanish verbs is not the central focus of this study, this still yields interesting data regarding contact between two languages.

	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
Target verb use	77%	71%	70%
Lexicalized Spanish word	10%	6%	7%

Table 4 Translation task results

The OETs also elicited responses for all situations. As can be seen in table 5, the elicitation rate varied between 39% and 57%, with the two younger participants using Veneto verb in question at higher rates. However, when the OET responses are analyzed for the frequency in which the verb along with its syntactic frame are elicited, the rate drops to between 9% and 17%.

Two observations can be made from this data. Firstly, the OET were not as successful as the translation task at eliciting the target verb. And secondly, the tasks was 18% less successful for the older speaker in comparison to the younger ones.

	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
Target verb use	57%	57%	39%
Target verb with frame	17%	19%	17%

Table 5 OET results for elicitation of target verb with frame

Finally, the written exercise showed the largest gap between older and younger speakers. While the 20- and 40-year-old speakers were able to do this task, the older speakers were not. The difference in abilities may be due to differences in exposure to

written Veneto as well as level of schooling, including literacy skills, leading therefore to differences in abilities to do school-like activities.

Based on the results of the pilot, the translation task was used for the interviews with only minor changes made, principally to ensure that all the prepositions would be articulated better. The OETs, on the other hand, were eliminated due to questions of feasibility. Regarding the written data collection method, as the older participants were unable to perform the task, this method was also eliminated.

Chapter 3

Results and Analysis

3.1 Nature of Results

Data that were elicited and audiotaped during the oral translation part of data collection sessions were partially transcribed to allow the analysis of the verb and its complement(s). For each speaker, the researcher noted two aspects: the Veneto verb's phonological form and the verb's frame. The form was studied and was categorized as 1) a classical Veneto form; 2) an hispanicized Veneto form with phonological features of the Spanish translation equivalent affecting cognates primarily; and 3) a borrowing, which was considered the displacement of a Veneto form by the Spanish equivalent's form with intact Veneto morphological features and was not limited to Veneto-Spanish cognates. Interestingly enough, when a Spanish verb was borrowed into Veneto, it followed the inflectional paradigms of Veneto verbs but the frame from Spanish remained intact with one exception (see 4.6 for suggestions for future research). Verbs with hispanicized phonological features did not necessarily use the Spanish frame to the exclusion of the classical Veneto one and were therefore included in the analysis of frame CLI.

By coding for the presence of borrowing, the incorporation of Spanish phonological features, and frame CLI, two different type of analysis were permitted: 1) a by-item quantitative analysis of individual target verbs used across all speakers, quantifying the variation in both form and frame and the age of the speakers, and 2) a

by-subject quantitative analysis of speakers in their respective group (young versus old, +contact versus –contact), quantifying the instances that form and frame CLI occur.

Before the analyses were carried out, all verbs that appear in the form-frame list were transcribed and tentatively studied. Verbs that were not eliminated (see below) due to a lack of evidence for their classical frame were included in quantitative analysis 2, for which all token of CLI and borrowing were quantified. However, not all verbs are described in detail in analysis 1 due to a redundancy of patterns of variation across speakers; instead, verbs that best represented these patterns were included in this analysis.

The amount of variation in form, and especially frame, was extensive and there were numerous examples of data that maintained a partial Veneto frame. For analysis 1, speakers were distributed into two groups: older and younger speakers. The linguistic features under study for this analysis were only those of form and frame, addressing only superficially the question of cross-linguistic influence. The motivation for this analysis was not to group responses as classical or innovated, but rather to describe the variety of answers elicited by each stimulus and to describe any patterns. The motivation was a description of the degree of variation, convergence, and divergence across speakers, taking the initial observations of data and going into greater depth.

For the second analysis, speakers were distributed first into two groups: older and younger speakers. The elicited responses of the participants were described as in line with or different from the classical Veneto form and frame. Then, the factor of contact was considered in the distribution into these four groups: older +contact, older –

contact, younger +contact, and younger –contact. These analyses directly address the overall degree of CLI and borrowing in the community. For this analysis, the elicited form and frame was compared to the classical form and frame, as given by the two Veneto-speaking advisors, and in the case of reflexive verbs, MacKay (2002). In this comparison, an all-or-nothing approach was adopted: if the form and frame did not completely match the classical Veneto form and frame, and if the variation detected matched the relevant properties of a Spanish translation equivalent, then this was regarded as an example of CLI.

In both analyses, data are presented as percentages of total speakers from whom quantifiable responses were elicited, i.e., the elicitation of a specific verb and its complement(s). Instances in which circumlocution was used instead of a translation equivalent were not included in the results and analysis unless such a phrase included the target verb with its frame.

Due to the degree of variation of responses, for some specific verbs it was necessary to verify that the classical Veneto form and frame were still used by at least a small segment of the sample. Without this additional support, it would have been unjustifiable to conclude the presence or absence of CLI in certain instances during the first analysis.

For this reason, it is important to note that the original stimuli list described in Chapter 2 was modified based on data collected from the sample's participants. Four verbs were eliminated from the analysis section, reducing the number of verbs from 24 to 20, and target frames of three verbs were modified. According to the informants, the following verbs *inparar* (Sp. 'aprender', Eng. 'learn')*, brancar* (Sp. 'pelear', Eng. 'fight')*,*

and *scominziar* (Sp. ‘empezar’, Eng. ‘begin’) took no preposition in classical Veneto and were hypothesized to take the Spanish preposition *a.* All speakers young and old converged to a V, [__ a] frame for these three verbs, leaving no evidence that the classical Veneto frame was ever anything but this one. The verb *dugar* (Sp. ‘jugar’, Eng. ‘play’) was also eliminated since the synonymous phrase *far moti* was elicited as often as *dugar* was, thereby not providing the researcher with sufficient evidence of the form and frame in question. In addition, the frame of one verb was modified. Originally, the classical frame of *puyar* (Sp. ‘recargar’, Eng. ‘lean on’) was indicated as being non-reflexive and hypothesized to take the reflexive Spanish frame. However, no evidence was uncovered to indicate that non-reflexivity was ever the case in classical Veneto. The classical frame of *ingambarar* (Sp. ‘tropezar’, Eng. ‘trip over’) was originally listed as *par* in comparison to the hypothesized frame *co* (from Sp. ‘con’, Eng. ‘with’). No evidence was found among this sample to substantiate this claim; however, the verb was included in the analysis due to a high rate of borrowing. Finally, the Veneto verb *infisar* (Eng. ‘attend to’) was originally given as the translation equivalent of the Spanish verb *fijar*. However, in the course of data collection, the researcher found that a large number of speakers gave *bardar* as the translation equivalent. Since a closer analysis revealed that older speakers predominantly gave the form *bardar* while younger speakers predominantly gave the form *infisar*, both the verb *bardar* and *infisar* with their respective frames were accepted as classical Veneto equivalents. The modified form and frame list can be found in Table 1.

	Spanish stimuli		Veneto			
	form	frame	form	Traditional frame	Hypothesized innovated frame	code
1	Hablar	V, [__ en]	parlar	V, [__]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]	AP
2	Insistir	V, [__ en]	insister	V, [__]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]	AP
3	Fiar	V, [__ de]	infidar	V, [__ in]	V, [__ de/da]	DP
4	Oler	V, [__ a]	nasar	V, [__ da]	V, [__ a]	DP
5	Preguntar	V, [__ por]	domandar	V, [__ de]	V, [__ par]	DP
6	Saber	V, [__ a]	saber	V, [__ da]	V, [__ a]	DP
7	Tropezar	V, [__ con]	ingambarar	V, [__ co]	Not applicable	DP
8	Recargar	V, [__ en]	puyar	V, [__ su par]	V, [__ (su) in/inte/ente]	DA
9	Atrever	V, [__ a]; V, [+refl.]	osar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ a]; V, [+refl.]	DA
10	Cansar	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	stracar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ de/da]; V, [+refl.]	DA
11	Encontrar	V, [__ con]; V, [+refl.]	catar	V, [__ para]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ co]; V, [+refl.]	DA
12	Fijar	V, [__ en]; V, [+refl.]	infisar	V, [__ de]; V [-refl.]	V, [__ in/inte/ente]; V, [+refl.]	DA
13	Soñar	V, [__ con]; V, [-refl.]	insuniar	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	V, [__ co]; V, [-refl.]	DN
14	Caber	V, [-refl.]	logar	V, [+refl.]	V, [-refl.]	NR
15	Descansar	V, [-refl.]	destracar	V, [+refl.]	V, [-refl.]	NR
16	Necesitar	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	ocorer	V, [__]; V, [+refl.]	V, [__]; V, [-refl.]	NR
17	Irse	V, [+refl.]	ndar	V, [__]	V, [+refl.]	AR
18	Levantar	V, [+refl.]	levar	V, [__ su]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__]; V, [+refl.]	AR
19	Parecer	V, [+refl.]	someiar	V, [-refl.]	V, [+refl.]	AR
20	Reir	V, [__ de]; V, [+refl.]	rider	V, [__ de]; V, [-refl.]	V, [__ de/da]; V, [+refl.]	AR

Table 1 Modified Spanish-Veneto stimuli list

3.2 Analysis 1: Variation of verb forms and frames across speakers

While coding for the form, frame, and presence of CLI, the researcher observed a great degree of variation in elicited responses, often regardless of the age of each informant. These unsystematic observations lead the researcher to investigate 1) the presence or absence of a majority pattern primarily among older speakers but also among younger speakers, 2) any divergence from these norms, and 3) the degree of variation among speakers. This analysis was crucial in order to proceed to the second analysis since doubts were brought up about the frame of a number of verbs. Through this first analysis, evidence was found about whether the proposed syntactic frame was in fact used by any members of the community, thereby giving support to the frames listed in the form-frame list. This analysis was also crucial to study what kind of variation takes place and in what situations it occurs. For this analysis, variation was studied as a function of age and not of degree of contact to see overall patterns of language use within the community.

Although variation was quite common, this was not the case for all verbs. For example one hundred percent of all speakers used a non-reflexive form *ndar*, (Eng. 'go'), as opposed to making it reflexive like its Spanish translation equivalent *irse*, thereby showing maintenance by all speakers of the use of the classical Veneto form and frame.

Another example of a high degree of convergence is with the verb *rider* (Sp. 'reir', Eng. 'laugh'). One hundred percent of older speakers coincided on the classical non-reflexive frame, while 94% of younger speakers did so. While this demonstrates a high degree of convergence by both age groups to the same norm, still 6% of younger

speakers have used a divergent form of Veneto, using the Veneto form *rider* with a reflexive frame, reflecting CLI from Spanish.

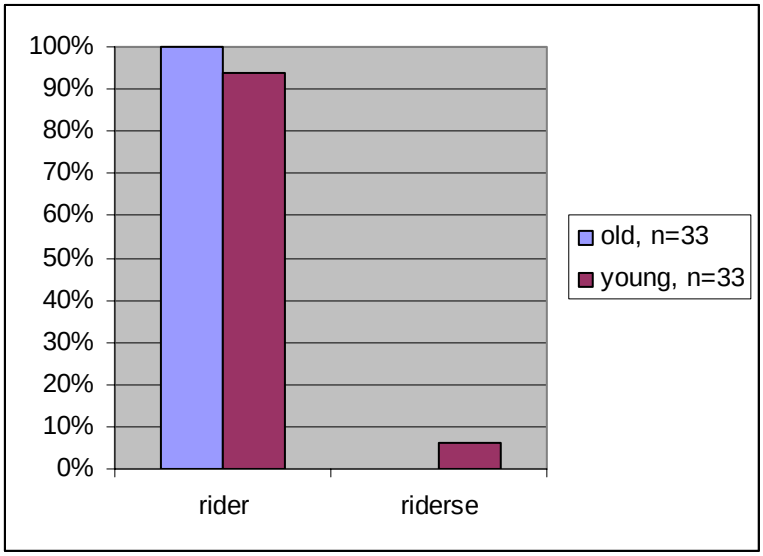

Figure 1: Reflexivity of *rider* (Sp. 'reir', Eng. 'laugh')

Although the above mentioned verbs demonstrate a high degree of speaker convergence both among older and younger speakers, the result is not always the maintenance of a classical Veneto form or frame. There are two specific examples of high degree of convergence by all speakers, but to a borrowed Spanish form. In these cases, the classical Veneto forms of *destracar* and *osar* are being replaced by the Spanish words *descansar* (Eng. 'rest'), and *atrever* (Eng. 'dare'), respectively. As Figures 2 and 3 illustrate, nearly 100% of all speakers are converging to these innovative forms. Responses which involved some form of circumlocution were not included in the percentages. It is also important to point out that those speakers who are maintaining the classical Veneto form are older speakers, although for both instances there were only two speakers who used the classical form.

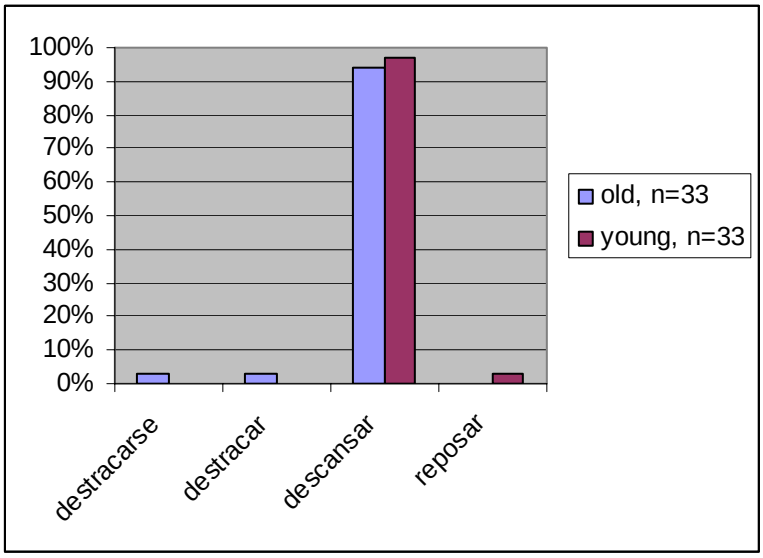

Figure 2: Displacement of *destracar* by *descansar* (Eng. 'rest')

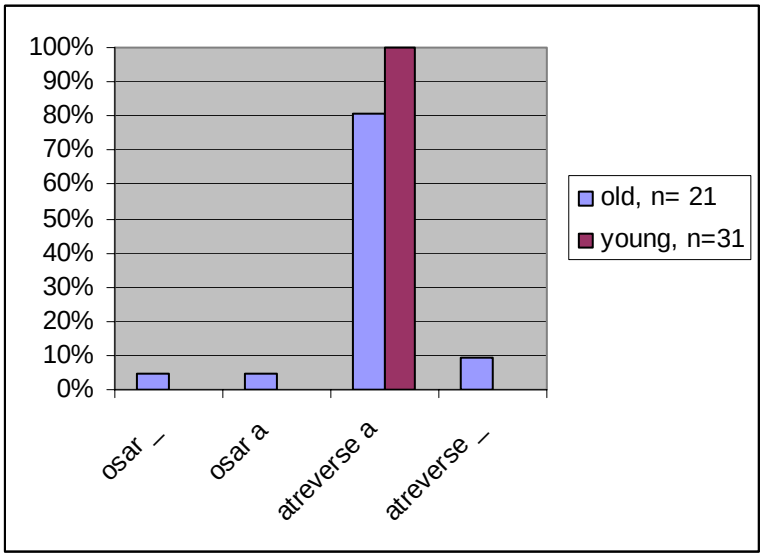

Figure 3: Displacement of *osar* by *atrever* (Eng. 'dare')

Based on the evidence above, the use of a particular form or frame by the majority of speakers is not necessarily an indication of maintenance of individual items of a heritage language lexicon. The first two examples are ones of maintenance of a

Veneto form while the second two are examples of loss of a Veneto form. In between these two fairly black-and-white cases of maintenance and displacement there are numerous examples of variation of form (including use of the Veneto form, alongside use of a hispanicized Veneto form, and use of a Spanish form), variation of frame (including everything from the adoption of the entire Spanish frame to the partial adoption of a Spanish frame), variation of both form and frame, variation across age groups regarding the presence of a norm, as well as differing degrees of convergence and divergence.

The majority of verbs demonstrate a great deal of variation across the two groups and across all speakers. Figure 4 illustrates the verb which demonstrated the highest degree of variation of both form and frame. There were 15 different responses given to the prompt *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on'). First of all, there is a great deal of form variation, including use of the Veneto form *puyar*, a hispanicized Veneto form *poyar, apoyar* (converged phonologically with the Spanish synonym *apoyar*), a Spanish form *recargar*, and perhaps a slip of the tongue in the production of the Spanish form *cargar*. Secondly, there is a great deal of frame variation due to the fact that the Veneto verb *puyar* takes a frame that is more complex than the other verbs in question because it takes two prepositions and is reflexive. The fact that this verb traditionally takes two prepositions is of great interest because, as Figure 4 shows, a large amount of variation is found precisely with the use of preposition(s).

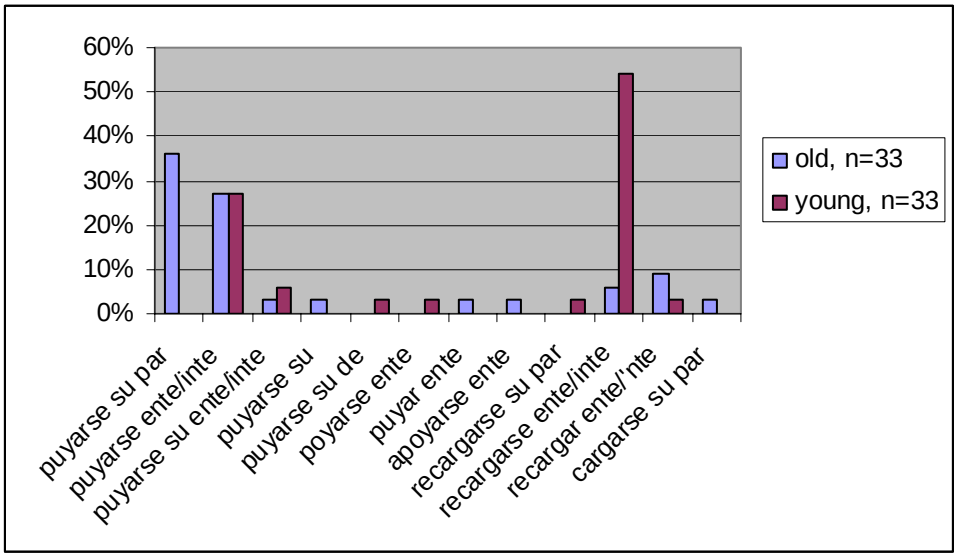

Figure 4: Translation equivalents of *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on')

So, in terms of form, frame, and the two together, this verb demonstrates a high degree of variation. But in terms of the presence of a norm, and degrees of convergence and divergence, the elicited responses demonstrate differential lexical knowledge of older and younger speakers. As we can see in Figure 4, amidst all the variation, three patterns emerge. Among older speakers, there is a tendency to use the Veneto form and frame *puyarse su par* which is reflexive and takes two prepositions as complements. Thirty-six percent of older speakers used this in the translation task to the exclusion of younger speakers, indicating that either the younger speakers are unaware of the form and frame used by older speakers (changes in linguistic competence) or that younger speakers simply differ from older speakers in their production (changes in linguistic performance). This number, however, is followed closely by the 27% of older speakers who used either *puyarse ente*/*inte*, which were also used by 27% of the younger speakers.

While older speakers show convergence to *puyarse su* par, younger speakers converge to a different form and frame: that of *recargarse ente* or *recargarse inte*. Fifty-five percent of younger speakers used this form borrowed from Spanish along with one of two frames also borrowed from Spanish, translating the Spanish preposition *en* to Veneto as *ente* or *inte.* Therefore, in addition to variation of form and frame, there is variation across groups as to the norm, since one norm (*puyarse su par*) coincides with the older age group to the exclusion of the younger age group, another norm (*recargarse ente*) coincides with the younger age group to the exclusion of the older speakers, while the third norm (*puyarse ente/inte*) is used equally by members of both age groups.

In addition, when we separate the feature of form from the feature of frame, we can see the total of instances in which the Veneto form was used, regardless of frame. In this case, 70% of the older speakers are maintaining at least the form of the Veneto lexical entry, whereas only 36% of the younger speakers are doing so.

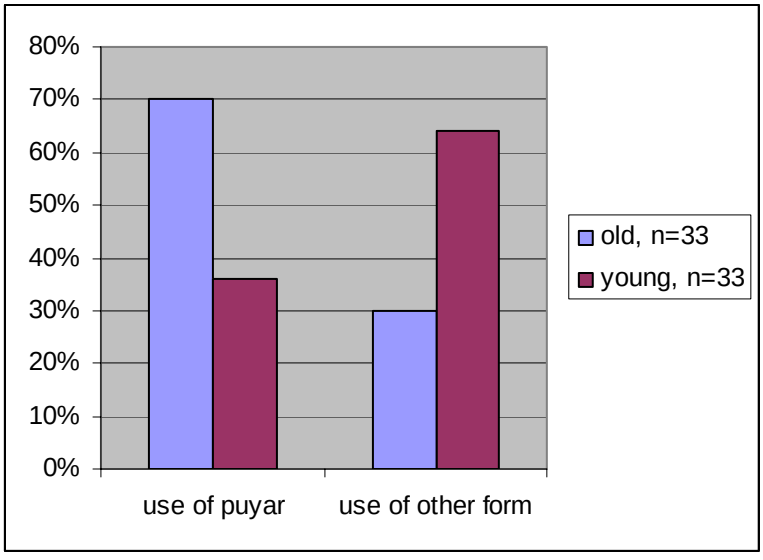

Figure 5: Forms used as translations of *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on')

We also find the use of the classical Veneto frame *su par* regardless of the form used. This prepositional complement is used almost exclusively by older speakers, who use it almost 40% of the time. Younger speakers, on the other hand use other prepositions almost 100% of the time. (See Figure 6).

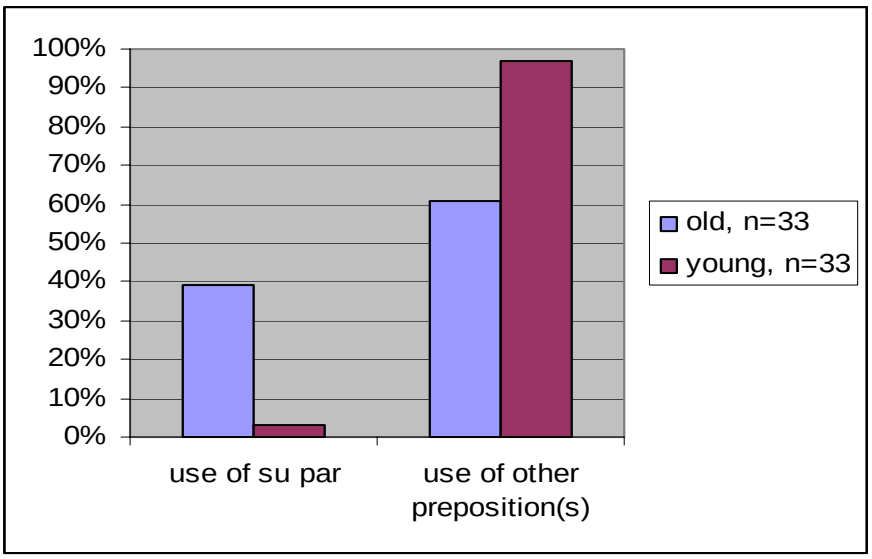

Figure 6: Frames used in translations of *recargarse en* (Eng. 'lean on')

There is only one case in which a younger speaker used the classical Veneto frame, but with the Spanish borrowed form *recargar.* While there are numerous instances of the Veneto form being used with the Spanish frame during lexical production, this is the only instance in this corpus of data in which the phenomenon occurred the other way around. (See 4.6 for suggestions for future research in this area.)

The following two sub-sections study in greater detail the effects of speaker variation on establishing new frame and form norms. Section 3.2.1 delves into the cross-generational progression from using the classical Veneto frame to using the

Spanish frame. Section 3.2.2 looks specifically at the effects of the Spanish lexicon on the Veneto one through the incorporation of Spanish verb forms into the Veneto lexicon. In addition, the use of Veneto equivalents (such as *bardar* and *infisar*, meaning 'attend to' in English) was also studied to explain the role the age of the speaker had on choice.

3.2.1 Frame shift

The example of *puyarse su par/recargar* and their variants is the most extreme case of all types of variation. Other verbs also show speaker variation and differences between norms for the two groups, but not to the extent of the translation equivalent of 'lean on'. The following example (see Figure 7) is that of convergence to a single norm by all speakers; however, the degree of convergence is different for older and younger speakers. In this case nearly all of the older speakers agree on and converge to the norm of maintaining a reflexive *logarse* (Sp. 'caber', Eng. 'fit'). Based on the responses from younger speakers, we can also find converge to this norm in the majority of cases, yet are nearly five times more likely to make *logar* a non-reflexive verb like its Spanish counterpart. Also, we see that younger speakers use the Spanish form *caber* with its frame in seven percent of instances. Therefore we may say that while there is still a strong tendency among younger speakers to use *logar* as a reflexive verb, there is a tendency to diverge from this norm and adopt the Spanish frame or even the Spanish form.

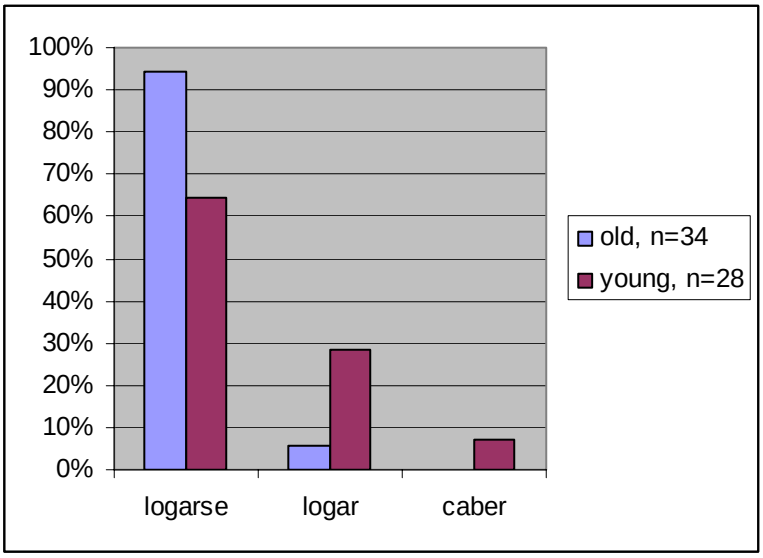

Figure 7: Commencement of frame shift

This is interpreted as a frame change in process. While much literature regarding linguistic change in process addresses phonological changes (Aitchison, 2001; Labov, 1972), an interesting phenomenon that occurs in these cases is that a speaker will often not use one specific form all of the time. Instead, he or she might alternate between, for example, the pronunciation of an elite upper-middle class version of a word, and the pronunciation of a lower- or working- class version of the same word. According to Labov (1972), this alteration in pronunciation corresponds to social as well as age factors, with a clear pattern of social stratification. In the case of *logarse*, a word in the midst of linguistic change, the researcher observed the alteration between the reflexive frame (given by a younger speaker during the data collection session) and the non-reflexive frame (overheard by the researcher several days later in the speech of the same person). However, the data collection methodology was not designed to uncover alternation. Therefore, it would be interesting to determine in a later study the degree of

form and/or frame alternation within speakers and perhaps study linguistic insecurity (Labov, 1972: 52) in this bilingual community.

The next example is that of convergence by older speakers to one norm almost to the exclusion of younger speakers and by younger speakers to another norm almost to the exclusion of older speakers. While Figure 7 indicates a change of frame in process, Figure 8 indicates a frame shift that is nearing completion among younger speakers.

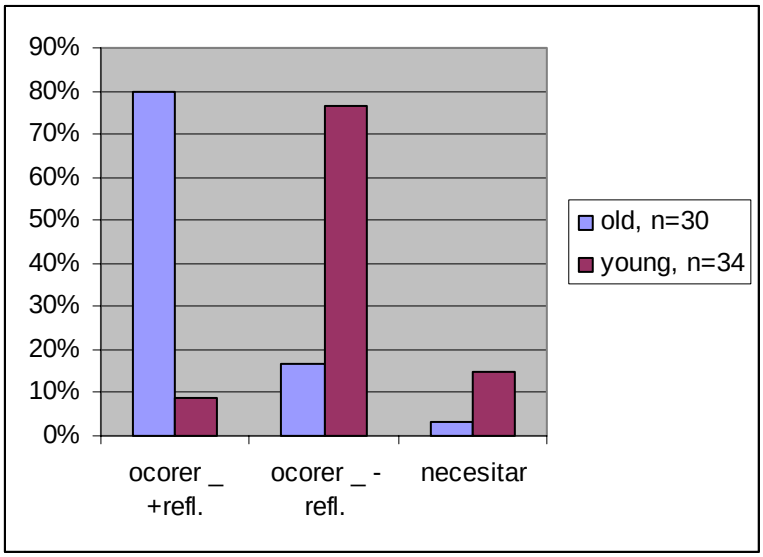

Figure 8: Advanced frame shift

Given that there is evidence from Figures 7 and 8 of beginning frame shift and advanced frame shift, it is logical to look for types of verbs that are currently completing a shift in frame use. Such is the case of Figure 9, which shows convergence by 100% of younger speakers and 67% of older speakers to the norm of using a reflexive frame with the preposition *co* for the verb *catar* (Sp. 'encontrar', Eng. 'meet'). The fact that only 33% of older speakers use other frames indicates, first of all, that shift is nearly

complete, but second of all, that there are some older speakers who have only notions of what the classical form and frame once were. One could then interpret *catar para, catar co,* and *catarse para* as partial features of a previous frame which was non-reflexive and took the preposition *para*.

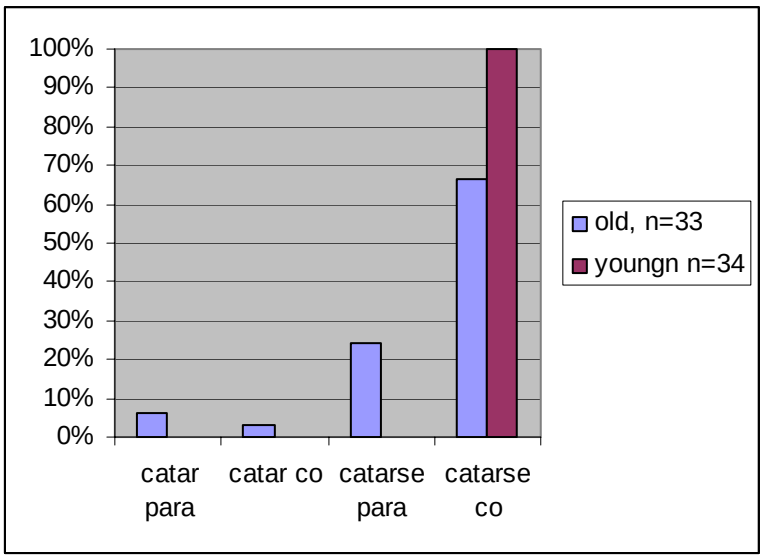

Figure 9: Frame shift completion

3.2.2 Form shift

Apart from frame shift, there are also clear examples of form shift as well. For this sub-section, the focus is investigating lexical borrowing but also considers hispanicized phonology as an intermediary stage. As with Figure 4 of the translation equivalents of recargar, which shows a large amount of form and frame variation, the verb *ingambarar* (Sp. 'tropezar', Eng. 'trip over') in Figure 10 shows a very similar type of variation.

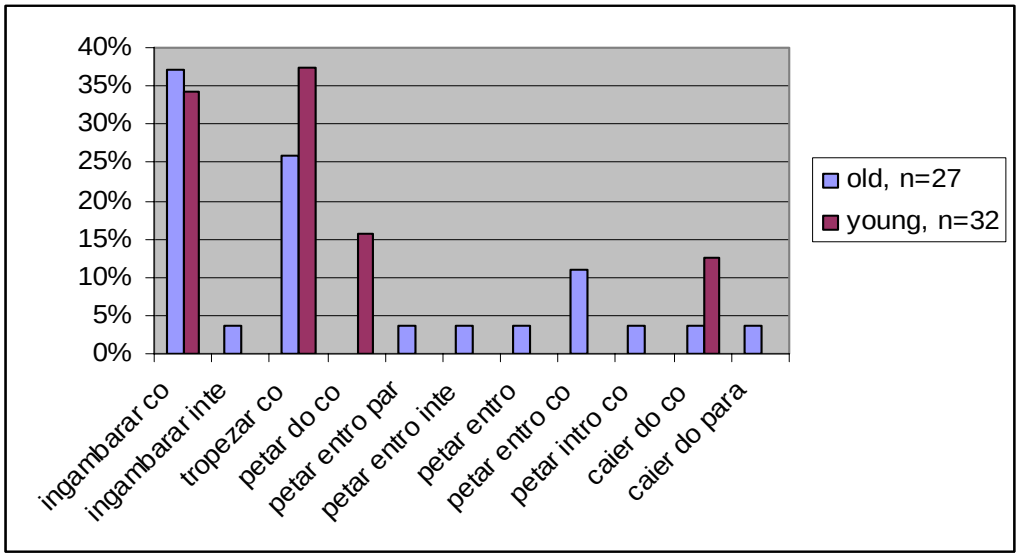

Figure 10: Translation equivalents of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip over')

Disregarding the frame for now, just as the translation equivalent of *recargarse en* shows a tendency to be either *puyar* or a Spanish or hispanicized form, the translation of *tropezar* has four possibilities, one of which is the Spanish borrowed form *tropezar*, and one of which is the Veneto word *caier*, cognate of Spanish word *caer* (Eng. 'fall').

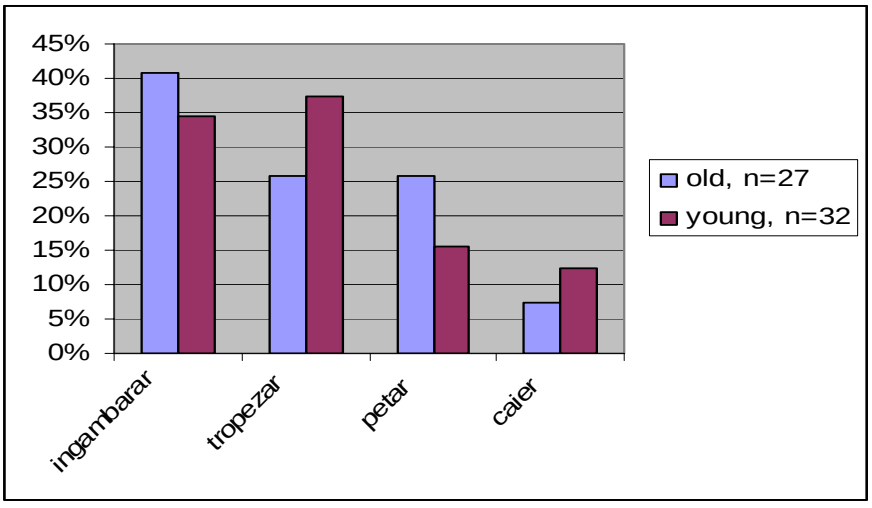

Figure 11: Forms of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip on')

First, we see that young speakers are just as inclined to use the Veneto form *ingambarar* as they are to use the Spanish form *tropezar*. And, although *tropezar* accounts for one third of all the responses from older and younger speakers taken together, as we see in Figure 12, classical Veneto forms account for the remaining two thirds.

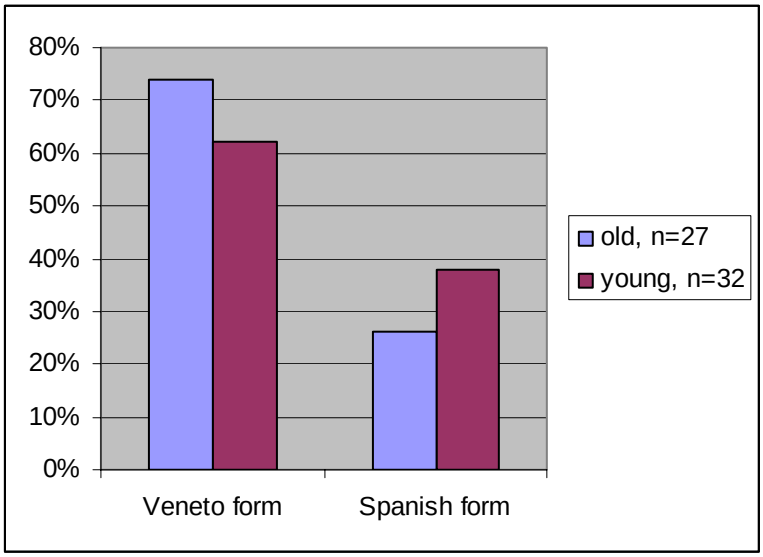

Figure 12: Use of classical Veneto and borrowed Spanish forms of the translation of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip on')

However, when we include the numbers for the cognate *caier* (Eng. 'fall') which is similar in form to Spanish *caer*, we find that younger speakers are just as likely to use a classical Veneto word as they are to use the Spanish borrowed word or a cognate. This seems to indicate a there is still a greater reliance among younger speakers on the Spanish form or cognates, at least for this specific verb.

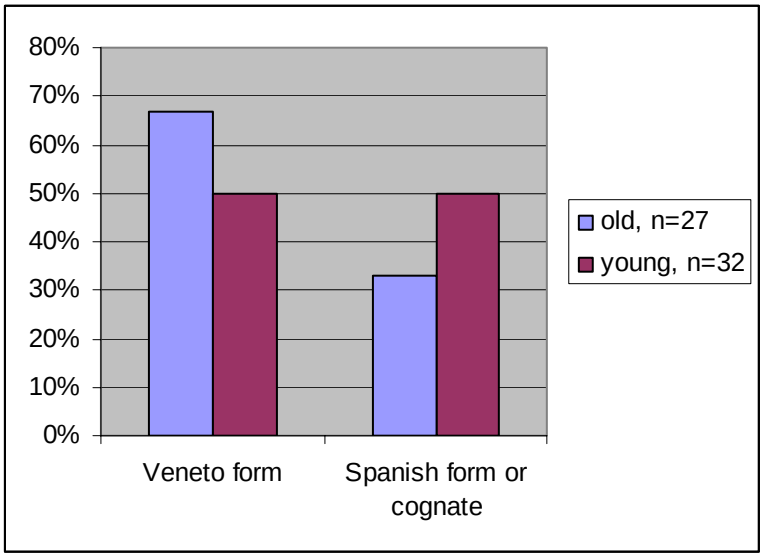

Figure 13: Use of non-cognate classical Veneto forms and cognate and borrowed Spanish forms of the translation of *tropezar* (Eng. 'trip on')

As further support to inter-generational form shift, we can study the translation equivalents of *fijarse en* (Eng. 'attend to'). Much like Figures 4 and 10, we notice variation of both form and frame. However, in this case, there are only two forms: *infisar* and *bardar.* We can also see a certain amount of convergence (to *infisar de* by young speakers and *bardar de* by older speakers). This is also the case of all of the above examples. Therefore, despite variation, convergence to some extent is typical.

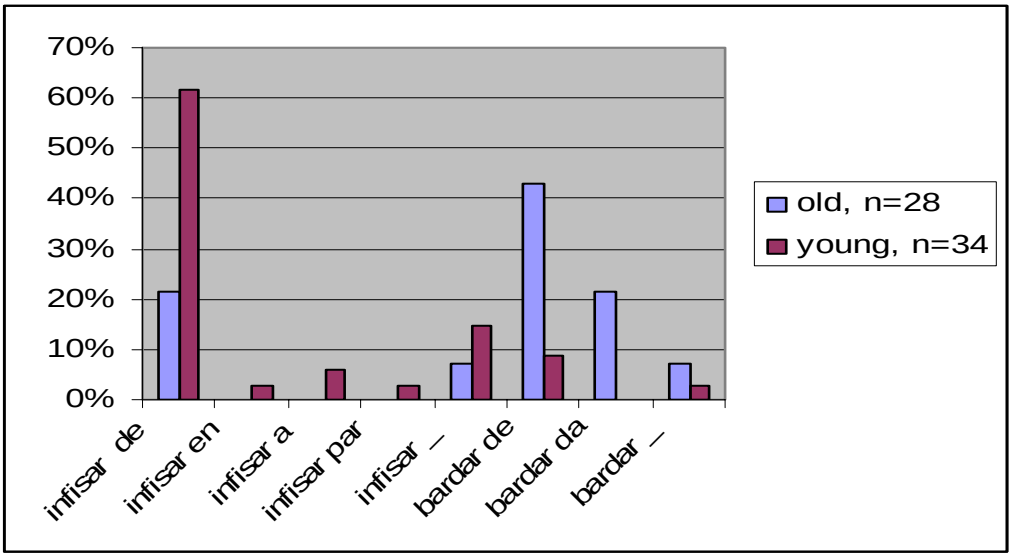

Figure 14: Translations of *fijarse en* (Eng. 'attend to')

The extent of convergence is made even clearer when we look at the form only and disregard the frame. In this case we see a difference in preference between two Veneto words; younger speakers converge to *infisar* while older speakers tend toward *bardar*.

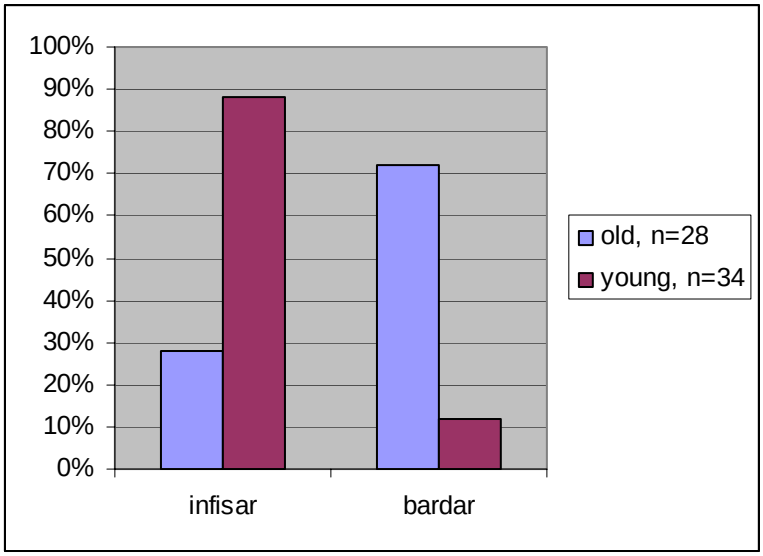

Figure 15: Form equivalents of *fijar* (Eng. 'attend to')

The question, then, is why is there a form shift between two Veneto words? Just as younger speakers demonstrate a higher degree of Spanish form influence with the use of *tropezar* and the cognate *caier*, the Veneto word *infisar* shares certain phonological features with the Spanish equivalent *fijar*, and one may argue that similarity in surface form may have been a catalyst in this shift of form.

Therefore, there is evidence that amidst variation, there is a tendency for speakers to converge to one group norm or two sub-group norms. In addition, there is evidence that amidst the variation in frames, there is a tendency also to converge and to shift from a Veneto frame to a borrowed Spanish frame. Finally, there is also evidence that the form of lexical entries is also undergoing a shift, as younger speakers tend to either use a Spanish form, a Veneto-Spanish cognate, or a Veneto word with phonological overlap with its translation equivalent.

3.3 Analysis 2: Degree of variation of forms and frames according to groups

The first step of this analysis was to determine if CLI was in fact detected in the population sample of bilingual Veneto speakers at a rate that would warrant further investigation. If this were found to be the case, the next steps would be to determine if factors such as age and degree of contact with Spanish affected the degree of CLI. A total of 1194 coded responses from 69 speakers (averaging 17.3 responses per individual, out of a possible 20) were found to yield the following results: a total of 475 responses, or 39.8%, were determined to be forms and frames consistent with classical Veneto; 484 responses or 40.5% of the verbs maintained the classical Veneto form

influenced by the Spanish frame of the translation equivalent; and that 235 or 19.7% of elicited verbs were in fact borrowed lexical items from Spanish. Taking the cases of frame CLI with form CLI, a total of 719 instances (60.2%) were influenced in some way by Spanish. (See Figure 16).

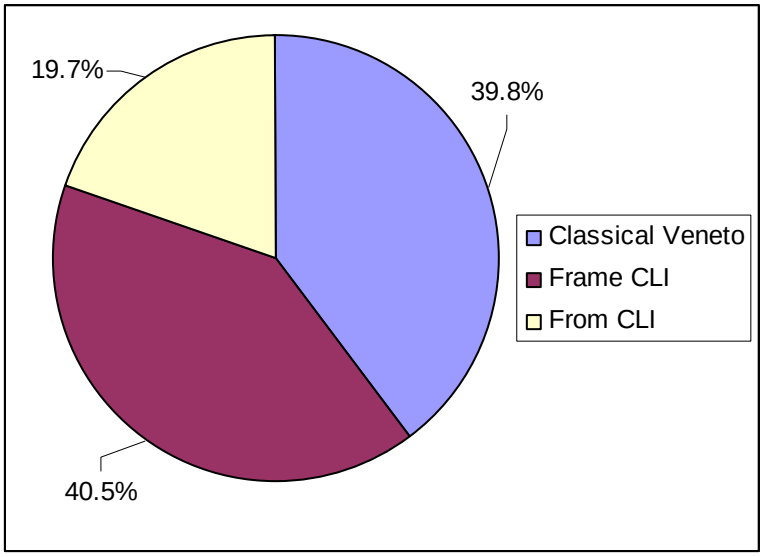

Figure 16: Form CLI, Frame CLI, and Classical Veneto

Since variation was so prevalent among speakers, there were several instances, such as with the case of *catar* (Sp. 'encontrar', Eng. 'find'), in which a limited number of primarily older speakers used what was the classical Veneto form as shown in the form-frame list (section 3.1.3.2). It is for this reason that a conservative approach was taken to quantify frame CLI. Often, as in the case of *catar*, older speakers used what appeared to be partial features of the classical frame; these instances were counted as –CLI due to existing doubts as to the original frame.

To verify whether age or contact play a role in the degree of CLI, responses from 35 older speakers, totaling 587, and 34 younger speakers, totaling 607, were tallied

according to the presence of frame and form CLI. T-tests were used to compare means for instances of +CLI, -CLI, and borrowed Spanish forms in order to determine the statistical significance of differences in means. These results are presented in Figure 17. When looking at the histograms for –CLI and +CLI, interestingly enough, one sees that they are nearly mirror images of one another and that older speakers are conserving a more classical version of Veneto while the younger speakers are innovating the language with Spanish frames.

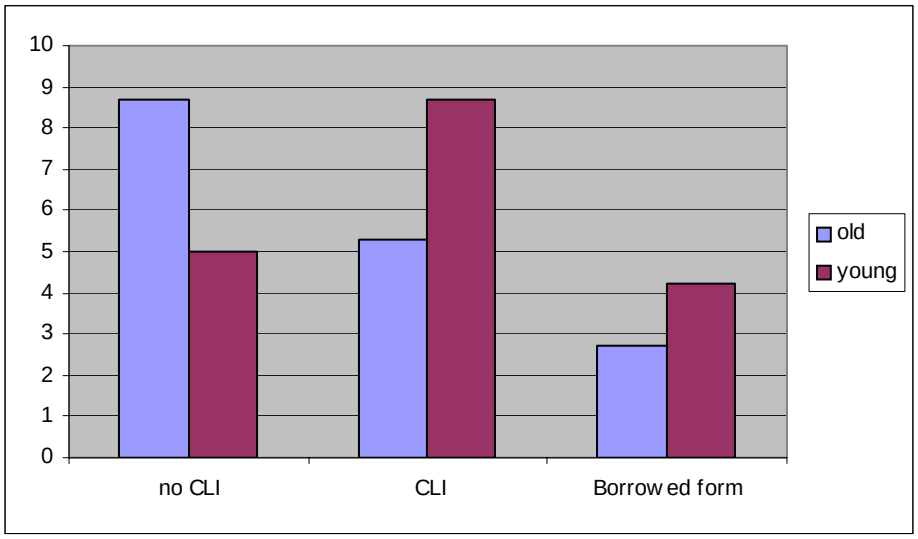

Figure 17: Form and frame CLI

In order to reaffirm intuition, t-tests were performed to test for the statistical significance of the observed differences. For this, three null hypotheses were tested: 1) there is no difference between the means of – frame CLI of the two age groups, 2) there is no difference between the means + frame CLI of the two age groups, and 3) there is no difference between the means of – from CLI of the two age groups. The results of

the three separate T-tests are presented in Table 1, followed by an interpretation of these results.

	- CLI		+ CLI		Borrowed	
	younger	older	younger	older	younger	older
Mean (out of 20 stimuli)	4.97	8.74	8.74	5.34	4.15	2.69
Confidence interval						
Lo	4.459	8.239	8.177	4.792	3.586	2.133
Hi	5.482	9.247	9.294	5.894	4.708	3.238
Probability of chance	<0.01		<0.01		<0.01	

Table 2: Statistical analysis of the factor of age in CLI (t-tests)

For all three t-tests, the means, which are the average number of instances out of the 20 stimuli, were found to be sufficiently different so as to conclude that younger and older speakers are statistically different in their use of the Veneto lexicon. The probability of these data being due to chance was found to be <0.01. Therefore, we can infer that not only do younger and older speakers behave differently, but that based on the group means, older speakers use a more classical form of Veneto verbal frames while younger speakers use a more innovated form of Veneto with higher rates of lexical and frame borrowing from Spanish and that the degree of change in the Veneto lexicon corresponds to age.

Once it was determined that there was a statistical difference between younger and older speaker in terms of conservation and innovation of their language, the next process was to assess whether contact was in itself a factor. A series of further T-tests were conducted after breaking the age groups down into their respective +/-contact groups. The results of the t-tests are presented in Table 2.

	Younger			Older		
	- CLI	+ CLI	Borrowed	- CLI	+ CLI	Borrowed
+ contact	5.12	8.62	4	7.56	6.56	9.33
- contact	4.50	8.62	5.25	8.71	5.83	8.57
probability	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05

Table 3: Statistical analysis of effect of contact on CLI (t-tests)

It is interesting to see that among older speakers, the tendency in raw numbers was that speakers scoring high on the degree of contact score innovated slightly more than older speakers who scored low for contact. A t-test, however, shows that degree of contact does not play a statistically significant role in the degree of CLI among older speakers.

The results among younger speakers were different, however. This group was also divided into subgroups of +/- contact but it was determined that their means for CLI were exactly the same, and also that the 95% confidence intervals were the same: 7.557 through 9.693. There is no statistical difference between the degree of CLI of the + contact groups and that of the - contact group. It was hypothesized that CLI would increase with contact but instead it remained steady. Therefore, we cannot infer from these results that degree of contact is in itself a determining factor of the degree of CLI (See 4.5 for the discussion regarding the validity of the questionnaire as a measure of degree of contact.)

3.4 Summary of data patterns

The findings of this study point to two general patterns: firstly, that there is a great deal of uncertainty about speech norms; and secondly, that younger speakers use a variety of Veneto that is more influenced by Spanish than the variety of older

speakers. Within these two general patterns we find that variation can be at the form or frame level or both simultaneously and we also find that variation in speech norms does not mean the same thing in all circumstances. For instance, older and younger speakers converge and diverge in different ways. We also find that while younger speakers use a more innovative speech form and while older speakers use a more conservative variety, the speech of older speakers is not immune to cross-lexical influence from Spanish. This difference in speech variety corresponds statistically to age and not to the degree of language contact itself, although younger speakers tend to have more contact with Spanish than older speakers and at the same time have statistically higher levels of CLI. The following chapter will offer more in-depth explanations for these linguistic changes occurring in Veneto and their relationship to language contact, bilingualism, and language shift.

Chapter 4

Discussion and Conclusions

This final chapter is dedicated to the interpretation and explanation of the results described in Chapter 3, examining the evidence in light of the original hypotheses. The results are a source of information about bilingualism and language contact, and the interpretation and explanation of these results are done with a hope to draw stronger links between bilingualism as seen by researchers of SLA and researchers of language loss. Components of this chapter include a discussion of implications of this study, a discussion of its limitations, and suggestions for continuing this line of research.

4.1 Interpretation and explanation of Analysis 1

Immediately upon preliminary data gathering, variation among speakers could be found to be more common than not. Although in some instances nearly 100% of the speakers gave the same responses (converged), this was not the case for the majority of verbs. Furthermore, variation cannot be interpreted in the same way for all verbs. There are instances in which there is convergence among many speakers toward the use of a classical Veneto form and frame with variation (divergence) away from this norm (either as the use of the Spanish form or frame or both). There are also cases of convergence toward an innovated form and/or frame with variation evidenced by the use of a more classical form/frame among a small number of speakers. Although there are cases in which variation is extreme (such as with *puyarse su par*), the tendency still is to find a certain degree of convergence. Convergence can be toward one norm, or in some instances, two. The Veneto verb choices to which speakers converge and the degree to which speakers converge correspond to age, which in turn are a function of whether the linguistic change has begun recently or is more advanced.

The ubiquitousness of variation indicates the uncertainty speakers have regarding community speech norms and their own intuitions about grammaticality. In other words, often the speakers might agree on the use of a form but not agree on the frame. Other times the speakers do not agree even on the form of the verb. For certain verbs such as *puyarse su par*, variation is extreme with respect to both form and frame. However, amongst the variation, there are patterns of divergence and convergence.

First of all, neither convergence nor divergence is exclusive to either age group. However, the patterns of convergence and divergence covary with age. For example, when older speakers converge at the same time that younger speakers diverge, it is the older speakers who use more conservative form or frame in Veneto while the younger speakers use divergent speech. When younger speakers converge at the same time that older speakers diverge, it is because a new norm is being created while only traces of the classical form and frame remain.

In addition, not all innovative speech used by younger speakers is present among older speakers, but the opposite is true. When older speakers use innovative speech, this same speech is also found among the younger speakers, but to a greater degree. Take for example the frame shift of the verb *rider*. The shift to the reflexive *riderse* was not seen with any older speakers but was beginning to occur among younger speakers. Another example is that of the verb *logarse*. The shift to a non-reflexive *logar* was seen among only two older speakers, but among nearly 30% of the younger ones. In these cases, shift is a fairly recent phenomenon.

However, for most cases, we can establish that shift has been occurring since older generations. For example, the use of *catarse co* is present in the speech of 100% of younger speakers and two-thirds of older speakers. The fact that so many older speakers use the hispanicized frame probably means that this change had already begun at least a generation earlier.

Furthermore, we have some instances of variation within the same speaker. This is seen primarily through self-correction during the interview sessions. Interestingly enough, not all self-correction was in fact correction since in some instances the speakers used the classical frame originally and then corrected themselves with the Spanish frame or corrected the use of a Spanish frame with the use of another Spanish frame. For example, an older woman used the classical non-reflexive *stracar* (Sp.

'cansar', Eng. 'tire') but immediately self-corrected to the innovative *stracarse*. The methodological design allowed the researcher to observe only immediate self-correction in the context of a brief interview. However intra-individual variation was discovered by chance encounter when a female teenager who had originally used the classical Veneto *logarse* (Sp. 'caber', Eng. 'fit') in the interview session was overheard about a week later using the innovated *logar.* Interestingly enough, this is the same participant who apologized by saying, "me equivoqué en unas palabras" immediately upon completing the translation task, although we can only speculate on what words she was referring to.

This type of variation indicates on an individual level the confusion regarding the use of frames and forms. It demonstrates an ability among these bilinguals to simultaneously access the frames of both languages for certain lexical items, indicating that both the Spanish and Veneto frames are linked to the verb form representation in an intermediate process before the Veneto frame is lost. However, it also indicates that in cases of immediate self-correction, the speaker may be consciously aware of two (or more) potential verbal choices, or at least arrive to some level of conscious linguistic awareness at the moment of the task.

Finally, self-correction and variation also bring up the question as to whether one can measure a person's underlying competence in a language by looking only at his or her production. In other words, if a person alternates between two (or more) choices, it is difficult to determine which of these choices is governed by the person's competence. And, if a person does not alternate and instead is quite consistent with his or her production, it may mean that production accurately reflects competence, but it could also mean that production may be constrained in some way and does not reflect competence. A third possibility is that the person consistently produces one response to the exclusion of another (such as the use by young speakers of the form *infisar* to the exclusion of *bardar* (Sp. 'fijar', Eng. 'attend to'), which is used primarily by older speakers), omitting the production of one to compensate for lacking competence.

4.2 Interpretation and explanation of Analysis 2

4.2.1 Discussion of hypothesis 1

A primary purpose of this study was to ascertain whether the phenomenon of cross-lexical influence, which has been shown to occur in the speech of an incipient bilingual (Hall and Ecke, in press; Hall and Schultz, 1994), may also occur in the speech of members of a bilingual community. Evidence of CLI among speakers in a bilingual community is of central importance to answer the first hypothesis of this project:

> The language contact situation and the ensuing bilingualism of the members of the Chipilo community have effects on the lexical architecture of Veneto, as seen in the use of Spanish syntactic frames of translation equivalents.

Any evidence supporting this is crucial since it indicates that the mechanisms through which a learner accesses underlying concepts through their L1 lexicon are the same ones that mediate heritage language lexical access among members of a bilingual community undergoing language shift. Therefore, evidence of the majority language lexicon influencing the minority language lexicon in cases of language shift could possibly then be used to support claims that language loss and language learning exploit the same cognitive mechanisms.

The speech of all speakers in this sample is characterized by some degree of influence from Spanish. Instances of borrowing Spanish word forms as well as syntactic frames are found throughout the sample. It is important to emphasize the overall patterns of evidence of this study. Two patterns were apparent even before a

detailed analysis was carried out: firstly, that there is robust evidence in this sample that cross-lexical influence is a real phenomenon in the speech of bilingual heritage language speakers; and secondly, that in addition to CLI, there is ample evidence demonstrating linguistic variation across fluent native speakers of a minority language.

The first pattern is of key importance to the first hypothesis of this study: that bilingualism and language contact have subsequent effects on the architecture of the bilingual mental lexicon. In the case of the majority of the verbs in this study, there is at least a minimal amount of evidence that either the form or frame (or both) of a Veneto verb are linked to the underlying concept via the Spanish translation equivalent. In some cases, it is the verb form that is borrowed, as in the case of *osar* → *atreverse,* 'dare'. Although borrowing itself is an interesting socio- and psycholinguistic phenomena, it is not the centerpoint of this research but is discussed in Chapter 3 and mentioned again here to strengthen the evidence of the interrelation and interdependence of two (or more) mental lexicons.

While lexical borrowing can be expected in cases of language contact, the borrowing of syntactic features is not as common according to Romaine's (1995) discussion of the hierarchy of linguistic borrowing. Although there is strong evidence of grammatical borrowing in cases of language contact and criollization, such as research documented by Gumperz and Wilson (2000 (1971)), to date no person has looked specifically at the borrowing of a verb's syntactic frame outside of the context of a second language learning situation. It is for this reason that establishing even a tentative presence of frame CLI in a situation of minority language contact is of great interest.

However, besides simply establishing the presence of frame CLI in Veneto, which would have perhaps been sufficient to answer hypothesis 1, this study seems to demonstrate the ubiquitousness of parasitic architecture of the mental lexicon. In other words, not only has frame CLI been documented, it has been documented with such a high number of instances, that seemingly it is omnipresent, being found even in the speech of the most conservative speakers and in relatively substantial numbers.

In overall numbers, evidence of frame CLI is found in 40.5% of all verbs. Compare this to 39.8% in which the verb is free of both form and frame CLI. The extent of frame CLI is beyond sufficient to substantiate the first hypothesis.

When looking at individual verbs, the numbers there, too, are indicative of the extent of frame CLI in Veneto speech. While some verbs such as *rider* (Span. 'reirse', Eng. 'laugh') demonstrate minimal evidence of being linked to the underlying concept via Spanish, other verbs such as *catar* (Sp. 'encontrar', Eng. 'meet') are strongly linked to the concept via Spanish, as evidenced by an almost 100% use of the Spanish verb's frame by speakers.

Given these data, it can be concluded that the contact with Spanish and the high degree of Spanish-Veneto bilingualism have lead to a modification of the architecture of Veneto verbs in question. In cases where the frame in classical Veneto and Spanish varied historically, in the present day we see a progressive collapse of two distinct frames of the translation equivalents into one, that of the majority language. The following figure visually demonstrates this process.

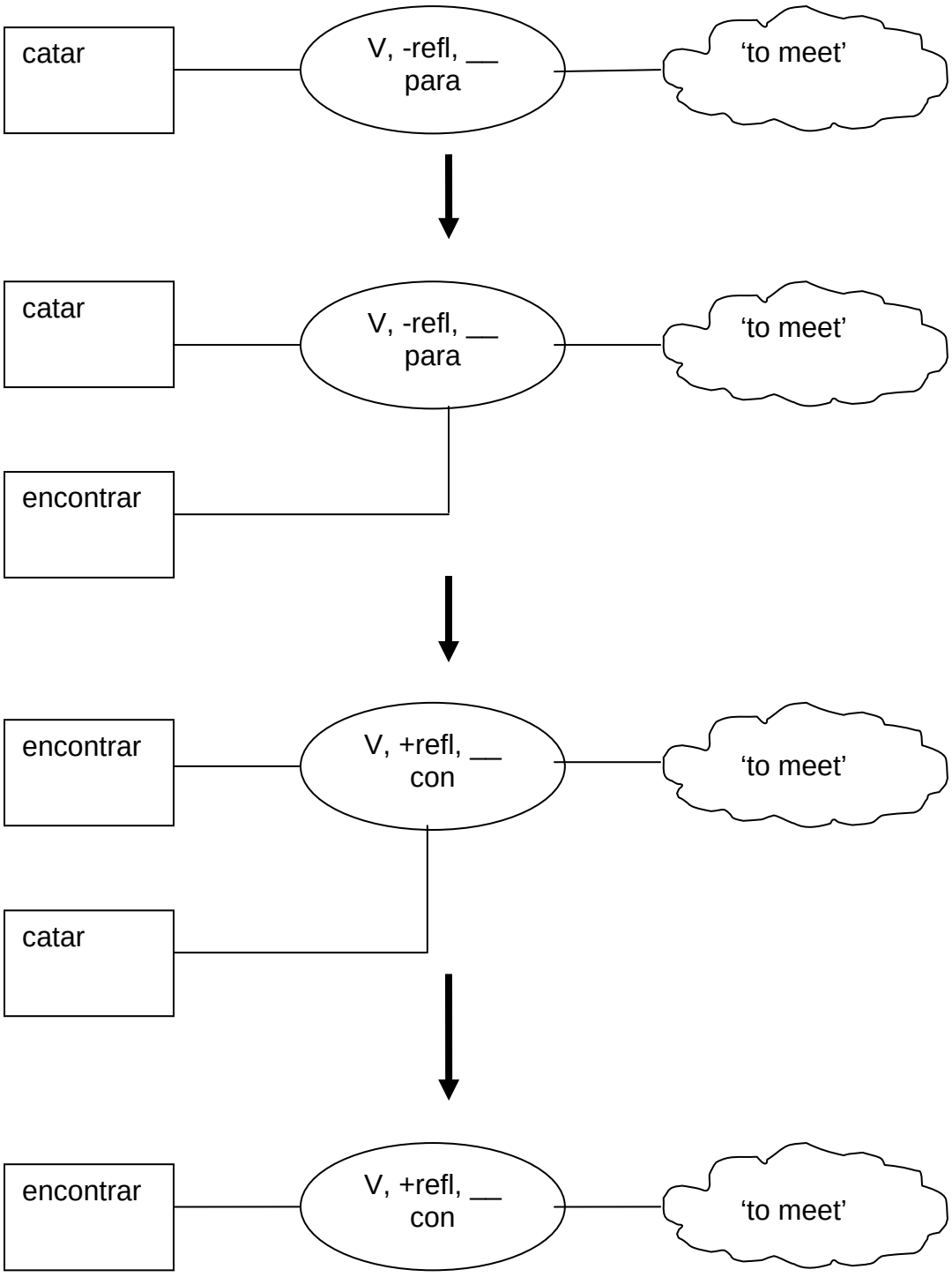

Figure 1 Proposed progression from monolingual Veneto speaker to monolingual Spanish speaker

The proposed explanation for this phenomenon is the opposite of the proposal of frame connections in cases of second language learning. In these situations, a monolingual speaker has lexical knowledge of only his or her L1. When L2 vocabulary is learned, especially in cases of beginning learners, the L2 form is linked to the underlying concept directly through the L1 translation equivalent's form. In addition, the L2 word is also linked to the L1 frame as a subsequent and automatic learning process. As the learning process advances and the L2 word is accessed more directly through the underlying concept, thereby strengthening this link, the strong links between the L2 and L1 words are weakened. This will make it more possible for the L2 learner to use the L2 word's syntactic frame with the L2 word (although this is not always achieved). The following figure is a visual model of this process.

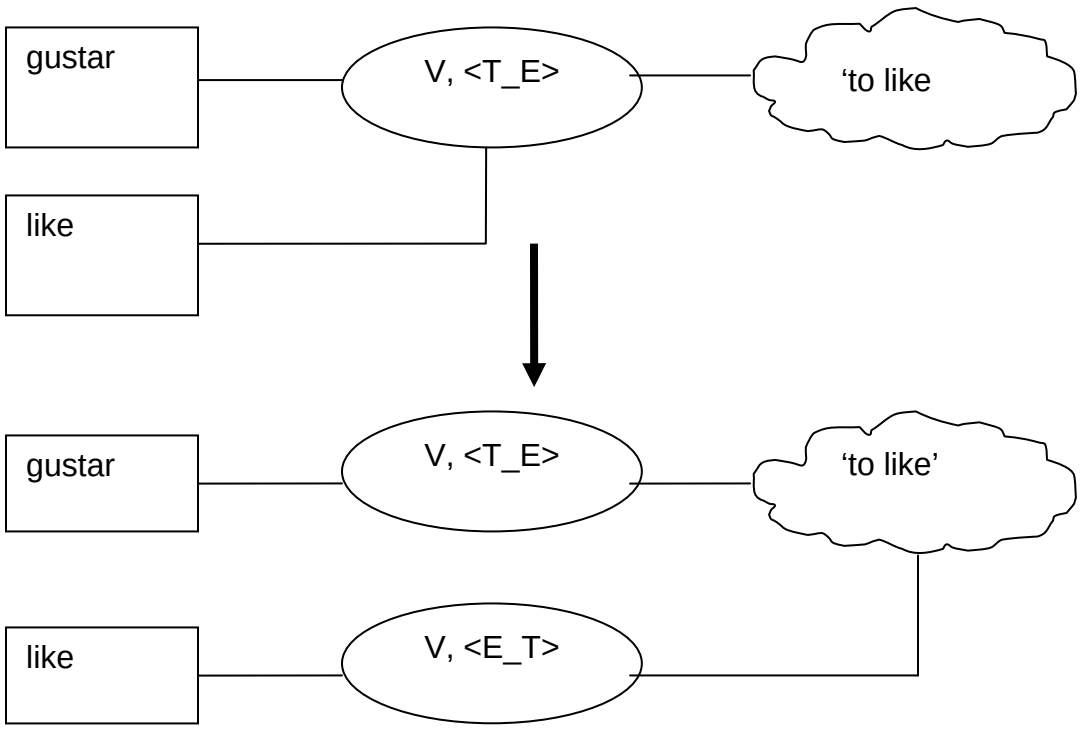

Figure 2 Increased autonomy of the L2 (Sills and Hall, submitted)

As we can see, the models of the mental lexicon which demonstrate the process of "forgetting" vocabulary in a language undergoing shift and the process of learning vocabulary in an additional language are the exact opposite. Increased contact with the majority language, accompanied with shift and decreased use of the minority language, lead to the minority language's lexicon becoming more dependent upon the majority language's. On the other hand, in cases of second language learning, increased contact with the second language will (hopefully) lead to greater autonomy of the L2. In other words, the cognitive processes are the same, but are mediated by the language contact situation.

4.2.2 Discussion of hypothesis 2

With the first hypothesis answered, conclusions will now be drawn about the second hypothesis:

> The degree of change due to cross-lexical influence in the lexicons of Veneto speakers will correlate first with the factors such as age and second, with the degree of contact with Spanish. The younger the speaker and the more contact with Spanish, the greater the cross-lexical influence.

Again, we find extremely robust data leading to the acceptance that CLI correlates to the speakers' age. When looking at the use of classical Veneto forms with their frames, the speech of older speakers is statistically more conservative than the

speech of younger speakers. Conversely, younger speakers use statistically more borrowed verbs and more Veneto verbs with the Spanish translation equivalent's frame. All of these claims have been corroborated with a probability of chance of less than .01.

Regarding degree of contact, however, the figures point to no directly measurable role that degree of contact plays in degree of CLI. When comparing young speakers who scored low on the contact questionnaire with those who scored high, and also when comparing high and low scoring adults, the differences in +CLI, -CLI, and borrowing were not statistically significant. However, though seemingly there is no evidence that degree of contact plays a factor in degree of CLI, it must be remembered that the contact score for younger subjects ranged from .407 to .944, while the contact scores for older speakers ranged from .384 to .725. This means that overall, younger speakers have been exposed to more Spanish than older speakers, still keeping in mind that the overall pattern of degree of contact shows much overlap. Since these two groups' speech patterns varied according to age, we may give at most tenuous support to the hypothesis that degree of contact plays a role in CLI. Therefore, in this study, while the second half of the second hypothesis cannot be directly corroborated with t-tests, the role of degree of contact should not be discarded completely.

Since degree of CLI cannot be directly attributed to degree of contact, the main explanation is that of age, since there are clear statistically significant data corroborating this correlation. What is more important at this moment, however, it to go beyond simply attributing lexical change to age. Rather, we need a discussion of the cumulative effects of language contact on the mental lexicon of the younger speakers which will be

discussed in the following section which offers a synthesis of both analyses and details about the cumulative effects of language contact.

4.3 A synthesis of analyses 1 and 2

Just as historical language change can be seen as the accumulation of individual changes over time, so must the changes in Veneto be seen. Contact with Spanish set into motion a series of changes in the mental lexicon of the first generations of bilingual speakers. As time passed, these innovations were found more frequently in input and output and were made more concrete as more and more speakers incorporated this new norm into their underlying knowledge of the lexicon. The input to younger generations, therefore, includes innovative linguistic features of older speakers. In turn, the output of these same younger generations includes these same innovated features that have become more concrete and acceptable.

As stated in Chapter 1, in situations where linguistic norms are enforced by speakers, innovated speech may be rejected and the speaker may be corrected, thereby slowing the rate of change. However, since correction and disagreement are often marked and unfavorable (Pomerantz, 1984), overt correction may not take place, and if correction does take place, it may be in the form of modeling, for instance. In cases where linguistic norms are not agreed upon, correction through modeling may not take place due to uncertainty about the lexical choice, and linguistic innovations may continue unchecked. This leads to a showball effect, much like that described in Aitchison's (2000) discussion of historical phonemic shifts. At first, only one phoneme is changed in a limited number of words. This phonemic change is extended to a greater number of words and at a faster pace as time goes on. Then, other similar phonemes undergo shift, a few words at a time initially and then spreading to many as

the shift progresses. As the shift spreads to more words and to a greater number of phonemes, the cumulative effect of these changes makes the rate of change increase up to a point at which the shift is nearing completion and the rate of change decreases, taking the form of an S-curve.

While suggesting that the changes in frame mirror an S-curve is beyond the scope of this study, it seems that lexical changes in Veneto are gaining momentum and that as time goes by, more and more words are being affected. Innovations are spreading from speaker to speaker and across generations as is evidenced by the commencement, advancement, and completion of frame shifts (see Chapter 3). It is apparent that lexical changes, although more prevalent among younger speakers, began generations ago, as seen in the speech of many older community members.

Therefore, it is important to state that while age correlates with degree of cross-lexical influence, it is not the cause. Nor were the very first speakers to initiate changes generations ago the cause. Instead, the Veneto language found itself in a sociolinguistic environment of 1) language contact, 2) a high degree of bilingualism, and 3) language shift which allowed the parasitic cognitive process to take place. This means that Parasiticism may be an automatic cognitive process only if and when certain conditions are right for it to occur, such as the case of an L2 learner or when a minority language is being lost.

In cases of heritage language shift, once parasitic links through the majority language have initiated, an environment is created in which innovations will spread from person to person and from word to word, just as in classical cases of language change. For instance, in the data presented in this study, we consistently find that the innovations that are present in the speech of older speakers are also present in the speech of younger speakers, but to a

greater degree. The accumulation of these cross-generational changes is leading to permanent changes in the architecture of this lexical entry. Linguistic changes already in motion are spread to other lexical items, which, as time goes by, may also become accepted as a norm and incorporated into the speech of younger generations.

Therefore, although language contact is a causal factor in a parasitic linking of two lexicons, degree of contact with Spanish does not itself determine the degree of CLI. Instead, contact with other speakers whose language has already undergone change accumulated over at least two generations, matched with unclear speech norms, explain why it is the younger generation that uses such innovated speech.

4.4 Implications

This study has a variety of implications at different theoretical levels in the field of linguistics, especially the areas of bilingualism, language contact theory, and language shift. Firstly, we have the implications for the Parasitic Model of the bilingual mental lexicon. Initially, the Parasitic Model served only to explain vocabulary acquisition phenomena in the language classroom. However, in the case of this study, the Parasitic Model serves to explain phenomena that occur in the bilingual mental lexicon when a language is undergoing shift. Therefore, the presence of parasitic linking could be seen as a symptom of a language contact situation in which the two languages are not represented with equal strength in the minds of the speakers.

Secondly, this study lends support to the theory put forth by Anderson (1989) regarding the similarities between language loss and language learning. We have direct evidence that vocabulary learning and vocabulary loss are constrained by the

same psychological mechanism, but working in opposite directions. This study should be seen as one more link between SLA research and research into language shift and loss. Therefore, researchers should take a more interdisciplinary approach when doing descriptive linguistics of languages undergoing shift and incorporate knowledge from SLA research.

Taking an interdisciplinary approach by bringing together socio- and psycholingustic perspectives to explain the same linguistic phenomenon gives these explanations greater validity. While parasitic linking of lexical items seems to be an automatic process among L2 learners, it also seems to be fairly automatic in situations of community bilingualism when sociolinguistic circumstances permit. In other words, sociolinguistic factors limit the amount of input speakers receive of a minority language which in turn leads to a situation that allows linguistic change to take place at the pycholinguistic level. It is the belief of this researcher that numerous linguistic phenomena such as the linguistic changes seen in this study, among many others, could be better explained if looked at simultaneously through the lens of a sociolinguist and a psycholinguist.

4.5 Limitations

The principal limitations of this study concern methodology. There are several reasons to state this, starting with the challenge presented to a non-Veneto speaking researcher who had to rely entirely on Veneto advisors to help with the initial stimuli list. Taken as a whole, this challenge was successfully met for this particular study. However, the researcher often relied more upon her advisors than she did on the

linguistic features of the Veneto words under study. Because of this, a number of Veneto verbs with frames that differed from the Spanish translation equivalent were eliminated prematurely, because they were prejudged by one of the Veneto speaking advisors as being almost "immune" to frame change. An example of this is the verb *caer do co* (Sp. 'caerse', Eng. 'fall down'). Therefore, the stimuli which were selected for this study may have been chosen based in part on intuitions by the advisors that those particular verbs were already undergoing frame changes. The problem with only including certain "pre-approved" verbs is that the results were prejudged and may have been skewed to reflect the types of changes occurring in the language. This also means that the stimuli list may not have been representative of Veneto verbs. Although looking back, all verbs which had frames differing from the Spanish equivalents should have been included in the study, given that the researcher relied heavily on the advisors and trusted their judgment, this unfortunately was not done.

A second limitation to methodology was the use of a translation task as the only source of linguistic information about form-frame choice. Although the pilot results indicated that of the three methods tested the oral translation task was the most efficient method for data gathering, it is still important to mention the difficulties that can be found during a translation task. This is due to the cognitive demands associated with performing translations, especially oral ones. Firstly, the translator must understand the meaning of what is to be translated and must have a memory sufficient to recall the original message. While some informants asked that sentences be repeated and therefore were exposed to the message again, the oral mode means that language exposure was temporary.

It was also found that there were many limitations to the language questionnaire. Although adapted from a questionnaire used in previous research on bilingualism by Hall and Smith (unpublished), it needs to be pointed out that this version was insufficient for a number of reasons. Firstly, the original questionnaire was written to measure linguistic abilities of monolingual speakers learning a second, prestigious, language in a classroom setting. This varies greatly with the case of Chipilo, a community in which bilingualism starting from a very young age is the norm and in which the minority language is neither taught in the schools nor has an extensive literary heritage. Therefore, the bilingual abilities of Chipileños should have been seen *a priori* as somehow different from the incipient bilingualism of English as a Foreign Language learners simply because the linguistic dynamics are so dissimilar. At the very least, a pilot of the questionnaire should have been carried out since a better designed instrument would have more precisely measured the speakers' degree of contact with Spanish and language domains of Veneto.

4.6 Future Research

The parasitic mechanism is an extremely rich area of research which reaches beyond second language learning theory. While currently the model is being extended to L3 language learning, my research indicates that if applied to community language contact situations, especially situations of minority language loss, findings have the potential of being quite significant. Therefore, the researcher proposes extending this area of research into more situations of language contact in order to describe linguistic change.

In the case of the Spanish-Veneto language pair, the languages in question for this study are typologically similar and therefore share similar grammatical structure, phonemes, and lexical items (cognates). Therefore, it would be interesting to study language change in situations of contact between two typologically different languages in order to see the effects that linguistic similarity has on mediating the degree of parasitism. It would also be interesting determine to what degree is parasitism mediated by presence or absence of cognates.

In addition, just as the Parasitic Model of the mental lexicon is currently being extended to explain language transfer in L3 learning situations, it would be interesting to study the mental lexicons of speakers of multiple languages in contact. Specifically, the Parasitic Model may be used to predict, identify, and explain the language of origin of borrowed frames and the language(s) that accepts these changes. In other words, the Parasitic Model may act as an explanation for substratum and superstratum linguistic changes.

While this study presupposes a gradual loss of the minority language and the adaptation of the majority language's syntactic frames for verbs, some anecdotal evidence gathered in the Chipilo community indicates that at times the Veneto syntactic frame is used with the Spanish form. In fact, there is documentation in one instance in this study of the use of a Spanish borrowed form with the classical Veneto frame. While this is statistically insignificant given the extent of collected data, it would be interesting to see the effects of minority language on majority language frames, perhaps in a contact situation in which the minority language is not at so much risk of shift.

It is also important to extend the Parasitic Model to different syntactic categories such as nouns, since the idiosyncratic syntactic information linked to verbs is different from the idiosyncratic information linked to nouns. The presence or absence of linguistic changes to verbs may not be representative of possible linguistic changes to the rest of the lexicon.

Furthermore, given the degree of variation found in this sample, it would be of great interest to study form/frame variation at the level of individual speakers. As mentioned above, several speakers offered self-corrections (often using the Spanish form or frame the second time around) or alternated their speech from one situation to the next. While this study looks in part at the production of certain features of Veneto in the community as a whole, it is important to keep in mind the difference between linguistic performance and linguistic competence. A potentially rich source of information, then, would be the study of the role of competence (albeit seen through performance) in the process of language change.

Continuing along the lines of looking at linguistic performance and linguistic competence is the sociolinguistic measure of linguistic security (Labov, 1972: 52). While measuring language attitudes are out of reach of this project, it would be interesting to find a link between a person's attitude toward his or her linguistic competence and the extent that this same person waivers between two or more equivalent forms. As part of the language history questionnaire, informants were asked to judge their vocabulary competence in both Veneto and Spanish. Also as part of the informal part of the interview process, informants would often comment about their attitudes about their linguistic abilities and those of other speakers. While these data were not analyzed due to changes in the focus of this project as well as the informality of some moments of the interviews, it would be interesting to have another study delving into these above issues in greater depth.

In addition to studying in greater depth the questionnaires, a great deal of information was gathered in this study that was not studied or could be studied in more detail. For example, variation was studied only as a function of age and provided rich evidence regarding the speech patterns of older and younger speakers as well as patterns of lexical shift. While in the second analysis degree of CLI could not be explained in relation to degree of contact, it is possible that investigating variation in the context of contact may be an interesting source of information.

Finally, as a general extension of this research, we extend an invitation to document language contact, shift, and loss while looking at the same or similar phenomena that have been documented in second language learning. More evidence

must be gathered in order to corroborate Andersen's statement that language learning and language loss are psychologically related.

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Appendix 1a: Adolescent language history questionnaire

Nombre: _____ Edad: _____

Fecha: _____ Sexo: ___ hombre ___ mujer

Número telefónico: _____

1. ¿Cuántos años tenías cuando empezaste a aprender véneto?

___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 9 ___ 10 – 14 ___ 15 o más

2. ¿Cuántos años tenías cuando empezaste a aprender español?

___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 9 ___ 10 – 14 ___ 15 o más

Por favor, contesta las siguientes preguntas acerca de tus padres:

<u>Madre</u>

a) ¿Dónde nació?
___ Chipilo ___ fuera

b) Si ella no es de Chipilo, ¿Habla véneto? ___ sí ____ no

c) Si ella es de Chipilo, ¿qué idioma aprendió primero?
___ véneto ___ español

<u>Padre</u>

a) ¿ Dónde nació?
___ Chipilo ___ fuera

b) Si él no es de Chipilo, ¿Habla véneto? ___ sí ___ no

c) Si él es de Chipilo, ¿qué idioma aprendió primero?
___ véneto ___ español

3. Has vivido fuera de Chipilo con tu familia? Si la respuesta es afirmativa,

a) ¿durante cuántos años? ___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 14 ___ 15 o más

b) ¿Seguiste hablando véneto estando fuera de Chipilo? ___ sí ___ no

4. Idioma que sueles hablar con tu madre ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

con tu padre: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

con tus hermanos: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

con tus abuelos: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

con otros parientes: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

con tus amigos Chipileños: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

Por favor, contesta las siguientes preguntas acerca de tus estudios:

5. ¿En qué ciudad estudias? ___ Chipilo ___ Cholula ___ Puebla ___ otra
6. ¿Qué estás cursando?

   ___ primaria ___ secundaria ___ preparatoria ___ universidad
7. ¿En qué idioma cursas tus estudios? ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

Por favor, contesta las siguientes preguntas acerca de tu uso de véneto y español

8. En general, ¿con qué frecuencia hablas véneto en comparación con español?

   ___ raramente ___ a veces ___ a menudo ___ casi siempre
9. Cuando se refiere a tus parientes, amigos y conocidos:

   a) ¿Con cuántas personas aproximadamente hablas exclusivamente en véneto?

   ___ casi nadie ___ algunas ___ muchas ___ casi todas

   b) ¿Con cuántas personas aproximadamente hablas exclusivamente en español?

   ___ casi nadie ___ algunas ___ muchas ___ casi todas

   c) ¿Con cuántas personas usas las dos lenguas?

   ___ casi nadie ___ algunas ___ muchas ___ casi todas
10. Para los siguientes temas, marca (v) si usas principalmente el véneto y (e) si usas principalmente el español

    ___ temas escolares

    ___ trabajo

    ___ con amigos/ en situaciones sociales

    ___ con familia
11. ¿Puedes leer y escribir véneto? ___ sí ___ no
12. ¿Con qué frecuencia lo haces?

    ___ diario ___ 3 – 4 veces por semana ___ raramente ___ nunca
13. ¿Qué lees o escribes en véneto?

    ___ recados ___ cartas ___ e-mail/internet ___ revistas/periódicos

    ___ cuentos/libros

Por favor, califica tu habilidad en tu uso del **véneto** para estas áreas. Una calificación de 5 indica el mayor nivel de suficiencia:

Hablar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escuchar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escribir	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Leer	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5

Por favor, califica tu habilidad en tu uso del **español** para estas áreas. Una calificación de 5 indica el mayor nivel de suficiencia:

Hablar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escuchar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escribir	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Leer	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5

Por favor, califica tu conocimiento de vocabulario de véneto y español usando esta escala de 9 puntos. Un puntaje de 1 indica que sólo sabes palabras en español mientras que un puntaje de 9 indica que sólo sabes palabras en véneto. Un puntaje de 5 indica que tienes una suficiencia equivalente de vocabulario en español y véneto.

(más español) …..1…..2…..3…..4…..5…..6…..7…..8…..9 (más véneto)

Por favor, califica tu nivel de bilingüismo total usando la misma escala de 9 puntos. Un puntaje de 1 indica un dominio completo del español sin conocimientos del véneto mientras que un puntaje de 9 indica un dominio completo del véneto sin conocimientos del español. Un puntaje de 5 indica que tienes una suficiencia equivalente en ambas lenguas.

(más español) …..1…..2…..3…..4…..5…..6…..7…..8…..9 (más véneto)

Appendix 1b: Adult language history questionnaire

Nombre: _____ Edad: _____

Fecha: _____ Sexo: ___ hombre ___ mujer

Número telefónico: _____

1. ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando empezó a aprender véneto?
   ___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 9 ___ 10 – 14 ___ 15 o más
2. ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando empezó a aprender español?
   ___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 9 ___ 10 – 14 ___ 15 o más

Por favor, conteste las siguientes preguntas acerca de sus padres:

<u>Madre</u>

a) ¿Dónde nació?
   ___ Chipilo ___ fuera
b) Si ella no es de Chipilo, ¿Habla véneto? ___ sí ____ no
c) Si ella es de Chipilo, ¿qué idioma aprendió primero?
   ___ véneto ___ español

<u>Padre</u>

a) ¿ Dónde nació?
   ___ Chipilo ___ fuera
b) Si él no es de Chipilo, ¿Habla véneto? ___ sí ___ no
c) Si él es de Chipilo, ¿qué idioma aprendió primero?
   ___ véneto ___ español

3. Ha vivido fuera de Chipilo con o sin su familia? Si la respuesta es afirmativa,

a) ¿durante cuántos años? ___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 14 ___ 15 – 25 ___ 26 o más
b) ¿Siguió hablando véneto estando fuera de Chipilo? ___ sí ___ no

4. Idioma que solía o suele hablar con su madre ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro
   con su padre: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro
   con sus hermanos: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro
   con sus abuelos: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro
   con otros parientes: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro
   con sus amigos Chipileños: ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

Por favor, conteste las siguientes preguntas acerca de sus estudios:

5. ¿En qué ciudad estudió? ___ Chipilo ___ Cholula ___ Puebla ___ otra
6. ¿Cuál es su escolaridad?
   ___ primaria ___ secundaria ___ preparatoria ___ universidad
7. ¿En qué idioma cursó sus estudios? ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

Por favor, conteste las siguientes preguntas acerca de su empleo:

8. ¿En qué ciudad trabaja actualmente?
   ___ Chipilo ___ Cholula ___ Puebla ___ otra
9. ¿Desde cuántos años trabaja ahí?
   ___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 14 ___ 15 – 25 ___ 26 o más
10. ¿En qué idioma suele hablar con los compañeros de trabajo?
    ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro
11. En sus empleos anteriores, ¿En qué ciudad solía trabajar?
    ___ Chipilo ___ Cholula ___ Puebla ___ otra
12. ¿En qué idioma solía hablar con aquellos compañeros de trabajo?
    ___ véneto ___ español ___ otro

Por favor, conteste las siguientes preguntas acerca de su uso de véneto y español

13. En general, ¿con qué frecuencia habla véneto en comparación con español?
    ___ raramente ___ a veces ___ a menudo ___ casi siempre
14. Cuando se refiere a sus parientes, amigos y conocidos:
    a) ¿Con cuántas personas aproximadamente habla exclusivamente en véneto?
    ___ casi nadie ___ algunas ___ muchas ___ casi todas
    b) ¿Con cuántas personas aproximadamente habla exclusivamente en español?
    ___ casi nadie ___ algunas ___ muchas ___ casi todas
    c) ¿Con cuántas personas usa las dos lenguas?
    ___ casi nadie ___ algunas ___ muchas ___ casi todas
15. Para los siguientes temas, marque (v) si usa principalmente el véneto y (e) si usa principalmente el español
    ___ temas escolares

___ trabajo

___ con amigos/ en situaciones sociales

___ con familia

16. ¿Puede leer y escribir véneto? ___ sí ___ no

17. ¿Con qué frecuencia lo hace?

___ diario ___ 3 – 4 veces por semana ___ raramente ___ nunca

18. ¿Qué lee o escribe en véneto?

___ recados ___ cartas ___ e-mail/internet ___ revistas/periódicos

___ cuentos/libros

Por favor, califique su habilidad en su uso del **véneto** para estas áreas. Una calificación de 5 indica el mayor nivel de suficiencia:

Hablar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escuchar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escribir	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Leer	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5

Por favor, califique su habilidad en su uso del **español** para estas áreas. Una calificación de 5 indica el mayor nivel de suficiencia:

Hablar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escuchar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escribir	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Leer	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5

Por favor, califique su conocimiento de vocabulario de véneto y español usando esta escala de 9 puntos. Un puntaje de 1 indica que sólo sabe palabras en español mientras que un puntaje de 9 indica que sólo sabe palabras en véneto. Un puntaje de 5 indica que Ud. tiene una suficiencia equivalente de vocabulario en español y véneto.

(más español) …..1…..2…..3…..4…..5…..6…..7…..8…..9 (más véneto)

Por favor, califique su nivel de bilingüismo total usando la misma escala de 9 puntos. Un puntaje de 1 indica un dominio completo del español sin conocimientos del véneto mientras que un puntaje de 9 indica un dominio completo del véneto sin conocimientos del español. Un puntaje de 5 indica que Ud. tiene una suficiencia equivalente en ambas lenguas.

(más español) …..1…..2…..3…..4…..5…..6…..7…..8…..9 (más véneto)

Appendix 2: Translation stimuli sentences with target Veneto translation

AP	Added Preposition
DP	Different Preposition
NR	No Reflexivity
AR	Added Reflexivity
DN	Different Preposition, No Reflexivity
DA	Different Preposition, Added Reflexivity

Coding key

1. Me gustaría aprender a bailar:

   Me piasarei inparar ___ balar[1]. (AP)

2. Ayer mi hermano se peleó con mi mamá:

   Yiri me fradél al se á brancá ____ me mamá. (DP)

3. Si descanso, puedo trabajar mejor:

   Si ___ destraque, pode laorar pi meyo. (AR)

4. Si un niño se cae y se lastima, en seguida llora.

5. No puedes fiarte de toda la gente:

   No tu pol infidarte ___ tuta la dente no. (DP)

6. ¿A qué juegan los niños de Chipilo?:

   Dugali ___ que tosatel de Chipilo? (DP)

7. Me detuve en la tienda

8. Me di cuenta demasiado tarde

9. Ya quería irse:

[1] The use of the underscore indicates where a possible preposition would go.

Ya al oléa ndar ___. (AR)

10. Se me entumecieron las piernas.
11. Sus amigos le dejaron de hablar
12. Se murió a los 20 años
13. Me cansé demasiado de caminar:

    Son masa strac __ caminar. (DA)

14. Hablo en véneto porque me gusta:

    Parle ___ véneto parque me pias. (AP)

15. Me encontré con él a las seis:

    Son catá ___ lu a le síe. (DA)

16. Le gusta mucho bromear
17. Los libros no caben en la caja:

    I libri no i ___ loga inte la scátola no. (AR)

18. Hay que empezar a trabajar:

    Gol scominziar ___ laorar. (AP)

19. El vaso se rompió al caer al suelo.
20. No nos atrevemos a hacer eso:

    Noatri no osón ___ far cuel no. (AR)

21. Mira bien antes de cruzar la calle.
22. Antes de comer, cuando te sientas, hay que rezar.
23. Fui a buscar el martillo
24. Se recargó en la pared:

    Al se á puyá ___ al mur. (DP)

25. Nacio en Italia
26. Se burlaron de ella
27. Me insistió en que fuera con él:

    Al me á insistíst ___ que ndese para lú. (AP)
28. Espérate, que la comida no está lista
29. ¿A qué sabe un helado?

    Salo ____ que un gelat? (DP)
30. Ella se parece a ti:

    Ela ____ someia tant. (AR)
31. Quiero meter una caja en la cajuela del carro.
32. Se enoja cuando se equivoca
33. Me gustaría soñar con mi abuelo:

    Me piasarei insuniar ___ me nono. (DA)
34. Mi tío cayó enfermo de fiebre
35. Ella quiere mucho a su novio
36. Cada mañana me levanto a las 7:

    Oñi matina ____ leve a le sete. (AR)
37. El estudiante se llevó los libros
38. Hay que desenredar la cuerda.
39. El ciego se tropezó con una piedra:

    Al orbo se a ingambará ____ un zas. (DP)
40. Hay que tratar de abrir la puerta
41. ¿A qué huele un establo?

Nasalo ____ que na stala? (DP)

42. Dame la botella porque la necesito:

    Dame la butilia parque ____ ocore. (AR)

43. Vamos a esperar a que venga el maestro

44. Cuando un gato tiene hambre, maúlla.

45. El vino a preguntarme por mi papá:

    Al é ñist a domandarme ___ me popá. (DP)

46. A los niños les gusta mucho ponerse a jugar.

47. No hay que reírse aquí:

    No gol ríder ___ cua no. (AR)

48. Fíjate de hacer bien tu trabajo:

    Infísete __ far pulito al to laoro. (DA)

Appendix 3: Questionnare coding scheme (adolescent)[1]

Nombre: _____ Edad: _____

Fecha: _____ Sexo: ___ hombre ___ mujer

Número telefónico: _____

1. ¿Cuántos años tenías cuando empezaste a aprender véneto?

___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 9 ___ 10 – 14 ___ 15 o más

2. ¿Cuántos años tenías cuando empezaste a aprender español?

___ 0 – 4 ___ 5 – 9 ___ 10 – 14 ___ 15 o más

Por favor, contesta las siguientes preguntas acerca de tus padres:

Madre	Padre
a) ¿Dónde nació? _+1__ Chipilo _+2__ fuera	a) ¿ Dónde nació? _+1__ Chipilo _+2__ fuera
a) Si ella no es de Chipilo, ¿Habla véneto? _+1__ sí _+2__ no	b) Si él no es de Chipilo, ¿Habla véneto? _+1__ sí _+2__ no
c) Si ella es de Chipilo, ¿qué idioma aprendió primero? _+1__ véneto _+2__ español	c) Si él es de Chipilo, ¿qué idioma aprendió primero? _+1__ véneto _+2__ español

Has vivido fuera de Chipilo con tu familia? Si la respuesta es afirmativa,

a) ¿durante cuántos años? _+1__ 0 – 4 _+2__ 5 – 14 _+3__ 15 o más

b) ¿Seguiste hablando véneto estando fuera de Chipilo? __0_ sí _+1__ no

Idioma que sueles hablar con tu madre _+1__ véneto _+2__ español _+2__ otro

con tu padre:	_+1__ véneto	_+2_ español	_+2__ otro
con tus hermanos:	_+1__ véneto	_+2_ español	_+2__ otro
con tus abuelos:	_+1__ véneto	_+2_ español	_+2__ otro
con otros parientes:	_+1__ véneto	_+2_ español	_+2__ otro
con tus amigos Chipileños:	_+1__ véneto	_+2_ español	_+2__ otro

[1] Only coding for questions related to degree of contact is shown.

Por favor, contesta las siguientes preguntas acerca de tus estudios:

¿En qué ciudad estudias? +1__ Chipilo _+2_ Cholula +3__ Puebla _+3__ otra

¿Qué estás cursando?

_+1__ primaria _+2__ secundaria _+3__ preparatoria _+4__ universidad

¿En qué idioma cursas tus estudios? _+1__ véneto _+2__ español _+2_ otro

Por favor, contesta las siguientes preguntas acerca de tu uso de véneto y español

En general, ¿con qué frecuencia hablas véneto en comparación con español?

_+4__ raramente _+3__ a veces _+2__ a menudo _+1__ casi siempre

Cuando se refiere a tus parientes, amigos y conocidos:

a) ¿Con cuántas personas aproximadamente hablas exclusivamente en véneto?

_+4__ casi nadie _+3__ algunas _+2__ muchas _+1__ casi todas

b) ¿Con cuántas personas aproximadamente hablas exclusivamente en español?

_+1__ casi nadie _+2__ algunas _+3__ muchas _+4__ casi todas

c) ¿Con cuántas personas usas las dos lenguas?

___ casi nadie ___ algunas ___ muchas ___ casi todas

Para los siguientes temas, marca (v) si usas principalmente el véneto y (e) si usas principalmente el español. (v= +1, e= +2)

___ temas escolares

___ trabajo

___ con amigos/ en situaciones sociales

___ con familia

¿Puedes leer y escribir véneto? ___ sí ___ no

¿Con qué frecuencia lo haces?

___ diario ___ 3 – 4 veces por semana ___ raramente ___ nunca

¿Qué lees o escribes en véneto?

___ recados ___ cartas ___ e-mail/internet ___ revistas/periódicos

___ cuentos/libros

Por favor, califica tu habilidad en tu uso del **véneto** para estas áreas. Una calificación de 5 indica el mayor nivel de suficiencia:

Hablar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escuchar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escribir	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Leer	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5

Por favor, califica tu habilidad en tu uso del **español** para estas áreas. Una calificación de 5 indica el mayor nivel de suficiencia:

Hablar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escuchar	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Escribir	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5
Leer	___ 1	___ 2	___ 3	___ 4	___ 5

Por favor, califica tu conocimiento de vocabulario de véneto y español usando esta escala de 9 puntos. Un puntaje de 1 indica que sólo sabes palabras en español mientras que un puntaje de 9 indica que sólo sabes palabras en véneto. Un puntaje de 5 indica que tienes una suficiencia equivalente de vocabulario en español y véneto.

(más español) …..1…..2…..3…..4…..5…..6…..7…..8…..9 (más véneto)

Por favor, califica tu nivel de bilingüismo total usando la misma escala de 9 puntos. Un puntaje de 1 indica un dominio completo del español sin conocimientos del véneto mientras que un puntaje de 9 indica un dominio completo del véneto sin conocimientos del español. Un puntaje de 5 indica que tienes una suficiencia equivalente en ambas lenguas.

(más español) …..1…..2…..3…..4…..5…..6…..7…..8…..9 (más véneto)

Appendix 4: Translation stimuli

1. Ayer mi hermano se peleó con mi mamá
2. Dame la botella porque la necesito
3. Vino a preguntarme por mi papá
4. Se burlaron de ella
5. Vienen a aprender de Uds
6. Sabe a limón
7. Me gustaría soñar con mi abuelo
8. Mi tío cayó enfermo de fiebre
9. Vamos a esperar a que venga el maestro.
10. No puedes fiarte de toda la gente.
11. Se recargó en la pared
12. Me insistió en que fuera con él
13. Hay que tratar de abrir la puerta
14. Ella se parece a ti
15. Hablo en véneto porque me gusta
16. Espérate, que la comida no está lista
17. Me detuve en la tienda
18. Como estaba lloviendo, me abstuve de ir
19. Ya quería irse
20. No nos atrevemos a hacer eso
21. No hay que reírse aquí
22. Me gustaría aprender a bailar.
23. Hay que empezar a trabajar
24. Me cansé demasiado de caminar
25. Si descanso, puedo trabajar mejor
26. Fíjate de hacer bien tu trabajo
27. Me encontré con él a las seis
28. Todos los muchacho de Chipilo juegan al futbol
29. Me da vergüenza pedir dinero
30. Cada mañana me levanto a las 7
31. Los libros no caben en la caja

Appendix 5: Oral Elicitation Tasks (translated to Spanish)

1. Brancarse, bravar, padegar par/co

Tu hermano y tú no se llevan bien y siempre se meten en problemas. Nunca están de acuerde en nada. Sus papás van a salir esta noche y van a dejarlos solos y no quieren oír de ningún problema luego. Tu papá decide dejarlos solos pero va con tu hermano, quien es el más problemático, y le advierte con estas palabras:

2. ocórer

Tu familia y tú tienen que comprar la dispensa y están haciendo la lista de compras. Te das cuenta de que realmente hace falta detergente. Les dices:

3. catar, véderse par/co

Vas caminando por Puebla y por casualidad ves a un amigo a quien no has visto en meses. Cuando vuelves a Chipilo le cuentas a un amigo esta coincidencia. ¿Cómo le explicas?

4. domandar a

Vas a tu restauran preferido y le dices al mesero que te traiga un espaghetti. Después de 15 minutos te trae un bistec. Te molestas y le dices:

5. domandar de/par

Pasaron unos amigos de tu hermano para saber si estaba en casa y para invitarlo a salir. Cuando vuelve tu hermano, le das el siguiente recado:

6. dugar

Describe los deportes que más se practican en Chipilo

7. far moti

Describe los juegos que más juegan los niños.

8. ríder drio a

Hay un compañero de clase que no tiene ningún amigo, es muy raro y hace y dice cosas muy extrañas. Un día llega al salón de clases con su mascota: una cucaracha enorme llamada Carlos V. ¿Qué hacen los compañeros?

9. Ingambar/ intrapolarse par

Ves a un ciego caminando por la banqueta. En medio de su camino hay un bloc de cemento. Si no intervienes, ¿qué pasará al ciego?

10. inparar

Un vecino es inalfabeto porque nunca fue a la escuela. Ahora de adulta va a la primaria abierta. ¿Cuál es su meta principal?

11. Insuniar de

¿Tienes sueños? Por favor, describe uno.

12. puyar su par

Tu mamá acaba de comprar un cuadro muy grande y pesado pero aún no tiene dónde ponerlo. Tu papá lo mete el la casa pero pesa demasiado y no lo puede cargar. ¿Dónde lo mete mientras tu mamá piensa en el lugar adecuado?

13. prezipiar/ scominziar

Eres estudiante de la BUAP. Mañana tienes que entregar un trabajo de 10 páginas. Has leído todo lo necesario y sabes qué vas a decir, pero no has escrito ni una sola página. ¿Qué debes hacer ahorita?

14. stracarse de/da/par

Ves a un amigo haciendo mucho ejercicio. Tú sabes que no está en condición y que pronto le va a faltar energía. ¿Qué le adviertes?

15. Spetar

Fuiste al cine con tu novia y no le gusta para nada la película. Ella ya se quiere ir pero tú realmente quieres ver el final y termina en 10 minutos, que no es mucho tiempo. ¿Qué le dices para convencerle a quedarse?

16. infisarse inte

Su hijo es muy distraído y muy torpe además. Cuando camina no mira a dónde va y siempre choca contra cosas. Cuando hace sus tareas, no lee bien las instrucciones y siempre se equivoca. Ahorita está ayudándote en la cocina y le explicas cada paso, pero parece como si no escuchara. Al final Ud. Se frustra y le dice:

17. Levar su

Te acuestas, duermes toda la noche. Luego en la mañana ¿qué haces?

18. Logarse

Quieres meter una caja muy grande en la cajuela del carro. Pero la caja es demasiado grande y no…

19. oler a

Entras en una oficina donde alguien estaba fumando recientemente. ¿Cómo puedes describir el olor?

20. saber a

Un amigo jamás ha cocinado y te sirve un pedazo de pollo que fue horneado durante una hora y no los 30 minutos necesarios. Aunque no se lo dices, ¿qué piensas del sabor?

21. ríder

Estás viendo el programa Otro Rollo y Adal Ramones dice algo muy chistoso. ¿Qué haces?

22. Someiar

Conoces un padre e hijo muy similares. El hijo tiene la misma nariz que su papá. También tiene los mismos ojos y los mismos labios. El hijo pesa casi igual que su papá y ambos miden un metro 80. ¿Qué puedes decir del hijo cuando lo comparas con el papá?

23. trarse de mal par

Faltaste una semana en le trabajo por tener una gripe muy fuerte y repentino. Luego de volver a trabajar tus compañeros te preguntan qué pasó. Explica brevemente qué tuviste.

Appendix 6: Written tasks

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straca me ó caminar masa tant

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si pode laorar pi meyo me destraque

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